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INTER AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION

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XXVI ANNUAL MEETING

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Panama, Panama  
Otto Fernandez-Hermo

#### PUERTO RICO

The Chase Manhattan Bank  
San Juan  
Robert S. Cole  
International Paper Co.,  
Hato Rey  
R. Camin  
M. Fernandez  
Y. Dolbec

#### UNITED STATES

The Associated Press, New York, N.Y.  
Stanley Swinton  
Sam Summerlin  
Auto-Grafica Export Corp.  
New York, N.Y.  
Robert D. Pinto  
George B. Hall  
Copley Newspapers, La Jolla, Calif.  
Pat Bielaski  
John Dorn  
Howard Fitzgerald  
Victor H. Krulak

Penny Lernoux  
Howard Matson  
Frank L. Price  
Charles Sick  
James Streit  
Flint Ink Corporation  
Detroit, Mich.  
Ray C. Lopez  
David B. Flint  
Inter American Development Bank  
Washington, D.C.  
Joseph U. Hinshaw  
International Paper Co.  
New York, N.Y.  
Ladd Seton  
Legislative Reference Service  
Washington, D.C.  
Mrs. Rieck B. Hannifin  
Mergenthaler Linotype Co.  
Plainview, N.Y.  
Mario De Costa  
Ray Dunne  
James H. Sauer  
José Revah  
Miehle-Goss-Dexter Americas Co.  
Chicago, Ill.  
K. F. Hoenecke  
J. A. Riggs, Jr.  
Richard A. Neville  
Samuel M. Dean  
Chandler Echols  
Richard T. Schneider  
Donald W. Koppel  
Pioneer Press, Inc., Addison, Ill.  
Lloyd H. Weston  
Price Paper Corporation, New York,  
N.Y.  
George R. Arellano  
Rodolfo E. Wachsman  
Jorge Santelli  
Wayne Graphic Products Ltd.,  
Long Island City, N.Y.  
Robert T. Bernstein  
William Ramos  
World Bank, Washington, D.C.  
Jorge Bravo

XIV

GUESTS - INVITADOS

Magdalena Amador  
OEA, Washington, D.C.

Sally Aw Sian

C.S.Y. Aw

B.H. Aw

International Press Institute  
Zurich, Switzerland

Gerardo Bolaños

IAPA Scholarship Fund Student

Thomas H. Copeland

Copley International Corp.

La Jolla, Calif.

James Davis

IAPA Scholarship Fund Student

Miguel Frankenfeld

OEA, Washington, D.C.

James Nelson Goodsell

The Christian Science Monitor  
Boston, Mass.

Jorge A. Ibarra

Museo Nacional de Historia  
Natural, Guatemala

Guillermo Morales

Asoc. Interamericana de Radio-  
difusión (AIR), Mexico, D.F.

Martha T. Muse

Tinker Foundation  
New York, N.Y.

Newbold Noyes

ASNE, Washington, D.C.

Felipe Sanfuentes

OEA, Washington, D.C.

Vincent Spezzano

Gannett Newspapers  
Rochester, N.Y.

(Note: Because of a technical failure the first meeting of the Board was not recorded. What follows is a summary.)

BOARD OF DIRECTORS  
First Meeting  
Monday, October 19, 1970

The Board of Directors met at 3 p.m. at the Hotel Camino Real under the chairmanship of James S. Copley (The Copley Press). The Secretary, Rodrigo Madrigal Nieto (La República, San José) called the roll after which the Chairman of the Executive Committee, George Beebe (Knight Newspapers) read his report.

MR. BEEBE:

This has been a rather grim year for the Hemisphere press.

The "elder statesmen" of the Inter American Press Association can recall other dark and worrisome periods, but never have press freedoms been in such deep trouble on so many fronts.

The press in seven Latin American and Caribbean nations is under rigid totalitarian control or extreme pressure.

Millions of people get only the news their governments decide they should have.

In three other nations, there are threatening clouds.

\* \* \*

Some Latin American power grabbers have found a painless method to silence the opposition press, by confiscating the newspaper plants and giving them to the workers as cooperatives.

Being a "part-owner" is enticing to the worker, who perhaps doesn't realize that this could be just the first governmental step toward denying other basic rights to the people.

How can a worker in good conscience feel at ease in a newspaper plant, such as El Diario en La Paz, taken from a family that for more than three generations has provided jobs for hundreds, and has played a major role in helping to guide and inform the nation.

(Nota: Debido a una falla técnica, no fue posible grabar la primera sesión de la Junta. Lo que sigue es un resumen).

JUNTA DE DIRECTORES  
Primera Sesión  
Lunes, 19 de octubre de 1970

La Junta de Directores se reunió a las 3 p.m. en el Hotel Camino Real bajo la presidencia de James S. Copley (The Copley Press). El Secretario, Rodrigo Madrigal Nieto, (La República, San José) leyó la lista de asistencia y el presidente del Comité Ejecutivo, George Beebe (Knight Newspapers) presentó su informe.

And how much of a voice will these workers have when they become incensed by future government actions? Certainly they are obligated to follow the palace line.

In the United States, we are not without our problems. It has become increasingly popular to attack the press.

Many who do are among our prominent and intelligent citizens, disturbed by the mounting aggravations of their nation, who often blame the press for some of the bad news that appears in its columns.

Unwittingly, they seriously undermine one of the nation's strengths which they should seek to preserve--a free press.

I feel that their protestations, except for isolated instances, are unfounded, for the press of the United States never has shown more responsibility and dedication to its readers--and its nation.

Let me add that the press always has welcomed criticism when it is deserved, but many of the invectives thrown at us today are without fact or foundation.

Our critics too often are poor reporters.

\* \* \*

But our problems are minimal compared to those of our journalistic neighbors to the South.

Despite growing frustrations, I can assure you that the Inter American Press Association is as determined as it always has been to fight with all its resources those who would silence our voices and still our presses.

Once we fought battles, now we fight wars. We may be bloodied. But we are not bowed.

Our president, Mr. James S. Copley, will elaborate on our problems and challenges when he addresses this audience tomorrow morning and Wednesday.

\* \* \*

Let me for a few brief minutes, review the IAPA year and some of our accomplishments.

Soon after we met in Washington, we had lost both of our able secretarial leaders--Guillermo Gutierrez, who headed the Technical Center by resignation; and Carlos Jimenez, the IAPA manager, by death.

It is to the credit of our general manager, James Canel, and his staff, that the IAPA ran so efficiently while we sought two topflight aides for him.

Now we have them, and the New York office is as enterprising as it was in the past.

We obtained Noel Leon from the Newhouse Newspapers as head of the Technical Center. This native of Puerto Rico is extremely qualified, and already has a number of projects underway.

This man is imaginative and enterprising--a real asset to the team.

As the other aide to Jim Canel, we selected a talented Cuban exile, Roberto Fabricio, a talented young man who formerly worked for The Miami Herald and attended Columbia University's graduate school of journalism on IAPA scholarship.

So we feel fortunate to have filled these positions with such competent men.

We have conducted four Technical Center seminars in South America, and have scheduled a news-editorial seminar for Central America in January.

So indeed we have been active.

\* \* \*

We have commendation for four other members.

To Robert U. Brown goes credit for the idea of having the entire IAPA membership meet here as a Committee on Freedom of the Press. In this critical period, it is essential that all of you get first-hand information on country-by-country problems.

It was the idea of Andrew Heiskell to better inform the people of the Western Hemisphere as to their need to know and right to know through promotional in-paper displays. He will explain this to you later.

It was the suggestion of Lee Hills to re-define the IAPA concepts and guidelines for reporting on freedom of the press in each nation of the Western Hemisphere. He also will report on this week's program.

And our last salute goes to Marian Heiskell, who headed a successful campaign to raise funds from IAPA member papers to help the Peruvian earthquake victims.

All this is another indication of IAPA's activity in the last year.

\* \* \*

In closing, I would like to add a suggestion.

Are your editors and your workers fully aware of the aims and accomplishments of the Inter American Press Association?

There are some newspaper employees that look upon IAPA as a protective society for the publishers.

Many have not been made aware that this organization through its long existence has been fighting for their rights and the rights of all people of the Western Hemisphere.

I think it vitally important that you keep them informed of what we are doing. Why not issue a memorandum upon your return home, telling them what decisions were made here this week, and cite some of IAPA's great victories over ruthless dictatorships that helped restore a free press in many countries.

You can't afford to have misconceptions about IAPA exist in your plants.

This concludes my report. I thank you.

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Raymond E. Dix (The Daily Record, Wooster, Ohio) chairman of the Membership Committee, submitted, and the Board approved the following applications for membership:

U.S. ACTIVE

THE CORDELE DISPATCH  
306 13th Ave. West  
Cordele, Georgia 31015

THE MOULTRIE OBSERVER  
25 North Main St.  
Moultrie, Georgia 31768

THE HONOLULU ADVERTISER  
P.O.Box 3110  
Honolulu, Hawaii 95802

HENRYETTA DAILY FREE-LANCE  
Box 53404  
Oklahoma City, Okla 73105

PERU DAILY TRIBUNE  
26 West Third St., Box 87  
Peru, Indiana 46970

THE YUMA DAILY SUN AND  
ARIZONA SENTINEL  
2055 Arizona Avenue  
Yuma, Arizona 85364

THE ELKHART TRUTH  
P.O.Box 487  
Elkhart, Indiana 46514

LA HACIENDA  
Box 1030  
Kissimmee, Florida 32741

THE RIVERDALE PRESS  
6155 Broadway  
Riverdale, New York, 10471

UNION LEADER  
1291Stuyvesant Ave.  
Union, New Jersey 07083

Raymond E. Dix (The Daily Record, Wooster, Ohio), presidente de la Comisión de Socios Nuevos, sometió, y la Junta aprobó, las siguientes solicitudes de ingreso:

U.S. ASSOCIATE

Daniel McColley  
Wood Industries, Inc.  
Box 1112  
Plainfield, New Jersey 07061

Carl M. Fellows  
Domtar Pulp & Paper Inc.  
277 Park Ave. New York, N.Y. 10017

Mr. Donald K. de Neuf  
Press Wireless, Inc.  
67 Broad St.  
New York, N.Y. 10004

Dr. Ronald T. Farrar,  
Department of Journalism  
Southern Methodist University  
Dallas, Texas 75222

Mr. Alfred T. Wade  
INTERTYPE CO.  
360 Furman St.  
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201

OTHER COUNTRIES

Goren D. Svensson  
Industrial Developments AB  
Fack 10, S-16120  
Bromma 20, Sweden

Mr. Copley announced the appointment of the following committees:

El Sr. Copley anunció la designación de las siguientes comisiones:

Credentials - Credenciales

Nominations - Nombramientos

Brady Black  
Jose Dutriz  
Charles Dancey

Alberto Gainza Paz  
Andrew Heiskell  
Lee Hills  
Romulo O'Farrill Jr.  
Agustin Edwards

Mr. Copley called on Lee Hills (Knight Newspapers) to read the report of a Special Committee to Study Freedom of the Press Efforts.

El Sr. Copley le dio la palabra a Lee Hills (Knight Newspaper) para que le diera lectura al informe de una Comisión Especial sobre los Esfuerzos Pro-Libertad de Prensa.

MR. LEE HILLS:

The Committee was appointed by President Copley at the mid-year meeting in Montego with the assignment to redefine IAPA concepts and guidelines for reporting on freedom of the press in the Hemisphere.

We recommend:

1. A new set of 10 important guidelines for judging freedom of the press (attached). These guidelines would be for internal use of the FoP Committee in rating the relative freedom of the press in each country. The scoring system would be available to anyone who wished to examine it, but would not have to be included in news releases and reports.

2. The ratings would be reported in three categories:

- a. There is freedom of the press.
- b. There is a restricted press.
- c. There is no free press.

3. A complete report on all countries at the annual meeting.

4. A report at the mid-year directors' meeting only on those countries reporting violations. Omit all others.

5. The Committee recommends that we improve in every way possible the factual reporting on press freedom conditions under the more comprehensive guidelines. Also, that we explore new ways to persuade people of the importance of the basic "right to know."

6. Undertake to write more newsworthy resolutions, to be sent by the proper officer or officers along with a soft-sell letter such as George Beebe suggested and such as Jim Copley sent this year to the presidents of Brazil and Argentina.

7. Name a special committee to either (1) draft a new definition of freedom of the press, or (2) adopt the best definition we can find.

8. Streamline the report by cutting out non-essential rhetoric.

+++

In explanation:

Freedom of the press, like love and faith, is a relative, not an absolute, term. It varies from country to country and changes from time to time in degree.

Our traditional black-and-white labeling of freedom of the press no longer fits. It doesn't accurately describe most situations. The FoP Committee last spring in Montego took a long step toward more meaningful assessments.

One goal is to eliminate impossible comparisons such as between Peru, which has limitations, and Cuba, where there is no free press.

We studied the scoring system developed for its worldwide surveys by the Freedom of Information Center, School of Journalism, University of Missouri. We concluded that its list of guidelines was too long (25 criteria) and complex for our purposes, but got some valuable ideas from its experience.

For guidance of the committee it will be useful to have an internal scoring system based on information received and verified from wire service reports, missions, vice chairmen and our own investigations. This should more accurately reflect the degree of press freedom.

However, we concluded that it is too intricate to report ratings in percentages. Wire services would not use the space needed to explain it. It also would be less exciting and get less attention. That is why we favor a flat statement based on three categories of press freedom.

If we fail to make a dogmatic statement, a newsman might be tempted to simplify a complicated report and draw a dogmatic conclusion of his own.

Our important weapon is public opinion. Our one strength is the media. We must constantly stress the point that without real freedom to report the

news and comment on it there can be no democratic self-government or freedom.

We also recommend exploring other approaches in addition to reports and resolutions. We have had some success with special missions. A friendly face-to-face talk is often more effective than a stern cable. Whenever possible, we might ask outstanding professional journalists and publishers to undertake such missions.

There is growing public distrust and dissatisfaction with representative government and with the imperfect system of free discussion and free press on which self-government depends. The relationship between free peoples and a free press has existed for nearly three centuries; today, it is under an increasing strain.

For IAPA to be more effective in meeting this problem, a basic need is better reporting of the trouble spots.

Another need is an educational campaign to win back support of the people, re-educate them on the role of the free press and their need to know, and restore their belief that if the press loses its freedom they will lose theirs.

Lee Hills, Chairman  
Alberto Gainza Paz  
Mañuel F. do Nascimento Brito  
Nicomedes Zuloaga  
The Rev. Albert J. Nevins

Attachment

FREE PRESS GUIDELINES

The following suggested Free Press Guidelines were worked out with Tom C. Harris, chairman of the IAPA Freedom of the Press Committee. We recommend that these be refined and improved with experience. Usage will indicate also whether the assigned points need adjusting, and whether other factors should be included.

CREDIT  
(if answer is yes)

1. Is there a genuine climate in your country for a free press as defined by IAPA? 20 points  
(Note: For example, the answer for the U.S. and Canada would be yes since both constitutions and laws provide for it and authorities do not overstep these provisions).
2. Is your country free of all censorship? 20 points  
Censorship also includes right of reply laws, laws compelling newspapers to print government statements and laws requiring newspapers to publish editorials written by others than its editors.
3. Is your country free of restrictions of any kind (except civil libel laws) upon the gathering of news or access to public or government information, or to the reporting, editing, printing and distribution of newspapers within; or the exclusion by government order or force of any publication from without; or the censorship of wire news or restrictions on days a newspaper can publish? 10 points
4. Can your country honestly say it has no newspapermen in jail or under bail for any act in connection with the gathering, reporting, printing and distribution of news and editorials? 10 points
5. Is your country free of any restrictions, including laws, against the importation, sale and use of newsprint or printing equipment, supplies and machinery, or any special taxes on the importation and or use of newsprint or printing equipment supplies? 10 points

6. Is your country free of any boycott of advertising or circulation inspired, directed or sanctioned by your government, or any effort by your government to set up its own controlled or owned newspapers in competition with or to the exclusion of an independent press? 5 points
7. Is your country free of any law designed to restrict the ingress of foreign newspapermen, or to restrict newspaper editorship and ownership to citizens of your country, or any law that puts a tax on advertising and circulation on publications in or from without the country? 5 points
8. Is your country free of any extra-legal controls (threats, violence, confiscation or closure, etc.) by the government or forces inspired or tolerated by the government? 7 points
9. Is your country free of forced selfcensorship by editors? 7 points
10. Is your country free of licensing of reporters and editors or any other device that would restrict employment of newspapermen or the exercise of a free and independent press? (Includes government loans to the press, government advertising on a favoritism basis, loans, subsidization, other pressures.) 6 points
- 
- 100 points

75-100 points would indicate a free press.

40-75 points would indicate a restricted press.

0-40 points would indicate no free press.

The report and proposed guidelines were unanimously approved by the Board.

El informe y las pautas a seguir recomendadas recibieron la aprobación unánime de la Junta.

Andrew Heiskell (Time Inc.) said that in compliance with a resolution adopted by the Board, he had drawn up a proposed Right to Know campaign, based mainly on advertisements.

Andrew Heiskell (Time Inc) dijo que, en cumplimiento de un acuerdo de la Junta, había elaborado un proyecto de campaña, basado principalmente en avisos, para promover el concepto del Derecho a estar Informado.

He showed a series of slides of proposed advertisements, initially promoting the concept of the Need to Know. These were followed by other slides on the Right to Know, the dangers of ignorance, quotations by famous men and others.

Exhibió una serie de diapositivas de los avisos sugeridos, comenzando con la promoción de la idea de la Necesidad de estar Informado. Siguió otras sobre el Derecho a estar Informado, los peligros de la ignorancia, palabras de hombres famosos, y otras.

He said a further explanation would be given to the General Assembly and that a resolution would be submitted on the subject.

Dijo que daría mayores explicaciones a la Asamblea General y que sometería a aprobación una resolución sobre la materia.

Mr. Copley then handed the chair over to Rodolfo Junco de la Vega (El Norte, Monterrey), president of the IAPA Scholarship Fund, who declared the Board of the Scholarship Fund in session.

El Sr. Copley entregó la presidencia a Rodolfo Junco de la Vega (El Norte, Monterrey), presidente del Fondo de Becas de la SIP, quien declaró abierta la reunión anual de la Junta del Fondo.

Mr. Junco de la Vega described the Fund's activities during the year and called on Mr. Howard Fitzgerald, the Treasurer, to make his report.

El Sr. Junco de la Vega hizo un resumen de las actividades del Fondo y luego pidió al Sr. Howard Fitzgerald, el Tesorero que informara.

MR. FITZGERALD:

Even though this year's financial climate wasn't at its best, as Treasurer of your Scholarship Fund, it gives me pleasure to be able to report a "successful year". This success is attributable to your continued support and generosity. I think it germane at this point to recognize the 10th and final contribution by the Bacardi Corporation in memory of Angel Ramos. Over the past ten years, they have contributed some \$35,000 to the fund.

Financial reports being what they are, I'll be as brief as I am able. If you have any questions concerning it, please see me after this meeting.

The Scholarship Fund's financial report is as follows:

From October 1, 1969, to September 30, 1970, the receipts were as follows:

RECEIPTS

|                                                                                                        |                 |                  |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Full scholarships of \$2,500 or more (9)                                                               |                 | \$27,000.00      |
| Contributions under \$2,500                                                                            |                 | 8,750.00         |
| Interest on Savings Accounts                                                                           | \$4,354.80      |                  |
| Interest IAPA Savings Cert.                                                                            | 4,842.46        |                  |
| Interest THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE endowment in memory of Jules Dubois secured by Mr. Maxwell of THE TRIBUNE | <u>4,842.45</u> | <u>14,039.71</u> |
| TOTAL RECEIPTS                                                                                         |                 | \$49,789.71      |

DISBURSEMENTS

|                                         |                  |                     |
|-----------------------------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| Scholarships and other grants           | \$52,065.20      |                     |
| Other related Administrative expenses   | <u>5,019.39</u>  |                     |
| TOTAL:                                  |                  | \$57,084.59         |
| (Excess) of disbursements over receipts |                  | (7,294.88)          |
| Cash balance September 30, 1969         |                  | \$246,465.49        |
| Cash balance September 30, 1970         |                  | <u>\$239,170.61</u> |
| Time deposit                            | 160,000.00       |                     |
| Balance on scholarship awarded          | 41,500.00        |                     |
| Full Scholarships available (9)         | 27,000.00        |                     |
| Uncommitted funds                       | <u>10,670.61</u> | 239,170.61          |

Again, it gives great pleasure to note that we've made some \$9,000 available to the Technical Center for its work.

I'd like to make one comment concerning the deficit between receipts and disbursements. This \$7,294.88 deficit was occasioned by the increase in the amount of travel done by our students plus a general increase in air fares.

That, Mr. President, concludes the financial report of The Scholarship Fund.

The Board then met as the Board of the IAPA Technical Center under E.W. Scripps (Scripps League), president, and the following reports were read:

La Junta se constituyó entonces en la Junta del Centro Técnico de la SIP presidiendo E.W. Scripps (Scripps League), presidente del Centro, y se escucharon los siguientes informes:

MR. SCRIPPS:

As a result of studies we have made of the needs of various publications receiving the services of the Technical Center, we have formulated a program for the future which should provide a real service.

I will not duplicate the ideas expressed by Mr. León, our Technical Center manager, who has here a very fine report. However, I do want to emphasize the importance of the Tax Reform Act of 1969, and the financial benefits that may come our way as a result of this new law, if we can get our status re-defined as a Public Foundation.

As the scope of our services increases, so also will the revenues increase. I am confident that our new, streamlined type of operation, designed so that a maximum of service is provided with a minimum of expense, will receive approval from all concerned.

Because of a last-minute emergency, John Herbert, Chairman of the Technical Center, was unable to attend this meeting. His guidance has been continuous and invaluable over the years. I am sure that we have all benefited enormously, too, from the substantial contributions of The Ford Foundation and the very real support we have continued to receive from the membership. Our treasurer, Earle Braisted, will tell you specifically how we are doing--and our latest balance sheet will, I am sure, show that we are not squandering funds.

From the meeting of the Executive Committee this morning comes the realization that our conflict with Communism is a major threat to our freedom. We face major disasters if we let the methods of Marxism prevail.

The technological advances must be made available to all publications. Our leadership must prevail so that our staffs--all of the men and women who are part of journalism and the distribution of the printed word--will be inspired to win the battle for freedom.

We all have a common purpose: it is the ultimate concept of a free world.

EARLE BRAISTED (HABLEMOS), TREASURER:

IAPA TECHNICAL CENTER, INC.  
STATEMENT OF INCOME AND DISBURSEMENTS  
OCTOBER 1, 1969 to SEPTEMBER 30, 1970

INCOME

|                                                |               |                 |               |
|------------------------------------------------|---------------|-----------------|---------------|
| Grant from The Ford Foundation                 |               | \$60,000.00     |               |
| Contributions: Counterpart Funds               |               | 18,674.00       |               |
| John R. Reitemeyer Fund                        |               | 250.00          |               |
| Sale of press donated by James S. Copley       |               | 8,000.00        |               |
| Registration fees, Mexico, Rio & B.A. Seminars |               | 6,008.00        |               |
| Sale publications                              |               | 1,081.56        |               |
| Bulletin subscriptions                         |               | 154.50          |               |
| Rental of Simultaneous Interpretation Equip.   |               | 350.00          |               |
| Sale of furniture, Miami offices               |               | 4,805.44        |               |
| Interest on Savings Accounts                   |               |                 |               |
| General Accounts                               | 3,284.67      |                 |               |
| Special Fund Accounts                          | <u>349.33</u> | <u>3,634.00</u> |               |
|                                                |               |                 | \$ 102,957.50 |

DISBURSEMENTS

|                                                    |               |                 |                   |
|----------------------------------------------------|---------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| Payroll                                            |               | 64,204.73       |                   |
| James B. Canel Severance Comp. Agreement           |               | 1,400.00        |                   |
| Travel and Entertainment                           |               | 8,119.75        |                   |
| Translation and Bulletin                           |               | 5,121.98        |                   |
| Rent and Electricity                               |               | 4,802.72        |                   |
| Printing and Stationery                            |               | 1,371.32        |                   |
| Postage                                            |               | 2,584.65        |                   |
| Office expense                                     |               | 2,134.23        |                   |
| Books and Magazines                                |               | 529.11          |                   |
| Telephone and Telegraph                            |               | 2,118.45        |                   |
| Legal and Accounting                               |               | 2,467.25        |                   |
| Payroll taxes (Incl. NY State & Fed. Unempl. Ins.) |               | 2,388.31        |                   |
| Insurance                                          |               | 491.80          |                   |
| Group Medical Insurance                            |               | 866.04          |                   |
| John R. Reitemeyer Awards                          |               | 500.00          |                   |
| Publications                                       |               | 3,345.63        |                   |
| Miami Offices: Rent                                | 3,249.90      |                 |                   |
| Office expense                                     | 12.00         |                 |                   |
| Tel. & Tel.                                        | 307.20        |                 |                   |
| Miscellaneous                                      | <u>149.96</u> | <u>3,719.06</u> |                   |
| Other (Breakdown on separate page)                 |               | <u>778.86</u>   | <u>109,650.38</u> |
| Excess of disbursements over receipts              |               |                 | <u>6,692.88</u>   |
| Cash balance September 30, 1969                    |               |                 | <u>113,460.91</u> |
| Cash balance September 30, 1970                    |               |                 | \$ 106,768.03     |

|                                                        |                  |               |
|--------------------------------------------------------|------------------|---------------|
| First National City Bank of New York                   |                  |               |
| Balance Regular Checking Account (less taxes withheld) |                  | \$ 28,899.13  |
| Balance Seminar Account                                |                  | 2,849.70      |
| General Savings Accounts                               |                  |               |
| The Bank for Savings                                   | 13,959.13        |               |
| Bowery Savings Bank                                    | 11,866.41        |               |
| Dry Dock Savings Bank                                  | 4,909.33         |               |
| Manhattan Savings Bank                                 | 13,334.50        |               |
| The Seamen's Banks for Savings                         | 10,289.12        |               |
| Union Dime Savings Bank                                | <u>13,332.09</u> |               |
|                                                        |                  | 67,690.58     |
| Special Funds Accounts                                 |                  |               |
| Bulletin                                               | 491.33           |               |
| Equipment                                              | 2,489.62         |               |
| John R. Reitemeyer                                     | 2,533.03         |               |
| Ismael Castro Awards                                   | <u>1,714.64</u>  |               |
|                                                        |                  | 7,228.62      |
| Petty Cash                                             |                  | <u>100.00</u> |
|                                                        |                  | \$106,768.03  |

BREAKDOWN OF "OTHER" EXPENSES

|                                             |            |
|---------------------------------------------|------------|
| Translations                                | 389.10     |
| Membership dues                             | 190.00     |
| Airfreight                                  | 75.00      |
| Christmas tips to postmen & bldg. employees | 45.00      |
| Flowers                                     | 27.30      |
| Tax filing fee                              | 25.00      |
| Registered address                          | 15.00      |
| Certificate                                 | 8.42       |
| Photos                                      | 3.25       |
| Foreign exchange                            | <u>.79</u> |
|                                             | \$778.86   |

CONTRIBUTIONS TO COUNTERPART FUNDS

|                                      |          |
|--------------------------------------|----------|
| Josephine Stedham Scripps Foundation | 5,000.00 |
| James S. Copley                      | 5,000.00 |
| Knight Foundation                    | 2,500.00 |
| Fundación Angel Ramos                | 2,500.00 |
| Time Inc.                            | 1,000.00 |
| Poynter Foundation                   | 1,000.00 |
| Charleston (S.C.) Evening Post       | 500.00   |
| Diario las Americas, Miami, Florida  | 350.00   |
| La Nación, San José, Costa Rica      | 200.00   |

|                                              |                  |
|----------------------------------------------|------------------|
| La Prensa, Managua, Nicaragua                | 200.00           |
| El Universo, Guayaquil, Ecuador              | 200.00           |
| El Diario de Yucatán, Mérida, Yucatán, Mex.  | 126.00           |
| La Prensa Gráfica, San Salvador, El Salvador | 50.00            |
| El Imparcial, Hermosillo, Sonora, Mexico     | 48.00            |
|                                              | <u>18,674.00</u> |

NOEL LEON (MANAGER, TECHNICAL CENTER):

Today we are witnessing a technical revolution in the newspaper industry. Unheard-of processes and techniques are being discovered and perfected almost every day. To keep our members abreast of everything that happens will be the Technical Center's greatest task. Some of our activities will have to be streamlined (particularly in view of our tightening fiscal situation). Others will have to be totally re-thought, for revolutionary developments must be assembled and reported in a revolutionary way.

As a reflection of these great changes in newspapering, this past year has been for the Technical Center itself one of reorganization and transition. Because of this, we have experienced a partial lull in activity, but not in our thinking. This report will deal, not with the past, but with the present status of the IAPA Technical Center and, even more, with our plans for the future.

These are exciting times, for the IAPA as well as for the entire newspaper industry. Our members are the very people who are developing new methods and equipment that will ultimately benefit papers everywhere. I ask that they continue to share, more than ever before, their talents and skills, opinions and observations, with the Technical Center. Only in this way can the Technical Center become a true center of technical knowledge--an intellectual and practical storehouse from which all our members can draw.

GENERAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE

Tax Status

Our lawyers tell us that under the Tax Reform Act of 1969, the Technical Center will no longer be known simply as a "Tax-Free Institution" but will most likely be redefined as a "Public Foundation". This new definition promises to be of great benefit to the Technical Center: Donors are now entitled to contribute up to 50% of their "contribution base", whereas before, the limit was only 30%. In addition, other tax-free organizations, known under the new act as "Private Foundations", are only entitled to a 20% limit, making the Technical Center's new status doubly attractive. In the event

we cannot qualify as a Public Foundation (a remote possibility), our lawyers say we will be classified as a Private Operating Foundation, which would enjoy the same tax contribution base of 50%.

When the Internal Revenue Service finally determines our status it may be necessary to amend the charter slightly, to comply with the wording of the new definition.

#### Personnel

During the Technical Center's reorganization earlier this year, a secretary was lost to the IAPA. The Technical Center plans to replace her as soon as possible, for a secretary is desperately needed to take care of the duties now performed by my assistant, Miss Nora Larke. Miss Larke would then be free to devote more attention to other important responsibilities.

#### Office Space

The Technical Center's quarters at 667 Madison Avenue, New York, have reached the point of inadequacy. We are presently sharing offices with the Scholarship Fund, and in addition we are separated by the IAPA offices by two floors--a situation that wastes a great deal of time and effort.

We hope that within a few months new quarters can be found that will accomodate all IAPA operations. Mid-town New York City appears to be the most central location in terms of air transportation between points in the Western Hemisphere, but we welcome member's opinions on this question.

#### Finances

This past fiscal year was unusual in that its budget reflects the expenses of reorganization, the closing of the Miami office, and a number of other items that will not appear in next year's budget.

As we know, the Technical Center will receive its last three \$25,000 installments from the current Ford Foundation grant between now and 1973. Unless we can quickly find some kind of permanent, regular income, our entire operation will be seriously threatened.

The Counterpart Fund this year produced \$18,674--mostly from North American members. Besides this much needed financial base, we must also consider supplementary sources of income: One might be to accept advertising in the Technical Center Bulletin--and we would welcome a discussion of this important question. Another could be a change in the Bulletin's subscription fee. This will be discussed later in the report.

## PUBLICATIONS

### Bulletin

In view of the rapid technical changes in the industry, the Technical Center Bulletin--the least expensive of our services--is more important than ever before. With Nora Larke assuming a greater role in its production, we intend to expand the Bulletin to include much more information than we have in the past, and we hope to supply up-to-date information for every kind and size of newspaper operation.

Starting early next year, the Bulletin will contain three regular features:

1. A section devoted to capsule reports of manufacturer's latest developments.
2. An answer column in which questions or problems could be posed by readers and answered by experts.
3. A "success story", in which member newspapers can share with others their experiences in solving a particular problem or developing better techniques.

The Bulletin will also provide, by the use of makeover pages and sometimes entire separate editions, specialized information directed to individual types of newspaper operations and every size circulation. Thus no member would be burdened with articles that would be useless to him--and we would be able to saturate every issue with vital, pertinent information.

The Bulletin will be published at least once a month--an increase over the present nine or ten issues a year.

Its circulation policy ought to be revised to the members' advantage, its rate structure to ours. We feel that member newspapers which now get only a single copy of the Bulletin should receive two or three to distribute among their top executives. Each scholarship winner should receive a complimentary subscription. The subscription rate for non-members, or for members who wish to purchase additional subscriptions (above and beyond the automatic two or three) should be set at about \$40 per year plus postage (a price comparable to the ANPA/RI Bulletin's).

Our lawyers have informed us that the Technical Center may, if we wish, accept advertisements in the Bulletin and still maintain our tax-free status, as long as the revenues produced do not exceed the costs of publication, selling of ads, and overhead. This is a matter of policy and is open for discussion.

### New Dictionary

One publishing firm has already indicated its willingness to publish the second book of technical printing terms by William Pepper, Jr. Within six months this important work should be in finished form.

## SEMINARS AND PANELS

### Seminars

Our last seminar, on "The Technological Explosion and the Future of Newspapers", which was conducted in February and March by William Rinehart of the ANPA Research Institute and James B. Canel, had such impact that we have had many calls for a repeat performance. Because of its great success, we and the ANPA management are considering working together on similar programs in the future.

Our next seminar will be on Newsroom Operation, for Central American newspapers. It will take place in Antigua, Guatemala, with the tentative time set for the week of January 18-22. Edmund C. Arnold and J. Montmogery Curtis have consented to participate in this seminar, and we are awaiting word from two other invited experts. This program will be conducted with the financial assistance of Esso Standard Oil Co. of Central America, which has agreed to absorb some of the costs of travel and programming.

We have received a number of suggestions for seminars and are of course always open for others. Our aim is to plan a full year's activities by early 1971.

### Panel Discussions

During this assembly the Technical Center will present a panel discussion, designed for executives, dealing with current trends in newspaper promotion. Panelists will be Vince Spezzano, president of the International Newspaper Promotion Association and public affairs director of Gannett Newspapers; Thomas H. Copeland, Senior Marketing Psychologist for Copley International Corporation (Western Division), and Enrique Gómez Junco, head of Advertising and Promotion for El Norte, of Monterrey, México.

### Traveling Experts

The Technical Center is considering the idea of conducting a new kind of seminar--in the form of two or three teams of visiting constants. Experts from all newspaper departments would visit various newspaper plants for on-the-spot studies and recommendations. The great value of such a program would be that smaller papers, which might not normally send representatives to seminars and similar functions, would still be able to get expert technical advice.

### REITEMEYER AWARD

This year's winner is Mr. Aristides Bastidas, science editor of El Nacional in Caracas, Venezuela, who was cited for his outstanding talent for turning complicated technical breakthroughs into exciting, readable copy. Special mention was also given to Jorge A. Ibarra, editor of Historia Natural y Pro Natura magazine and contributor to two Guatemala newspapers, and Benjamin Almanza Ocampo, who contributes to several newspapers in Lima, Perú.

### PROPOSED PROJECTS

#### Video-tape System

Although the use of video-taped demonstrations in several other industries has proved itself of tremendous value, such a system is yet to be found in the newspaper industry. We have been convinced that the Technical Center could use a video-tape system as a powerful tool--a living visual aid--to explain techniques, demonstrate methods, and record new developments.

Besides being used at seminars, video tapes of plant operations could also be compiled into a kind of living library, to be made available to all members on a lending-library basis. The cost of the basic equipment would be between \$8,000 and \$10,000.

Because the ANPA Research Institute is also actively considering such an undertaking, it would be to our mutual advantage to coordinate our purchases so the two systems would be compatible. We could then draw upon each other's library of tapes.

#### Equipment Survey

The Technical Center plans to conduct among its members a census of mechanical plant equipment. Once aware of the operations and equipment at each newspaper, the Technical Center would send arriving information of technical advances only to the members to whom it applies. This selectivity would eliminate duplication and waste. The census, which would be revised periodically to reflect equipment additions or replacements, would also put the Technical Center in a position to help members find or purchase equipment they might need--a personal service that might well be used to attract other papers into IAPA membership.

#### Basic Bookshelf

Over the years the Technical Center has accumulated vast quantities of valuable information which is unhappily yet to be published. Once organized and in print, it will serve as a complete basic reference library for everyone who wants it. Thus the combined knowledge from seminars, panels and other programs will be put into permanent form and

added to through the years. This Basic Bookshelf would be specially beneficial for those papers who have been unable to send representatives to each Technical Center function. Its sale would also be an added source of income.

#### Tour for U.S. Wire Editors

As our only proposal specifically aimed at North American members, the Technical Center hopes to invite a number of wire editors from the United States and Canada on a tour of Latin American cities and their newspapers. The intent would be to familiarize the North American newsmen with the problems, politics and cultures of their Latin American counterparts. Since it is, after all, the wire editor who selects non-local news items for publication, such a tour might help keep Latin American stories off the spike.

#### Correspondence School

With the assistance of top technical consultants and professors, the Technical Center is studying the feasibility of establishing a correspondence curriculum that would cover technical and non-technical areas of journalism. The curriculum would be designed for journalists who have not had a formal education as well as for those who wish to deepen their knowledge of one or several specific areas.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The Technical Center recommends that some method be sought to establish a permanent source of income to sustain the Center's activities, especially in view of the imminent expiration of the Ford Foundation grant.
2. The Technical Center recommends that the subscription rate schedule and circulation policy of the Technical Center Bulletin be revised so that: a, members would automatically receive three copies of each issue rather than one; b, scholarship winners would receive complimentary subscriptions; and c, non-members could subscribe, and members purchase extra subscriptions, at an annual rate equal to \$40. plus mailing expenses.
3. The Technical Center recommends that it be authorized to sell advertising space in its Bulletin. (Applause)

Mr. Copley then adjourned the meeting of the Board of Directors.

El Sr. Copley entonces levantó la reunión de la Junta de Directores.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
First Meeting  
Tuesday, October 20, 1970

ASAMBLEA GENERAL  
Primera Sesión  
Martes, 20 de octubre de 1970

The first meeting of the XXVI General Assembly convened at 9:30 a.m. October 20, 1970, in the Salon Molino del Rey of the Hotel Camino Real, Mexico, D.F., under the chairmanship of Mr. James S. Copley, President of the IAPA.

MR. JAMES S. COPLEY (The Copley Press, U.S.A.): I think we should begin the meeting with a moment of silent tribute to General Lázaro Cardenas, the former President of Mexico from 1934 to 1940, who passed away yesterday. Would you please rise.

The first item of business is the establishment of a quorum, and I would like Mr. Black, the Chairman of the Credentials Committee, to give me a report.

MR. BRADY BLACK (The Cincinnati (Ohio) Enquirer): To constitute a quorum there must be present at least fifty members of the Association, one third of whom have to be publishers of either Spanish or Portuguese newspapers and one third English. We are satisfied that there is a quorum present.

MR. COPLEY: Thank you, Mr. Black.

We have a quorum so we will go on with our business. I don't have a secretary here at the moment, so I am going to ask Jimmy Canel to read any messages.

MR. JAMES B. CANEL (General Manager of IAPA): Un cable del Presidente encargado de la Junta Provisional de Gobierno de Panamá que viene dirigido al Sr. James S. Copley, y dice así:

"A nombre Gobierno Revolucionario de Panamá formulo votos por éxtio reunión Interamericana de Prensa. Renovamos invitación delegación SIP visite nuestra patria a comprobar adelantos palpables dos años de gobierno a favor pueblo panameño a la vez observar una libre positiva libertad prensa orientadora de una verdadera opinión pública." Firmado Arturo Sucre.

MR. COPLEY: Thank you.

I'd like to take this moment to introduce two guests that we have with us. The first is a lady who has come a long way; Mrs. Sally Aw, President of the International Press Institute .(Applause )

Our other guest is Miss Martha Muse, President of The Tinker Foundation. (Applause)

We are gathered here for the 26th annual meeting of the Inter American Press Association at a time that challenges our continental strength. At the same time, we are obligated to preserve the liberties of the Republics of the Americas by insuring survival of freedom of information.

Each person here today and each of the separate nations to which we have pledged allegiance is endangered by the threat of revolution, sedition and the censorship of news.

Truly, in the words of a great American patriot, these are "times that try men's souls". Collectively, it is we, as individuals, who make up the body and soul of the IAPA. As a body collective in the Americas, IAPA has the eyes, the ears and the intelligence of the Fourth Estate to forcefully act in consonance to build continental public opinion.

Despotism and anarchy have never been able to long resist the concentrated power of free, honest newspapers. IAPA today is more perfectly armed than ever before in its history to lead us to the basics of liberty commonly won in the separate struggles for the freedoms of the Americas...ALL the AMERICAS.

The hour is late.

Mark you well that in the sixties there were many who believed there no longer was need for the strength of unification such as is provided by IAPA. Many of us believed that the age of dictatorship had passed from the American scene.

How well we have learned that apathy builds contempt for the will of the people and that apathy is the handmaiden of despotism.

We, as seekers of information and as disseminators of news, first must break through the apathy of our peoples. We must alert them to the imminent threats of decay and distruction of the constitutional forms of government historically common to our separate commonwealth and the Western Hemisphere.

We have the common purpose and we are mutually obligated by our trust to direct the attention of the entire hemisphere to each and every despotic or destructive action discovered.

As I have said, none amongst us is free from the dangers. But are we alert to the separate instances that need spotlighting throughout the hemisphere?

I believe it will be helpful at this time to summarize.

Starting with my own country, the United States of America, I regretfully tell you of failures in the administrations of some of our educational centers.

Sadly, some of our university and college campuses have been a breeding ground for practically all of our dissidents, seditionists, rioters, arsonists and revolutionists.

As a nation, we have sacrificed nearly 50,000 members of our armed forces in the struggle for an elusive world peace but at the same time we have been unable to remove from our universities the few who advocate destruction of those very freedoms that give them the liberty to speak as they do.

An alert press has the responsibility of awakening the people of the United States of America from an apathy that permits rampant disregard for law and order. The alternative might well be the sudden controls by a demagoguery which could menace freedom of information and all other freedoms.

Having told you of my own country's woes, which are certainly already well known to you because we have an absolutely free press to cover them, I will go on to several other subjects.

I would be remiss if I did not deplore, on behalf of all of us, the growing guerrilla activity which affects so many national, as a threat or actuality. We must see that it is as dangerous to be blackmailed into a national slavery, by actual violence or the threat of it, as it is to be censored into such a slavery.

In each case, a small number of people seek to rule through fear or ignorance the minds of the many. By kidnaping, aerial hijacking, or bombing, they seek to make the Twentieth Century into a fearsome Middle Ages of ruin and torture and despair.

Referring to the slaying of a United States police adviser in Montevideo by guerrilla terrorists, Uruguayan Ambassador to the United States Hector Luisi said:

"...This new form of internal aggression will only stop when the masterminds are made to realize that their acts reap the wrath of civilized people everywhere."

One way to express that wrath is to expose all these dreadful deeds, through a free press, in all their bloody wretchedness. In my opinion we should call murder murder.

Unfortunately, too often this task of balanced news coverage falls upon the newspaper alone. Other (communications) media may sometimes seemingly cover these deeds principally in the interest of sensationalism, even tending to glorify deranged persons whose mad conduct should be deplored by all sane minds.

Unfortunately, too, a free press -- able to expose these deeds, or governments perhaps responsible for breeding them -- does not exist everywhere in our hemisphere.

There have been gains here and there, balanced by losses elsewhere. Cuba and Haiti, of course, continue to have no press freedom. What they print is what despots want their subjects to read. Yet Panama, Peru and Paraguay have such highly restrictive press laws that they can hardly look in scorn at outright press slavery elsewhere. In Bolivia three newspapers were taken over by the unions and subervise groups. The government did nothing to stop them. The unions seized El Diario , Hoy and Los Tiempos, that country's most respected dailies. I understand one of them has been returned to its owner and maybe another one will be soon.

The greatest new threat to all freedom is felt, ironically, in Chile, long famed as the most democratic of South American countries. El Mercurio, published by Agustin Edwards, our former IAPA president, is expected to test the intentions of a new Marxist regime. Dr. Salvador Allende who came in first by a small margin in the Sept. 4 presidential elections voiced open threats to expropriate El Mercurio during his campaign. Apparently surpraised, too, by the outcome of the vote, he has subsequently been more moderate in word.

On the other hand, Argentina has lifted its suspension of a number of magazines, including Primera Plana which triumphantly reappeared September 8 1970 after its closing in August of 1969. Notably -- here is something in which we all can rejoice -- throughout that suspension period Argentine newspapers refused to be intimidated by the threat they too might be shut down, and carried on their usual editorial policies.

Brazil, too, has a traditionally courageous press which has refused to be intimidated by existing government regulations and has not hesitated to discuss politically-sensitive topics.

Even in Peru and Bolivia, some newspapers were making valiant efforts toward independence. But in Panama, the press has, for all practical purposes, been silenced.

While I have talked a great deal about our need for united strength we must never forget that, as a society of publishers, we have a soul.

It was our revered colleague Alberto Gainza Paz who once recalled that an Argentine dictator had seized all of his LA PRENSA assets, except the greatest of them, which could never be seized. "Our LA PRENSA had a soul that could not be confiscated," said our colleague. That soul was freedom and it was the courageous Gainza Paz who preserved it despite confiscation of buildings and presses.

Together, here in Mexico City, we will be assessing our problems and testing our strength of organization. In such a workshop of understanding we can develop programs of mutual value and better learn to spotlight threats to the Republican form of government of the Americas... ALL of the AMERICAS.

It is axiomatic that we become stronger in our obligation to our Republics through strength in membership. So it is that we must build by stressing that we are associated to add mutual strength to a cause that is American ... ALL AMERICAN.

Let us never forget that membership is the strength that leaders in each of the Republics of the Americas listens to and respects for the total good of the people of the Americas ... ALL AMERICAS.

While others among my colleagues here will be reporting specifically on some of these topics, I personally rejoice in the efforts of our membership committee. We are more than a thousand strong and each member represents a potent force in its own area of circulation.

We will need every one of these member forces to meet any threat that challenges the right to know in the Americas.

Among those challenges certainly is a continuing need to advance the scholarship program of the IAPA, providing an interchange between North and South American students who will become future newspaper writers, editors and administrators.

Let me take a moment to thank The Americas Foundation for its latest gift to the Scholarship Fund, announced at its annual dinner.

Another of our challenges is to further strengthen the IAPA Technical Center, because mechanical improvements are vital to the editorial progress of any newspaper.

We are living in the time of greatest change in the production of newspapers. Every department engaged in output of the product has been touched with improvement. If we fail to keep abreast of the inventions and changes in processes, then we will be derelict in meeting another challenge...to give our people the best possible medium in preservation of the need and right to know.

Our Technical Center must continue to be the mechanical strong right arm in production of the printed words and the illustrations that have lasting values today, tomorrow and for history.

I have long felt and am convinced that better newspapers will make a better world.

IAPA interest in education surely will extend in the future, to wider interest in the use of the newspaper as an aid to classroom teaching.

International attention already is being given to the newspaper as a weapon against illiteracy. Just as important, it can be a tool for greater understanding of democratic processes. For your thought, I quote Dr. John H. Haefner of the University of Iowa as to the use of the newspaper in the classroom. Discussing how the newspaper industry and educators have worked together in the United States of America and Canada for greater curricular attention for the newspaper as a teaching tool, he said:

"We have found that the newspaper adds an element of contemporaneity and recency which typical classroom materials cannot. The impact of this is to increase intellectual motivation for a generation of students who seem far more concerned with the present than with the past."

Yet, the present must always learn from the past.

Meeting here, in Mexico, the past includes much to keep us abreast of the need to protect the right to know. It was this heroic nation, suffering through three decades of revolution, that fought its way to a championship of freedom of the press that has cost so much in human misery and today inspires so much in the aims and ideals of our IAPA.

Once again, however, there are too many in the Americas who have not learned from the past...and the not too distant past.

Fortunately, maritime countries of the Americas are on the alert with another area of Inter American cooperation now operating in its second decade.

I speak, of course, of the series of multi-national naval exercises called *Unitas* in which elements of the navies of a number of Latin American countries and the United States participate.

*Unitas XI* will be engaged in anti-submarine warfare exercises with the Peruvian Navy until the end of this month. Prior to moving to the west coast of South America, operations were conducted with the naval forces of Colombia, Venezuela, Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina.

The primary concern of the joint training is anti-submarine warfare, but operations in anti-air warfare, surface gunnery, communications, seamanship and naval control of shipping also are included.

*Unitas* has a special significance this year. This is because of the growing evidence that the Soviet Union, the world's No. 2 seapower and trying hard to be No. 1, is planning to deploy a squadron of warships to the Caribbean on a permanent basis, perhaps with base rights in Cuba.

Three times within the last year or so, the Russian have sent a naval task force, featuring missile-firing surface ships and a nuclear submarine, to the Caribbean for exercises and visits to Cuban ports.

We don't yet know the ultimate scope of this seaborne thrust or the Soviet's long-term intentions. But the special naval co-operation initiated in 1960 between the United States and our "good neighbors" to the South was a farsighted development of mutual interest. This co-operation must be made even closer in the months and years ahead.

Here, again is a responsibility for the newspaper force of IAPA working in common purpose.

I am reminded that Napoleon Bonaparte, himself a despot, once remarked:

"Four hostile newspapers are more to be feared  
than 1,000 bayonets."

If four hostile newspapers represent 1,000 bayonets in defense of freedom of information, then IAPA, with its vast membership strength, has the power to stop despots wherever and whenever they appear in the Americas.

We can and WE MUST turn the concentrated power of publicity of IAPA on each and every incident within the Americas that endangers freedom of the press.

If we fail in our trust, guerrilla warfare and tyranny will become rampant in our hemisphere.

In closing, I commend to you the remarks of a one-time newsman who became the statesman greatly responsible for preserving the liberties of our present free world.

The late Sir Winston Churchill said:

"A free press is the unsleeping guardian of every other right that freemen prize. It is the most dangerous foe of tyranny.

"Under dictatorship the press is bound to languish, and the loudspeaker and the film to become more important. But where free institutions are indigenous to the soil and men have the habit of liberty, the press will continue to be the Fourth Estate, the vigilant guardian of the rights of the ordinary citizen."

( Applause)

MR. COPLEY: Thank you very much.

I would now like to go on with the agenda, and will ask Mr. Raymond Dix to make the Treasurer's report.

MR. RAYMOND E. DIX (The Daily Record, Wooster, Ohio): As Treasurer of your organization, I am glad to tell you that we are in good financial condition.

Including membership dues of \$80,000.00, interest on savings accounts, registration fees and contributions, we took in \$114,085.68 during the last fiscal year. We spent \$92,261.15, giving us an excess of receipts over disbursements of \$21,924.53. We have a total amount of cash on hand of \$150,084.26.

This report runs several pages and there are copies of it on the desk over here for any of you whom want to see the particulars. A glance over it will tell you that we are in sound condition, and all we need to do is to get more members and carry on as we have in the past.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS  
APPLICABLE TO FISCAL YEAR OCT.1, 1969 to SEPT,30,1970

RECEIPTS

|                                    |                 |            |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|------------|
| Membership dues                    | 80,285.46       |            |
| Contributions: Mergenthaler Awards | 2,500.00        |            |
| Tom Wallace Awards                 | 1,942.50        |            |
| The Associated Press               | 1,000.00        |            |
| Regular Fees Washington Meeting    | 19,000.00       |            |
| "      "      Montego Bay Meeting  | 3,820.00        |            |
| Surplus Washington Meeting         | 774.25          |            |
| Interest on Savings Accounts       | <u>4,763.47</u> |            |
|                                    |                 | 114,085.68 |

DISBURSEMENTS

|                                                   |           |
|---------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| Payroll                                           | 32,132.18 |
| C. A. Jimenez Severance Comp. Agreement           | 640.65    |
| IAPA-J.B.Canel Severance Comp. Agreement          | 600.00    |
| Printing and Stationery                           | 5,889.69  |
| Convention exp. (Washington & Montego Bay)        | 23,402.29 |
| Travel and Entertainment                          | 614.00    |
| Telephone & Telegraph                             | 3,256.90  |
| Rent & Light (\$4,393.52-1,500 Scholarship Fund)  | 2,893.52  |
| Mergenthaler Awards & exp. less interest (178.00) | 2,554.80  |
| Tom Wallace Awards & exp. less " (20.88 )         | 819.90    |
| Postage                                           | 3,459.95  |
| Legal and Accounting fees                         | 1,852.24  |

|                                                   |                  |                   |
|---------------------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Office expense                                    | 2,298.77         |                   |
| Payroll taxes                                     | 1,420.52         |                   |
| Insurance                                         | 719.97           |                   |
| Group Medical Insurance                           | 536.36           |                   |
| Office equipment                                  | 122.00           |                   |
| Promotion                                         | 758.20           |                   |
| Publications (cost of Minutes less sales)         | 250.00           |                   |
| Membership dues Int'l Tele. Com.                  | 4,519.76         |                   |
| Special Committee expenses                        | 359.04           |                   |
| Other (Breakdown on separate page)                | 3,667.41         |                   |
|                                                   | <u>92,761.15</u> |                   |
| Less cont.by Scholarship Fund for Adm.Exp.        | 500.00           | 92,261.15         |
| Excess of receipts over disbursements             |                  | 21,824.53         |
| Cash balance September 30,1969                    |                  | 81,620.63         |
| Cash balance September 30,1970                    |                  | 103,345.16        |
| Cash balance applicable to 1970-71 (see attached) |                  | 46,639.10         |
| Total cash balance September 30,1970              |                  | <u>150,084.26</u> |

RAYMOND E. DIX- TREASURER

MR. COPLEY: I would now like to announce that the balloting for the election of 15 new directors will be held Thursday from 12 noon until 6 p.m. at the registration desk. And that the balloting will be supervised by a committee of judges composed of the following:

Máximo Gainza Castro, Hugh Patterson, Carlos Ricart, Bernardo Feldman and Robert Eddy.

This committee should check on the preparation of the ballots, then supervise the actual balloting. The chairman of the committee will report the results at the Friday session.

At this point I would like to appoint the Resolutions Committee, which will be chaired by John O'Rourke. The other members will be : William Giandoni, Julio de Mesquita Neto, Rodrigo Madrigal Nieto and Andrés García Lavín.

The Chairman of the Resolutions Committee should agree with the members, right after adjournment of this session, on when and where they should meet. Their main work will consist of drafting in resolution form whatever recommendations are made by the Committee on Freedom of the Press. The committee will also consider whatever resolutions are submitted by members as well as whatever suggestions have been made in the reports delivered by officers and by special committees. Any member wishing to submit a resolution should do so before noon tomorrow, either to the chairman of the committee or to the general manager. The Resolutions Committee will report back to the Assembly at the Friday afternoon session.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, the next item on the agenda is the presentation of Awards, and if you will pardon me, we are having a little bit of difficulty and I would like to call a ten minute recess. We have coffee and Coca Cola down here. We will adjourn for ten minutes.

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MR. COPLEY: After a slight delay we can now reconvene the sessions.

We are going to begin with the presentation of Awards and I would like to call on Mr. Ignacio Lozano, Chairman of the Awards Committee, to read the citations and call on the winners or their representatives.

MR. IGNACIO LOZANO (La Opinión, Los Angeles, California): Thank you, Mr. Copley.

First of all I would like to thank the fellow members of the Awards Committee, who helped in selecting these winners. They were: Horacio Aguirre Baca, Mr. JS Gray, Peter Manigault, Julio de Mesquita Neto and Fernando Leniz.

I would also like to ask the winners after they have received their Awards to please remain up here on the stage for photographs.

The first Awards will be the IAPA-Tom Wallace Awards, which are made possible by the contributions of our fellow-members from Latin America.

The first one is awarded to a North American newspaperman for his efforts on behalf of inter-American understanding. This year's Award goes to Mr. James Nelson Goodsell of The Christian Science Monitor, Boston, Massachusetts, for his series of in-depth articles on the war between Honduras and El Salvador. Mr. Goodsell. The Award consists of \$500 and a scroll.

(Applause)

The second category in the Tom Wallace Awards is for a publication for its efforts on behalf of inter-American understanding, and this year's Award goes to the San Diego Union, San Diego, California, for its continued coverage of inter-American affairs, particularly involving its immediate neighbor to the South, the state of Baja California in Mexico.

Receiving this Award for the San Diego Union is Capt. E. Robert Anderson, vicepresident of the Union Tribune Publishing Company. The Award consists of a bronze plaque. (Applause)

Ahora en español, los Premios SIP-Mergenthaler para este año:

La primera categoría es en reconocimiento de la labor de un periodista en bien de la libertad de prensa que este año se otorga al Sr. Bernardino de Jesús Ayago, El Liberal, Santiago del Estero, Argentina, por una serie de 10 editoriales defendiendo la libertad de prensa en la Argentina durante los momentos difíciles para la prensa en ese país en el año 1969. (Aplausos)

La segunda categoría, en reconocimiento de servicios públicos meritorios en bien de la colectividad por medio de artículos o secciones. Este año se otorga al Dr. Alberto Lleras Camargo, de la revista Visión, por una serie de artículos analizando temas de actualidad. El Dr. Lleras. (Aplausos)

En la tercera categoría, en reconocimiento de servicios públicos meritorios en bien de la colectividad por medio de informaciones o reportajes, hubo un empate, y por lo tanto este año se otorgarán dos premios en esta categoría. En primer término al Sr. Manuel Formoso Peña de La Nación, San José, Costa Rica, por una serie de reportajes que contribuyeron a que se aprobara la construcción de una carretera entre San José y el puerto de Limón, Costa Rica.

Sr. Formoso. (Aplausos)

También un premio en esta categoría a la Srta. Gloria Ortiz del San Juan Star, San Juan, Puerto Rico, por una serie de cuatro páginas enteras en el San Juan Star en que entrevistó a muchas de las víctimas de accidentes de tránsito, y a muchas de las familias de los accidentados, las circunstancias de sus accidentes y situaciones que pudieron haber sido evitadas. Obtuvo los nombres de todos los 542 muertos en 1969 en Puerto Rico y escribió una serie de artículos de fondo sobre los problemas de tránsito.

La Srta. Ortiz, desgraciadamente no está aquí. Está estudiando en la Universidad de Harvard y quiso mejor aprovechar su premio para seguir sus estudios. Por lo tanto lo recibirá en su nombre su nuevo jefe, el Presidente de la Cadena Scripps-Howard que ahora es propietario del San Juan Star, el Sr. Jack Howard. (Aplausos)

En las categorías 4 y 5, en reconocimiento de las labores meritorias de caricaturistas y fotógrafos este año no se otorgarán premios.

Falta solamente la placa de bronce por servicios destacados de un periódico en beneficio de la colectividad, que este año se otorga a El Nacional, de Caracas, Venezuela, por los reportajes de los señores Euro Fuenmayor y Germán Carías, quienes expusieron un sinnúmero de males que afligen la vida urbana de Caracas y las operaciones del gobierno de Venezuela.

Tenemos entendido que tanto el Sr. Fuenmayor como el Sr. Carías están presentes para recibir este premio. (Aplausos)

Ahora vamos a pedirle al Dr. Alberto Lleras Camargo que a nombre de todos los recipientes de estos premios por el año 1970 acepte los premios.

DR. ALBERTO LLERAS CAMARGO (Visión)

Con la más viva gratitud recibimos los premios otorgados periódicamente por esta organización, en sus diversas categorías, premios que han servido por tantos años de estímulo a los trabajadores libres de la prensa continental.

Para nosotros es, ciertamente, tan honroso como alentador pertenecer al ya grande grupo de quienes la SIP ha escogido para señalar a la consideración de sus colegas por sus méritos como luchadores en defensa de la libertad de prensa, o por las calidades de su obra periodística.

Vivimos una época difícil en el hemisferio occidental. En verdad ninguno de nosotros recuerda qué cosa es vivir en un tiempo fácil. A muchos les parecerá que hubo más bellas épocas de la humanidad y son capaces de describir sus encantos. El mínimo de preocupaciones y el máximo de bienestar personal parecen indicar cuándo una de esas épocas ha sido bella y buena. Vistas, sin embargo, a la luz de los notables progresos posteriores, en el campo tecnológico y en el social, no podemos menos de maravillarnos que seres humanos hayan podido habitar alegremente las grandes ciudades de Europa y América, sin desesperarse por su incomodidad física, por la carencia de cosas que hoy nos parecen indispensables. Nos pasma que no hayan muerto más gentes de pestes, contagios, infecciones, enfermedades innumerables, y desde luego sin ahogarse en sus remordimientos. Un fin de semana en Versalles de los tiempos registrados minuciosamente por Saint-Simon habría acabado con la paciencia y la salud de cualquiera de nuestros contemporáneos, aún de no pocos de los habitantes de los hacinamientos verticales en que habitan las clases de bajos ingresos en nuestros días. Y sin embargo la ausencia de todo elemento confortable en el ambiente físico, sería insignificante ante la incapacidad, para un hombre moderno, de vivir sin saber, al minuto, qué les está ocurriendo a todos los demás, y de dedicar al menos un cuarto de hora diario a la curiosidad o la compasión por las miserias ajenas.

Esto, precisamente esto, es lo que hace más difícil nuestro tiempo. Tal vez seguimos siendo, - al menos en cierta forma - tan moralmente indiferentes a los padecimientos que persiguen al resto de la humanidad, como antes, pero estos están a nuestra vista constantemente, y no podemos, como si lo hicieron nuestros antepasados, aislarnos de su crueldad y estupidez. Aún los más inofensivos placeres se frustran por la presencia ubicua de la guerra, la miseria, las amenazas de destrucción que antaño estuvieron reservadas a pueblos distantes, tribus sin historia a castas de intocables si repercusión alguna sobre nuestras vidas, totalmente ajenos a nuestra sensibilidad y apartados de nuestros sentidos. La humanidad de nuestros días, en cambio, chapotea en un ambiente cada día más absorbente, que impregna y penetra nuestra existencia con su creciente horror o con sus aparentemente inextricables problemas. ¿Es esta, tal vez, la noosfera de Chardin, que en su creciente compejificación iría promoviendo y dirigiendo la evolución de la humanidad, ahora como especie, ya fuera del hombre, gracias a los instrumentos de conciencia y conocimiento que el industrioso bípedo logró para la realización del sutilísimo y aterrador prospecto? Es bien posible que sea la noosfera. En todo caso si nos aproximamos a nuevos estadios de evolución hacia otra cosa distinta, colectiva y con toda probabilidad mejor que lo que ha sido hasta ahora el solitario homo faber, lo cierto es que la época es difícil, principalmente porque no hay una sola parte de la humanidad, una rama por subdesarrollada y paupérrima de la especie que no nos duela y cuyos sufrimientos no sintamos como una parte física de nuestro propio ser.

Y quién más que nosotros, periodistas, está cumpliendo tan tremenda función en el mundo contemporáneo, cuando alimentamos, con la pulsación implacable e instantánea de millones de datos nuevos la presión de la noosfera en su todavía inconsciente trabajo de crear las nuevas formas de la evolución humana? Desde luego no somos creadores de cosa alguna, sino transportadores de información, y, ocasionalmente, transformadores y aun perturbadores de su sentido original. Pero si somos innumerables y variados, como somos, y libres, como queremos serlo, no importa que por unas horas, - a veces sólo por unos minutos - suministremos el dato equivocado, la información tendenciosa, el comentario malicioso. Nunca como hoy, se pudo decir que todos los males que pudiéramos hacer nosotros mismos los curaríamos, y probablemente sólo nosotros mismos podríamos curarlos. Porque si por evitar que desviemos por unos segundos el curso de la historia, alguien se encarga de dirigirla, controlarla y obligarla a que se haga según su voluntad, allí sí que se produce un mal irreparable y el tremendo atraso en el proceso vertiginoso de la humanidad hacia la formación de su conciencia y hacia la autónoma dirección de la evolución social. Hay, pues, para algunos, razones filosóficas nuevas y muy hondas para creer, solicitar, exigir la libertad de nuestra profesión de acarreo de información a todos los sitios y de absorbencia de la que exista para distribuirse, sin limitación, requisitos, o trabas puestas a nombre de intereses nacionales limitados o de razones de estado absoletas y sospechosas. La nueva conciencia de la humanidad no puede aceptar esas interferencias y vacíos, esos cotos de caza con veda caprichosa para la curiosidad o la impaciencia de saber lo que pasa, la ansiedad de información universal inmediata que devora al hombre del Siglo XX y que está formando una nueva especie con su producto elaborado y en dispersión por todos los rincones del diminuto planeta.

Se dirá, sin dudar, que los periodistas pertenecemos a un mundo estructurado según reglas desusadas y que la libertad que reclamamos está vinculada casi inseparablemente a las formas capitalistas de producción y consumo que están a punto de desaparecer, y que si no lo están debieran estarlo. Pero qué han hecho esas estructuras para impedir el desenvolvimiento de la nueva conciencia universal o el proceso dialéctico que hoy no nos permite decir si somos izquierdas o derechas, propugnadores del estado omnipotente o encargados de eliminarlo? Bien al contrario, el haber preservado la información libre y el pensamiento sin cortapisas es lo que ha permitido tolerantemente la creación y el desarrollo de grandes movimientos que están, en buena parte, incorporados a la sociedad y al gobierno de bienestar que parece ser el más destacado buen éxito de las organizaciones políticas contemporáneas. Y la justicia, tan reclamada en nuestros días, como nunca en el viejo ámbito de las sociedades antiguas, sólo ha podido vivir por el aire oxigenado de la libertad y por la minuciosa presentación de los errores, injusticias y arbitrariedades de los estamentos oficiales o privados. Su trémula llama se apaga en cuanto alguien se reserva, con todo el poder político, la facultad de decir qué es lo justo, lo injusto y se desata la persecución del pensamiento, que se siente, y está oprimido. Por eso es cuando menos sospechoso que cierto tipo de regímenes políticos piensen más en destruir la libertad de información y de prensa que en remediar los hondísimos y patentes bolsones de miseria y de angustia.

Sería, inclusive, aceptable que al transformar una sociedad íntegramente, para sustituirla por una mejor, el tipo de prensa que hoy existe agonizara, privada de los recursos que la mantienen y la hacen poderosa. Pero que se comience por destruir la voz clemente, -cualquiera que sea su grito- para poder dedicarse a la tarea reconstructora sin dificultades, crítica ni acción popular destinada a remediar las equivocaciones naturales de estas tareas humanísimas, es un indicio de debilidad, casi, casi una confesión de malas intenciones contra la libertad general del hombre. Y estamos en el deber de decirle denunciarlo, proclamarlo. Sin temor de que se diga que puesto que vivimos de la libertad, y la libertad es nuestro oficio, estamos defendiendo nuestro pan y un culpable interés egoísta. Marx, describiendo la horrenda conformación de la sociedad industrial de Inglaterra desde su hubardilla, en Londres y lanzando Manifiestos que todavía se leen como una biblia por sus asombrados discípulos consiguió dos finalidades, que no buscaba y que son precioso asiento de nuestra civilización presente: logró modificar la sociedad que había condenado inexorablemente a muerte, y echar un poco de viento fresco sobre la conciencia hipócrita de los capitalistas de su tiempo y del nuestro. Porque no había dictadura de ninguna clase, ni del proletariado, ni de la burguesía, ni de los emperadores y reyes con fuerza bastante para apagar esa chispa con vida, cuya eficacia, cuya prevalencia se debe a la atmósfera de libertad en que se engendró. Pensar un mundo diferente, bajo uno de los sistemas políticos que hoy se llaman así mismos marxistas, sería cosa vana, si no imposible. Los tanques de la revolución están listos para aplastar a quien lo intente y los campos de concentración siguen abiertos. En nuestra América esas posibilidades deben estar lejanas. Los periodistas de esta parte del mundo no creemos tener el monopolio de la verdad, pero defendemos el derecho elemental de equivocarnos, porque sabemos que de la complejísima tela de yerros y dislates que cometió el hombre a lo largo de su curso, desde la prehistoria, algo mejor se está conformando, y si no se hubieran conocido y difundido implacablemente, todavía estaríamos concibiendo el universo como los pastores caldeos. Pero si no presumimos de periodistas libres de tener el monopolio de la verdad, no aceptemos que nadie, ningún grupo, ningún gobierno, ningún pensamiento político o filosófico lo reclame o imponga. Esa es la elemental filosofía de esta organización y sus esfuerzos, tantas veces vanos, no pocas victoriosos para recordar la libertad sobre un tumulto de golpes de estado, totalitarismos ocasionales y dictaduras militares o personalistas, deben continuar persistente, seria, tozudamente cualesquiera que sean las circunstancias.

Reiteramos, pues, señores miembros de la SIP nuestra gratitud por haber sido distinguidos por la organización con estos premios que, precisamente por su variedad alientan a espíritus libres para seguir escribiendo, con toda conciencia, lo que piensan, nada más que lo que piensan, y como si fuera la última vez que se les permitiera pensar. Están todos los miembros de esta sociedad, y estamos nosotros, los premiados por ella, sometidos al más riguroso contralor de nuestra conducta y de nuestra buena fe. Lo ejercen los lectores que tengamos, los que confíen en nosotros, lo que encuentren placer en

leer las líneas que escribimos. Por eso, como las repúblicas, dependemos de un plebiscito diario. Si nadie quiere leernos tendremos que callarnos. Pero si alguien muestra interés por nuestro trabajo, debemos continuar en él, sobria y humildemente, hasta el fin.

(Aplausos)

MR. COPLEY: Thank you, Dr. Lleras Camargo. Thank you, Nacho Lozano, and congratulations to the Awards recipients.

I have just been handed a note that says: "Ladies going to the Jockey Club lunch at the Race Track will please meet at 1 p.m. in the lobby in front of the reception desk. They may remain for all of the races or just through the special race in their honor. Cars will return them to the hotel at any time in the afternoon.

I think we have pretty well come to the end of our morning session. I would like to remind you that this afternoon at 3:00 p.m. we are going to meet in this same room. We are going to have a round table on "The Need to Know; the Meaning of a Free Press." The moderator is going to be Manoel F. do Nascimento Brito of Jornal do Brasil; the panelists are going to be the Honorable John Hugh Crimmins, U. S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State; Martín Luis Guzmán, of Tiempo, Mexico; Newbold Noyes, of the Washington Star and President of the American Society of Newspaper Editors; and Elsa Arana of Visión Magazine.

We want to get started right at three o'clock if we can, because we hope to end the session at 5 or 5:30 because this room has to be cleaned and gotten ready for the opening dinner this evening at 8 o'clock.

There have been rumors that this dinner was going to be discontinued, but we are going to have it as scheduled.

It has been a very fascinating morning, and thank you for being here. We stand adjourned.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Second Meeting

Tuesday, October 20, 1970

ASAMBLEA GENERAL

Segunda Sesión

Martes, 20 de octubre de 1970

MR. JAMES S. COPLEY: Welcome ladies and gentlemen. The afternoon session of the General Assembly is going to be devoted to "The need to know: the meaning of a free press."

Before I turn the meeting over to our moderator, Mr. Brito, I want to remind you that we are going to have the dinner in this room this evening at eight o'clock. It is black tie or optional dress, and we are looking forward to having a chance to recognize the new members. We are going to have a very good meeting, I think, and a very good dinner.

I would like to turn the meeting now over to our moderator, Manoel do Nascimento Brito.

MR. MANOEL F. DO NASCIMENTO BRITO (Jornal do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro):

When we talk of a free press, what do we really mean? It's only too easy to reiterate the words. Have the words lost their value? Has the time come for reappraisal of their value?

What does a free press mean in practical terms to a government; to the journalist, and to the public?

These are the questions we are going to try to answer today.

We are fortunate and privileged to have with us today three experts in this field, to whom I will shortly hand over our discussions. But let me first briefly introduce them.

Miss Elsa Arana, journalist from Peru who has received both a Mergenthaler and the Maria Moors Cabot Awards. She was, until recently, with Siete Días del Perú; now she is with Visión in Mexico. Her own recent troubled history will give added insight to the discussion.

The Honorable John Hugh Crimmins, U. S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Interamericana Affairs. Mr. Crimmins, a graduate of Harvard University, has been closely connected with inter-American affairs since the early days in his career. He was, for a spell, Ambassador to the Dominican Republic. As a career diplomat he will have a valuable contribution to make to our discussions.

Mr. Newbold Noyes, editor of the Washington Star and president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, completes our panel.

Senator Martin Guzmán might appear. Due to the death of ex-president Lázaro Cardenas, he is busy, and he sent word that he would try to be with us.

Miss Elsa Arana, I will now turn over the microphone to you.

SRTA. ELSA ARANA (Visión, México): Señores de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa: Por los cuatro costados de su generación humana el hombre contemporáneo soporta la agresión implacable de los medios informativos. Ellos le provocan emoción o cólera; preocupación o alegría. Pero en ningún caso puede substraerse a la necesidad de "estar al día," frente a los acontecimientos que le rodean.

La leyenda, el rumor, la transmisión oral, el despacho de heraldos portadores de noticias fueron los antecedentes remotos de las nuevas fuentes que hoy lo acosan y lo nutren.

El niño de hoy ya nace instalado frente a la televisión, y aprende a leer en el periódico que trajina por la casa. Crece sin sobresalto en medio de las noticias; las computadoras le son familiares y manipula el cátodo como antes el lápiz escolar.

Un sociólogo canadiense, Marshall McLuhan, explica la amplitud del fenómeno de la información y así ha dicho, con justeza, que "el mundo se ha convertido en una aldea global donde cada cual conoce lo esencial de los acontecimientos".

El telégrafo, las agencias de prensa, los cables telefónicos que reproducen imágenes, la transmisión por satélite y los nuevos sistemas de impresión no han hecho sino precipitar el aporte de la técnica a la necesidad que tienen los hombres de comunicarse entre sí.

El consumidor de informaciones exige, no ya como se había creído durante años, el reflejo de sus convicciones en los periódicos, sino la verdad acerca de los hechos.

Como ser humano, ejercita el derecho a estar bien informado. Quiere para sí la mayor cantidad de noticias, las requiere exactas, rara vez se detiene en la farragosidad literaria que antaño utilizaban sin piedad escritores que jamás fueron periodistas y con todo ello, se acuesta y se levanta día tras día.

Frente al derecho del consumidor de noticias, está presente el deber de quien informa, de llenar ese anhelo; de nutrir la curiosidad y el afán de saber de los demás. De velar por ese bien común que reclama no sólo conocer las intimidades de la Princesa Margarita; o los horrendos crímenes que hoy nos azo-

ran; o los éxitos delirantes de José José o los Beatles. Sino de dar a comprender el mundo en que vivimos, tarea tan espantosamente difícil como necesaria.

Y esta labor sólo se realiza si se entiende a plenitud el significado de una prensa libre. Claro está, en nuestras Américas, sin excepción, hay tantas interpretaciones sobre lo que es la prensa libre como distintos son los países que las componen. No voy por cierto a hacer un análisis de los gobiernos que para sobrevivir, acallan o lesionan los medios de información. Mas bien, sí voy a referirme a un fenómeno que debe preocuparnos hondamente a todos los periodistas no ya de este pedazo del mundo sino también más allá de nuestros mares.

Intimidados por presiones de todo tipo (políticas, económicas, culturales o sociales), los periodistas comenzamos a mostrar síntomas de una enfermedad mortal o desesperante: aquella que nace del miedo ante la prepotencia que esgrimen ciertas autoridades y que se traduce en una complaciente autocensura.

Realmente esta epidemia tiende a generalizarse y puede llegar a herir de muerte el ejercicio de la palabra libre, hablada o escrita.

Quisiera que nos detuviéramos a meditar sobre la cautela inicial que nos hace prudentes para terminar siendo cómplices, cuando se trata de escribir sobre los hechos (ni siquiera hablo de opiniones). Quisiera señalar el fenómeno penoso de tanta prensa que se cree libre porque se miente a sí misma, mintiendo a los demás.

Quisiera acudir a nuestras conciencias para preguntar si en muchos casos y por razones (que invalido) de supervivencia, no cometemos el gravísimo error de sentirnos aplastados por los fantasmas que estamos creando, fantasmas que se regocijan de nuestros miedos....

No se plantea entonces y acá el fenómeno de las dictaduras que arrasan con la libertad de prensa, sino la quiebra de nuestra profesión, la del periodismo que más que una vocación es un destino, como alguien dijera. Y para cumplir ese destino, hay que luchar contra el miedo a decir la verdad. Este es el esquema de mi planteamiento porque creo que traicionar la palabra libre es en definitiva, traicionar al verbo.

(Aplausos).

MR. NASCIMENTO BRITO: Thank you, Elsa Arana.

I will now ask the Hon. John Crimmins to take over the rostrum. Thank you very much.

THE HON. JOHN CRIMMINS: I don't have to tell you what a great honor it is for me to be present with you this afternoon. I arrived about two hours ago and, unfortunately, must leave very early in the morning, but I have looked forward very much to this session.

As you can imagine, I may be somewhat out of my element. As a diplomat, I am put in mind of the old story that was a favorite of George Ball, the former Under Secretary of State.

It seemed that four gentlemen were discussing, over after-dinner cigars, the origins of the oldest profession in the world.

A lawyer, who was in the group, spoke up very quickly and said: "Well, gentlemen, I don't think I have to waste your time. It is very evident that the law was the first profession. Very early in the bible there was a reference to the Cain-Abel case. If it were a murder there obviously had to be a lawyer to handle the case."

A doctor, one of the four, interrupted, and said: "Come, at the very beginning of the Book of Genesis it is said that Eve was created out of Adam's rib. This, obviously, was a surgical operation and, therefore, I state my claim on that event."

An engineer, the third member of the group, spoke up and said: "Even earlier in the Book of Genesis - at the very beginning, in fact - it says that the Lord God created Heaven and Earth out of chaos. This, obviously, was the greatest engineering feat of all time."

The fourth member of the group stopped the conversation by saying: "I am a diplomat, gentlemen, who created the chaos." (Laughter)

My remarks this afternoon will -- as I am sure you will understand -- be restricted to a discussion, perhaps on a somewhat philosophical plane, of the relationship between the Department of State as the formulator and executors of foreign policy and the press, and, of course, in the press I include all news media.

I am not at all prepared -- again for obvious reasons -- to discuss any particular situation in any particular country. But I would like to present to you some of my thoughts on this terribly important question of how a foreign policy can be conducted in a democratic society, in an open society in the presence of a very vigorous free, and sometimes free-swinging, press.

In a democratic society there is no more important principle than the people's right to know about their government and the corresponding obliga-

tion on the part of the government to keep the people informed. That principle governs, controls the performance of the Department of State in the field of public information.

Diplomats conducting the foreign affairs of a democracy are and must be as sensitive to that principle as any other public official. A diplomat today is no different from any other public official in his need for public understanding and support, if he is to be effective; if the foreign policy he helps formulate and conducts is to be viable and if it is to have the indispensable continuity.

Therefore, one of the principle purposes of the Department, indeed of any foreign office in a democratic society, is to educate the public of our foreign policy by explaining that policy as fully and frankly as possible. Please note that qualifying phrase "as possible."

It is central to the difficult, but I believe, productive relationship between the press and the Department of State. It is a point to which, of course, I want to return.

In carrying out its responsibilities toward the public the Department directs efforts in three principal channels:

First, through the representatives elected by the people; that is, Congress; second, the people themselves directly; and third, the news media.

As you know, the Department's relations with Congress -- that is, the representatives of the people -- are conducted in formal and informal ways. The most formal way, of course, is the appearance of the Secretary of State before a full committee of the House, meeting in public. But this is only a very small part of the relationship that the Department has with Congress. Every day there are scores of conversations; scores of briefings given members of the Congress by officers of the Department of State, ranging from the Secretary himself to the lowest desk officer.

In addition, the Department handles an enormous volume of congressional correspondence.

In the channel which goes direct to the people -- that is, the face-to-face relationship between officers of the Department and the public there are a number of means by which this is conducted. There are speeches, of course, by the senior officers of the Department; there are conferences conducted under Department auspices; there are seminars; there are traveling groups of middle and lower-grade foreign service officers and departmental officers visiting high schools, colleges, Rotary Clubs, Lions Clubs, all over the country.

In addition, the Department receives literally thousands of letters from the public directly, all of which are responded to.

There is an interesting point here that I should like to touch upon with respect to the direct contact between the Department of State and public. Historically, the Congress has been quite jealous of its prerogatives with respect to the direct tie between the Department and the people. This was particularly marked in the early fifties, when the Department's budget for presentations to the public was sharply reduced.

There is a constitutional question, of sorts, involved here. The Congress took the position that it was the representative organ for the American people and that the Department, as an element of the Executive Branch, had no right to "lobby" the people directly. This element of friction between the Department and Congress has tended to wane in recent years, but it is still present.

I think it is an interesting and important manifestation of the complications that are created when the Department deals directly with the public.

Important as these two channels are -- that is, the channel to the Congress and the channels directly to the people -- there is no question but that the day-to-day, normal communication between the Department and the people of North America is carried out through the news media. This relationship has been called -- perhaps somewhat grandiloquently, but perceptively -- that intersection of society where government and the people meet through the media.

I would be less than candid, and I would be guilty of a credibility gap, if I did not say immediately that this absolutely essential relationship between the Department and the news media is a difficult one for the Department, and I suspect for the press itself.

Indeed, the entire question of a compatibility of an effective foreign policy with an open society has been the subject of many thoughtful studies. Some of these authorities have despaired -- completely erroneously, in my judgment -- that the conflict between the needs of the people and the needs of the formulators and executors of foreign policy, is irreconcilable.

I think that all of us will recognize the underlying tension, what I would like to consider is the creative tension, between the Department of State and the news media. There are fundamental questions. The key question is: Can foreign affairs be managed on a democratic basis?

Subsumed in that question are something along this order:

To what extent can a democracy demonstrate the patience required to sustain difficult foreign understandings?

To what extent can a democracy take advantage of breaks -- sudden breaks -- in international developments?

To what extent can the public debate foreign issues without giving aid and comfort to our adversaries?

To what extent can a democratic government conceal its thoughts and actions without losing public confidence?

There are certainly -- on the surface, anyway -- conflicting requirements of democracy and the orderly conduct of foreign policy. In the first place, genuine participation by the people in the process of decision making demands that the public be adequately informed. Since it is usually not possible for a government to communicate with its own people without also providing information to the foreign countries, including adversary states, information in foreign affairs must sometimes be withheld from the public. To the extent that secrecy rather than publicity characterizes the foreign policy making process, some argue that democracies cannot conduct foreign affairs in an effective manner.

In the second place, popular participation in government requires ample time for deliberation. Since foreign policy, however, must be responsive to a myriad of constantly changing external forces, there is often little or no time for effective consultation with the public. To the extent, then, that speed rather than consultation and deliberation characterizes current foreign policy decision-making, some believe that democracies are incapable of making the quick decision necessary to deal with these fluid external forces.

In the third place, public participation in policy decisions is not meaningful if the public can express opposition to the government on a continuing bases. Since foreign relations often require the communication of a posture of firmness, decision-makers discourage public dissent with foreign policy. To the extent, then, that unity rather than dissent characterizes effective decision-making in foreign affairs, some believe democracies are incapable of pursuing difficult and unpopular policies to a successful conclusion.

What I have just said perhaps could be summarized in this way: the requirements of foreign policy-making and the requirements of public opinion formation in a democracy might be incompatible because of conflicting demands for, first, secrecy and publicity; second, speed and deliberation; and third, unity and dissent.

It is certainly true that officers of the Department of State, who have principal responsibility for the conduct of the foreign policies of the United States, feel a sense of conflict from time to time with reporters because the press -- true to its own responsibilities -- seeks full disclosure of information. On the other hand, reporters who have a primary responsibility for informing the public, feel a sense of conflict in their relations with Department officers because those officials tend to control, to mete out information for policy reasons.

The element of time is also a source of conflict. Department policy officers, officers in positions like mine, feel that there is no time, occasionally, for consultation with reporters because events will not wait for public consultation, advice and consent.

On the other hand, reporters believe that Department officers should release information immediately, so that the public will have a chance to be heard before the policy is fully formed.

Perhaps, above all, the conflict between foreign policy and a democratic press in a democratic society arises out of the very requirements for unity and dissent.

Analytical or interpretive reporters who write think pieces tend to cast into doubt the assumption of mass support for Department policies. This upsets some operating officers of the Department.

On the other hand, these reporters enter into conflict with the Department officers because the officers of the Department -- the operating officers -- tend to want public support, not a public dialogue.

Thus -- it seems to me -- that there is support in experience and in history for the idea that conflict is inherent in the democratic management of foreign affairs. For me this does not mean in any way that the democratic form of government is any more or less suitable than other forms of government for the conduct of foreign affairs.

The purpose of foreign policy, after all, is not to insure that external requirements will be given a priority, but rather to achieve the right balance between domestic and foreign considerations. Democracy certainly may open the way for more dissent than other forms of government, but it is no at all clear to me whether open self-criticism of foreign policy has a more or less destabilizing effect on the conduct of foreign relations in the long-run.

The State which allows internal dissatisfaction to build without release over a long period more often than not, in my judgment, finds its

discretion in foreign policy even more impaired than the discretion of the State which allows dissent on a continuing basis.

Some years ago Walter Lippmann summed up what I have been trying to say here in this way:

"The conflict is, I am inclined to believe, perennial in the sense that there is no abstract principle which resolved it. The right of the press to know, and the right of the responsible authority to withhold must co-exist. We have a continual tension between public officials and reporters about the disclosure of coming events: what is going to be announced, what policy is going to be adopted; who is going to be appointed; what will be said to a foreign government.

"The tension," Lippmann went on, "is between vigilant, ingenious and suspicious reporters ( a very apt description, I might say, of the press corps which covers the State Department), who haunt and pursue officials, causing the officials never to be allowed to forget that they are withholding information at the peril, at the risk of being scalped in the newspapers. It is not a neat or an elegant relationship, but a modus vivendi which works tolerably well."

Those words of Walter Lippmann, who has been the support and the despair of so many presidents of our time, it seems to me, sum up this tension -- what I would call the creative tension -- between a free press in a free society and the operators and executors of foreign policy.

It is not an easy relationship. It is a very difficult relationship. It is a very difficult relationship on both sides.

From the standpoint of the Department of State, I think that over the years -- certainly since the war, and I have been in the Department since the war -- the conduct of relations with the press, not only the American press, but with the foreign press, where there are, as you know, many representatives of foreign news media accredited to the State Department, this relationship has improved. There have been steps forward and steps backward, but the general thrust has been up.

I think that there is no way, really, in the kind of society that we seek in the United States, that we hope we have in the United States, to resolve neatly and once and for all this conflict. In a very healthy way it is an irreconcilable conflict, but to my own view and from my own experience, it is a creative conflict.

God knows the Department of State has made errors in the conduct of its information policy. Almost certainly we will make others, but I think

that the incidence of those errors has declined over the years, and I think, as Robert McCloskey, the spokesman for the Department once said, "I can tell you that there is no foreign office in the world today which submits itself to public exposure as does the Department of State, and proudly so. I am bold enough to say, without having asked, that this statement would be endorsed by the majority of journalists who cover the Department."

This is an interesting lead-in to Mr. Newbold Noyes. (Applause)

MR. NASCIMENTO BRITO: Thank you, Mr. Secretary.

As I said before, Senator Martin Guzmán is unable to attend this meeting, although we have word that he will try his best to do it.

In the meantime I will ask Mr. Newbold Noyes to kindly take the rostrum.

MR. NEWBOLD NOYES: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am indeed proud to be a part of this most interesting discussion this afternoon.

I've been, I think, a little bit at a disadvantage in trying to prepare for it because I had a certain amount of difficulty in finding out what exactly it was that we were supposed to be talking about. The preliminary program that Jim Canel was kind enough to send me indicated that the subject might be "The Challenge to the Right to Know."

Then in a subsequent letter Mr. Canel suggested that the question had been changed to "What does a free press mean?"

So in this situation I decided to try to say a little bit about both subjects, and I am glad to see that that's about what the program has done, although it came out as "The need to know, the meaning of a free press."

There are differences here, and they are not just playing with words. The need to know is really almost a new phrase to me and I think it may be merely another more palatable way of stating the need for a free press.

The right to know, traditionally, in the newspaper business has been something different. It involves access by the press to the sources of information. It is one effort, you might say, on our part to make our jobs easier by requiring government officials to open up their records and their doors to us.

Freedom of the press is, of course, by far the larger issue. And

press freedom to me means simply that governments may not interfere with our publication of whatever news we may be able to dig up or whatever opinions we may have about that news if we decide to publish it.

I do want to say a word at the start here about the right to know in Washington because, as John Crimmins has suggested, there is a very real recognition of this right on the part of the United States government, and it seems to me that some of the Latin American newspapers represented here may not be taking full advantage of the opportunities that are available to them.

My friend Galo Plaza and this organization and other organizations constantly, and quite properly, demand broader coverage of Latin America by the United States press.

In Washington this week an Inter-American Community Summit, as it calls itself, has proposed a fact lift to give the United States more positive and helpful news about Latin America, which is, of course, a very lively subject in this part of the world. And certainly our coverage of the hemisphere does need improving.

It is my impression, however, that the United States may be doing a better job of covering the hemisphere than Latin American newspapers are doing. Of course, Latin American papers print a great deal of wire service news about the United States, but how thoroughly do they report the problems of other Latin American countries?

As far as I know, moreover, no Latin American newspaper has its own full-time correspondent covering hemisphere affairs in the United States, at least not in Washington. No doubt this is a problem of economics, but still I find it rather surprising.

There are about ten, maybe less, Latin American nationals covering the United States government for news of the region. Most of them are Cuban exiles and all of them, I believe, work for news agencies. They spend most of their time on the Organization of American States, the Inter-American embassies, etc. They attend White House and State Department briefings and they go to the presidential press conferences, but beyond that they tend almost entirely to rely on Latin American sources in Washington.

My own newspaper, to cite a very modest example on the other side of the coin, does have a reporter who specializes in hemisphere affairs and who spends several months of each year traveling in Central and South America. When he wants to find out what is happening in Washington with respect to a particular hemisphere problem, he will telephone or see the State Department desk officer concerned or the Latin American expert on Henry Kis-

singer's staff, or John Crimmins, or John Crimmins' boss, Charles Meyer, the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter American Affairs, or other officials he won't tell me about.

Latin American reporters rarely talk to this sort of official in Washington. I believe they could if they wished, but they do not try. They should try. No doubt a Latin American national would have to try harder in order to develop the confidence of such sources than would a member of the regular Washington press corps.

It is interesting, however, that our reporters when they are in Latin America, do talk all the time with a very wide variety of Latin American sources, official and otherwise. The truth seems to be that North American reporters try to function abroad with the same latitude that they are accustomed to at home, while Latin American reporters tend to operate in Washington under the constraints that they may be accustomed to at home. This is too bad, because the right to know, as I say, is pretty well recognized in Washington, and if Latin American reporters took better advantage of it they might get a better balanced picture for their papers of what the United States government is trying to do in the hemisphere.

Now the right to know, as it operates in Washington, is, of course, a relative thing and with all respect to Ambassador Crimmins, I don't want to sound naive about it.

United States government officials, like government officials anywhere, will help you all they can to get the story that they want to put out, but they are not very fond of stories which make them look bad or which may suggest that support for their policies is less than unanimous, as the Ambassador himself has suggested. They can, as I say, provide a reporter with information which, taken together with everything else, he is able to find out helps balance his picture of affairs. They cannot be trusted to reveal the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

The concept of freedom of information is a handy tool with which we can try to unpry locked doors and filing cabinets. But we cannot suppose that by passing the best law ever devised we can force government officials to level with us. We have our job to do and they have theirs, and the two jobs not only are different, they are - as Walter Lippmann suggested in that very interesting quote -- quite antagonistic.

At best we can hope to play out our adversary roles in a civilized way, sometimes even in a friendly way, with some regard on each side of the importance of what the other side is doing.

But no matter how cooperative a given government may be at a given time with regard to freedom of information, the press can never be lulled into

supposing that because they both seek to serve something called the public interest, the press and government can ever really be on the same side of the fence, which brings us to freedom of the press.

What does a free press mean? Some of you may come from countries where there is no freedom of the press, in which case this great idea, basic to every other freedom, must mean what the idea of a breath of air means to a man who is suffocating.

I cannot presume to discuss the problem of press freedom in terms of that sort of experience. But in my own country the concept of freedom of the press, which includes, of course, the concept of freedom of all news media, is widely supposed to be in some jeopardy these days. The press is under attack, as you all know, from left and right, in high places and in low, and what is more, the public seems inclined to side with our critics. The intelligentsia, particularly the young, take a very cynical view of the role of the press in modern American society.

We have talked so much about the first amendment, and FOI, and the right to know and all that sort of thing, that the public is simply bored sick and will not listen any more.

We have utterly failed to bring home to the public, particularly the young, that -- as our topic today suggests -- the freedom we assert is not ours, but theirs; their right to access of sources of information which are not government controlled. One gets the impression, sometimes, that the American public today would not mind trying to get along without a free press if the quid pro quo were attractive enough.

Against this background I would like to suggest a few things that, so far as I am concerned, a free press does not mean. It does not mean that public officials, including Mr. Agnew, whose name has been mentioned more than once here in the last few days and probably will be mentioned more than once again, such public officials may not criticize us, fight with us and even do what they can if they choose to undermine public confidence in us.

A large part of the press in the United States spends a great deal of time exercising its right to try to undermine public confidence in and public approval of Mr. Agnew. We can hardly invoke the concept of the free press and free speech in denying his right to talk back in kind. Press freedom does not mean, of course, that the first amendment applies only to the Fourth Estate.

A free press does not mean either, unfortunately, that public officials, including Mr. Agnew, may not attempt to threaten or blackmail us. Personally, I think it is quite despicable for them to do so, and I would hope in the long run that it will prove to be bad politics.

It's the electronic media, of course, which because they must be licensed, are the particular targets of such intimidation. It is feared by some of my colleagues that this tactic of intimidation will prove effective with regard to the electronic media. They suppose that the broadcasting companies may easily be induced to knuckle under to the government in exchange for assurances that their licenses will be renewed. If this is true, then public cynicism about freedom of the press is entirely justified.

Press freedom does not mean that we can report what we know and say what we think even though we may be too gutless to do so.

A free press does not mean, finally of course, that we are entitled to be loved and appreciated by the public. We have quite enough privileges without the right to demand that. Nor is it necessarily a sign that something is wrong if in times like these we find ourselves quite unpopular with our readers. We all know the legend regarding the sad fate of the messenger who brought the king the bad tidings. And press freedom does not mean that because we persist, as we must, in telling people things they would rather not know, that the people must love us for it.

The point of all this, I think, is that we of the press cannot look to government for help in our hour of need anymore than we can count on public opinion to come galloping to the rescue.

We are entering a period when the idea of a free press may indeed be sorely tried in the United States. If this were a military or a diplomatic conflict I would say the enemy is now engaged in a probing operation, testing our defenses, feeling out our resolve.

I do not think for a minute that Mr. Agnew, or anyone in this administration, really intends to use the coercive licensing power of the Federal government to force the press and broadcast media into obedience. They will avoid such a show-down if only because they know that in the sort of political Armageddon that must result it would be the administration, any administration, and not the press, that would be destroyed.

But it is clear, quite clear, that Mr. Agnew and quite a lot of other people will be happy indeed to intimidate the press into a more cooperative attitude if we will permit ourselves to be so intimidated. I am talking here about the self-censorship that Elsa Arana was speaking of in her very pointed remarks.

I am not sure that we can even count on the law to protect us in the subtle battle that lies ahead. We should, of course, fight with every tool at hand. Any laws that we can get enacted to clarify our rights, any court rulings which broaden the concept of press freedom are all to the good, but the temper of the times is against us.

It may be that before we are though quite a few reporters and editors will have to go to jail. Worse things could happen. The jailing of a newsman for printing a story that had to be told or for protecting his sources with regard to such a story could do more to bring home to the public what a free press really means than all the talking ever done at meetings like this one.

In short, I think that what the press must do now -- at least in my own country -- is to remember that ours has never been, and certainly was never meant to be, a safe and complacent calling; that we and government were never meant to live together happily ever after. We would proceed on the assumption that we are, each of us individually, free to report the truth as best we can find it; that we are, in fact, obliged to do so regardless of how it affects the government or the readers' sensibilities or, it goes without saying, the advertisers, or anybody else's concept of the public interest, including that of other newsmen.

If we do this effectively enough we need not worry about any critics. If we lose our nerve and fail to meet our responsibility, then the answer to the question that we are discussing here this afternoon will be that a free press meant nothing to us or our society, and that we and everybody else got exactly what we deserved. Thank you very much. (Applause)

MR. NASCIMENTO BRITO: Thank you, Mr. Noyes.

I don't think Senator Martin Guzmán was able to make it to the meeting, so before I open this meeting to a discussion or to a question-and-answer panel I will kindly ask anyone with questions to come up to the rostrum and identify yourselves.

SR. GUILLERMO MARTINEZ MARQUEZ (El País (en exilio), La Habana, Cuba):

Tengo solamente dos títulos para poder hablar aquí esta tarde. El primero, haber sido fundador de esta sociedad hace 28 años en esta bella y hospitalaria ciudad de México.

El segundo, haber estado desde el año 1942 hasta el año 1960 como miembro activo de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa en representación del diario El País de La Habana.

Quiero hacer primero una leve aclaración, después una pregunta.

La aclaración se refiere a mi distinguido colega del Washington Star, Newbold Noyes, cuando el dijo que no había ningún corresponsal latino-americano "full-time" - dedicado por entero - en los Estados Unidos. Esto demuestra solamente la falta de información característica de los grandes órganos de expresión de los Estados Unidos.

Desde hace seis años yo tengo el honor de representar "full-time" a La Prensa de Buenos Aires en los Estados Unidos.

El dijo después, haciendo cierta aclaración a lo que había dicho de que los corresponsales no estaban en Washington. Efectivamente, yo no residí en Washington sino en Nueva York, pero he tenido el honor de asistir a todos los acontecimientos internacionales celebrados en Washington durante los últimos seis años, y he tenido el honor de entrevistar a todos los sub-secretarios de estado del gobierno de los Estados Unidos, entre ellos a Thomas Mann, a Lincoln Gordon y a Charles Meyers.

Soy corresponsal de La Prensa de Buenos Aires en los Estados Unidos. Soy corresponsal de La Prensa de Buenos Aires acreditado en las Naciones Unidas, y soy miembro del Overseas Press Club y de la Asociación de Corresponsales Extranjeros de los Estados Unidos.

Por lo tanto he estado en Washington lo mismo cuando el señor el honorable Presidente de los Estados Unidos Nixon anunció en el banquete de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa el año pasado que iba a crear un nuevo cargo que, para orgullo de nosotros, tiene el Sr. Crimmings. Estaba allí en Washington y he estado en todas, absolutamente todas, las reuniones internacionales que se han celebrado en Washington.

La pregunta, y con esto termino la aclaración a mi distinguido colega del Washington Star, la pregunta que quiero hacer es al Sr. Hugh Crimmings. El dijo que los acontecimientos no esperan; el dijo que el conflicto de la prensa y el Departamento de Estado es un conflicto creador. Solamente en gracia a estas dos afirmaciones de él es que voy a preguntarle una cosa que me ha salido al paso en todas y en cada una de las entrevistas que he celebrado en la América Latina a nivel presidencial, a nivel del secretario de estado, a nivel de autoridades, de periodistas y de otras personalidades.

Sr. Crimmings, se ha afirmado reiteradamente que existía un pacto llamado Kennedy-Krushchev. La importancia de este pacto es extraordinaria para la América Latina y vital a la causa de la libertad de Cuba.

Mi pregunta es: ¿Está en vigor ese pacto? En Rusia dicen que sí. En los Estados Unidos no se ha hecho ninguna aclaración, y yo creo de verdad que sería muy importante para las relaciones de los Estados Unidos y América Latina y para la información que los periodistas tenemos la obligación de dar, saber la versión oficial del gobierno de los Estados Unidos. Eso es todo.

MR. JOHN HUGH CRIMMINGS: Don Guillermo's question really, it seems to me, goes beyond the scope of this meeting, but because of my very deep respect for don Guillermo as a newspaperman and as a fighter for liberty, I do want to reply to him.

This is by no means, of course, the first time that this question has arisen. It was very prominent in the period following the Missile Crisis in 1962. At that time the government of the United States at the highest levels stated very clearly that no such agreement existed. The circumstances that gave rise to the discussion of such an agreement I am sure you all remember.

In the Kennedy-Krushchev exchange, which led to a resolution of the Missile Crisis, Krushchev stated that the Soviets would withdraw the offensive Missiles from Cuba and would not reintroduce those missiles on the understanding that the United States would not invade Cuba, would not take direct military action against Cuba.

Krushchev also said that the withdrawal and the subsequent non-introduction of offensive weapons would be subject to international inspection; that is, by the U.N. Now, as all of us remember, that critical part of this proposal became a dead letter because Prime Minister Castro refused to permit U.N. inspection of the withdrawal.

As the highest levels of the United States government said at the time that this question was before the public, before the press in 1962 and '63, the agreement which was proposed did not enter into effect.

MR. NEWBOLD NOYES: I just wanted to comment very briefly on the part of don Guillermo's statement that was addressed to me.

I did not say as a fact that there was no full-time correspondent for a Latin American paper covering the United States. I said that as far as I knew there was none, and I quite agree that this is an example of the ignorance of American editors.

But I take it there are not many such full-time correspondents and I wonder if don Guillermo would not agree that it would be a good thing if more Latin American newspapers had correspondents who had the same kind of experience that you, sir, have had in Washington. Don't you think?

MR. NASCIMENTO BRITO: Mr. Joshua Powers, I think you have a question.

MR. JOSHUA B. POWERS (Editors Press Service, New York): Mr. President, thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak for more than two minutes.

I think a good many of those of us who are present at this conference are obsessed by the feeling that the IAPA is not getting anywhere. In the face of attacks and closures of newspapers in several countries, some recently past, some newspapermen recently killed, I feel that the time has come once again for the IAPA to descend on these complacent enemies of ours like

a swarm of hornets on a picnic. They are having the picnic now and it's time for some hornets to come out of the IAPA as they once did.

My real purpose in coming here, and the reason I need more than two minutes, is that the time has come when we should be reminded of a little history.

In February of 1951 the IAPA in Mexico became useful rather than a mere debating society. This was the first meeting under the constitution of the Board of Directors of the new organization. Mexico has twice played a vital role in the history of the IAPA.

The first Pan American conference held in 1926 in Washington, under the invitation of President Coolidge and of the Pan American Union, was a very interesting group of journalists from all parts. It spent a quarter of a million dollars of the tax-payers' money; it voted to create a permanent organization and immediately died.

Fifteen years later Mexico, in 1942, called another organization of the Inter American Press to meet in Mexico and did succeed to some extent in creating a more or less permanent organization. It had the defect, however, of not being entirely free from funds from unexplained sources.

Later we had meetings in Havana, Caracas, Bogotá, Quito. At Quito, where the unhappiness of the members who did not like the fact that the Communists were trying to take over the representation of the Inter American Press where their opinion came to a head and, therefore, there was created a special committee under Farris Flint to devise means of changing the organization to one that would not be representative only of the Communists.

The Flint Committee brought in a resolution which was accepted to the glory of those members there who had been under domination, but who voted for the Flint amendment, to hold a meeting in New York to adopt a new constitution. And they called this meeting without the knowledge of or information to the State Department of the United States. This is important because it is not usual for international meetings to be called by free citizens. But the members of the Inter American Press Association who have made this organization for the last twenty years, believe that they as free journalists, had a right to go anywhere and speak and report. They did not feel that they had to ask the right from any foreign office for a meeting.

The meeting came together. We had a large and representative organization. It was effective. It adopted a constitution -- those of us who were there remember that we had a good many things that were not quite right happen during this meeting because we had such a short time that we couldn't always be according to protocol. Nevertheless, we adopted the constitution.

After the final banquet the members rose, dispersed to the far corners of the hemisphere and left no system of dues, no rules for membership, no money in the bank and three or four thousand dollars in debt that had to be paid before we could get our papers out of the Waldorf Astoria Hotel. What to do?

There was an Executive meeting filled with dissension. Some members thought that the organization should not be recreated at all; some members went out into the field to talk to journalists from other countries to ask them to refrain from participating, and there was no money.

The Committee, however, called a meeting to be held in the City of Mexico, the first meeting of the Board of Directors under the new constitution. This city was chosen for two reasons: one, because it was not so far from home and people who had to pay their own way to attend the meeting did not feel too wealthy and, two, because there were five Mexican members of the Board here and we could hope to get a quorum.

Tom Wallace called the Board to order on February 26, 1951. Those present were Guillermo Martínez Márquez, William Carney, who was the local representative of the New York Times; S. G. Fletcher from Jamaica; J. Alvarez del Castillo, that noble journalist from Guadalajara; Miguel Lanz Duret; Hernan Robleto, in exile from Nicaragua; Farris Flint, Floyd J. Miller, James G. Stahlman and myself.

Later during that morning Demetrio Canelas came to take his place at the table. Still later Rodrigo de Llano appeared.

Jules Dubois was not present. Therefore, a secretary had to be chosen in his place, and Floyd Miller was chosen. That afternoon Rómulo O'Farrill, Sr. appeared.

In his opening remarks Tom Wallace said: "The principal problem, in my opinion, is to consider what kind of services the Society will offer to its members. How can it gather strength to provide these services? Up to what point, how and with what means?"

Sr. Alvarez del Castillo asked for the floor, and presented a motion to the effect that in view of the urgency of the situation priority over all other matters should be given immediately to the problem of La Prensa of Buenos Aires, which was under attack and under expropriation by Peron.

Sr. Alvarez del Castillo recalled that Mexican publishers had had to answer accusations, had faced confiscation, had been confiscated -- as a matter of fact, sitting at our table was Rodrigo de Llano representing a newspaper that had been taken over by its laborers. He said that while the case

of La Prensa was imminent and urgent, all publishers should remember that at all times this thing could happen to them in their own countries.

He asked for a motion to send a message of support to La Prensa and said that he did not want the organization to act simply emotionally, but practically.

Guillermo Martínez Márquez, who just spoke to you, seconded that motion, which was supported by Rodrigo de Llano. Later Sr. Martínez Márquez wrote and presented the text of a telegram to Alberto Gainza Paz, which was approved, sent and widely published.

At the meeting on the morning of February 28, Sr. Martínez Márquez said that up to now the group had been more lyrical than effective; that practical services should be provided, and funds. You remember that up to now there were no funds from anywhere, from anybody.

Mr. Lanz Duret called for discussion of a budget.

James Stahlman called for a vote on whether the organization should be useful, or merely a discussion group. Those present voted that it should be useful.

Farris Flint picked up a used envelope and on its back began to plan a budget. Recalling this, Farris recently wrote me: "There were those -- you will well recall -- who had no confidence in the outcome," (I am sorry to say there are those here today that have no confidence in the future either.) based on the firm conviction that the necessary support for a going organization would not be forthcoming.

"The Mexico City meeting, therefore, 20 years ago had to be the showdown. It would test whether the assembled directors, including the Latins, would approve a first year operating budget slightly in excess of \$23,000.00.

"It was with real trepidation," says Farris, "that I submitted that pencilled budget and nudged my great and good friend Jimmy Stahlman to speak up.

Speak up, thank God he did, challenging the Latins: Lanz Duret, Martínez Márquez, de Llano, O'Farrill, to caucus that evening and return the next morning to say whether they wanted an honest-to-God working association, which they too were willing to support, or would be content with what Jimmy described as a feeble and futile debating society.

"What a triumph," says Farris, "that the Latins returned the next morning with personal pledges in excess of \$3,000.00; and before the meeting

adjourned a vigorous IAPA was a living and breathing reality, with total pledges of more than \$11,000.00, half of the budget.

"At this moment the IAPA became a living, effective defender of the freedoms. Through twenty years it has fought those influences, enemies of the system that were created three hundred years ago with the signing of the Declaration of Independence; it has saved lives and properties (I think just last week it probably helped to save the property once again for Mr. Canelas), won some battles and lost some.

"Twenty years later, therefore," and I again quote Farris, "as another Board gathers in Mexico City to ponder the state of the IAPA and its concerned members, let them respond to the urgent call of Jim Copley, drop the blindness, focussing the attention solely on press freedom, and come to grips with the menacing threat to all freedoms.

"It is no fiction that a desperate struggle is being waged that a free society may endure, and is a challenge to the IAPA to provide the leadership necessary to the preservation of all the freedom in the Americas."

So, Mr. President, you know why I needed more than two minutes.

To continue serving our profession, our people and our ideals, what shall we now do?

Today it is not a need for more money. Money we have had. Loyal, cooperative members we have had and have. Talent we have, but indecision we have also. Today we do not need money, we need a re-dedication, each one on his own as a free, walking, talking journalist to go out into the world and fight for freedom. Thank you, sir. (Applause)

MR. NASCIMENTO BRITO: Thank you, Joshua, for your interesting remarks. Are there any questions from the audience?

MR. G. J. SCHOUTEN (The News, Aruba, Netherland Antilles): It is a very simple question and a very short question that I want to ask the Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Crimmins, and that is when he started out in his speech he quoted from the Bible. And at the end there was a quotation where I understood what a politician was.

The question is this: we are listening to the news from the American press all the time back home, and we read often that the State Department has said this today, published in the papers and four days later the State Department makes another statement. The question I would like to ask is if this is politics or that is what you mean about the people having to wait to be informed. That is the question I want to ask.

MR. CRIMMINS: If I understand the question correctly, you are asking whether modifications or changes in statements by the Department of State from time to time on foreign policy matters is a deliberate attempt to confuse, or whether -- as you put it -- it is political.

I don't know, of course, what specific instance you are referring to, and this would be very important in any sensible answer to the question. But I am sure that we all recognize that situations in the foreign affairs field move very, very rapidly, indeed, and a statement of fact or of opinion given by the Department of State on one day may well be overtaken by events within a space of the four days that you have taken as an example, leading to another statement. So there is nothing inherently obfuscatory in a modified position that is based upon changes in circumstances.

Now, as I said, we in the Department of State believe that our reputation for credibility is very high, and we also believe that the great bulk of the press corps that covers the Department of State acknowledge that reputation for credibility. I rest on that point, but would welcome any clarifying, further question that you might have.

MR. SCHOUTEN: Mr. Crimmings, it is not a clarifying question. It is lately we have been getting, let's just put an instance, in the Pueblo affair. The State Department said nothing happened, our people were not there; a plane didn't fly over Cuba; or the statement that we are getting lately. The American press publishes these statements; we take them and we publish them. A few days later the State Department says, "yes, the statement of yesterday that we did not fly over Cuba was a mistake. We did fly." That is what I want to say. If you have to wait for time to get the clarification to make it more positive. That's what I wanted.

MR. CRIMMINS: The case that I myself remember of this kind is, of course, the U-2 incident of 1960 when -- and I know no case in Cuba such as the one you refer to at all -- the statement by the Department at the time of the U-2 incident over the Soviet Union in 1960 certainly was misleading and was one of the few true bases for questioning the credibility of the Department. As you know, there were special circumstances, the President of the United States himself eventually clarified that circumstance, but I submit -- and I think the record will bear me out here -- that those instances are very few and far between.

Now, there is absolutely no question, no question, but that on occasion we stand mute on questions put to us. We provide limited information, but in all these cases there are -- in our judgment -- cogent reasons, important reasons for standing mute or permitting the release of limited information.

No government, I submit, can conduct foreign policy on the basis of

instant, total revelation of all its actions. And I think no responsible newspaperman would expect any government to follow that practice.

MR. NASCIMENTO-BRITO: Thank you. Any other questions? The questions that were submitted in advance, I will ask Mr. Canel to read them, please.

MR. JAMES B. CANEL: Una pregunta presentada con anticipación al Sr. Crimmins: ¿Que noticias tiene sobre la situación en Chile? ¿Cual es su apreciación de esa situación en general, y en especial, como puede afectar la libertad de prensa en Chile?

MR. CRIMMINS: As I said at the very beginning of my remarks, I am not in a position to comment on any particular situation in any particular country of Latin America. I came down here upon the invitation of the Board to discuss, for my part, the conduct of information policy by the Department of State with the press. I am not able to discuss, for very obvious reasons, conditions in any given country in Latin America.

As you know, it is a cardinal principle that we follow of not commenting on the internal affairs of other governments, and particularly on this occasion when I came down for a very specific and limited purpose. I regret that I am unable to address myself to that question.

MR. NASCIMENTO BRITO: Thank you, Mr. Crimmins.

MR. CANEL: Existe la impresión en muchos países que el gobierno norteamericano prefiere que se instalen en América Latina gobiernos fuertes militares, muchos de los cuales suprimen la libertad de prensa. Le ruego al Sr. Crimmins que nos explique la política norteamericana para con esos gobiernos.

MR. CRIMMINS: This is a question which is addressed to North American policy and, therefore, one which I will be perfectly prepared to respond to.

I think the shortest answer to that question would be to refer the questioner to the speech of President Nixon at the last meeting in Washington of the Inter American Press Association. He made the point, he made several points that are applicable here.

He said that we in the United States, as members of a democratic society, believe that the democratic system -- an open representative system -- is the one which affords the greatest scope for the individual, and that we feel a particular kinship with those governments which pursue, or try to pursue, policies consistent with an open society.

At the same time, he said, in effect, that we cannot sit in judgment upon the forms of government of the expressions of government in other countries, particularly when those countries are buffeted by the forces, the enormous forces, of change and reform.

In short, we have a special warmth, a special feeling of kinship toward democratic governments. We certainly hope that in those countries where constitutional processes are maintained, they will be expanded. And where they do not exist at the present time, they will come into being.

To suggest that we prefer repressive governments is completely and totally wrong, and without foundation.

MR. NASCIMENTO BRITO: Thank you, Mr. Crimmins.

MR. CANEL: One more, addressed to Mr. Noyes. It is written in Spanish, I will give you a quick translation.

The North American press has been greatly criticized for devoting too much space to unimportant news and to major disasters and coup d'etats because it does not properly analyze situations existing in various countries, especially in Latin America. Does Mr. Noyes think that this criticism is justified?

MR. NEWBOLD NOYES: First I would like to point out that this criticism is one that we receive with regard to our coverage of news in our own country just as much as we receive it with regard to news of Latin America. There is a constant criticism that you are all aware of, I am sure, that the American press not only tends to deal with disaster, and all that, better than it deals with progress, but that also it tends to be used by extremists and people who do and say outrageous things in a way that people of good will cannot use it and that these latter people are not able to get sufficient representation.

Yes, I do agree with the criticism in the sense that it is one of the eternal frustrations of our job. But I do not really see that the business of saying, as the group is saying that is meeting in Washington -- or met in Washington just recently -- that we have got to emphasize the positive and get out all the pleasant facts about what is happening in Latin America.

This is no really feasible answer for the newspapers. After all, it is human nature to be interested in the things that go wrong, rather than the things that go right. If you go back to your home town and you meet someone on the street and you ask him what has been going on, he's not going to tell you that Mr. and Mrs. Smith are still living happily together and that their boy has got straight A's in college. He will tell you if Mr. and Mrs. Smith

have just broken up and their boy has run away and is part of a hippie colony in northern New York.

If you go to your doctor you don't expect him to tell you all the things that are right with you either.

So I am afraid that this is one of the paradoxes that the press is always going to be confronted with and I don't think there is going to be an awful lot that we can do about it.

MR. CANEL: This is addressed to Mr. Crimmins. If a Communist regime is established in Latin America would the United States favor OAS action similar to that taken in the case of Cuba?

MR. CRIMMINS: Obviously, the scope of this meeting has gone well beyond its original intent. It has become a press conference, of a kind.

Let me just answer that by saying that is a hypothetical question at the present time and I don't like to answer hypothetical questions.

MR. NASCIMENTO BRITO: Thank you, Mr. Crimmins. Are there any other questions?

I am sure that I am expressing the views of all the delegates here when I say that we are most in debt to the members of our panel for the stimulating contributions they have made to these most fruitful themes. Elsa Arana, Mr. Crimmins, Mr. Noyes, thank you.

I will now turn this meeting over to our President.

MR. JAMES S. COPLEY: Thank you very much. It has been a very interesting discussion and we appreciate it.

All I want to do is to remind you that we meet here at 8 o'clock tonight.

The main speaker will be His Excellency Mr. Galo Plaza, Secretary General of the Organization of American States.

I also want to remind you that we are going to meet here at 9:30 tomorrow morning in the General Assembly and we are going to discuss and analyze the press problems in the Western Hemisphere.

I thank you very much. The meeting is adjourned.

CENA DE BIENVENIDA  
20 de octubre de 1970

WELCOMING DINNER  
October 20, 1970

La Cena de Bienvenida, ofrecida por el Comité Organizador, tuvo lugar en el Hotel Camino Real bajo la presidencia del Sr. Romulo O'Farrill Jr. (Novedades).

The Welcoming Dinner, tendered by the Host Committee, was held at the Camino Real Hotel under the chairmanship of Mr. Romulo O'Farrill Jr. (Novedades).

SR. O'FARRILL: Sr. James S. Copley, Presidente de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa; Excm. Señor Galo Plaza, Secretario General de la Organización de los Estados Americanos; Señoras y Señores: "Es un gran placer para el Comité Organizador dar la más cordial bienvenida a nuestros amigos y colegas de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa a esta Vigésimasexta Asamblea. Estamos seguros que esta reunión será de trabajo y de importantes logros, ya que la situación actual en todo nuestro hemisferio así lo requiere. El Comité ha trabajado con particular entusiasmo para que la estancia de ustedes en nuestro país sea grata, placentera y útil.

Al mismo tiempo, estamos muy satisfechos de que este año la Asamblea General de nuestra Sociedad se realice aquí, en México, donde existe una gran estabilidad social, política y económica. Desde 1953, el peso mexicano ha mantenido su paridad; nuestro producto bruto nacional va en constante aumento y, durante los últimos 6 años, hemos alcanzado un incremento anual superior al 6%. Todos los sectores del pueblo de México - tanto campesinos como obreros, industriales, comerciantes y banqueros, laborando esforzada y conjuntamente con nuestras autoridades - estamos plenamente convencidos de la necesidad de que existe tranquilidad y confianza para poder seguir una trayectoria que nos permite resolver los múltiples problemas que tenemos y, al mismo tiempo, podamos continuar por el camino de progreso que venimos recorriendo en las últimas décadas. Por estas razones, y por muchas otras, tengo confianza en el futuro de México. En los próximos años, en ese mismo ambiente de paz interna y estabilidad, superaremos las cifras y, lo que es más importante aún, aceleraremos el desarrollo y reforzaremos, consiguientemente, el bienestar de nuestro pueblo.

Es de particular significación el mencionar esta situación en una forma enfática, ya que tenemos que admitir que el mundo vive una época de tensión y de peligro, y que muchos países de nuestro hemisferio no son ajenos a esta triste realidad.

Por muchos años, en México hemos gozado de libertad de prensa. Fue aquí donde se instituyó el 7 de junio de cada año como el día de la "Libertad

de Prensa". Durante los últimos 20 años, la prensa mexicana ha ofrecido una comida en esa fecha en honor del Presidente de nuestra República, y a la cual concurren también el presidente de la Suprema Corte, el presidente de la Cámara de Senadores, el presidente de la Cámara de Diputados, y todos los Secretarios de Estado. La condición básica para realizarla es que gocemos de esa libertad. Celebramos precisamente en este mismo lugar, la última reunión el 7 de junio de este año, con la asistencia de nuestras autoridades y de 485 periodistas en representación de la gran mayoría de los periódicos y revistas de nuestro país.

Durante esa celebración, y con motivo de que sería la última comida con el actual Presidente de México, Licenciado Gustavo Díaz Ordaz, ya que el presente régimen termina su gestión gubernativa el próximo 1.º de diciembre, el Comité Organizador presentó al señor Presidente de México un diploma, firmado por todas las publicaciones participantes, el cual, por su contenido e importancia, me voy a permitir leer a ustedes:

"Los periódicos y las revistas de México declaran complacidos y conjuntamente lo hacen constar así, suscribiendo este pergamino, que el señor Licenciado don Gustavo Díaz Ordaz, Presidente de la República, ha mantenido incólume durante el período de su gobierno la libertad de prensa".

Este documento es testimonio de que en México existe y ha existido por muchos años libertad de prensa.

Los sucesos en nuestro hemisferio, particularmente en la América Latina, nos presentan un panorama en que lamentablemente la libertad de prensa, salvo en pocos casos, no existe o está sujeta a serias amenazas y bien sabemos que, cuando la libertad de expresión está en entredicho, la democracia y la libertad individual están en peligro.

Yo creo que durante esta reunión es necesario hacer un profundo examen de conciencia con respecto al trabajo que estamos realizando en la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa para salvaguardar la libertad de prensa. Sabemos, desde luego, que algunas de nuestras intervenciones, por falta de conocimiento profundo de los problemas de un país, en vez de ayudar a nuestros asociados, les han creado problemas mayores.

Nuestra organización, consciente de su responsabilidad y por su fuerza y poder, cuenta con las armas para defender su noble causa, pero creo también que es indispensable encontrar formas y medios para usarlas con mayor efectividad.

Si nuestra asociación pide una aclaración o formula una protesta ante el gobierno de un país sin tener un conocimiento lo más completo posible de los hechos, nuestra intervención puede ser contraproducente y debilitar nuestra posición.

Cada uno de los países de nuestro hemisferio es distinto, y vivimos en un momento histórico de profundas transformaciones, tanto en el aspecto económico, -- con países sub-desarrollados, otros en proceso de desarrollo y otros plenamente industrializados--, como en el aspecto político en el cual hay tendencia a dictaduras de derecha, aunque ahora las más son dictaduras de izquierda.

Inclusive, estamos presenciando el caso en que, por primera vez, a través de una elección popular, obtiene una mayoría en la votación para la más alta magistratura de su país, un candidato que es considerado marxista. Esto, con muchos otros factores, quiere decir que las fórmulas para la solución de los problemas de cada país tienen que ser distintas con el fin de que puedan dar resultados positivos.

Yo me permito someter, respetuosamente, a la consideración de nuestra Asamblea las ideas que expongo a continuación, y que es posible que, conjuntamente con muchas otras que surgirán en nuestros trabajos, podrían contribuir al éxito de nuestros esfuerzos:

- 1) Que, utilizando los servicios de las agencias noticiosas y de los periodistas especializados de nuestros socios, los directivos tengan la más completa información de lo que sucede en cada país, por medio de esos conductos.
- 2) Que, mediante un contacto directo y más cercano con nuestros socios, tengamos su propia apreciación y sugerencias basadas en las experiencias y situaciones reales que afrontan.
- 3) Que el presidente de nuestra organización nombre comisiones integradas por dos o tres socios para que viajen a los países donde hay problemas, estableciendo contacto con los gobiernos y logrando así una comunicación constante con sus más altas autoridades.

A través de todos estos esfuerzos combinados, dentro del contexto de un programa integral, podríamos llegar a conclusiones que, al actuar nuestra organización, nos permitirían defender mejor la libertad de prensa y prestar una mayor ayuda a nuestros asociados. Todo esto, repito, con un sentido de la enorme responsabilidad que voluntaria y profesionalmente asumimos ante nuestros pueblos.

Este examen de conciencia sería incompleto e injusto para la propia Sociedad si no mencionamos las gestiones exitosas que hemos realizado en defensa de la libertad de prensa y la efectividad de todo cuanto ha hecho y hace el Centro Técnico con sus numerosos servicios, la ayuda y estímulo a los jóvenes periodistas con el Fondo de Becas, y el reconocimiento al profesionalismo mediante los premios que anualmente otorgamos.

A todos nuestros socios y sus distinguidas esposas, a nombre del Comité Organizador les reitero nuestra más cordial bienvenida. (Aplausos)

(El Sr. O'Farrill presentó entonces al Excmo. Señor Galo Plaza, Secretario General de la Organización de Estados Americanos).

SR. PLAZA:

"Ha sido siempre placentero para mí participar en las asambleas de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, porque ellas me ofrecen la oportunidad de renovar antiguas y muy apreciadas amistades, y de reafirmar mi devoción a los principios que ustedes propugnan.

Una de mis primeras actuaciones como Presidente del Ecuador en 1948 fue el acoger en el país a los miembros de la SIP, que, reunidos en Quito, establecieron la estructura actual de la Sociedad. Desde entonces me han honrado ustedes dos veces por mis empeños en pro de la libertad de prensa en América.

En verdad, no debiera sorprender a nadie que haya sido yo toda la vida un abanderado de la prensa libre, a la que considero como un requisito necesario en un régimen de gobierno responsable. Heredé este concepto de mi padre, quien como Presidente del Ecuador dió aliento a la prensa libre en una época en que aún se la consideraba peligrosa en gran parte de la América Latina. Mi padre supo poner en práctica lo que predicaba. Para dar un ejemplo, recordaré el caso de un pequeño periódico de oposición que, encontrándose en serias dificultades económicas, hubo de recibir ayuda del Gobierno para que pudiera continuar sus ásperos ataques contra la Administración.

Ustedes que conocen mis firmes convicciones sobre este asunto, pueden imaginar cuánto me preocupa la situación de la prensa en la América Latina a raíz de los acontecimientos políticos recientes. Creo firmemente que una prensa libre beneficia al propio interés de los gobiernos, sea cual fuere su origen, ideología o propósito. La prensa libre es barómetro eficaz de la opinión pública, indicador indispensable de la voluntad del pueblo. Sin ella el gobierno actúa en la penumbra, dando con frecuencia margen para que las presiones reprimidas precipiten, en un momento dado, su derrocamiento.

Existirá siempre el peligro de que una prensa libre propague informaciones falsas y dañosas. Empero, los males de la opresión son aún mayores; aparte de que la prensa que se aleja de la verdad, pierde rápidamente credibilidad y eficacia.

La prensa libre en América Latina puede contribuir sin duda a la existencia de gobiernos responsables; pero no ha influido en igual medida para que los países aceleren el desarrollo económico y social de sus pueblos.

No sería arbitrario señalar que en América Latina y los Estados Unidos la prensa ha prestado una mayor atención a los asuntos políticos que a los económicos y sociales. Creo que los problemas urgentes de América Latina -- comercio, inversiones, inflación, desempleo, distribución del ingreso, vivienda y educación -- demandan más espacio en los periódicos y revistas y más tiempo en la radio y la televisión.

Se trata de cuestiones que ofrecen a la prensa una excelente oportunidad de informar e interpretar, de moldear la opinión pública para que preste su apoyo a la orientación y programas que han de acelerar el desarrollo. Hasta ahora, sin embargo, parece que en la mayoría de los círculos periodísticos ha prevalecido el criterio de que estos asuntos interesan únicamente a un pequeño sector de la población y, por tanto, sólo merecen espacio limitado. Y a este respecto surge la gran tarea que tiene ante sí la prensa en la década actual: exponer y analizar los problemas del desarrollo económico y social, de modo de presentar con eficacia al público la importancia vital de estos asuntos.

Y éste no es problema exclusivo de la prensa latinoamericana. Recientemente insté a un grupo de líderes panamericanos de los Estados Unidos que iniciasen una campaña en gran escala para llenar las lagunas de información, divulgando hechos y datos sobre el progreso y los problemas de América Latina y la importancia que tiene la región para los Estados Unidos.

Algunos de ustedes recordarán que en el seno de la Asamblea General de la SIP hace cuatro años tuve la oportunidad de hablar acerca del problema de la educación y el desarrollo. Hice hincapié en el hecho de que la educación a todos los niveles en la América Latina no estaba preparada para desempeñar su importante papel en el proceso de desarrollo. Dije en aquella ocasión que para mejorar la calidad de vida de los pueblos latinoamericanos era necesario dar máxima prioridad a un programa bien pensado para modernizar la educación, apartándonos de las prácticas e ideas tradicionales en la materia.

Me complace decirles hoy que la Organización de los Estados Americanos se encuentra estimulando activa y eficazmente ese proceso de modernización.

Es del conocimiento de muchos de ustedes que en años recientes la OEA ha ido orientándose cada vez más hacia el desarrollo, sirviendo de foro para el diálogo y la negociación, aunando empeños de asistencia directa para los programas nacionales y regionales de desarrollo. Esta nueva orientación se refleja en las modificaciones de la Carta de la Organización que entraron en vigor en febrero de este año.

Constituye un aspecto significativo de este nuevo empuje de la OEA la labor que se realiza al amparo de los programas de desarrollo educativo, científico y tecnológico, financiados por un fondo especial multilateral del Consejo Interamericano para la Educación, la Ciencia y la Cultura. Estos programas están acordes con mi criterio de que no podemos hacer cultura por simple amor al arte; que tenemos que educar a nuestros pueblos para que puedan ejercer la función que les incumbe en el desarrollo de sus países; que hemos de establecer nuestros propios centros e instalaciones para la ciencia y la investigación, adaptándolos a nuestras exigencias particulares.

En el Programa Regional de Desarrollo Educativo se enfatizan inicialmente cuatro campos principales: planeamiento y administración de la educación; perfeccionamiento de los programas de estudio; tecnología educativa moderna, inclusive la televisión educativa; educación vocacional. El Programa Regional de Desarrollo Científico y Tecnológico se ocupa de la infraestructura científica y tecnológica, con estudios de posgrado e investigaciones en materia de ciencias básicas y aplicadas. También promueve el desarrollo tecnológico en varios campos, así como el planeamiento de la política científica.

Este año los programas prestan servicio a más de 150 instituciones latinoamericanas, a través de becas, profesores visitantes, provisión de equipos, donaciones de refuerzo y misiones de asistencia técnica. Algunas de estas instituciones sirven de centros multinacionales y benefician a varios países.

Esta mañana he participado en las ceremonias inaugurales de una mesa redonda sobre información científica y educacional, cuyo propósito ha sido informar a la prensa mexicana y a la opinión pública en general en cuanto a los beneficios inmediatos que el país recibe de estos programas de la OEA.

Además de estas actividades, la OEA realiza muchas otras, en campos tales como reforma tributaria, recursos naturales, cooperativas y estadística, para citar sólo muy pocos. Todo ello formar parte de la contribución de la OEA al empeño de desarrollo latinoamericano.

Huelga recordar a este auditorio los impedimentos internos y ex-

ternos que obstan los esfuerzos por mejorar la calidad de vida de la gran mayoría de los latinoamericanos, para quienes la pobreza es todavía una penosa realidad. La labor es enorme, y su realización requerirá el esfuerzo vigoroso y constante del gobierno, el sector privado, las organizaciones internacionales y la prensa.

De hecho diría yo que la prensa tiene una responsabilidad muy especial, porque puede ser el agente catalizador que promueva actuaciones eficaces por todos los demás.

Por tanto, insto a los miembros de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa a inventariar su gran potencialidad como impulsores del progreso económico y social en la América Latina, y a utilizar esta fuerza al máximo en el decenio de 1970. (Aplausos)

GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
Third Meeting  
Wednesday, October 21, 1970

ASAMBLEA GENERAL  
Tercera Sesión  
Miércoles, 21 de octubre de 1970

MR. JAMES S. COPLEY: Ladies and gentlemen, I believe we should begin our sessions, and I would like our secretary to read a telegram, please.

SR. RODRIGO MADRIGAL NIETO (La República, San José, Costa Rica):  
El telegrama que me pide el Sr. Presidente que lea dice así:

"James S. Copley, Presidente de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa: Aerolíneas Peruanas canceló vuelo E.P. 90 en el que viajaba a México. Ante necesidad de encontrarme en Chile el 23 del actual, lamentándolo muchísimo por primera vez no podré acompañarlos en esta XXVI Asamblea General de la SIP. Les auguro el mayor de los éxitos y les envío a todos mis mejores deseos y cordialísimos saludos. Diana de Massot, La Nueva Provincia, Bahía Blanca, Argentina."

MR. COPLEY: Thank you, Mr. Secretary.

We have with us, and we introduced her yesterday, Miss Sally Aw, President of the International Press Institute. I would like her to come up and say a few words to you.

MISS SALLY AW: Ladies and gentlemen, I have the pleasure of bringing greetings from all the members of the International Press Institute to the XXVI General Assembly of the IAPA.

When I read the purposes of the IAPA in the program I found quite a few similarities; for instance, both the IAPA and the IPI promote a free exchange of news and seek to improve the practice of journalism and safeguard freedom of the press.

And I can see here that there are quite a few members who belong to both organizations. For the benefit of those who are not with the IPI I would like to say very briefly what sort of activities we have been doing.

Recently in the last Spring IPI had to intervene and were able to save the lives of two journalists in Asia. Our fight for freedom did not stop there and we have continued to fight for their freedom.

Another activity which we have just formed is the International Committee for the Safety of Journalists on Dangerous Missions, who cover the war in Vietnam and Cambodia. This was a result of the meeting we had in

Paris on the 30th of September and agreed that a special credential will be given to all the journalists who are covering the war zone. They will be recognized by both governments so they will be protected from all areas.

The Charter and Bylaws of the Committee will be issued on the 5th of November in Geneva.

Also, we have quite a few meetings in Europe in all kinds of countries; in Italy, in Germany and Austria. But we are also planning other meetings in Honolulu covering economic problems for American and Japanese journalists.

Also, from the last meeting we had in Zurich which was very recently, only just a few days ago, came resolution for a meeting between journalists of India and Pakistan. There was no link at all between the journalists of the two countries.

As we are all aware that governments do care very much for their image in world opinion, therefore, I think that the IPI and IAPA have a great deal in common, and I feel that if these two organizations can cooperate in every concern and also in our working projects and united in our efforts in the fight for freedom of the press, I believe that the impact of this common endeavor and concentrated force of the world mass media will achieve a better result.

I hope that our office in Zurich and also your IAPA secretary will work out details how we can work and cooperate in the future, and also in our projects to try to avoid any duplications so that at the same time we can save time and money. This will be to our mutual benefit.

I would like to thank Mr. Copley for inviting me to come here at this time and also have the pleasure of meeting all of you at this Assembly.

Thank you very much. (Applause)

MR. COPLEY: Thank you, Sally.

I would like to make a couple of statements now about the program for today. It is going to be a country-by-country discussion of freedom of the press. It is going to be one long session. We will probably break for coffee at about 11:30 and then we will go on until probably 1:30 or 2:00, the idea being that then you can have lunch and be ready to leave at 5:00 for the Light and Sound show.

Rómulo has asked me to mention to you that it's outdoors and it is very cold, like sitting around at a football game, so he wants you to be sure and take plenty of warm clothes with you.

This will be followed by dinner at La Gruta and that's about an hour's distance from here.

The busses will be ready to leave at five, then after the show you will have cocktails and dinner at La Gruta.

The only other thing I want to mention is that tomorrow morning's session will begin at 9:30 and will be a continuation of this session.

This is an unusual procedure in that we are meeting as a committee of the whole for the first time in our existence as the Inter American Press Association to participate first-hand in the essential studies of our Freedom of the Press Committee.

Perhaps there never will be another occasion for this departure from the usual. However, this is a time that all of us, I am sure, recognize a need for full participation in the most demanding of subjects for our attention.

All among us are well aware that independent newspapers and other media of communication are the first victims of governments intent on establishing absolute rule.

Tyranny then has an open gate to destroy all freedoms of mankind.

Warnings of despotism are not always heeded, because dictatorship is often clothed in demagoguery or, at best, in good intentions that hold the promise of a better life.

This might well be the case with some of the dictatorial regimes that have seized power in Latin America. They and their people should keep in mind the warning made by the Secretary General of the OAS, Mr. Galo Plaza, on Freedom of the Press Day, last June 7. He said:

"In our eagerness to promote the economic and social advancement of our peoples we must never forget that real development, that is, improvement of the well-being of the individual, cannot be attained if the organs of public opinion suffer under the yoke of censorship."

While we meet here today with a feeling of deep concern, we are unshakeable in our conviction that freedom of information and expression, on which all other freedoms are based, must ultimately triumph.

For these reasons, we have decided to devote the meeting to a concentrated analysis of the problems facing the press of all the Americas by asking the entire membership to sit as a Committee on Freedom of the Press. We believe that full participation by the hemisphere's editors and

publishers will contribute to a better understanding of the reality of the threat to that basic human right and to an effective plan of action.

It is a vitally important meeting, with the countries of this hemisphere, with few exceptions, in the throes of change. IAPA, which is the most important means of unified communications by the press of the Americas, cannot and must not remain aloof in these trying times that menace freedom of information everywhere.

I was talking to some of the members last night and they wondered why I was so interested in the IAPA, and I said that I have always felt that the freedom of the world depended on the Western Hemisphere. And I go back to the time before General Eisenhower was elected. He and I sat together for a long time in the Brown Hotel in Denver and I said to him: "Ike, what do you think about the preservation of the free world and the defense of the free world?"

And he said: "Well, as far as I am concerned, our outer defenses are perhaps Japan, the Phillipines on one side and NATO and Europe on the other. But if those crumble I depend on the Western Hemisphere because we have enough people, we have enough goods, we have enough material and enough land that we can support ourselves and support ourselves against the rest of the world if we have to.

"But," he said, "in my opinion the freedom of the world is going to depend on the Western Hemisphere and I hope we can always work together."

And I have always felt that way every since then.

Freedom of the press in this year of 1970 is the business of every member here assembled, and it is the business of every citizen in the countries represented. None amongst us has failed to recognize that we must act as a whole to combat our common concern.

I am going to turn the meeting over to Tom Harris, the Chairman of the Freedom of the Press Committee, but before I do I'd like to call to your attention to the Rules of the IAPA.

The first one is under Article 4: "Except in the case of rectification or clarification of their remarks, delegates shall not be entitled to speak more than once, nor more than five minutes on any given subject under debate, and speakers shall be limited to five in favor and five against.

(b) "Delegates may speak a second time on a given topic only for the purpose of rectification or clarification and will be limited to three minutes.

(c) "In a case of point of order the delegate shall be entitled to make his statement.

(d) "Upon his request to speak each delegate must state his name and the name of the publication he represents."

I am sure we are going to have a fascinating session and I'll be listening very eagerly to it.

Tom, would you take over? (Applause)

MR. TOM C. HARRIS (El Mundo, San Juan, Puerto Rico): Thank you, Jim.

Ladies and gentlemen, members and guests of IAPA and members of the Committee on Freedom of the Press: This is an historic meeting of the Inter American Press Association. It is the first time that all of us, all of our members, have sat as a committee of the whole on freedom of the press.

Such an assembly is more important today than it was when we decided in Jamaica to all get together and see if we could come up with new ideas, new techniques and new weapons to pursue our long and continuing fight for freedom of the press in our hemisphere.

Today the spectre of a Marxist government hangs over Chile, that has been democratic and has enjoyed a free press for more than 150 years.

And less than a fortnight ago a revolt and counter-revolt put the free press of Bolivia in even greater danger than it had been. The situation in Bolivia is still uncertain, although two of the three newspapers intervened by armed students have been returned to their owners, including Los Tiempos of Cochabamba, owned by our long-time member Carlos Canelas.

In Peru, the military government expropriated Expreso and Extra and turned them over to a cooperative of their employees since our last meeting. Today Peru's other newspapers operate cautiously, under a new stringent press law. And Elsa Arana, our vice presidente in Peru, has been exiled.

Freedom of the press will not return to Peru until these newspapers are restored to their owner and our member, Manuel Ulloa, and until Elsa Arana can return to Peru to resume her long-time journalistic work there.

Today Brazil is still jailing newspapermen and regulating the press under its special Press and Security Laws.

There has been little improvement in Paraguay and Uruguay.

And so on down the list, one nation after another, as you will hear in the country-by-country reports at this session.

In continental South America only Argentina, Colombia, Venezuela and possibly Ecuador have a free press.

In Panama, the last of the independent editors has been forced into retirement by the military government. And all newspapers there are now controlled under a stern press law.

There has been no change in Cuba, where there is absolutely no free press and where Fidel Castro is still holding some forty newspapermen in his prisons.

There is no freedom of the press in Haiti.

Today in Canada, a Senate Committee is investigating the free press with some talk of press councils, which, in effect, would dampen the editors' ardor, if not move into his chair.

Today in the United States, a disorganized assortment of politicians, writers and lawyers are doing all they can to undermine and destroy confidence in the press.

All of this, combined with the Marxist threatened Chile, this month's revolution in Bolivia, makes the picture much darker than it was last year in Washington or this Spring in Jamaica.

All of this points up the need for an all-out campaign by the Inter American Press Association as a whole to restore and preserve the free press we once enjoyed.

Your Committee on Freedom of the Press has noted a number of events in the past year affecting our cause.

In Argentina, the suspension of four magazines: Primera Plana, Ojo, Marchar and Prensa Confidencial were closed by a former president, Juan Carlos Onganía, who also suspended La Crónica for two years. La Crónica is the biggest circulation paper in Argentina.

All of these actions were vigorously protested by your Committee. In June President Onganía was deposed and later the new president, Marcelo Levingston, lifted the ban and restored freedom of the press to Argentina. We sent him a warm letter of felicitation and congratulated him for his action.

This was really a piece of good news for us, because we believe that the military government in Argentina can set an example as a free press, perhaps the idea may penetrate other countries ruled by the military.

Other good news includes the fact that Mexico, all the Central American countries and all the Caribbean Islands - except Cuba and Haiti - are enjoying a free press.

Costa Rica's Congress had a proposal for a right-to-reply law, which we always oppose, but this has been settled, I believe, at the local level.

There was a short period of censorship or control of the press in Colombia in the wake of the presidential election, when the government, as it explained it to keep order, forbid the publishing or broadcasting other than official returns. A newspaper and radio station made a complaint to us. We made an inquiry to President Carlos Lleras Restrepo, who reiterated Colombia's belief in and respect for a free press.

The unusual thing about this censorship, the censors were not called censors or controllers, they were called proof-readers.

There was brief censorship in some newspapers in Guayaquil after the President of Ecuador, José Velasco Ibarra assumed dictatorial authority.

We have received and are investigating reports of further violations of freedom of the press in Ecuador.

In Uruguay, El Popular, the Communist paper, was closed for ten days, particularly during the Tupamaro acts of kidnapping and violence.

To digress a little bit I think that we ought to keep an eye on all of these movements such as the Tupamaros, the guerrillas, and other because they are as much of a threat to a free press as are the dictatorial governments.

In Peru the government invoked its press law to fine Expreso -- you remember this is one of the papers that was seized by the government -- \$228.00 for failure to print a government hand-out. In Peru the law provides that you have to print all government communiques. This is the paper that the government expropriated. It itself found the government hand-out too strong to print, and didn't print, so was fined \$228.00.

Needless to say, the three Peruvians who came to see us in Jamaica did not protest to us about this fine.

Ahead of the overthrow in Bolivia, the old government modified its press decree to allow newspapers to print on Monday mornings. This right had been reserved to the union newspaper. But it retained the decree that compels editors to print editorials by members of the staff who disagree with the editors of the newspaper's policy.

The change was made after El Diario was fined \$430.00 for appearing a little before noon on one Monday morning.

Alberto Bailey, the Minister of Information who was generally credited with writing the press law, departed from the government just ahead of the overthrow. He was a severe critic of IAPA. This decree was the subject of a letter that President Copley of IAPA sent to former President Ovando.

In Brazil, Mury Jorge Lydia, of Tribuna da Imprensa, was sentenced to three months in jail on the charge of creating animosity to government officials by questioning the calculation of living costs.

In another instance a page was removed from an Italian magazine that carried a story on the Pope's reception for the Archbishop of Recife. And in June two newspapermen faced military court trials for attacking the political regime in articles in their newspapers.

IAPA made a strong statement regarding the Chilean situation after Dr. Salvador Allende, the avowed Marxist, won a plurality in the September 4 election. In his campaign he spoke of nationalizing the communications industry, the banking industry, some manufacturing, and the mining industries. After the election -- as our statement pointed out -- the forces that backed him -- the Socialists, the Communists and the other extreme left-wingers -- began to exert great pressures on newspaper editors, radio and television operators to get them to swing the election before Congress to Dr. Allende.

Under the Chilean constitution no candidate gets a majority in the popular election; the Congress must pick a president from the two leading candidates. This will take place on October 24, the day after we adjourn, so we will have to keep a close eye on this situation.

Personally, I am both deeply concerned and puzzled by the developments in Chile. The united parties who helped elect Dr. Allende have been negotiating a deal whereby the constitution will be amended to guarantee free elections and a free press in exchange for Congress giving the presidency to Dr. Allende.

What concerns me is the forces that made Dr. Allende's election possible do not believe in freedom of the press. What puzzles me is how can

a free press survive in a Socialist state? It didn't survive in Russia, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, or nearer to home, in Cuba.

Further, if Chile becomes a Marxist state there is a great danger that Marxism will spread to other nations in Latin America, where left-wing and radical forces -- even in the rightest military dictatorships -- are waiting for an opportunity to take over, such as they have done in Bolivia. And when they do, the free press will vanish along with all the other freedoms.

If Chile does lose free press it will pose the biggest challenge to us since Dictator Juan Perón seized La Prensa in Argentina, forced its editor, Dr. Alberto Gainza Paz, into exile, and destroyed what freedom remained. This time the victims will be El Mercurio, one of the great newspapers of the Americas, its publisher, Agustín Edwards, one of our most respected members and a former President, and the other publishers of Chile.

Now, in my four years as Chairman of the Freedom of the Press Committee I've tried to analyze what has brought about the deterioration of press freedom in the Americas. Basically, it is because, we, as citizens, have taken a free press for granted. The newspaper is at our door every morning or every afternoon, and sometimes both morning and afternoon. It tells us what we need to know about our government and what we have a human right to know. We can no longer take this right for granted, as the peoples of Cuba, Panama, Bolivia, Peru, Brazil, Paraguay, and other countries have discovered.

Anti-democratic governments, even those ruled by sincere military or other men dedicated to the salvation and progress of their countries at any cost, seldom tolerate criticism or the exposé of their blunders or their failures. So they reason the best way to avoid these expositions is to stifle, control or censor the press.

Even in some democratic countries the politicians, except, of course, at election time, wish the press would just go away. But free men must not allow the press to go away, nor must we allow anyone to take it away from us, because when freedom of the press disappears it is not long until other freedoms disappear too.

So today I hope we all consider that we must, through our members and our newspapers and magazines, get this lesson to the people, so that they will not allow the press to be stripped of its independence, its courage to expose wrongdoing, or its responsibility to keep people informed; to tell them what they need to know as free men and what they have a right to know.

It is to this ideal that we must rededicate ourselves, our brains,

our resources, our newspapers and our magazines, so that we may maintain freedom where it exists now and regain freedom in those countries where men have become slaves of the state instead of its masters. Thank you. (Applause)

Before starting our country-by-country report, I would like to reiterate the names of the Committee that will handle the Conclusions and Recommendations, as well as the style of the report.

I would like to introduce Germán Ornes, the Chairman. The other members William Giandoni, William Williamson, Andrés García Lavín, Horacio Aguirre, Brady Black, Riobó Caputto, JS Gray, José Dutriz, Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, Julio de Mesquita, Peter Manigault, Rodrigo Madrigal and Napoleón Viera Altamirano.

You will notice that this Committee is made up of more members than usual, because we consider that this report and this action we take today will probably be as great as any that we have taken and we want to get out an excellent report in all its details.

Mr. Ornes has divided the Committee into two sections: one which will edit the reports for style and continuity, and adjust the written reports to whatever is brought out in the debate and oral conversation; the other will discuss and write the Conclusions.

All speakers with written reports should deliver a copy to a member of the Committee, and the Committee is seated around the various tables here.

All reports will be given over this mike, and those of agility can come up on the platform here and those with less agility can use the stairs over there.

The Committee will study all written and oral reports and all discussions and debates on each country and will write its Conclusions. These Conclusions then will be again brought to the Assembly on Friday and debated at that time.

Recommendations will go to the Resolutions Committee for action.

In writing the report this year, in writing the Conclusions, the Committee will follow as much as possible the procedure and the designations we used at Jamaica, and also the new designations written by Lee Hills' -- the New Guidelines for Freedom of the Press and approved by the Board of Directors on Monday.

In other words, we expect to find each country in one of these three categories: there is a free press; the press is restricted; there is

no free press. This certainly will apply to countries like Cuba and Haiti.

While we have traditionally called the roll in alphabetical order, we are going to dispense with that today so that the reports may get to the secretariat in faster fashion and so that they may be completed in the limited time available.

As you will recall, we used to have from Monday to Friday to get all of our reports in. Now it will be from Wednesday to Friday. So we have changed the order just a little bit.

As I call the country, I would appreciate it if the man who is to give the report, the Vice Chairman, would come up to the podium here and give his report. Then we will call for debate, and anyone who has anything to say about the report, or take difference with it, or amplify it, or anything else should also come up here to speak, because there are no mikes on the tables there.

In coming up here, please, for the record, identify yourself and your paper.

The first report will be from El Salvador by José Dutriz.

SR. JOSE DUTRIZ (La Prensa Gráfica, San Salvador, El Salvador): El reporte sobre la situación en El Salvador es: Hay absoluta libertad de prensa. (Aplausos)

MR. HARRIS: Any comment on Salvador?

MR. PAUL KIDD (Southam Newspapers, Canada): Purely a point of order, Mr. Chairman. You just said a few minutes ago if there is any debate it should follow the initial presentation of the reports. If I understood it, each report would be given and then the debate would commence. As soon as the representative of El Salvador completed his report, you asked if there was any comment.

I just want clarification on what the format and procedure is going to be.

MR. HARRIS: We will take the report from the Chairman and when he completes his report, if there is anybody that differs with him, wants to amplify it, add to it, take from it, they may do it right at that time, because we are not coming back to the individual reports.

MR. KIDD: In that case, Mr. Chairman, I do wish some clarification.

Would you bear with me for about ten seconds. Thank you.

Mr. Chairman, delegates: I am not making a speech. I am speaking pertinently and directly to the report of El Salvador, but I would like to take about twenty words to explain why I am asking the question for the clarification from El Salvador.

We have before us a report which, if adopted in its present form, will become something of a Magna Charta of the freedom of the press in the hemisphere. As Mr. Copley pointed out, this is a vitally important meeting, and what we do about this report could set our guidelines for years to come.

In Section 7 of this proposed report -- and I would hope that every delegate has a copy of this report, which was reprinted also, I noticed, in the special supplement put out by The News this morning -- it says:

"Is your country free of any law designed to restrict the ingress of foreign newspapermen or to restrict newspaper -- and I specify this -- or to restrict newspaper editorship and ownership to citizens on your country, or any law that puts a tax on advertising and circulation on publications in or from without the country?"

In Puerto Rico in 1967 the General Assembly passed a resolution saying that a study will be made of the constitution's laws and statutes that restrict the rights of foreigners in owning or directing newspapers, magazines and other publications.

These reports have now come to the possession of the Inter American Press Association and whatever I say here or later at this meeting will be based purely on reports in possession of the Inter American Press Association. I now go to El Salvador.

To my great embarrassment I find that El Salvador -- and to my great pleasure, I might add also -- that I fully accept the report of El Salvador. It is not in violation of Point 7 of this report. I am sorry I mislead you, but I hope to rectify this a little later on.

SR. ALDO ZUCCOLILLO (ABC Color, Asunción, Paraguay): Sr. Presidente, es para pedirle a los señores que utilicen los micrófonos el favor de que hablen despacio, porque si hablan como ametralladoras las traductoras no pueden seguirlos y los que hablan otro idioma tampoco pueden seguir el hilo de la conversación. Nada mas, Sr. Presidente.

MR. HARRIS: Guatemala. José Dutriz.

SR. DUTRIZ: Tengo también la representación de Guatemala como vicepresidente regional.

La situación en Guatemala es también de que hay absoluta libertad de prensa. (Aplausos)

MR. HARRIS: Any discussion on Guatemala?

MR. PAUL KIDD: I won't bore the Assembly by reiterating what I have said. I am asking for clarification on the same lines that I just outlined, except this time my observation is directed to Guatemala.

The law which is in the possession of the IAPA says: "With regard to Guatemala, only Guatemalans by birth may be owners, publishers, editors or managing editors of newspapers."

Section 7 of the Guidelines says, or suggests, or claims, or alleges we have to decide whether we accept a definition -- to restrict newspapers editorship and ownership to citizens of your country is a violation of freedom of the press as defined by this suggested report.

It seems to me that there is no question, no doubt that the law is it stands in Guatemala is in total contravention of that which is suggested in this report.

I want to ask the delegate of Guatemala why he did not make note of this; does he intend to make note of it; and just what is his position and the position of the Guatemalan delegation on this?

SR. DUTRIZ: Siento mucho no poder contestar la pregunta a mi antecesor porque mi representación aquí se circunscribió exclusivamente a lo que los editores de Guatemala me dieron en su reporte. No conocí a ningún antecedente de otra naturaleza, nada mas que el ejercicio de libertad de prensa en Guatemala es absoluto.

Siento mucho que no haya ninguno de Guatemala aquí para que pudiera defender este asunto. Así es que yo me concreto únicamente a lo que he dicho antes.

MR. HARRIS: The Chair would like to make a little comment on this matter that Mr. Kidd has brought up. It is true that this is one of our Guidelines for the point value, but it does not mean that the press is restricted completely because of this one diversion. However, it is a good guideline and we are going to stick to it.

One thing I would like to mention. Before we completed our survey of all such guidelines, many of the countries in Latin America went under military dictatorships which abrogated the present constitutions. So in many of those countries we know that the old constitutions are dead for the

time being and, therefore, this is almost an academic thing in most of the countries.

Is there some other comment on this?

SR. JORGE IBARRA, Guatemala: En efecto yo estoy aquí como invitado nada más, pero en vista de que se ha mencionado mi país, y también por el hecho de leer todos los periódicos de Guatemala, estoy totalmente convencido de que hay absoluta libertad de prensa en mi país. Hasta ahora no he visto ninguna prohibición y por eso estoy de acuerdo con lo que dijo el representante de mi país del Salvador, Sr. Dutriz, y confirmar precisamente que si hay verdadera libertad de prensa en Guatemala, Centro América. Es todo. (Aplausos)

MR. HARRIS: Thank you, sir. We appreciate your appearance.

Any other comment on Guatemala?

The Conclusions Committee will take note of these comments in evaluating whether each country has a free press, a restricted press or no free press. The Chairman of that Committee is sitting here and he will take note of all of these things that come up outside of the regular report.

The next country is Honduras, Pedro Chamorro.

SR. PEDRO JOAQUIN CHAMORRO (La Prensa, Managua, Nicaragua): Sr. Presidente, yo quisiera que usted invitara al periodista Oscar Acosta de Honduras, que entiendo está presente aquí para que él reportara sobre la libertad de expresión en su país.

SR. OSCAR ACOSTA: Voy a informar a la Asamblea que en Honduras existe libertad de prensa.

Ha habido algunos pequeños incidentes que no pueden llamarse totalmente restrictivos de la libertad de expresión.

En resumen, hay libertad de prensa en Honduras. (Aplausos)

MR. HARRIS: We will also hear from Mr. Chamorro on Nicaragua.

In the meantime is there any comment on Honduras?

MR. PAUL KIDD: With regards to the earlier points I made about Guatemala I would like to apply the same towards Honduras.

The Honduras law states: "Foreigner may not be publisher or editors of newspapers."

Again we come up with this guideline. Now unless we are going to take note and act on these guidelines as bible guides; unless they are going to mean something to this organization; or unless they are going to be scoffed at, we might as well eliminate them.

We have to decide of these ten points, and I only see 7 points that actually relate to freedom of the press. Three relate specifically to business interests. And if we are not going to enforce these guidelines, then for heaven's sake, let's delete them from this Magna Charta.

MR. IGNACIO E. LOZANO (La Opinión, Los Angeles, Calif.): Mr. Chairman, we are over 7,000 feet high. I am a little concerned about Mr. Kidd huffing and puffing up here at each country report.

We know that there are a number of countries that have laws restricting ownership of newspapers. May I suggest that Mr. Kidd recite the names of all of them at once, make his point and then let us continue on with our reports?

(Applause)

MR. HARRIS: Mr. Kidd, is that agreeable to you?

MR. KIDD: Ladies and gentlemen, I assure you I do not want to prolong this meeting one second more than I have to. But if I have to, I'll do it. And there's a reason I am doing it. My country, Canada, has been blasted and the Canadian Committee report has been overruled by the Board of Directors. And when there are 14 countries in this hemisphere in similar alleged delinquency -- and I don't accept that Canada is in alleged delinquency -- as Canada and go completely overlooked by the Board of Directors.

I am not going to have Canada made the whipping boy of the hemisphere. And that is why I am bringing out country by country, where there is a violation, and I think I have made my point very, very clear. (Applause)

MR. HARRIS: Thank you, sir.

MR. G. J. SCHOUTEN: I agree with the last speaker, because we are here at a meeting to bring out our points. We are not here who cannot bear with a speaker coming up every time, I am sorry for him.

In my country -- and I think that the IAPA has to make this point very clear -- because has the IAPA the right to tell me in any country to

whom the government will give the right to have newspapers? We are protected; we are publishers there and I am very sorry but an American concern wanted to come in and put up a newspaper, we are going to fight to keep it out. And that, I think, has nothing to do with freedom of the press.

It is our government that made the laws and the IAPA is not there to tell us what laws to make, but the IAPA is there to protect freedom of the press, and a law like that has nothing to do with freedom of the press, in my opinion. Thank you. (Applause)

MR. HARRIS: Is there any other comment on Honduras?

Mr. Chamorro, Nicaragua.

SR. CHAMORRO: En Nicaragua existe desde hace tres años una ley restrictiva de la libertad de expresión.

Durante el mes de septiembre se efectuó en Managua una reunión de la Asociación de Periódicos de Centro América y allí se tomó esta resolución que ilustra sobre la situación de Nicaragua.

Dice, "Hay libertad de prensa, pero existe una ley que, en el criterio del director de Novedades, el periódico progubernamental, es restrictiva de la libertad."

Es decir, reconoció el órgano gubernamental que la ley es restrictiva. Y en el criterio de quien habla es atentatoria de la libertad de expresión.

Esa ley se aplicó hace unos días a un semanario de tendencia comunista. La citada ley confiere al Ministro de gobernación la facultad de clausurar un periódico sin previo juicio, sin encauzamiento de ninguna especie, y sin que el periódico haya sido llevado a un tribunal ordinario de justicia.

Por eso es que la ley, repito, es restrictiva de la libertad de expresión, y se aplicó a este semanario comunista, lo cual ha sido interpretado como que se trata de una prueba para hacerla funcionar después contra órganos de prensa independientes.

También, el gobierno de Nicaragua acaba de demandar a la Agencia France Presse por la hermosa suma de sesenta millones de dólares. El objeto de esa demanda es presionar a la Agencia a destituir al corresponsal que tiene actualmente que es un alto empleado del diario La Prensa, y hacer que France Presse ponga a un corresponsal que informe en una forma favorable sobre el gobierno de Nicaragua. Ese es, Sr. Presidente, mi informe sobre Nicaragua. Gracias. (Aplausos)

MR. HARRIS: Thank you, Mr. Chamorro. Any comments on Nicaragua?

SR. L. G. MARTINEZ (Novedades, Managua, Nicaragua): Sólo para hacer una pequeña aclaración a lo dicho por el colega Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, porque en efecto el mes pasado, el 4 de septiembre, se adoptó en la Asociación de Periódicos de Centro América la resolución que él ya leyó, y fue aceptada.

Con respecto a la aplicación de esta ley, quería exponer ante esta Asamblea que en efecto se aplicó contra este semanario, pero quiero recordar que la constitución política en Nicaragua ha proscrito el comunismo. Eso es todo.

MR. HARRIS: Thank you, sir.

SR. GUILLERMO MARTINEZ MARQUEZ: Quería nada mas, que como periodista, informar que estuve en Managua hace dos meses, tuve el honor de estar con nuestro querido compañero Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, a quien aprecio de veras hace muchos años, y vi allí que hay absoluta libertad de prensa.

El Dr. Chamorro, en su periódico dice, yo creo, todo lo que tiene ganas de decir, y creo que lo hace bien.

Mi pregunta es la siguiente: ¿Vamos a defender aquí la libertad de prensa de los órganos del partido comunista? ¿Si o no? Eso es todo. Quisiera que la Asamblea lo resolviera.

MR. HARRIS: Thank you, sir.

SR. CHAMORRO: En primer lugar, cuando yo cité el caso de la aplicación de la ley restrictiva de la libertad de expresión que existe en Nicaragua a un órgano de tendencia comunista expliqué claramente que esa medida se estaba tomando como un tanteo para después aplicar la ley a otros órganos que son independientes.

En segundo lugar, lo que dice mi querido amigo, el Dr. Martínez Márquez, respecto de la existencia de una prensa libre en Nicaragua, de hecho es cierto, y así lo he reconocido yo.

Pero no podemos pasar por alto la existencia de una ley que viene a ser, no solo restrictiva, sino antijurídica y violatoria de las normas jurídicas elementales en una sociedad democrática occidental. Muchas gracias.

SR. HORACIO AGUIRRE (Diario las Americas, Miami, Florida): En esta XXVI Asamblea de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa quiero reiterar la opinión que he expresado en ocasiones anteriores con respecto a esa ley

restrictiva de la libertad de prensa que funciona en Nicaragua.

Yo estoy absolutamente de acuerdo con el ilustre expresidente de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa y dilecto amigo mio, luchador infatigable por la causa de la libertad de América, el Dr. Guillermo Martínez Márquez, en el sentido de que los periódicos que se publican hoy en Nicaragua disfrutan de absoluta libertad de prensa, especialmente el diario de oposición del Dr. Pedro Joaquín Chamorro que, como él lo ha dicho aquí, puede expresar lo que considera oportuno expresar.

Pero es distinto eso al hecho de la existencia de esa ley, que no es específicamente hecha para combatir el comunismo en Nicaragua. Es una ley que el diario Novedades ha considerado restrictiva y que el Dr. Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, que yo considero con acierto, ha considerado atentatoria contra la libertad de prensa.

Y en cierto modo pone en entredicho la libertad que de hecho existe, porque en un país donde de hecho no se aplica la esclavitud pero hay una ley que permite, o la tolera, o la lamenta, aunque de hecho no se aplique, representa una amenaza contra la dignidad humana. Y no puede decirse, en un sentido total, absoluto, de que la esclavitud no existe.

Esta ley se ha aplicado, si mal no recuerdo, y si me equivoco le pido al Dr. Chamorro que me lo aclare, al diario La Prensa hace un par de años o tres años, en el año 1967, se le aplicó.

Es una ley que le da facultades al poder ejecutivo para sancionar a un periódico y le da oportunidad al periódico castigado para apelar después que se ha aplicado el castigo.

Por consiguiente, lo considero, como lo he expresado en ocasiones anteriores, que la ley es contraria al espíritu y la letra de nuestros estatutos, de nuestra carta constitutiva, y sobre todo del concepto tradicional y respetable de la libertad de prensa.

Reitero sí, porque leo los periódicos de Nicaragua que allí se publica sin limitaciones de ninguna naturaleza lo que los periódicos de oposición quieren decir.

Pero la vigencia de esa ley constituye una espada de Damocles sobre la cabeza de los periodistas independientes del país.

Yo estoy totalmente de acuerdo con el Dr. Martínez Márquez en que los enemigos de la libertad de prensa, como son los comunistas, no deben acogerse a las medidas consagratorias de las otras libertades públicas de parte de la democracia.

El día que los comunistas permitan que en un régimen comunista la libertad de prensa funcione, yo sería partidario que disfrutaran plenamente de libertad, de libertad de prensa sobretodo. Pero eso no es el caso. Ellos proclaman abiertamente que la libertad de prensa es incompatible con el sistema comunista.

Pero el caso de Nicaragua, de esa ley que el diario Novedades considera restrictiva de la libertad de prensa, y que el diario La Prensa considera atentatoria, sí es violatoria del espíritu que debe orientar el concepto de la libertad de prensa. Eso es todo, Sr. Presidente.

SR. MARTINEZ MARQUEZ: Quiero aclarar, para que no quede ninguna duda, mi posición. No he apoyado, ni apoyo, ni apoyaré mientras viva, ninguna ley restrictiva de la libertad de prensa, ni en Nicaragua ni en ningún otro país.

Quizás no haya estado de acuerdo con algunas cosas que ha dicho el diario La Prensa, pero daría mi vida porque pudiera seguir disfrutando de la libertad de expresión.

Ahora bien, el problema que yo he planteado es completamente distinto, y no se refiere solamente a Nicaragua. Se refiere a toda la América. Hay una tendencia a confundir la libertad de expresión democrática con la libertad de expresión para los enemigos de la democracia.

Si ustedes quieren un ejemplo reciente y dramático pongan su vista en Chile, donde el gobierno de Chile, haciendo uso de esa libertad, manteniéndose derecho, permitió que hubiera ya, y que hay un periódico de tendencia comunista, El Siglo. Y yo creo que no es compatible con la democracia y que no debe permitirse la libertad a los que quieren matar la libertad.

Por eso he pedido una definición al Comité de la Libertad de Expresión, al Ejecutivo, a la Asamblea General, o al organismo que competa, exclusivamente para que diga una vez mas lo que ya está en nuestros estatutos, que el comunismo no es compatible con la democracia. Y si nosotros no admitimos a los periódicos comunistas en nuestra sociedad, no podemos defenderlos luego para que luego pase lo que está pasando en Chile.

El órgano de expresión prestigiosísimo, El Mercurio, está en entredicho con respecto al futuro gobierno y en cambio el periódico El Siglo, el periódico comunista, pudo socavar la base democrática de Chile.

Pido, pues, como una propuesta formal que luego llevaré al Comité de Resoluciones, que se defina si en esta sala, si en esta Sociedad, se va a defender el derecho de los comunistas a socavar los cimientos de la democracia. Eso es todo. (Aplausos)

SR. L. G. MARTINEZ: Colegas, en alguna u otra forma, casi en todos los países existen leyes que desgraciadamente restringen o atentan contra la libertad de expresión. Eso sucede desgraciadamente en Nicaragua.

Voy a leer la resolución, repito, que adoptó la Asociación de Periódicos Centroamericanos el mes pasado en la ciudad de Managua.

"Guatemala: existe libertad de prensa que está regulada por una ley constitucional.

"Honduras: Hay libertad de expresión.

"Nicaragua: hay libertad de prensa, pero existe una ley de prensa que, en el criterio del director de Novedades, Luis Pallais Debayle, es restrictiva, y en el criterio del director de La Prensa, Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, es atentatoria de la libertad. Esa ley todavía no ha sido aplicada."

Quiero hacer la aclaración de que esta resolución fue redactada por el Dr. Pedro Joaquín Chamorro.

"Costa Rica: Hay libertad de prensa. La existente ley de imprenta, que es anacrónica, será eliminada en fecha próxima.

"Se ha redactado un proyecto y nueva ley de prensa para su aprobación en la Asamblea Legislativa con lo que se actualizará esa legislación de prensa."

Esa es la situación en Centroamérica.

MR. HARRIS: Any other comments on Nicaragua? Now we will go to Costa Rica.

SR. RODRIGO MADRIGAL NIETO (La República, San José, Costa Rica): En Costa Rica hay absoluta libertad de prensa.

Quisiera además que como está aquí entre nosotros el periodista don Manuel Formoso, subdirector de otro diario de mi país y quien por sus méritos fue laureado por esta misma Asociación, él adicionara, corrigiera, o agregara lo que él a bien tenga con respecto al comentario que acabo de hacer. Muchas gracias, Sr. Presidente.

SR. MANUEL FORMOSO (La Nación, San José, Costa Rica): Cuando se habla de la libertad de prensa, no puede considerarse que la libertad de prensa es algo así que se puede medir con un metro. Es un concepto abstracto.

Creo yo que en muy pocos países de América se disfruta de la libertad de

prensa en la medida absoluta, total, en que la disfrutamos en Costa Rica desde hace mas de cien años. Realmente allí no ha estado oscurecida la libertad de prensa nunca.

No únicamente por nosotros, que eso sea méritos nuestros, no. Es mérito de ese pueblo de Costa Rica que, desde hace también cien años, estableció la enseñanza primaria gratuita y obligatoria. En consecuencia, tenemos un pueblo que lee, que sabe leer hace cien años, porque hace cien años se obligó al pueblo a aprender a leer mediante una ley que, incluso, castigaba al padre que no mandaba a sus hijos a las escuelas.

A eso se debe que nuestros periódicos, siendo un país pequeño (Costa Rica tiene un millon setecientos mil habitantes) mi periódico, La Nación circula 65,000 ejemplares, que proporcionalmente, creo que es una de las mas altas circulaciones que tiene un periódico en América.

También allá existe una ley de prensa. Leyes de prensa existen en todas partes, y cuando no existe la ley el dictador la improvisa, y su voluntad es la ley, y hasta allí llega la libertad de prensa.

En Costa Rica no podría producirse, pienso yo, una limitación de libertad de prensa, porque nosotros pelearíamos por ella, pero detras de nosotros estaría todo el pueblo de Costa Rica, que es enamorado de la libertad. Ese es mi pensamiento. (Aplausos)

MR.HARRIS: Any discussion on Costa Rica? We will now pass to Haiti.

SR. GERMAN E. ORNES (El Caribe, Santo Domingo, Rep. Dominicana):Haiti: no hay libertad de prensa.

En el período comprendido por este informe las condiciones de absoluta falta de libertad bajo las cuales vive la prensa haitiana no han experimentado alteración alguna.

Los periódicos haitianos tienen una sola política informativa y editorial, la del régimen del Dr. François Duvalier.

Liberación Haitiana, una organización de periodistas haitianos en el exilio, ha enviado a esta Comisión por intermedio de su secretario, Edward Belland, residente en Santo Domingo, un informe extenso y dramático en el que se da cuenta, no solo del estado de la prensa haitiana sino también de una serie de violaciones por parte del régimen de Duvalier al derecho que tiene todo pueblo a estar bien informado, así como el principio general de la libre expresión del pensamiento.

En ese informe se indica que hay una comisión de censura que tiene sus oficinas en el aeropuerto François Duvalier, de Puerto Principe, lleva como tarea específica:

(a) Revisar antes de entregarles a las librerías todos los periódicos de procedencia foránea; páginas enteras, llevando informaciones o críticas tildadas de sediciosas, son recortadas.

Los libreros perjudicados no se atreven a señalarlas, mucho menos a elevar protestas.

(b) Quitar a los pasajeros en la revisión del equipaje cualquier ejemplar de una publicación extranjera clasificada indeseable por la policía política.

(c) Registrar los documentos, correspondencia, papeles personales de los pasajeros según una lista negra de 10,000 nombres archivadas por orden alfabético, lo que permite identificar cualquier familiar de un exiliado que vuelve al país.

Es obligación de dicho funcionario informar sobre todas las solicitudes de visa antes de otorgarlas.

(d) Demorar la entrega de cualquier bulto o maletín, en el cual se sospecha la presencia de documentos, cartas, cintas magnetofónicas, discos, etc., hasta que los agentes de policía secreta revisan su contenido, sacando copias fotostáticas, grabados relacionados con supuestas actividades contra el gobierno, lo que puede traer al pasajero involucrado una expulsión inmediata si es extranjero, o un interrogatorio por el cuerpo represivo, Ton-Ton Macoute.

Si las explicaciones no son satisfactorias el individuo queda preso dentro de uno de los calabozos Duvalieristas con pésimas condiciones, sometido a toda clase de vejámenes por los esbirros de la policía secreta.

El informe agrega que el control de los ocho diarios de la capital se realiza por medio de un agente civil que tiene su asiento en la mesa del director, el cual no puede, dentro de su propio despacho, sostener una conversación privada, recibir una visita personal de índole político, sin que sea llamando a confrontación sobre los puntos que habían escapado a la comprensión del testigo audiovisual.

Todos los directores de periódicos diarios desempeñan cargos en el gobierno, lo que hace de ellos parte integrante del equipo gubernativo, restando así toda independencia a la prensa.

El decano de la prensa, Le Nouvelliste, tiene como director a Ducien Montas, jefe de la División de Asuntos Culturales del Departamento de Relaciones Exteriores.

Le Matin, cuyo director, propietario Frank Magliore fue miembro de la

SIP y hoy reside en Miami, está dirigido por Demarest Chaillet que funge de presidente de la Asociación de Periodistas Haitianos, entidad gremial que ha sido depurada por la expulsión de la mayor parte de sus miembros.

Otro tiene como director al exministro de comercio, Magliore, actualmente subdirector del Banco Nacional de la República de Haití.

Panorama tiene como director a Paul Blanchet, quien es Ministro de Información y Coordinación del Gabinete.

Le Novo Monde está dirigido por Gerald de Catalogne, que ostenta el cargo de Director General de Turismo.

Le Jour tiene como director a Herbert Carre que está actualmente en el exilio. Le cortaron el pago del arrendamiento de su taller de imprenta cuando renunció a su cargo de embajador en Argentina hace tres años.

LA IMPRENTA del Estado, que edita la gaceta oficial, Le Moniteur, ha visto cambiado su estatuto y nombre, llamándose Le Expresse National para centralizar todos los trabajos de la administración pública, y al mismo tiempo competir con las imprentas privadas en el campo de los anuncios comerciales, edición de libros, pamfletos, membretes y generalmente todos los trabajos de tipografía.

Su director, un teniente del ejército, se hace cargo de solicitar por teléfono pedidos a los comerciantes bajo la amenaza de un agente de Ton-Ton Macoute en la puerta de su negocio, que constituye en realidad una competencia desleal a las empresas privadas para restarles oportunidades de empleo a centenares de obreros de tipografía.

Los tres semanarios que se editan en la capital tienen por igual los mismo vínculos visibles u ocultos con el Departamento del Interior, y sus redactores son empleados públicos y no periodistas profesionales.

La radio no escapa el control estatal, y las limitaciones son mayores aún, mas estrictas, tomando en consideración la forma drástica en que se castiga a los locutores imprudentes.

Sobre este particular yo le pregunté a alguien muy versado en cuestiones haitianas aquí ayer y me dijo que la radio no transmite noticias locales en absoluto por temor a la represalia. Es muy peligroso. Fue lo que me dijo.

Los comentarios y noticias de tipo político -- y esto es parte del informe otra vez -- son terminantemente prohibidos en los espacios noticiosos.

Lo mismo para las informaciones que se refieren a ocurrencias en el

extranjero que ofrecen analogías con la situación interna.

Las infracciones a esa ley, no escrita, por parte de los locutores se castigan a veces antes de que finalice su turno en la cabina de la estación radial. Hasta aquí el informe del grupo Liberación Haitiana. Creo que se explica por si mismo y no requiere mas comentario. (Aplausos)

MR. HARRIS: Thank you, Mr. Ornes. Any comment, discussion or debate on Haiti?

SR. ALDO ZUCCOLILLO (ABC Color, Asunción, Paraguay): Por favor, quiero pedir disculpas para volver un pasito atrás en esta reunión sobre un tema que considero altamente importante, al cual tal vez no le hayamos prestado suficiente atención y que mas tarde puede servirnos para algo.

Es sobre el caso de Costa Rica. Querría, por favor, como aquí debajo de la mesa y allí atrás de la cortina, y a lo mejor allá atrás de la puerta, hay un cuco que se llama comunismo, yo querría por favor pedirle a nuestro colega el Dr. Rodrigo Madrigal Nieto, por favor si puede responder unas preguntas que yo le quiero hacer sobre Costa Rica.

El señor que habló sobre Costa Rica informó algo sobre la educación. Dijo que desde hace cien años, más o menos, el padre que no manda a sus hijos a la escuela es multado por el gobierno. Entonces yo querría preguntarles a los señores de Costa Rica, teniendo presente que ellos manifestaron que existe absoluta libertad de prensa, y haciendo una referencia a lo que dijo anteriormente nuestro dilecto colega, el Sr. Guillermo Martínez Márquez, por favor, doctor ¿existe absoluta libertad de prensa en Costa Rica?

DR. MADRIGAL NIETO: Desde luego, por supuesto, completa.

SR. ZUCCOLILLO: ¿Circulan libremente todos los periódicos?

DR. MADRIGAL NIETO: Totalmente.

SR. ZUCCOLILLO: ¿Inclusive periódicos o semanarios comunistas?

UNIDENTIFIED VOICE: Sr. Presidente, yo creo que está fuera de orden.

Que haga sus preguntas y después que conteste el señor.

SR. ZUCCOLILLO: Correcto, pero como lo que necesitamos es un objetivo nada mas ¿verdad? Entonces, Sr. Presidente, ¿puedo continuar?

MR. HARRIS: I think the matter is very interesting, so let's go ahead.

SR. ZUCCOLILLO: Correcto. Resumiendo entonces, por favor, quería saber

si en Costa Rica circulan libremente los periódicos comunistas y si son o no leídos, y si eso tiene alguna relación con la educación que tiene el pueblo de Costa Rica.

DR. MADRIGAL NIETO: Sr. Presidente, voy a contestar a las preguntas que me ha formulado el Sr. Zuccolillo, manifestando que desde luego, hay absoluta libertad de prensa. Circulan todos los periódicos, y hay inclusive semanarios comunistas que circulan en mi país. Circula concreta y específicamente uno llamado Libertad que creo que insulta reiteradamente a quien ellos a bien tengan, pero no ha prosperado porque no hay suficientes lectores ni gente que le preste atención.

Creo efectivamente que este es un fenómeno de la educación que se le ha dado al pueblo de Costa Rica durante muchos años, de lo cual nos sentimos muy orgullosos sin que nosotros pretendámos de ninguna manera que somos modelo para nadie.

Le explicaba al Sr. Zuccolillo, cuando me hacía la pregunta también, que creo que ese ejercicio de la democracia constante, la alternabilidad en el poder, el hecho de que haya una libertad plena, ha sido un cultivo muy apropiado para que el comunismo sienta rechazo como una manifestación espontánea del pueblo, y no como imposición de dictadura alguna. Y desde luego en ese sentido dejo aclarado el informe de Costa Rica.

Como bien se ha dicho aquí, todos estos conceptos de libertad, de democracia, son conceptos relativos como lo es el del amor, como es cualquier otra de estas cosas sutiles que son valores en el hombre. Y nosotros vivimos en un ambiente pleno de libertad hasta donde nuestra estructura nos permite hacerlo. Quizá normas que en Costa Rica son viables y posibles, no sean aplicables en otros países, y al inverso. Regulaciones con las cuales una sociedad se gobierna perfectamente bien quizá no servirían en Costa Rica.

No sé si he sido suficientemente amplio, pero desde luego quedo a las ordenes del Sr. Zuccolillo para cualquier otra pregunta que quiera formular.

SR. ZUCCOLILLO: Muchas gracias, doctor.

Por favor, Sr. Formoso, ¿querría usted hablarnos sobre la educación del pueblo de Costa Rica?

SR. FORMOSO: Dije anteriormente, existe una ley que se llama La Ley Mauro Fernández, porque fue creación de un gran educador que se llamó don Mauro Fernández. La Ley Mauro Fernández estableció la enseñanza gratuita y obligatoria a costa del estado. El estado está obligado a ofrecer escuelas a todos los niños que llegan a la edad escolar.

Es obligatoria y los jefes políticos -- y allá llamamos jefes políti-

cos a la autoridad máxima de una cabeza de partido, de un distrito, poblaciones menores -- si ven que un padre de familia no manda a sus niños a las escuelas, tienen facultades legales para imponerle una multa.

Esta última parte de la ley no se aplica porque no es necesario, porque la gente manda a sus niños a la escuela sin que le pongan una sanción.

Ahora voy a otro punto. En Costa Rica sí circula un semanario comunista que se llama Libertad, lo cual es una paradoja, verdad, porque que hablen los comunistas de libertad es una paradoja. Lo entendemos así nosotros, y lo entiende el pueblo de Costa Rica, porque ese periódico circula ahora con el nombre de Libertad. Antes se llamaba Trabajo. Han intentado 40 fórmulas, y el pueblo no lo lee.

Me parece que mi compañero Rodrigo Madrigal explicó bien. El comunismo prospera cuando encuentra viento favorable. El mejor medio de combatir al comunismo sigue siendo la libertad; sigue siendo la democracia; sigue siendo el respeto al pensamiento ajeno, incluso el pensamiento comunista.

Yo creo, con todo respeto y con todo cariño que le tengo al Dr. don Guillermo Martínez Márquez, mi amigo hace muchos años, a mi me parece que no se puede aplicar hacia una norma general -- nosotros, en la constitución de Costa Rica tenemos la prohibición, hay un artículo constitucional, que prohíbe la existencia de partidos comunistas y la existencia de periódicos como este, pero nos parece ese artículo, que es el Artículo No. 98 de la Constitución, nos estorba; nos estorba porque dada la mentalidad democrática de aquel pueblo, pues algo así que no nos acaba de satisfacer, tener que recurrir a un sistema que es el que usan ellos.

Nosotros consideramos ese Artículo 98 de la Constitución una cosa desagradable, pues limita. Si alguien quiere ser comunista, que sea.

Yo comprendo, don Guillermo, comprendo que eso no se puede hacer en todas partes, y no lo tomen a vanidad ni a que yo siento un orgullo de que en nuestra Costa Rica si se puede. No es un país perfecto, tiene muchos defectos todavía, pero ese sentido de la libertad, ese sentido del respeto al pensamiento ajeno lo tiene nuestro pueblo tan metido que es como una segunda naturaleza. (Aplausos)

SR. ZUCCOLILLO: Señores, molesté a todos amigos solamente para que la Asamblea escuche las palabras de dos personas que realmente viven en un país democrático. Deseo, por favor, que lo anoten por si mas tarde puede volver a tocarse ese tema. Gracias.

MR. HARRIS. I have a request from Mr. Oscar Acosta for two minutes.

SR. OSCAR ACOSTA de Honduras: Desde la última reunión de la SIP efectua-

da en Washington hasta la fecha únicamente ha existido un incidente en mi país relacionado con la prensa.

En la última reunión del APCA, la Asociación de Periódicos de Centro América, efectuada el mes pasado en Managua, Nicaragua, presidida por Andrés Borrásé, los tres periódicos: El Día, del cual soy subdirector y jefe de redacción; El Cronista y La Prensa, de San Pedro Sula, determinaron y acordaron que existe absoluta e irrestricta libertad de prensa en mi país, Honduras.

El único incidente que se ha efectuado, como dije antes, desde la reunión de Washington en octubre del año pasado hasta la fecha, fue el atropello que miembros del Departamento de Investigación Nacional de mi país (DIN) le dieron al periodista Hermógenes Valladares del diario La Prensa de Managua el día 3 de octubre anterior, que es el Día del Ejército en mi país; se le decomisaron unas películas y la cámara fotográfica porque argumentaron los miembros de este cuerpo de investigación y seguridad que no lo conocían, y otros argumentos débiles.

La Asociación de Prensa Hondureña, presidida por el periodista Orlando Enriquez, protestó por el atropello contra el colega nicaraguense y también lo hizo el Licenciado Oscar Reyes Baca, director de la Escuela de Periodismo de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Honduras, así como todos los periódicos de mi país.

Es el único incidente que ha ocurrido desde octubre del año pasado hasta la fecha. Muchas gracias.

MR. HARRIS: Any further discussion on Haiti or Honduras? I will move on to the Netherland Antilles. Mr. Schouten.

MR. G. J. SCHOUTEN: Gentlemen, I am going to try to murder the Spanish language.

Yo pido en nombre del pueblo antillano que me perdonen a mi país por la falta de cortesía y falta de educación de nuestro gobierno. El motivo de eso fue que nosotros mandamos una resolución (la SIP) a nuestro gobierno protestando sobre un artículo que queríamos que saliera de la ley.

Nuestro gobierno, por falta de cortesía, o por falta de educación, no ha reconocido que se recibió ese papel, ni han contestado.

Yo quiero que ustedes se den cuenta que nosotros de Las Antillas no somos así. Es el gobierno. Por eso yo pido a la Asamblea que perdone al pueblo antillano por la falta de cortesía de nuestro gobierno, sin educación, que no contestó.

Ahora voy a dar mi informe. Hay libertad de prensa en las Antillas, pero yo vine a esta reunión para volver y quiero decir a mi gobierno que la SIP encontró modus vivendi para combatir las personas que quieren matar la libertad de prensa.

Yo quiero que la Asamblea, la SIP, empiece con mi país. Aunque tenemos libertad de prensa, nuestros gobernantes - y voy a decir muy claro la resolución que el Sr. Harris puede explicar, que nuestro presidente de la SIP puede explicar otra vez, fue adoptado en Washington, D. C. Nosotros pedimos allí a nuestro gobierno para sacar de la ley ese artículo donde dice:

"Cada persona o cada periódico que escribe algo contra el gobierno lo pueden considerar como si están levantando al pueblo."

Ustedes saben donde llega uno cuando quieren aplicar esa ley. Esa ley existe muchos años, en el tiempo del colonialismo, en el tiempo cuando los blancos querían dominar los negros, cuando ellos querían buscar ciertos derechos, trajeron esa ley, y después de 50 años acaban de aplicar esa ley en las Antillas Holandesas.

Uno de nuestros periodistas, muy radical, que hacía el uso de la libertad de prensa, también el abuso que no quiere decir libertad de prensa, no tenían como meterlo preso porque tenemos libertad de prensa, pero aplicaron ese artículo y lo tuvieron 14 días guardado, después lo tuvieron que soltar otra vez.

Cuando nosotros adoptamos y aceptamos en Washington esa resolución, yo mandé un telegrama a mi país que la SIP va a protestar para que saquen esa ley. Y ahora, señores, ustedes me perdonan que la SIP no siguió con eso.

Mandaron la resolución, se movilizó las Antillas Holandesas, el ministro presidente sobre el cable que yo mandé, enseguida movilizaron; tuvieron una reunión de emergencia y estaban listos para sacar esa ley de nuestro Código Penal. Pero la SIP durmió, la SIP no lo siguió, la SIP no continuó.

Mandaron la resolución y cuando el gobierno estaba esperando algo, un golpe mas, un impacto mas fuerte, no vino nada de la SIP, y el gobierno durmió otra vez.

Yo pido a esta Asamblea ahora que no manden una resolución, pero que protesten para que saquen esa ley antigua de nuestro Código Penal para que todo mundo allí en las Antillas pueda dormir tranquilo.

Ustedes que nunca han sido perseguidos, no pueden hablar de la persecución, pero muchos de los miembros viejos aquí -- yo soy uno de los viejos también -- se acuerdan que tuvimos como miembro aquí un periódico de las Antillas que se llamaba Chuchubi. Ese periódico ya no es miembro de la Socie-

dad Interamericana de Prensa, porque ese periódico esta escribiendo ahora, como dice la biblia, no hay que usar palabras lindas para que entiendan lo que quiere usted decir, y como ese periódico está completamente atacando y sacando todo que está oculto.

Si ese periódico sigue siendo miembro de la SIP entonces nosotros tenemos que poner un representante de la libertad de prensa para vivir en Aruba allí porque tendrá problemas todos los días para decir que es libertad de prensa o no.

Pero para ser mas corto ahora y por su paciencia, primero yo espero que ustedes perdonen a mi gobierno por su falta de respeto y cortesía, y quiero declarar que hay libertad de prensa en las Antillas Holandesas. Gracias.

MR. HARRIS: Our records show that we did send the resolution from Washington, "The IAPA urges the government of the Netherlands Antilles to eliminate Articles 136, a, b, c and d from the Penal Code, which limit freedom of the press." To my knowledge we have had no response to that resolution. Any discussion on the Netherlands Antilles?

If not, I think we are prepared to go to Cuba. The Cuban report will be given by Mario Rivadulla, who spent some six years in Castro's prison, and whom we first heard in Jamaica. I am sure that he will give us a good report on Cuba. He is taking the place today of Amadeo Barletta, our Vice Chairman.

SR. MARIO RIVADULLA, La Habana, Cuba, en el exilio: El pasado mes de abril concurrí, invitado a la reunión de medio año de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa en Jamaica, en mi condición de primer periodista cubano ex-carcelado por Castro que testimonió ante el organismo, rindiendo un informe de mis experiencias personales del estado de la prensa en Cuba y de la humillante condición a que estan sometidos los periodistas cubanos que guardan prisión bajo el régimen Castrista.

Ahora concurre nuevamente ante el organismo en su representación mas plena y amplia para transmitir a esta Asamblea el informe que rinde el vicepresidente responsable de Cuba, Amadeo Barletta, h., de El Mundo en el exilio, imposibilitado de concurrir personalmente a esta reunión.

El informe del Sr. Barletta dice así: "Al igual que en oportunidades anteriores tenemos que reiterar que no existe libertad de prensa en Cuba. Como tampoco existe ningún género de libertades para el esclavizado pueblo de la isla.

"En el caso de Cuba, vale decir que no existe prensa, ya que no puede considerarse como tal el conjunto de publicaciones oficiales que edita el

gobierno, cuyas ediciones son preparadas previamente dentro de un estrecho patrón ideológico que tiene como único propósito hacer la apología de la figura de Castro y de la política castrista.

"La demostración mas palpable del pobre papel que le esta reservado a esta prensa oficial es que durante todos estos años ha venido publicando los supuestos progresos de la economía isleña, cuyo estado ruinoso acaba de ser admitido dramáticamente por el propio Castro en su discurso del último 26 de julio.

"Acusado por las consecuencias de su propio fracaso y por la creciente marejada de descontento de los cubanos, Castro se ha visto obligado a reportar déficits sensibles en todos los renglones vitales de la producción agrícola industrial, anunciar una nueva purga y señalar la necesidad de ir a una revisión total de todos los métodos organizativos de su sistema dictatorial.

"Al dar este paso, no sin amargura, Castro ha dado un mentis rotundo a todo lo que han venido publicando sus apologistas domésticos y foráneos.

"Liquidado todo vestigio de libre prensa en Cuba, Castro ha iniciado una ofensiva feroz contra los últimos reductos que permitían ofrecer al mundo trozos periódicos de información veraz sobre la verdadera y dolorosa realidad cubana, las agencias informativas; señalemos hechos concretos.

"En septiembre del pasado año John Fenton Weller, corresponsal de la Associated Press fue expulsado de Cuba y poco después cerraron las oficinas de esa agencia informativa:

"También fue cerrada la oficina de la United Press International, una vez que el corresponsal había abandonado el país, y antes de que llegara su substituto.

"James Pringle, corresponsal de Reuters, fue amenazado como consecuencia de una entrevista que sostuviera con el leader de las Panteras Negras, Eldridge Cleaver. Más tarde tuvo dificultades nuevamente con las autoridades cubanas y se vió forzado a marcharse del país. Pringle fue substituído por Andrew Tarnoski.

"En mayo de 1970 las iras del Primer Ministro del gobierno comunista cubano se desataron bruscamente sobre Tarnoski. En un discurso pronunciado el 19 de dicho mes Tarnoski fue difamado duramente por el dirigente comunista cubano y conminado irse del país antes de que lo botaran.

"Los ataques a Tarnoski fueron motivados por un artículo que publicó, en el cual sugería que la intensa barrage de propaganda de los días prece-

dentes había sido un especie de esfuerzo diversionario relativo al fracaso del régimen cubano en alcanzar la meta de los diez millones de toneladas de azúcar.

"El corresponsal de la Reuters tan injustamente maltratado, se vió obligado a abandonar el país al siguiente día con rumbo a Nassau.

"Las críticas de Castro a la libre expresión del pensamiento se han manifestado también en el campo literario.

"En un discurso sobre Lenin, pronunciado el 22 de abril, Castro se refirió en términos duros a dos libros recientemente publicados en Europa, teniendo como tema central el costoso y descabellado experimento cubano.

"Las obras son "Cuba, es Socialismo", escrito por el Profesor Renee Dumont, y "Guerrilla en el Poder" de K. S. Carroll.

"En ambos libros, escritos desde posiciones de izquierda, se criticaba el desarrollo de la política y de la economía cubanas.

"Sin mencionar a Dumont, quien había visitado la isla varias veces como huésped de Castro, éste sugirió que el autor era un agente subversivo disponiendo la realización de distintas investigaciones en la Habana para determinar los contactos y las fuentes de información de que se había valido el intelectual francés.

"El papel vergonzoso a que está sometido el intelectual cubano fue señalado por Nicolás Guillén, Presidente de la Unión de Escritores y Artistas Cubanos en una declaración hecha en noviembre del pasado año, en la que amenazaba que los intelectuales cubanos recibirán fuertes castigos si faltan en su deber hacia la revolución comunista cubano.

"Basado en este criterio de absoluto y ciego sometimiento a la política oficial, el periodista de Revolución y novelista laureado, José Lorenzo Fuentes, fue expulsado de esa unión deshonrosamente y encarcelado bajo la acusación de haber suministrado información sobre las condiciones de vida del pueblo cubano a un diplomático mexicano, quien fue expulsado del país acusado de espionaje en el curso del pasado año.

"Otro caso lamentable a señalar es el del joven intelectual Javier de Varona, quien a instancia de una declaración de Raúl Castro, presentó un documento a la Secretaría de Organización del Partido Comunista Cubano en la que expresaba sus puntos de discrepancia con la política imperante en el país.

"A partir de ese momento Varona fue condenado a abandonar su trabajo literario, y se vió impedido de trabajar en la capital, teniendo que realizar labores agrícolas para poder subsistir. Recientemente apareció muerto en el interior de su propia casa. Las autoridades reportaron que se trataba de un suicidio.

"En cuanto a presiones ideológicas y personales, tanto los intelectuales como los periodistas cubanos, viven sometidos al mismo sistema imperante en la órbita soviética, en que los discrepantes son enviados a prisiones o declarados dementes y remitidos a los manicomios estatales donde están condenados a permanecer para todo el resto de sus días, salvo que admitan sus errores y desviaciones ideológicas.

"Esta es la situación que padece el periodismo y la intelectualidad de Cuba bajo el régimen Castrista.

"Hemos alimentado la esperanza de que la tragedia de Cuba y su ejemplo doloroso sirvieron de sacudimiento aleccionador a la América Latina. Desgraciadamente no ha sido así.

"Hay periódicos de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa que sirven de vehículo a las noticias parciales de los servicios informativos cubanos que son, al mismo tiempo, medios de agitación y subversión sin hacer la debida aclaración respecto a la realidad esclava de la prensa cubana.

"El resultado es una impresión distorsionada de los hechos a las nuevas generaciones que, con una información incompleta, desconoce en la totalidad los elementos que conforman la vida cubana del presente.

"A mas de eso, periodistas de nuestro mundo, miembros de la SIP, han visitado con frecuencia la isla y han servido de eco a supuestos logros en los campos económicos, educacional y social, basándose en las cifras oficiales, en lo que se deja ver sin preocuparse por buscar la verdad, en penetrar realmente en la entraña de la cuestión, y sin hacer especial énfasis en las limitaciones impuestas por Castro a la posibilidad de obtener una información completa y justa.

"Aún hay mas. Publicaciones que son miembros de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, en muchos casos por un falso concepto de la libertad de prensa, o por una deficiente apreciación política, sirven de medio de discusión a doctrinas extremistas y disolventes.

"Esta política es tanto mas suicida cuando ya se está dejando sentir en toda su dramática intensidad el oleaje de agresiones a la libertad de prensa en todo el continente en el camino emprendido por algunos regímenes para liquidar todas las libertades públicas.

"Un ejemplo reciente y elocuente es el caso de Elsa Arana en el Perú, Y espero que no tendremos que lamentar en el futuro el cierre del Mercurio y la liquidación de la libertad de prensa en Chile.

"Creemos que ha llegado la hora en que la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa haga el recuento de su estrategia, que clarifique sus principios inspiradores y sus fines, que revitalice la lucha contra Castro como primer enemigo de la libre prensa, y contra el régimen cubano como inspirador de la política de subversión y liquidación de todas las libertades que está estremeciendo en estos momentos a la América Latina, y de la que constituyen evidencias recientes y dramáticas el caso de Bolivia y de los diplomáticos y funcionarios secuestrados y asesinados en Uruguay y el Canadá.

"Debe decirse claramente que la prensa es un vehículo de progreso, y que no puede existir el progreso sin libertad, ni la libertad es posible sin una prensa libre y democrática.

"Debe decirse también que la libertad de prensa es incompatible con todo tipo de ideología dictatorial, sea de izquierda o de derecha, de gobierno o de oposición, y excluye por tanto la libertad a los comunistas para hacer campaña en contra de la democracia y contra la propia libertad de prensa.

"Ya no está solo en juego el destino amargo de Cuba, sino el futuro de todo el continente, de la democracia y de la prensa libre, víctimas de una campaña feroz de difamación, terrorismo y subversión que tienen su centro generador en la Cuba esclava de Castro."

Hasta aquí el informe del Sr. Amado Barletta sobre el estado de la prensa en Cuba.

En mi condición de ex preso político del régimen castrista, quiero llamar una vez más la atención de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa sobre las condiciones onerosas del presidio político cubano, donde ya son sepultados en vida mas de cuarenta periodistas; reiterarle al organismo nuestro agradecimiento por los pronunciamientos y gestiones realizadas hasta el presente en favor de su libertad e insistir en la necesidad de redoblar los esfuerzos a todos los niveles para ser realidad tan justa y noble meta.

Asimismo queremos aprovechar la ocasión para demandar la ayuda de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa en favor de muchos periodistas cubanos exiliados que encuentran dificultades incontables para viajar por la América Latina y para entrar en los propios Estados Unidos, aún en cumplimiento de misiones propias de la profesión.

Tal parece, desgraciadamente, que la caprichosa e inexorable sentencia dictada por Castro contra los periodistas que abandonamos la isla, la pérdida de nuestra ciudadanía, tuviera también vigencia en otros países hermanos del continente.

Después de redactado este informe llegaron a nuestras manos dos documentos a los cuales queremos hacer somera referencia.

Esta es una copia fotostática sacada clandestinamente en el Departamento de Inmigración del gobierno cubano, que es el que rige y determina la salida de los cubanos que quieren abandonar el país. Desde el 31 de mayo de 1970 está cerrada la salida de Cuba para todos los cubanos que no hayan presentado su solicitud antes de esa fecha. Esto hará que centenares de miles de cubanos tengan que permanecer, contra su voluntad, en la Cuba esclava.

De este documento no ha dicho absolutamente una sola palabra la prensa esclava de Cuba.

También al llegar aquí a México el grupo de exilados cubanos que residen en México desde hace varios años nos entrega una serie de datos a los cuales vamos a hacer igualmente referencia, que contribuyen a clarificar la dramática situación cubana.

La virtud de estos datos es que no proceden de fuentes cubanas, sino una fuente diplomática. Son datos recogidos a lo largo de años en servicio en Cuba por un diplomático español, el Sr. Jaime Caldevilla, quien fuera hasta hace poco tiempo Primer Secretario de la Embajada Española en Cuba, país que sostiene relaciones diplomáticas y comerciales con Cuba.

El Sr. Caldevilla ha recogido recientemente en un libro publicado en España datos impresionantes sobre la realidad cubana, de los cuales vamos a leer unos pocos:

"Cubanos muertos por el régimen 22,481, de todas las clases y condiciones sociales.

"Prisioneros políticos en Cuba, en los campos de concentración, 121,000; en las fortalezas militares, 17,231.

"Cubanos que alguna vez han sufrido arresto, prisión preventiva, y que al presente se hallan sujetos a vigilancia especial, arresto domiciliario o control policiaco, 965,000.

"Cubanos que han abandonado Cuba por distintos conductos, 770,000.

"Cubanos que han escapado de la isla por vias clandestinas, particularmente por mar, 13,000.

"Cubanos de toda las razas, credos, ideologías políticas y de todas las clases sociales y económicas que han solicitado de las autoridades permiso para salir del país, 1,700,000.

"Cubanos obligados al servicio militar castrista, 930,000.

"Cubanos que han perdido su trabajo y derechos sociales 400,000.

"Esto en un país de solamente ocho millones de habitantes."

Sobre ésto la prensa esclava de Cuba tampoco ha publicado nada, como no publicará ninguna noticia que sirva para propender una información veraz de la situación cubana mientras esa bandera que está allí no vuelva a ondear libre y soberana bajo el cielo hermoso de nuestro país. Muchas gracias. (Aplausos)

MR. HARRIS: We are going to have some discussion on Cuba, but first we are going to have a ten-minute coffee break to give you a chance to stretch.

So everybody try to return in ten minutes because we have the other reports and a debate on Cuba coming up. Thank you.

MR. HARRIS: The meeting will come to order. I have an announcement. I want to remind everyone that all resolutions are supposed to be in by noon today. Mr. O'Rourke, Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, is here and is receptive to any other resolutions at this time.

Freedom of the Press resolutions will come up, of course, after our meeting, but if you have any resolution on any subject, please get it to Mr. O'Rourke immediately.

We will now resume the discussion and debate on Cuba. Anyone have a question or comment on Cuba?

SR. ALDO ZUCCOLILLO: Por favor, querría hacer dos preguntas a nuestros colegas cubanos que estan aquí. ¿Cual era el porcentaje de analfabetismo en el año 1959 en Cuba? Esa es la primer pregunta. La segunda:

¿Que hizo el periodismo de Cuba durante el gobierno de Batista para influir o evitar los acontecimientos que desembocaron en una Cuba comunista?

SR. RIVADULLA: Yo no puedo ahora portar lógicamente las cifras exactas

tas respecto al analfabetismo en Cuba en el año 1959, pero sí puedo decir con orgullo que Cuba era uno de los pueblos mas cultos y de menos índice de analfabetismo en América Latina.

También el gobierno de Castro hizo una campaña espectacular respecto a la alfabetización, pero con respecto a la educación de Cuba se estan brindando por el gobierno cubano cifras totalmente distorsionadas.

Basta decir que la educación en Cuba está regida por un patrón político. En la Universidad de La Habana han habido tres depuraciones sucesivas de miles estudiantes, porque la primera condición que se le exige a un profesional en Cuba para poder obtener su título es aprobar las materias de Marxismo y de Lenin. Es decir, que mas que capacidad profesional lo que se le exige es claridad política, y se ha dado el caso de miles y miles de jóvenes cubanos de gran capacidad profesional, que en estos momentos están impedidos de realizar estudios superiores en Cuba porque no han querido ingresar en la juventud comunista o en alguno de los otros organismos de tipo político sectario que tiene el régimen cubano.

Respecto a que hizo la prensa para evitar que Cuba desembocara en lo que desembocó, quiero expresar lo siguiente:

En la época de Batista yo fuí un combatiente contra Batista. Milité en un partido de ideología de tendencia democrática y liberal, el Partido del Pueblo Cubano Ortodoxo. Procuraba una política nacionalista que estaba recogida en una consigna de nuestro principal leader, que después desapareció trágicamente, Eduardo Chibás.

En aquella época Perón estaba en la Argentina y había infiltración peronista en Cuba, como lo había en todo el continente americano. Nuestra doctrina política estaba clarificada por este pensamiento, ni con Washington, ni con Moscu, ni con Buenos Aires.

En eso se produjo el golpe de estado del 10 de marzo, y nosotros éramos periodistas, escribíamos en la revista Bohemia, escribíamos en el diario Nacional y éramos además comentaristas radiales.

Durante todo aquel tiempo luchamos por el retorno de Cuba a la democracia. La consigna fundamental de todos los partidos políticos de oposición que se opusieron al golpe del 10 de marzo, protagonizado por Batista en el año 1952, era el retorno a la constitucionalidad; es decir, a la Constitución de 1940 y elecciones libres y democráticas.

Desgraciadamente aquellos partidos políticos no se pusieron de acuerdo y surgió una figura joven de indudable atractivo, Fidel Castro, con un programa que en aquel momento no tenía nada de comunista, motivo por el

cual vinculó a la mayoría de los elementos de su propio partido de oposición, y especialmente la juventud cubana, entre ellos yo, que fui un colaborador de la lucha contra Batista.

Estuve detenido alrededor de 50 veces en el curso de siete años, y fui clausurado como periodista en 17 ocasiones, aparte de haber sido sometido a siete juicios distintos en unos tribunales de sección que se llamaban Tribunales de Urgencia.

La doctrina que en aquel momento propugnaba Fidel Castro, como la que propugnó al principio de su arribo al poder en 1959, no tenía nada de comunista. La Revolución de Cuba puede decirse que fue una revolución traicionada por Fidel Castro. El 75 o 80% de los hombres que combatieron al lado de Fidel Castro en la Sierra Maestra o en las ciudades en el movimiento clandestino están en estos momentos o fusilados por Castro, o en las prisiones de Castro, o en el exilio. Solamente queda a su alrededor un 20% de elementos que se han sometido a su dominio unipersonal.

Castro al principio de revolución hizo declaraciones inclusive anti-comunistas y señaló que la revolución, que él había protagonizado, era tan cubano como las palmas. Había prometido en su programa de gobierno elecciones libres. No cumplió con las elecciones libres.

El llegó a decir al pueblo de Cuba que en cuanto sintiera el menor síntoma, la menor manifestación de oposición, él renunciaría al poder; que en cuanto sonara la primera bomba en Cuba, él abandonaría el poder. Sonaron centenares de bombas.

Planteó en su programa el derecho que tenían todos los cubanos a ser libres, libres en todos los aspectos, en ideología política, en sus cultos religiosos. Sin embargo, andando el tiempo, estableció un régimen unipersonal y unipartidista.

Queda poco tiempo. ¿Está usted satisfecho de la explicación? Podría yo aportar infinidad de datos mas, pero como solamente conceden 5 minutos para la respuesta, si usted está satisfecho puedo resumir diciendo lo siguiente: Castro había prometido una revolución reivindicadora y cubana. Castro traicionó esa revolución; traicionó todo lo que había dicho con anterioridad y se convirtió en el mas feroz dictador que ha aparecido en Cuba y posiblemente en la América Latina. (Aplausos)

MR. HARRIS: I am sorry, but we are going to have to enforce the five-minute rule.

SR. ARMANDO LEMUS (Horizontes de América, Santo Domingo, Rep. Dominicana): Quiero también dar una contestación al distinguido compañero del Paraguay en relación con el caso de Cuba.

En Cuba existía un índice de analfabetismo pequeño, reducido, y Cuba era una nación de índice cultural extraordinario, y la prensa cubana, una prensa honesta y veraz, hizo todo cuanto le fue posible para liberar a Cuba y por erradicar los procedimientos que el gobierno de Batista había implantado, dentro de los cuales había la censura de prensa.

Hoy está en el exilio una proporción enorme, casi el 90% de ese periodismo cubano, demostrando así su amor a la libertad. (Aplausos)

SR. GUILLERMO MARTINEZ MARQUEZ: Duele de veras, duele de lo mas profundo que una reunión de periodistas libres en lugar de buscar las cosas que están contra nuestra libertad nos complazcamos en ver que defecto teníamos.

Pero quiero por encima de toda adjetivación contestar precisamente dos cosas.

Primera, lo que ha hecho, y lo que hizo la prensa de Cuba por defender la libertad de expresión, está en los anales de esta Sociedad. En el mes de abril del año 59, ante el Ejecutivo de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa -- esta Sociedad que entonces presidía, para su honor, el Dr. Alberto Gainza Paz -- en la Ciudad de Nueva York denuncié la presión que se empezaba a ejercer contra los periódicos de Cuba.

Antes, en el régimen de Batista, esta Sociedad siempre, siempre actuó en defensa de la libertad de expresión. En Washington en el año 57, siendo presidente de la SIP nuestro ilustre compañero, John O'Rourke, la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa ante 600 editores de la América Latina, condenó el régimen de Cuba por haber establecido la censura.

A los periodistas de Cuba nos duele en el alma que en este momento no se sigan los pasos que siguieron en Cuba. Nunca los periodistas cubanos defendimos a ningún gobierno que pusiera la mas leve limitación al pensamiento.

En esta Ciudad de México se protestó también de la censura en Cuba, y en los anales de nuestra institución está todo lo que hizo la prensa de Cuba en su largo calvario defendiendo siempre a la libertad de expresión.

No reclamamos ningún derecho, no queremos panegíricos de nadie, pero sí decir a plena responsabilidad y con todo orgullo que los periodistas cubanos defendimos nuestra libertad con igual ahinco, y quizás con mayor tesón, porque desgraciadamente sufrimos mas eclipse que cualquier otro periodista, de cualquier parte de la América Latina.

Con respecto al índice del analfabetismo de Cuba, quiero decir que

Cuba estaba entre las cinco naciones que tenían menos analfabeto en la América Latina. Y quiero precisar, porque esta cosa a veces se confunde un poco a la luz de la estrategia comunista, que cuatro de esas cinco naciones han tenido, o tienen, graves dificultades. Esas naciones son: Argentina, Chile, Uruguay y Costa Rica.

Lo que está pasando en el Uruguay, ustedes lo tienen a la vista. Lo que está pasando en Chile es noticia de actualidad; lo que pasó en Cuba es la tragedia de los cubanos, que a veces pienso que los periodistas de la América no acaban de comprender y aquilatar en su verdadero valor.

Lo que puede pasar en Argentina sería gravísimo para la América. Y digo esto con toda claridad para que se sepa que es falsa la tesis comunista de que el comunismo no prospera mas que sobre ignorancia. Es tan falsa como la otra tesis de que el comunismo prospera cuando existen malas condiciones económicas. Es mentira.

En los Estados Unidos los que defienden mas las cosas de la izquierda son los hijos de los millonarios en las universidades americanas. En los Estados Unidos hay muchos millonarios y yo podría señalar algunos por sus nombres que están dedicados al partido comunista.

No existe ninguna relación, y quiero llamar la atención de los periodistas a esto, entre la cultura y el comunismo y entre el dinero y el comunismo. Son sencillamente consignas comunistas que a veces los demócratas repiten, como papagallos.

Yo quisiera que ustedes me perdonaran si dijieran de verdad que me siento muy orgulloso después de 50 años de ejercicio de periodismo profesional de haber sido editor de periódico y peridosita en Cuba. Muchas gracias. (Aplausos)

SR. HORACIO AGUIRRE (Diario las Américas, Miami, Florida): En primer término, quiero felicitar al Sr. Rivadulla y al Sr. Amadeo Barletta por el magnífico, dramático y veraz informe que han presentado, no solamente con respecto a la tragedia que afronta el periodismo cubano en la isla esclavizada, sino también con respecto a la tragedia de todo orden moral, cívico, político, cultural, social y económico que padece el pueblo de Cuba.

Aún cuando no es necesario por la autoridad de que ellos disponen en el orden moral y en el orden informativo, quiero confirmar a plenitud todo lo que ellos han dicho en ese informe porque por mi condición de director del Diario Las Américas de la ciudad de Miami, ciudad estratégica con relación al caso de Cuba, estoy en condiciones de ratificar plenamente todos y cada uno de los detalles de ese informe, y esto lo he obtenido

yo, no solamente de fuentes cubanas respetables, sino también de otras fuentes igualmente respetables, tanto estadounidenses como iberoamericanas y también europeas.

Y es bueno decir con respecto a la autoridad de los cubanos que no debe pensarse que ellos han perdido el derecho a opinar sobre el caso de Cuba porque se les suponga extraordinariamente sensibles al problema. Sería una injusticia que después de que han padecido todo lo que han padecido se les niegue el derecho de opinar sobre su patria por considerárseles apasionados con respecto a ella, aún cuando evidentemente todo el mundo tiene, no solo el derecho, sino la obligación de amar con pasión a su patria.

Yo creo que la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa debe recordar que aquí en México hace seis años fue aprobada una resolución mediante la cual se comprometían todos los periódicos miembros a hacer una campaña sostenida, como la que se hizo en los casos de La Prensa de Buenos Aires y del Tiempo de Bogotá con respecto a los periódicos de Cuba y a los periodistas presos.

Yo estoy convencido de que sería muy útil -- no puedo decir en un sentido absoluto que sería decisivo -- esa campaña de parte de todos nosotros, en la medida de lo posible, abogando por la libertad de los periodistas presos, condenando la inexistencia de la libertad de prensa en Cuba y denunciando todos los desmanes de la dictadura que azota la patria de Martí.

Con respecto a lo que hizo la prensa cubana por la libertad de prensa, quiero en honor a la verdad, a la gratitud y a la justicia decir que cuando el Diario las Américas, que se edita en Miami, fue confiscado abusivamente en Cuba durante el gobierno anterior al de Castro, el entonces presidente de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, el ilustre doctor Guillermo Martínez Márquez, recibió mensajes míos como director del periódico, denunciando la arbitrariedad cometida y yo encontré en él, como colega, como amigo, y sobre todo presidente de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, respaldo y apoyo.

En la medida de lo posible condenó él ese atropello e hizo las gestiones que estuvieron a su alcance por lograr que se permitiera la libre circulación del Diario las Américas en Cuba. Esto es todo, Sr. Presidente. (Aplausos)

SR. RIVADULLA: Quiero aclarar, porque no tuve tiempo la anterior vez debido a los cinco minutos al turno, de decir que me siento orgulloso de haber ejercido la prensa en mi país; que me siento orgulloso del papel democrático, progresista de la prensa de mi país, tanto en Cuba como en

respecto al continente americano y al mundo en general; que me siento orgulloso de la actuación de los periodistas cubanos que han marchado al exilio para no someterse a vivir bajo un régimen de opresión, de tiranía; que me siento orgulloso también de mis 40 compañeros periodistas cubanos que aún guardan prisión en Cuba por rebelarse contra la feroz tiranía castrista. Eso es todo. (Aplausos)

MR. ROBERT J. ANGERS, JR. (Acadiana Profile Magazine, Lafayette, La.):

Mr. President, I am a new member and I hope that I'll be forgiven some of these observations here today. But I wanted to rise and tell you that fundamentally as a country newspaper publisher and now publisher of a magazine and former editor of Latin American Reports magazine I have spent over ten years of my life working with the Cuban exiles in Louisiana, and a year ago when your convention was held in Washington I was in the State Department, presenting to the Secretary of State of the United States before some 80 or 85 witnesses a copy of a declaration of Louisiana adopted by the Cubans, calling for the establishment of a government in exile.

We've tried to do everything that we possibly could in Louisiana to help free Cuba. I have met with them, I have cried with them, I felt as a journalist that I am ashamed of what has happened to Cuba, three times betrayed, and I think, ladies and gentlemen, that it is within our capability as an international press association to free Cuba and start to roll back Communism all over the world.

I rise primarily to support our compadres from Cuba in exile all over the world, and to advise you that I have presented a resolution to Mr. O'Rourke, which he tells me is Resolution No. 1, and will probably be brought up Friday -- I am not familiar with all your rules of procedure -- which calls on the IAPA to call for the liberation of Cuba. Thank you. (Aplause)

MR. KIDD: Coming from a country that has diplomatic relations with Cuba, I am to say the least, very, very disturbed by the remarks of the previous speaker. When he calls on the IAPA to liberate Cuba, would he please come up and clarify what he means. Is he thinking in terms of a martial liberation?

MR. ANGERS: Let me say that Louisiana loves Canada. We have diplomatic relations with Canada; we are making an effort to preserve the French language, and promote international trade and international good will, etc.

What I think can be done is very simple. I think we should initiate

a full fledged campaign calling for the overthrow of the Castro regime, calling on the army of Castro to overthrow him, setting up a government in exile, or doing any one of a combination of things, whatever needs to be done in order to rid this hemisphere of the Castro regime.

Now, the details of how to do it can certainly be spelled out by an august body like this. My suggestion, fundamentally, is -- and I think the time is long past for us to hide our heads in the sand -- to take cognizance of what is taking place throughout this hemisphere, to recognize the fact that there is a Soviet base in Cuba, that Cuba is a training ground for gerrilla activity all throughout the hemisphere, and it is time for us to act in concert to do something about it. (Applause)

MR. G. J. SCHOUTEN: As one of the smallest members of this Association, I look very keenly on what the Association does, because through the Association I learn something.

I would like to ask on this matter of Cuba now, because I would like for a solution of this convention to be respected and to continue with them. May I ask the Board if there are any more prisoners, Cuban prisoners in Cuba, because with the new look of the IAPA News I missed that little place where we always said so many Cubans are still imprisoned by Castro.

I think that was a very good thing we had when we were fighting Castro because of the independent little island in the Netherlands Antilles we used to be sending this through in every mail going to Cuba, because we still have relations with Cuba. That was the little thing we were sending through all the time in our newspapers and as leaflets. Thank you. (Applause)

MR. HARRIS" I will ask Jimmy Canel, our Manager, to answer that.

MR. JAMES B. CANEL: It was an unfortunate omission in this last bulletin. We shall continue publishing that box in the future.

MR. HARRIS: Thank you. Any other comments on Cuba? We will go to Colombia. Is there someone here to report on Colombia?

SR. ROBERTO GARCIA PEÑA (El Tiempo, Bogotá): En Colombia hay absoluta libertad de prensa.

El incidente a que se alude en el informe, ocurrido en abril a raíz de las elecciones presidenciales, careció de toda importancia.

Hoy disfrutamos, como desde hace mucho tiempo, de la mas plena y auténtica libertad. (Aplausos)

MR. HARRIS: Any comment on Colombia? MR. PAUL KIDD: The routine; why does the Colombia report not contain an alleged violation of the Guidelines of Freedom of the Press as defined by IAPA?

SR. GARCIA PEÑA: Tal vez por la rapidez con lo que habla el señor de Canadá y la frecuencia, no entendí exactamente su objeción. Pero aprovecho la oportunidad para volver al rostrum para manifestar una vez mas que en Colombia sí existe libertad de prensa. Y que tenemos una libertad indivisible para todos los periódicos, así sean comunistas o democráticas. Tenemos plena libertad de prensa, y puede estar el señor de Canadá tranquilo al respecto. (Aplausos)

MR. HARRIS: We will go now to the Dominican Republic.

SR. GERMAN E. ORNES: El informe que voy a leer representa la opinión de los miembros dominicanos de la Comisión de la Libertad de Prensa, el Sr. Carlos A. Ricart y quien les habla.

República Dominicana: Hay libertad de prensa.

Todavía sigue pendiente de solución el caso de la importación de maquinaria para editar el periódico La Voz del Pueblo. Esa maquinaria se encuentra detenida en el muelle de Santo Domingo y la controversia surgida por una orden del Presidente Joaquín Balaguer, se mantiene en los tribunales del país.

El lunes, 19 de este mes, murió en Santo Domingo de las heridas que padeciera como consecuencia de un atentado terrorista el comentarista radial Enrique Pieras.

Aunque el caso está aún bajo investigación judicial, ya parece descartada la posibilidad de que el atentado pueda ser atribuido a elementos adictos al gobierno o a los grupos políticos de derecha.

Una serie de incidentes en los puertos de entrada al país en que miembros de los servicios de inteligencia se han incautado de documentos privados, discos y cintas magnetofónicas, ha provocado enérgicas protestas de la prensa dominicana en general. Y una reiteración de una orden pública del presidente Joaquín Balaguer de que las autoridades carecen, y no están autorizadas a continuar esta odiosa práctica. Los documentos incautados han sido devueltos a los viajeros.

Para economizarle al Sr. Kidd un viaje aquí, quiero decirle que la ley dominicana establece una restricción exclusivamente en cuanto al derecho de ser director de un periódico. Solo los dominicanos pueden dirigir periódicos en Santo Domingo. Sin embargo, yo considero que eso no influye en

la libertad absoluta de que goza la prensa dominicana en este momento. (Aplausos)

MR. HARRIS: We have Mr. G. A. Tom Sherman present and he will report on a number of the Caribbean islands, specially Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago Associated States, Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, Cayman Islands, French Indies, Guyana, British Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico, United States Virgin Island, British Honduras.

MR. G. A. TOM SHERMAN (The Daily Gleaner, Kingston, Jamaica): Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I give this report on behalf of Mr. Fletcher, who is the Vice Chairman for the area.

In the Islands of Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, the Cayman Islands, French West Indies, Guyana -- which is a part of the South American continent -- Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, the British Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands there is freedom of the press in each and every one of these islands and countries I have mentioned.

I would also like to mention that in Trinidad I received a report from the Trinidad Guardian newspaper there, and it reads as follows:

"Trinidad continues to enjoy a free press. Under the current state of emergency, restrictions have been placed on news reports concerning treason and sedition cases now before the lower courts. But there is on a whole a reasonable extension for normal fair trial requirements.

"During the state of emergency there has been no attempt to enforce censorship, for which the emergency regulations provide. This may be partly due at the height of the February crisis to the restraint voluntarily exercised by the press. For example, details of ammunition flown from overseas were not published for security reasons.

"The press kept the public informed of the true state of affairs without contravening security and kept this duty paramount.

"Press men were often the targets of mob threats, and one newspaper office was attacked by a mob during the February disturbances.

"Government's public order bill following the disturbances was withdrawn after widespread public criticism.

"Since public meetings were restricted and Parliament in recess, the press played a crucial role in public discussion of the bill. No attempt was made to interfere with the functioning of the press." That is the end of the quote from the Trinidad Guardian.

Mr. Owen Baptiste is here, and he is editor of the Trinidad Express. He tells me that it was his newspaper office that was attacked. And he also agrees entirely, Mr. Chairman, with these comments from the Managing Director of The Trinidad Guardian.

Today we have with us Mr. Etienne Dupuch, who is also one of the champion newspapermen of the area; he is from the Bahamas, as you all know, and he would like to elaborate somewhat on this report that there is freedom of the press in the Bahamas.

So when I am through, Mr. Chairman, with your kind permission, I would like you to extend some time to Mr. Dupuch, Sir Etienne Dupuch, to come up and make some comments.

In the Associated States of Britain in the Windward Islands and Leeward Island, Mr. Chairman, there is also freedom of the press. I thank you. (Applause)

SIR ETIENNE DUPUCH (The Tribune, Nassau, Bahamas): Mr. Chairman, I believe that I can crowd what I have to say into five minutes. If you find that I am exceeding that time, if you will let me know, I will cut my remarks short, because I know how important it is for you to get on with his job.

Mr. Chairman, as reported to you, there is freedom of the press in the Bahamas. This statement is based on information that I supplied to him.

It is perfectly true that there is freedom of the press in the Bahamas because the newspapers, especially my newspaper, has exerted its right to keep the public informed of the truth of the situation in these islands.

But I feel that the time has come when I should bring to your attention the situation that is fast developing in these islands, and regret to inform you that every human right that free men have cherished down through the ages is now being assailed and undermined.

We have freedom of the press only because this organization last year came to my support when my newspaper was being assailed by an act of Parliament that was being considered at that time. We won the first round in that battle, but inform you now that it was only the first round, and freedom of the press hangs by a very thin thread in these islands. Not only freedom of the press, but every other freedom that men cherish.

I am a member of five press associations. Three of these Associations

are deeply involved in fighting for freedom of the press.

When I received Mr. Copley's summons to arms that I believe he sent to all the press in this hemisphere this summer, I decided it was time that we in this part of the world should know what is happening and that we are equally concerned with freedom of the press.

For that reason, during the last five months, I have been traveling almost continuously to collect information that I will now bring briefly to you.

In May this year I attended the International Press Institute meeting in Hong Kong. At that meeting this remarkable young woman who addressed you this morning, Miss Sally Aw, was elected its president. She is a very remarkable woman and in short time that she has been president she has done a great deal of work in the interests of the International Press Institute, also of the Chinese Press Institute, of which she was the founder and the president, in the interest of freedom of the press.

After her election in Hong Kong I discussed with her the importance of establishing liaison between the various press associations that are concerned in this battle.

So far we have been fighting this battle in hemispheres, in areas of influence, and I would remind you, ladies and gentlemen, of the famous line that no man is an island into himself. Nor is any press association, nor any hemisphere.

We are today involved in a battle for freedom that not only concerns the Inter American Press Association, but it concerns free men everywhere in the world.

Miss Aw and I met at the meeting the Commonwealth Press Association has just concluded in Scotland. As a result of our discussions we were able to convince that Association, which covers all the British Commonwealth Countries, that the time had come for liaison and cooperation by the various press associations.

As a result of our discussions with the Executive Committee, I am able to inform you that the Commonwealth Press Association has passed a resolution expressing the desire for closer cooperation with the Inter American Press Association.

My five minutes are up? I am sorry. I have a great deal more to say, but I must cut it short here.

But I would like to take one minute more and that is to say this: we are concerned with freedom of the press, but a much more serious situation is developing on the borders of the United States today, which is the last outpost of freedom, defense for freedom of the world.

Mr. Copley has told you of a conversation that he had with General Eisenhower about the first line of defense of the Americas being in the East. That is perfectly true, but I would bring to your attention that since that time the whole military situation has changed. Today we have Cuba as a Communist country and Chile has just now gone Communist.

In the East where Britain has handed over independence to small areas, they are moving rapidly into the Soviet orbit, although they continue to be a part of the Commonwealth of nations, they are opening their doors to communist infiltration.

At the present time there is a very strong movement in the Bahamas for independence. I tell you that the Bahamas are on the borders of the United States and I would suggest to you that the time has come when you should raise your sights and recognize the fact that if we have an independent Bahamas, and that Bahamas moved as many others have done in the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean, the whole security of the Western Hemisphere will be threatened. And when the Western Hemisphere is threatened, the world is insecure. Thank you. (Applause)

MR. HARRIS: We will now move to Brazil, with Julio Mesquita reporting.

SR. JULIO DE MESQUITA NETO (O Estado de S. Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil)

1. Según es de praxis, correspondería que presentásemos a esta Comisión un informe sobre la situación de la prensa en el Brasil. Sin embargo, ya que los cambios registrados en la coyuntura descrita en nuestro informe de abril han sido más de forma que de fondo, sin que hayan alterado en lo esencial nuestras conclusiones, tomamos la libertad de iniciar este documento con consideraciones de carácter general que reflejan la gravedad de nuestras preocupaciones con relación al papel de la Sociedad a que pertenecemos.

2. La libertad de prensa no es un asunto exclusivamente nacional. Solamente los regímenes dictatoriales y los adeptos al totalitarismo de izquierda y de derecha defienden esa tesis, confundiendo conceptos tan diferentes como los de soberanía y tiranía. La existencia de nuestra Sociedad no se justificaría si aceptásemos como válido el principio de que la censura, la clausura o la expropiación de periódicos pueden ser encarados

como el resultado de opciones legítimas de Estados soberanos y, como tal, incuestionables.

La experiencia prueba, también, que no basta asumir una postura de defensa teórica de la libertad de prensa. Hechos recientes demuestran que nuestra Sociedad ha contemporizado mucho en la condena de atentados y crímenes cometidos contra la Prensa en el Hemisferio. Reconocemos que no siempre es fácil definir con precisión la línea que delimita las violaciones de la libertad de expresión. Pero resulta atentatoria contra el prestigio de la SIP el hecho de que ella misma recurra a subterfugios o eufemismos para atenuar o negar esas violaciones. Discordamos, por ejemplo, del establecimiento de distinciones sutiles entre países en donde no hay libertad de prensa y países cuyos regímenes son totalitarios pero procuran disfrazar la realidad y, gracias a ciertas habilidades diplomáticas, consiguen figurar en nuestros documentos como naciones en que existe libertad de prensa. Personalmente defendemos el principio de que la simple vigencia de un régimen dictatorial, cualquiera sea su colorido ideológico, debería llevar automáticamente a la SIP a identificarlo como incompatible con la libertad de expresión. Creemos, como Tom Harris, que la prensa libre y las dictaduras son cosas que no combinan.

Si insistimos en engañarnos a nosotros mismos, tal como ocurrió en el caso del Perú, los perjudicados, en último análisis, seremos nosotros, esto es, los periódicos de las Américas deseosos de preservar su independencia. Cuando el general Velasco Alvarado inició la persecución de periódicos y periodistas y publicó el llamado Estatuto de la Prensa, estaba claro como la luz del sol que no había libertad de expresión en el Perú. Pero fue necesario el golpe brutal de la expropiación de los periódicos EXPRESO y EXTRA para que todos en la SIP se convenciesen de esa evidencia. Igualmente chocante es el hecho de que esta Comisión haya incluido, en informes anteriores, entre las naciones donde no existe cualquier tipo de restricciones a la libertad de prensa, países en los que jamás hubo condiciones para una prensa libre. Nos permitimos citar un caso: el de Paraguay.

3. Hacemos votos para que, de lecciones como la de Perú, se extraigan las enseñanzas que ellas implican. En momentos en que reales amenazas pesan sobre la prensa democrática chilena y especialmente sobre el mayor de sus periódicos, EL MERCURIO, auténtico patrimonio de la prensa libre de las Américas, tenemos el deber de mantenernos vigilantes. Por otro lado, los graves acontecimientos en curso en Bolivia justifican los temores de que una tragedia de grandes proporciones venga a eliminar en aquel país los últimos vestigios de libertad que en él quedaban. La SIP no fue creada para ser un simple archivo de violaciones de la libertad de prensa y de protestas platónicas, y sí un instrumento dinámico al servicio de la libertad de expresión en el Continente. Si nuestra gran Socie-

dad quiere evitar el destino melancólico de la Organización de Estados Americanos - reducida a la condición de simple tribuna de estériles debates sobre problemas hemisféricos - tendrá que actuar con firmeza, autoridad y espíritu de iniciativa. Es lo que de ella esperamos. Sin embargo, para que esa aspiración se transforme en realidad, nos parece indispensable - repetimos - proclamar, de una vez por todas, que cualquier dictadura es siempre incompatible con la vigencia de la libertad de prensa. Donde sea que un régimen, independientemente del lenguaje de sus dirigentes, desacate los derechos y garantías enunciados en la Declaración Universal de los Derechos del Hombre de la Carta de las Naciones Unidas, no podrá existir sino la caricatura de una prensa realmente libre.

4. Lo que es válido para el Hemisferio también lo es para nuestro país. Felizmente, no se ha registrado en Brasil, desde la reunión de Montego Bay, ningún atentado directo contra la libertad de prensa. Pero, los instrumentos legales de que el Gobierno dispone - Acto Institucional No. 5, Ley de Prensa y Ley de Seguridad Nacional - ya analizados en nuestros informes precedentes, impiden, por su simple vigencia que la prensa sea libre. La única alteración significativa introducida en las relaciones entre los medios de información - prensa, radio, televisión - y las autoridades responsables por su control, ocurrió el día 10. de octubre. Por decisión del gobierno, esa delicada tarea fue transferida del Ejército al Ministerio de Justicia. La observancia de las nuevas normas generales y específicas, que en lo esencial repiten las anteriores, será ahora fiscalizada por el Departamento de Policía Federal. Como la legislación a aplicar es la misma, nos sentimos en el deber de presentar la misma conclusión que en nuestro informe de abril: no hay libertad de prensa en el Brasil. (Aplausos)

MR. HARRIS: Any comment on Brazil?

MR. PAUL KIDD: Sorry to have to be doing this, but the Board of Directors is, I am afraid, responsible, and as this meeting evolves you will understand why. I am just commenting on the Brazil report in the form as I commented on the other countries. In Brazil it is required that newspapers be 100% Brazilian owned. Further, Brazil demands that the administrative responsibility and orientation of journalistic enterprises shall be restricted to Brazilians by birth. This is in contravention of Section 7 of the Guidelines as interpreted by IAPA.

SR. JULIO DE MESQUITA: Esa disposición está en la constitución de 1892 y existe hasta ahora. Yo puedo garantizar que la constitución fue hecha en un momento cuando Brasil tenía una plena democracia.

MR. WILLIAM P. WILLIAMSON, JR. (Brazil Herald, Rio de Janeiro): Just for the record I would like to ask Mr. Kidd what he is trying to prove. Mr. Mesquita said there is no freedom of the press in Brazil. (Applause)

MR. PAUL KIDD: Mr. Williamson, I thought I said quite clearly that what I am trying to prove will become very apparent as this meeting evolves.

MR. HARRIS: Any other comments on Brazil? We are ready now for the report on Mexico.

SR. RODOLFO JUNCO DE LA VEGA, Jr. (El Norte, Monterrey, México): En México hay libertad de prensa. Debemos de informar, sin embargo que la Compañía Productora Importadora de Papel Sociedad Anónima, entidad gubernamental que controla la venta e importación de papel para todas las publicaciones del país, y que se encontraba en estado de liquidación, fue reactivada el 31 de marzo de 1970 a petición de la mayoría de las publicaciones allí presentes.

Para evitarle una vuelta al cansado corazón del Sr. Kidd, deberé de decirle que en éste, nuestro México, hermoso país de libertades, hay también reglas que limitan la participación de extranjeros en nuestros periódicos. (Aplausos)

MR. HARRIS: Thank you.

We will now have the report on Uruguay.

SR. JOSE LORENZO BATLLE (El Día, Montevideo, Uruguay): En Uruguay, actualmente existe la libertad de prensa, con la única restricción de una palabra, que es la palabra "tupamaros". (Aplausos)

SRTA. ELSA ARANA FREIRE, (Siete Días del Perú y del Mundo: Durante algunos años he rendido en el seno de la Comisión de la Libertad de Prensa de la SIP y como miembro de ella, el informe sobre el estado de la prensa en el Perú.

Como testigo de lo que en aquel país acontecía, en el libre ejercicio de mi profesión, podía hacerlo con la objetividad y veracidad mas exigentes.

En esta ocasión, y dadas las circunstancias de que me hallo ausente del Perú desde la reunión de medio año en Montego Bay, quisiera solicitar a ustedes la dispensa de rendir el informe correspondiente. No siendo testigo de los hechos, y durando mi ausencia mas de seis meses, solo podría informar superficialmente de lo que allá sucede.

Sin embargo, bien puedo decir que por referencias, cartas y noticias, la prensa en el Perú parece desarrollarse ahora normalmente dentro de la vigencia del llamado Estatuto de Libertad de Prensa. No he sabido de

hechos que pudieran alterar ese desarrollo normal, o tal vez uno sólo, el que cito a título informativo, cumpliendo siempre con la misión que tiene todo periodista que se respete.

La expulsión del territorio peruano de la periodista Elsa Arana Freire, de nacionalidad boliviana, mediante un decreto refrendado por los Ministros de Relaciones Exteriores y del Interior de ese país.

Como me llamo Elsa Arana Freire, les ruego que por razones obvias me excusen de hablar de mi persona, pero en cambio sí quiero referirme al cargo que hasta hoy ejerzo en la Comisión de la Libertad de Prensa de la SIP. Considero que este lugar debe ser ocupado por un periodista directamente relacionado con el Perú, capaz de dar amplia información al respecto.

Atendiendo a estas circunstancias, presento mi renuncia a este cargo al Presidente de la Comisión de la Libertad de Prensa, Sr. Tom Harris, no sin antes agradecerle a él, al presidente saliente de la SIP, el Sr. James S. Copley, y a todos los miembros de la entidad, mis colegas y mis amigos la confianza que depositaron en mí, de la cual me declaro deudora.

Muchas gracias. (Aplausos)

MR. HARRIS: Thank you very much, Elsa. We appreciate those words and we hate to lose you as a member of the Committee on Freedom of the Press. You have been a very valuable member, and as I said in my talk this morning, a free press will not return to Peru until Elsa Arana returns.

Any debate on Peru?

Did anyone raise their hand on Venezuela?

I understand there is a free press in Venezuela. Does anyone have any comments or anything to debate about that statement that there is a free press in Venezuela?

We plan to adjourn in about eight minutes. We will have some announcements by Mr. Copley before that time.

Meantime, I believe we can have the Argentine report. Are you ready with Argentina?

SR. JUAN S. VALMAGGIA (La Nación, Buenos Aires, Argentina): El cometido del que les habla es esta vez muy sencillo.

En el boletín, o en el Noticiero, como se llama ahora, de la SIP se ha seguido día por día la evolución de la situación argentina.

La Asociación de Entidades Periodísticas Argentinas (ADEPA), que tengo el honor de presidir, ha declarado hace pocos días en su asamblea anual, que en la Argentina se ha restablecido la libertad de prensa. Es decir que, el gobierno surgido de un golpe de estado el 8 de junio de este año levantando las clausuras pronunciadas por el gobierno anterior, había restablecido el uso indiscriminado de la libertad de prensa. No tengo nada mas que informar. (Aplausos)

MR. HARRIS: Any discussions on Argentina?

MR. PAUL KIDD: Believe it or not, I am not getting up on every country. Just select ones.

Argentina again violates the freedom of the press Guidelines in that in Argentina the director, co-director, editor, co-editor, managing editor, executive board member, consult and advisor, or person in charge of any publication or news agency must be filled by a native-born or naturalized Argentine. It is not contained in the Argentine report.

SR. VALMAGGIA: Lamento que el colega esté mal informado. No existen las restricciones a que se refiere.

En los últimos días del año 1943 hubo una ley que por un error inclusive recogió la SIP de la OEA, en la cual se establecían esas restricciones. Pero esa ley no llegó nunca a aplicarse, y practicamente está derogada.

En la Argentina tenemos el recuerdo de grandes directores y de grandes periodistas nacidos en otras tierras. Nada mas. (Aplausos)

MR. HARRIS: I have several announcements: Mr. John O'Rourke, Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, will stand by for a little while after we adjourn to receive any resolutions any one has.

Mr. Ornes asks that his Committee on Conclusions and Recommendations meet over at the end of the room briefly after the meeting.

We are going to adjourn for the day at 1:30 p.m. so that everyone will have time to have lunch and prepare for the Light and Sound exhibition at the Pyramids, leaving here at five o'clock.

In the meantime, Mr. Copley has some announcements.

MR. JAMES S. COPLEY: I have been asked again to say that this is going to be outdoors and it is quite cold, so take you heavy clothes with you.

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The buses will leave at 5 o'clock and we will have the Light and Sound show followed by dinner.

We will reassemble here tomorrow morning to continue with the discussions of freedom of the press, country by country.

We have had a wonderful turn-out today. I think it has been great, and I hope we have as good a one tomorrow.

Thank you very much.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
Fourth Meeting  
Thursday, October 22, 1970

ASAMBLEA GENERAL  
Cuarta Sesión  
Jueves 22 de octubre de 1970

MR. JAMES S. COPLEY: Ladies and gentlemen, let's be seated, please. We have a long program and I think we should get started.

I would like to remind everybody that the balloting will begin at noon today at the registration desk. The ballot box will be open until 6 p.m. Each active member must vote for exactly 15 candidates. Any ballot with a greater or lesser number will be declared invalid. Ballots will be available at the registration desk.

A matter of information. Because we are in México, Rómulo thought that a group of us should go over and pay our respects to the President. The President couldn't come over to see us, as you know, so a number of us are going to be leaving here at 11:30. We will try and get through as much of our work as possible by then.

Because of this limitation of time, we are going to strictly adhere to the five-minute rule and the three-minute rule. Tom, may I turn the meeting over to you. please? Tom, one other thing is that we are going to have the General Assembly here this afternoon at three o'clock. The presentation of the John R. Reitemeyer Award and the Technical Center Round Table, which I think will be very interesting. I hope we will have a big attendance. Thank you.

MR. TOM C. HARRIS: I will ask the Secretary to read a message.

SR. HORACIO AGUIRRE: Voy a darle lectura al telegrama procedente de la Ciudad de Guatemala, dirigido a Tom Harris, Presidente de la Comisión de Libertad de Prensa, y dice lo siguiente.

"Augurando éxitos 26 Asamblea Anual SIP reitero respeto libertad emisión pensamiento gobierno Guatemala." Firma Julio César Anzueto, Secretario de Relaciones Públicas de la Presidencia.

Otro mensaje proviene de la Ciudad de Miami, y está dirigido a George Beebe, Presidente del Comité Ejecutivo:

"Leones cubanos en el exilio solidarizan libertad de prensa e instan intensificación campaña pro libertad periodistas cubanos presos Isla Esclava."

Firma Miguel A. Rives, Presidente del Club de Leones Cubanos en el Exilio.

MR. HARRIS: Gracias, Horacio. The Committee on Freedom of the Press will take up where we left off yesterday.

I would now like to call for the report on Canada. Chairman Ian Macdonald is not here, so we will ask Mr. Kidd to substitute.

MR. PAUL KIDD: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen: Yesterday I attempted to make a point that the Guidelines of the Freedom of the Press was being violated by a number of hemisphere countries with regard to Section 7 of the Guidelines.

In total there are 14 countries in contravention of freedom of the press as defined by the IAPA and its Guidelines.

When I came to this meeting I expected my friend and colleague, Mr. Ian Macdonald to be here to present the Canadian report. He is not here and the Chairman, as you have heard, asked me to present it.

Probably a lot of you wondered what this was all about yesterday, and I hope that now that the Canadian report is being presented, you will understand.

I have before me two documents which were handed to me by Mr. Tom Harris, which purport to be a report of freedom of the press in Canada. It is a letter from Mr. Macdonald and I would underscore the thrust of this letter is directed at an observation and ruling of the Board of Directors. It read as follows:

"In acknowledging your request for a report on freedom of the press in Canada as of this time, I would draw your attention to the resolution of the Board of Directors of the IAPA at the mid-year meeting of the Board in Montego Bay, Jamaica, April of 1970.

"The Board of Directors resolved, and I quote: 'Even though the Committee on Freedom of the Press has stated that press freedom is not restricted in Canada, this Committee recommends that the Board of Director reiterate the resolution approved by the 1965 Assembly in Lima, Perú, which declared that the Canadian restriction on newspaper ownership violates Article 4 of the IAPA Charter, which says, quote: The exercise of journalism is free. Prohibitions, restrictions or permits to exercise it, whether they affect owners, editors, publishers, contributors or employees of a publication, violate freedom of the press.'"

In addition Mr. Macdonald sent the following letter to the Chairman of the Freedom of the Press Committee:

"As reported to the April meeting, a senate committee is presently studying the press in Canada in terms of such matters as a possible press council, multiple ownership, etc. No findings or conclusions have been announced to date of reporting."

That, Mr. Chairman, I submit as the Canadian report as sent to you, a report with which I do not concur. That is the end of the report.

I do not believe that this will be included in the time regulation ruling.

I'll step back if anybody wishes to speak ahead of me, it is their privilege. If not, I would respectfully request that I begin my remarks.

MR. HARRIS: The Canadian report as submitted by Mr. MacDonald says in full: "Canada, there is freedom of the press. As reported to the April meeting the senate committee is presently studying the press in Canada in terms of such matters as possible press council, multiple ownership, etc. No findings or conclusions have been announced to the date of reporting."

Now, Mr. Kidd you plan to speak against that report?

MR. KIDD: Mr Chairman, I am slightly confused because this isn't the document that you handed me yesterday.

MR. HARRIS: This is the document prepared by our Committee, based on the document that you have, added on "there is freedom of the press."

MR. KIDD: I don't want to question the Chairman, but this is what I was handed and this is the copy which I received and which the other members of the Committee received.

The Chairman has advised me that a document prepared by their own Committee, which was not given to me--I feel that in fairness it should have been given to me, but it wasn't--.

I am not through speaking, but a gentleman from Aruba wishes to address you.

MR. G.J. SCHOUTEN: After seeing Mr. Kidd very, very excited yesterday in this meeting, we all understood that something was wrong. Suddenly, we are getting a report here by Mr. MacDonald, and in that report we hear nothing about whether there is freedom of the press or not, but if I can follow the report that Mr. Kidd has just submitted on Canada, then there is freedom of the press in Canada.

We are, and I want to make this very clear, I think many of us come to this Association to learn something, I don't think the boys come here to play games. Some of us are older boys, some younger boys. Yesterday, in seeing Mr. Kidd the way he was going on, something was building up. This morning I came to the meeting, and I am sure many of us also came to the meeting, and what we expected now is complete--until this moment we heard from the Chairman, but I have not heard as yet on the report on Canada that has just been submitted, if there is freedom of the press in Canada, yes or no.

Here we have two conflicting ideas, one of Mr. MacDonald, and I would like for Mr. Kidd to please give his report so that we can form an idea very clearly on what is happening in Canada and what Mr. Kidd was driving at yesterday when he was jumping up--I think 15 times, and I was fearing a heart attack. Thank you.

MR. KIDD: Mr. Chairman, I am extremely disturbed by the parliamentary procedure which is being followed here.

When an accredited delegate of the Canadian Committee, Freedom of the Press Committee, whose responsibility is to comment on the state of freedom of the press in his country, is denied a basic document and then suddenly this document is presented to this General Assembly without him previously seeing it, a document which says there is freedom of the press, and when I asked you a few minutes ago where did this come from, you said it was a report that you had prepared yourselves. I don't know who yourselves were, I want to know why that document was not made available to me. That is my question at this present moment.

I think the Assembly is entitled to know. And as I understand it, any final report on the freedom of the press shall not, under strict parliamentary procedure and under the strict Guidelines of the IAPA, be presented until all voices and all opinions have been heard. Mine has not even been heard and yet this document came right out of the sky, and was thrust in front of me. I would like an explanation, sir.

MR. HARRIS: The document, as I stated, is the document that is going to be proposed in the final report.

We took the report from Mr. MacDonald, who is the Chairman of the Committee on Freedom of the Press for Canada, and in the interest of time we went ahead to prepare the documents. That is why I read it here this morning, so that everybody would know what the Committee had said.

The point you are making counts five points on our scale of evaluations of a free press. Those are the only five points that I know against Canada. Under our proposal 75 to 100 points is a free press. Canada has 95 points.

If you want to bring up some other objections to show that it has less than 95 points, we will destroy this finding and make a new one.

Now, you may proceed under the five-minute rule.

MR. KIDD: Sir, I am sure that you will show me the same courtesy that you showed the Cuban delegate yesterday. I will enlarge on that if the need arises.

I am questioning--I am not speaking in substance yet--I am questioning.

I am speaking on points of order. I am not yet even under the five-minute rule. I strongly submit with the greatest respect--I am speaking on points of order--and I submit that when you say "we", who is "we"? The Board of Directors; three of you, four of you, you draw up a report which you do not make available to the Canadian delegation and then you ask this General Assembly to adopt it, without their having heard the full presentation? I suggest that this is almost unprecedented in a breach of the regulations of the Freedom of the Press Committee.

MR. CHARLES L. DANCEY (The Peoria Journal Star, Peoria, Illinois): I am not a member of the Conclusions Committee, but as a member of the Freedom of the Press Committee, who has been an observer to this procedure, including the mid-year activity and that of last year and the previous year, it seems to me the Assembly deserves a brief explanation of what is going on with Mr. Kidd, and the Committee, as I see it, without the partisan argument.

I think Mr. Ian MacDonald, in the first instance, performed a service to freedom of the press and to this Assembly, one as Chairman of the Canadian Committee and with the concurrence--it is my recollection--of three of the four members of that Committee, or not all of them, reported a year ago and again at the mid-year meeting, that there is a fictitious dispute about whether or not there is freedom of the press in Canada.

Such a report was made, as it has been made at every meeting. But Mr. MacDonald, being a very honorable man, felt that there was an obligation to include in the report the physical fact that there is a law which does in some ways constrain foreign ownership, and this is contrary to the Charter of the organization. And so he simply included in the report the fact, as honest reportage, that this existed.

Mr. Kidd did then what he is doing now, and he in turn is contributing --don't misunderstand me--to freedom of the press in this Assembly, by pointing out that there are other countries which have similar laws. He has chosen a very dramatic and combative way to do it--I think it is a service to all of us--but that is what this is all about.

What the Committee obviously worked with, as they always do in the Conclusions Committee, were the documents available to them from the Chairman of the Committee of that country. This is the first time the Committee on Freedom of the Press has met as a committee of the whole. What we have here is a conflict between the Chairman of the Committee on Freedom of the Press for Canada, presented to the Chairman of the Committee of Freedom of the Press of the IAPA, and a delegate from Canada.

Both have conducted themselves in a perfectly normal fashion, and he is making a fuss over that particular thing in order to strengthen his point.

I think that is a fair and accurate description of what must be very confusing to some of us.

Mr. Harris: Thank you, Mr. Dancey, I think you have explained the situation very well.

MR. KIDD: I'm sorry, sir. I have not spoken in substance on this.

MR. HARRIS: What I would like to see the delegate from Canada do is give us his report on freedom of the press in Canada.

As far as the document here is concerned we will take it under re-advisement until after we hear his report, then the Committee on Conclusions can make up its mind whether there is freedom of the press in Canada or not.

Now, if Mr. Kidd will proceed with his report on Canada, his views on freedom of the press in Canada, we can save time and get on with the meeting.

MR. KIDD: I don't know whether it's a blocking tactic that you are applying here, but I will not burden the Committee, for whom I have the greatest respect, with any further points on this legalistic aspect. But I will present a little bit of history about this matter, which will explain a lot of the background of the dispute over the Canadian report.

Now, Mr. Dancey made certain personal remarks as to my manner on the podium--I think that is my business--he talked about my adding to the confusion. I submit that he, too, added slightly to the confusion. However, I won't belabor this point.

I will just refresh your memory, and I am quoting at the beginning. On yes, he mentioned that it was some dispute between Mr. McDonald and I. It is not a dispute between Mr. McDonald and myself. We are in agreement.

I will refer you back to the Washington meeting of last year, and I am quoting from the Canadian Press report, which is the national wire service of Canada, just as The Associated Press is one of the national wire services of the United States. The lead of the Canadian Press report was:

"The Inter American Press Association Friday rejected the suggestion that there is restriction on freedom of the press in Canada because of a law restricting foreign ownership of Canadian newspapers."

Now, that is the vote of the General Assembly. At that time I observed, as I have submitted in the past, Canada is in the same category as 13 Latin American nations which have enacted legislation which, to some degree, regulates against foreign control over their press. They have never been criticized for this, and now it would seem the Conclusions Committee has upheld that such national legislation is a sovereign right of any country, and does not constitute a restriction of freedom of the press.

On the 16th of April I received a letter from Mr. McDonald. I shall go further back to the 9th of March, 1970, on which I received a note from Mr. McDonald which totally disputes and points out the falsehood that was

made by the gentlemen, there is no disagreement within the Canadian committee.

His letter says: "You will recall that at the conclusion of the Washington meeting it was agreed by Messrs. Kidd, Mosley and MacDonald --Mr. Keate, the other member of the committee was not present--that in light of the foregoing circumstances there was not much point in making reference to the government restriction on ownership in future reports."

On the 16th of April I received this letter from Mr. MacDonald, and this is what this dispute is all about:

"Under instructions of the Canadian Committee, I (Ian MacDonald) reported 'there is freedom of the press in Canada.'"

That was the entire report, a unanimous report of the Canadian Committee submitted at the mid-year meeting in Montego Bay.

Mr. MacDonald then continues: "On the advice of Dr. Gainza Paz the Resolutions Committee recommended, and the Board of Directors approved, the following resolution."

I won't bore you with it, you've already heard it once this morning. But what they did, in effect, say that the Canadian restriction on newspaper ownership violates Article 4 of the IAPA Charter.

In other words--and I'm sure it's very simple, and I am sure there is no confusion in what I am saying--the Board of Directors completely and categorically overruled the unanimous report of the Canadian Committee.

Mr. MacDonald was then left in a very embarrassing position in that he could only reiterate in his submission to this meeting what the Board of Directors had done in Montego Bay.

The Montego Bay Committee held and the Board of Directors upheld that Canada was in violation of Article 4.

Article 4 is the enabling section--if we are to use the legal term--of the Guidelines to freedom of the press.

Now, sir, what I have been doing is to point out that there are 14 countries doing exactly the same thing, and yet the Board of Directors of this organization overruled, rejected the unanimous report of the Canadian Committee to allege that we were violating Article 4, when other countries in the same position, the identical position, were not even mentioned. This is what this is all about.

Now, sir, I have prepared a resolution, which is in your possession, to the effect that freedom of the press, as Mr. Noyes so articulately defined

it here on the panel, in his view was simply that government may not interfere with the free publication of news. It had nothing to do--and I am adding to this--with business interests which this regulation of the Canadian, the Brazilian, the Mexican, the Chilean, the Argentinian, and many other government have.

In light fo that I have submitted a resolution that three sections of the Guidelines of the Press: Sections 5, 6 and 7 be either deleted completely, as they relate essentially to business interests and business practices and not to the publication of news or the hindrance of newspapermen or jailing of newspapermen--those Guidelines we all know are perfectly valid and must be kept in the Charter--but these three sections either be delated completely from the Guidelines or else they be applied fairly, equally and rigidly to each of the 14 countries violating one or all three of them, and that this violation be contained in every annual report presented by the respective delegations at these Assemblies.

Otherwise, sir, I submit these Guidelines are useless and are being made a pure mockery of. Thank you. (Applause)

MR. WILLIAM P. WILLIAMSON: I am not sure that my question of yesterday was answered. I still don't quite understand the point here.

I think Mr. Kidd is correct, we should take note for the record that there is minor restriction in the case of Canada, which has been discussed in previous years, a restriction that exists in--as he has pointed out--13 other countries of the hemisphere. But I think we are exaggerating out of all proportions a trivial little matter.

Mr. Kidd yesterday insinuated that this Magna Charta, as he calls it, is maligning his country by including a Guideline which is violated in his country.

This very same Magna Charta in the first Guideline cites Canada as one of two countries as an example in which there is a genuine climate for a free press. So it's really a little ridiculous to charge that we are maligning the great country of Canada because we call attention to one very minor violation.

I do feel we are treading on very dangerous ground. Excuse me, Paul, but I am afraid that in following this path you are keeping company with some pretty rabid ultra-nationalists, perhaps communists.

We've been over much of this ground before, but perhaps we have never faced the issue squarely.

Mr. Chairman, I am very much concerned. I am concerned that Mr. Kidd, Mr. Schouten and apparently a number of our other colleagues seem to endorse freedom of the press, endorse freedom, but with limitations. I am concerned

because they endorse freedom for themselves, but not for me and for others of our colleagues, because they endorse freedom of the press, freedom of the right of any free citizen in any free society to express himself freely in his own free publication, but only for themselves, not for me, perhaps, not for Miss Arana Freire in Peru, not for Mr. Aguirre in Miami, not, perhaps, for Mr. Lozano or some of his stockholders in Los Angeles, not for persons in history with names like Pulitzer and Ochs in the United States, Thomson in England, Hearst in France, and any number of others I am sure we could find in past and present.

They apparently endorse freedom to edit and publish for themselves, but not for possible competitors who may wish to enjoy that freedom, nor for certain minority groups or individuals in minority groups in their society who may wish the same freedom to express themselves or publish, or read, or be presented by a free press of their own making or their own choosing.

Whether this is due to fear or weakness, I am sure many of the publications which advocate these restrictions, suppress freedom of others, condemn this very same type of protectionism for other products in other countries.

Mr. Kidd and a few others would apparently like to eliminate Guideline 7 and Guideline 5 and 6, and probably Article 4 of our very Charter. They would like to overlook government's placing a slight restriction on what we consider to be freedom of the press and freedom of expression, as long as it only affects a very few minority members of minority groups and doesn't affect them.

What I contend, Mr. Chairman, that the day the Inter American Press Association begins to approve or endorse, or silently or tacitly accept restriction of any type, for any reason, anywhere, that on that day we ourselves will be guilty of implanting the seeds of a cancer which can lead to only one fatal end.

We can't divorce commercial aspects from freedom. Mr. Kidd wants to abolish the Guidelines that prohibit governments from taxing us out of existence, prohibiting us from importing the machinery we need to publish. We can't draw a line between commercial and hypothetical, theoretical aspects. I think we have gone over this many times, that a free press has to be economically independent.

Perhaps the best and the freest of the countries in the hemisphere doesn't live up to all of the ideals that we believe in here. But is that a reason to sacrifice our ideals?

I would like to repeat what, I think it was Mr. Don Maxwell said in Acapulco a year and a half ago, something to the effect that just because one of the Ten Commandments was not obeyed by humanity, that doesn't mean

that we should abandon the Ten Commandments. Thank you. (Applause)

MR. J.G. SCHOUTEN: Mr. Chairman, there seems to be some misunderstanding and it is growing. What to make very clear in the Inter American Press Association is that we have to be very clear in our decision; we cannot say that there is freedom of the press when there is no freedom of the press.

About this matter of my country, or countries, I want us to understand that I am against any restrictions, but if my country makes any restrictions and it is against the Charter of the Inter American Press Association, then I don't want to be told that we have freedom of the press, but then I want to hear it clearly what we have, no freedom of the press. I don't believe in restricted freedom of the press, some freedom of the press. We either have freedom of the press or not. And what is happening here today we have just been told to our face that we are only thinking about the Inter American Press Association, where we should be frank and come out openly.

If the meeting thinks that something is violated, then it is violated and there is no freedom of the press.

I can remember that this Article comes up in every meeting and it is becoming annoying. Every meeting of the SIP we are back again with Canada with the same procedure. I would like for us to decide today once and for all if we are going to keep this Article in our Charter or not. And if we keep it, then there is no freedom of the press for 15 or 20 other countries. There is no way of getting around this, and we should be men enough to make that report and when we go back to our country, let our country then understand. We have no freedom of the press and let them start throwing out the laws and let us then for a revolution with our pen to awaken the people that they back us up so that we can come back to this meeting and say then that we threw out those articles against freedom of the press, and we can say in this meeting then, there is freedom of the press because there are no hidden articles. If there are hidden articles, then there is no freedom of the press if it is against the Charter of the Association. Thank you.

MR. JOHN R. REYTEMEYER (The Hartford Courant, Hartford, Conn.): I suppose I should start by saying that I am a director of a corporation, which is wholly owned by the Canadian government. I am frequently in Canada; I am quite familiar with the Canadian press, and the situation which has been discussed at what I think is too great length here at the moment, but, of course, I must confess that although I fish with Mr. Kidd's publisher, I at times grow somewhat weary of Mr. Kidd's oratory.

However, what Mr. Kidd has said here today on certain points is essentially correct. What he is referring to is Paragraph 4 of our Charter, which says among other things--and perhaps he read it to you, but I'll read it again--"The exercise of journalism is free. Prohibitions, restrictions or permits to exercise it, whether they affect owners, editors, publishers, contributors or employees of a publication, violate freedom of the press."

Now the situation in Canada is that foreigners are not permitted to operate newspapers in Canada. At one time Time and Reader's Digest wanted to publish their Canadian editions in Canada. The Canadian government said no. However, Time and Reader's Digest were able to make certain accommodations with the government so that their Canadian editions today are published in Canada.

At the meeting in--I guess it was Jamaica, although I've discussed this with Mr. Kidd so often that I've forgotten where we said what--but at the meeting in Jamaica, after a prolonged discussion on this point we did decide, as Mr. Kidd says we did, to in some way modify this particular section of Paragraph 4.

Now let me assure you that as far as the Canadian press is concerned, there is absolute, but absolute freedom of the press. There is no restriction in any way, shape or manner on the press of Canada. They say what they please, when they please, and, I might add, that the Canadian papers are excellent newspapers and whatever they wish to say they say it very well, indeed.

So you have two points here. There is no lack of freedom of the press. What you have here is a prohibition forbidding me, for example, to go into Canada and set up a Canadian edition of The Hartford Courant.

I think if you are going to say anything about this, you should not confuse it, necessarily, with freedom of the press. I think if the Committee is going to make a report it should say very flatly, "There is freedom of the press in Canada."

Then it might add another sentence saying: "No non-Canadian is permitted to publish a newspaper or any other publication in Canada."

But, I might also add that something should be done about this resolution which, as Mr. Kidd very accurately says, was unanimously adopted at our meeting, I think in Jamaica. And so far nothing has been done about it. I think the resolution adopted in Jamaica should either be considered by the Board of Directors, which has authority to change the By-laws, and should either be accepted, or modified, or rejected, or whatever, but to the best of my knowledge, no action whatever has ever been taken on this resolution, which really is contrary to our rules of procedure. Thank you. (Applause)

SR. MAURICIO BERCUN (El Herald, León, México): Sr. Presidente, solamente una pequeña aclaración sobre el informe que sobre México presentó mi estimado colega y excelente amigo, el Sr. Junco de la Vega.

Al manifestar que en México hay libertad de prensa, con limitaciones a los extranjeros, deseo enfatizar como editor mexicano, que en nuestro país no hay limitación alguna a los extranjeros, ya que las leyes mexicanas no

establecen nacionalidad, religión ni color para ejercer el periodismo. Y puedo afirmar con orgullo que en México hay absoluta libertad de prensa. Gracias.

SR. NAPOLEON VIERA ALTAMIRANO (El Diario de Hoy, San Salvador, El Salvador):

He querido aprovechar la circunstancia en que el caso del Canadá se mantiene con verdadera actualidad en estos momentos para portar un dato que va a interesar a todos los colegas hispanoamericanos y norteamericanos.

En la primera sesión tuvimos la oportunidad de oír la interesante exposición que hizo el Secretario Adjunto del Departamento de Estado cuando hizo referencia de que más de una vez el interés social viene a interponerse en el ejercicio de la libertad de prensa de una manera obligada por especiales circunstancias.

Esto nos hace ver a nosotros la trascendencia que tiene el punto tan enérgicamente debatido por el periodista del Canadá. La importancia que tiene esto es de una gran trascendencia. El mundo entero se encuentra hoy confundido.

Veamos nada menos que en Bolivia la participación de elementos extranjeros ha contribuido a un paso decisivo para destruir por completo la libertad de prensa.

El hecho de que un periódico esté sometido a intereses extranjeros en un momento dado puede significar un tropiezo para la seguridad pública. Es un detalle que no pocas veces se trae a cuenta en nuestras publicaciones de todo el hemisferio. Todos los pequeños países de América están hoy como surgiendo a un nuevo sentido de nacionalismo. Se quiere que la escuela pública esté en manos de los nacionales, porque hemos comprobado como en la escuela pública el elemento extranjero ha contribuido a esta confusión ideológica, a este atentado permanente contra la libertad humana.

Se quiere también que los servicios religiosos, la iglesia, esté en manos de los nacionales del país, porque también comprobamos, y lo acabamos de ver en Bolivia, como los religiosos extranjeros contribuyen con verdadera amplitud, a todo gusto, a perturbar el orden jurídico e institucional de un pequeño país.

Desde Montego Bay el señor periodista del Canadá planteó esta cuestión, y no mas yo regresé a mi país, publiqué una serie de editoriales comentando la posición canadiense, y traje a cuenta como en los Estados Unidos las minorías nacionales tiene sus periódicos. Y me llené de complacencia y de orgullo al decir que el Diario las Americas, La Opinión de Los Angeles, El Tiempo de Nueva York y El Diario de Nueva York, estaban contribuyendo, a pesar de publicarse en castellano a ser de propiedad no de norteamericanos,

a la conformación de la ciudadanía norteamericana, porque el extranjero que llega a un país y que pierde contacto con el mundo, por desconocimiento de la lengua, no se opone a incorporarse nunca al país que le da hospitalidad.

Sin embargo, esta preocupación nuestra del pequeño país que sabe que un periódico pertenece a una gran organización extranjera da lugar para que nosotros consideremos con detenimiento el problema, y le demos una solución humanística en sentido del hombre universal o nacionalística, cosa que se impone hoy día cuando vemos como las grandes potencias cogen como juguetes haciendo papel de niñeras, a países pequeños.

Es algo de gran trascendencia en nuestro periódico, en el ambiente modesto de Centro America, hemos seguido una política de puertas abiertas. Y yo he recordado siempre con gran satisfacción centroamericanista como El Diario de Hoy, desde el primer momento quiso tener dentro de su cuerpo de redactores periodistas de toda Centro América.

Y es así como en todos los periódicos del mundo hoy día, el escritor extranjero tiene una cátedra porque el pensamiento se estima universal con derecho a hacerse conocer en todas partes del mundo. Muchas gracias. (Aplausos)

MR. PAUL KIDD: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Williamson observed that I was on dangerous ground in dealing with what he called a minor topic. He said in being on dangerous ground I was, and I quote directly, "treading the path of pretty rabid, ultra nationalists and, perhaps, communists."

He addressed that to somebody who has had three detentions in Cuba and the only Canadian journalist who is persona non grata in Cuba for his writing about the Cuban regime; the only Western journalist who ever got into a forced labor in camp in Camaguey, came out with pictures and had them published in all his groups' newspapers. So if I am treading the path of ultra nationalists and perhaps communists, I am, to say the least surprised to hear it.

I am also confused by the observation, if I understood it correctly, from the Mexican delegate, who said that there were no restrictions against foreigners in Mexico, if I understood him correctly. If I didn't would he please stand up.

It is very strange when the Chairman of the Mexican Committee himself, to save me the trip to the rostrum, admitted yesterday that there were, in fact, such restrictions. And now we have a Mexican delegate come up and say there are not? I suggest, sir, with the greatest respect, that he read the Mexican law and if he hasn't I will read it to him. There are two sentences:

"Mexico demands the majority of control of newspapers to be in Mexican hands. Mexico also stipulates that individuals who are not Mexican citizens may not be editors or publishers of newspapers."

I would like to point out, as my good friend from Aruba pointed out, it is time that this Association stood up and acted like men. I quote his words. And that we once and for all define and decide what we mean by this very, very vague enabling section of Article 4.

Also, we have been presented with this document, which is supposed to be our Guidelines at this meeting. It seems to me that before this document has any validity it must go to vote of the general membership to decide whether they--and, after all, you, ladies and gentlemen, are the ones who count, whether they accept these Guidelines as valid and appropriate to this Association. Thank you very much.

MR. PETER MANIGAULT (Charleston (S.C.) Evening Post and News and Courier):

Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that in the last year we've felt a very refreshing breeze of common sense and realism in this organization. It is especially shown by the very excellent report of the Hills Committee defining in really common sense terms that there are gradations of freedom of the press. It is a matter of relativity in the world today, speaking strictly from a matter of circumstantial common sense. I don't think any of us feel that that means that we have deserted a much stronger definition of a truly ideal freedom of the press that should be strived for in all countries.

I think we have really got to apply the reasoning to this point that is being hashed out here. And on this score I would like to say that what Bill Williamson said earlier really can't be disputed as a matter of philosophical, long-range, ideal freedom of the press. What Bill said I think we would all have to agree with as journalists, that any one of any nationality ought to be able to go into the business of publishing anything in any country at any time and say anything he wants. I don't think this organization can part from that end goal.

So what we are talking about now concerns this point of law restricting foreign ownership in certain countries. Let's look at it from a common-sense point of view. The countries that have it really must have it because they fear foreign competition.

Now, as the gentleman from El Salvador indicated, this is certainly, in a common-sense way, understandable, when you are looking at certain countries, say in Central America or islands in the Caribbean that do have a history of serious economic imbalance, some call it economic imperialism, from Europe or North America. There is an understandable fear of foreign ownership in these smaller countries with a history of economic imbalance of having foreigners publish. And perhaps it is unrealistic to think that today or in the next

decade that all these countries will do away with this kind of law.

But when it comes to a great and strong country like Canada, Brazil, Argentina, it seems to me that it is indefensible to have laws restricting foreign ownership. Where you have economically well-developed countries, a very strong and world-respected vernacular press, these people don't need laws restricting foreign ownership. There is no reason for it.

And I would certainly like to see, having ceded that Mr. Kidd has made a very good procedural point, that if you put an asterisk on Canada saying there is a law restricting foreign ownership we should put the same asterisk on every country in the hemisphere that has a similar law. An excellent procedural point, Mr. Kidd has made it very well, and I think we should certainly go along with that.

But I, for one, would like to see Mr. Kidd go back to Canada and get together with the other Canadian journalists in their association and tell the Canadian government we don't need this protective law anymore. We have strong press in Canada. We don't fear competition from anyone at anytime, and we want to see the Inter American Press Association stick to its lofty goal to have true, ideal, non-relative freedom of the press that we all are going to strive for over the years in all the countries of the hemisphere; that we shouldn't have a law like this and let's repeal it in Canada.

I think that would be the most constructive thing and certainly I don't think this Association ought to entertain any idea of changing its stand which permits us to put an asterisk on any country that has this kind of law. Thank you. (Applause)

MR. HARRIS: Any other comment on Canada? We will now hear the report on Chile. This will be given by Mr. William Giandoni, Vice Chairman, who has visited a number of countries in the interest of both his newspapers and IAPA.

MR. WILLIAM GIANDONI (Copley News Service, San Diego, California): From Chile, Alberto Fontaine, Vice President of the Freedom of the Press Committee, cables reporting that editorial matters keep him from coming here to personally render the report on the situation in that South American country. He begs that we excuse him.

He says, in translation: "The situation of the press has not suffered alteration, for which reason it should be reiterated that in this country (that is to say, Chile) integral freedom of the press continues to exist.

"That is the situation at the moment, as anyone can conclude for himself by reading any one or all of Santiago's eleven newspapers."

The Communist daily, El Siglo, goes on printing its apparently uninhibited version of news. The Socialist paper, Puro Chile, and all the other, in-

cluding the respected, independent, El Mercurio, do likewise.

But there is no one in Chile with two fingers of forehead, like my Latin friends say, "dos dedos de frente"--for the benefit of our non-Latin friends, "dos dedos de frente" is the measure of difference between man and the ape, the distance between the eyebrow and the hairline that distinguishes man from the lower species--there is no one who really can be sure that freedom of expression, that freedom of information, that freedom that often borders on licence, will endure for long in Chile.

As all newspaper readers should know, on Saturday, October 24, the Chilean Congress meets to choose between the two front runners in the elections of September 4, between Dr. Salvador Allende, the Communist-backed Socialist, and former President Jorge Alessandri, the anti-Communist independent.

Barring the completely unexpected, Allende will be confirmed victor and the next President of Chile by virtue of his 1.4% edge in the popular vote that he obtained over Alessandri.

For one thing, the Chilean Congress traditionally has chosen the candidate who obtained the plurality of votes in a three or more man presidential race.

For another, Allende has already obtained the promise of the support of the Christian Democrat Party, which represents the largest single block of votes in the Congress.

The PDC reached its decision to back Allende Saturday at the end of a heated two-day Junta Nacional in Santiago October 3 and 4. There was considerable confusion abroad, outside of Chile, about that meeting. The impression was created, and I shared it until I reached Santiago on Sunday, October 4, that the Christian Democrats were debating whether to vote for Allende or to support Alessandri.

Nothing of the sort. The discussion those two days was whether the Christian Democrats should vote for Allende or should abstain on October 24. That is to say that after the first few hours of their two-day, heated conference, after the few men who could have found it in their hearts to cast Christian Democrat ballots for Alessandri, after they had been shouted down, the debate was whether to vote for Allende or not to vote for Allende. No matter what the decision, the result would have been the same, or will be the same.

The Socialists, the Communists, the radicals and the other parties that backed Allende have about 80 of the 200 votes in the two houses of Congress. Alessandri's strength is estimated at 45. The Christian Democrats are said to number 75. If the Christian Democrats all vote for Allende, is the party has dictated, he should win 155 to 45. If they abstain, Allende would still have it by 80 to 45.

According to the Chilean electoral program come November 4, Dr. Salvador Allende, 62-year-old medic, a man who has militated in the Socialist Party since the early 1930's, will become President of Chile, finally, on his fourth try.

He ran unsuccessfully in 1952, 1958 and 1964. This year he came in first, interestingly with a lower percentage of the total vote, 36.3%, a lower percentage than he polled six years ago when he lost to President Eduardo Frei. Then Allende got 38.9%

Why, if he was honestly elected and if he is to be confirmed by an honestly elected Congress, why should we worry about him? Quite simply because he, like so many of the others, beginning with Marx himself, has said that he would take advantage of our bourgeois, our capitalist, our democratic freedoms to do away with freedom.

Most of us have read that Dr. Allende said during his electoral campaign that he would expropriate El Mercurio if elected to office. I did not hear him say that, but I believe that is the idea in his mind. The wire services reported it, there was no denial; special correspondents reported it, there was no denial; my friends and co-workers in Chile say that that is what he said.

Subsequently, of course, he has toned down his statements on El Mercurio. But he has reaffirmed his support of the program of Unidad Popular.

What I have to offer you today by way of evidence that Allende considers newspapers like El Mercurio among his prime targets, are some excerpts from a pamphlet entitled "Programa Basico de Gobierno de la Unidad Popular," "The Basic Program of Popular Unity." Popular Unity, you know, is the name of the coalition whose votes carried Allende to his slight win.

On page 4 of this pamphlet, which is for sale for a modest sum on the streets of Santiago, and presumably elsewhere in Chile, you find this statement:

"The group of impresarios that controls the economy, the press, and other media of communications, the political system and which threatens the state when the state insinuates intervening, or refuses to favor them, costs all Chileans very dearly."

That would seem to set the media, among other sectors, up as a clear target.

What does Unidad Popular propose to do? On page 9 of the pamphlet it says: "The Popular Government will guarantee the exercise of democratic rights and will respect the individual and social guarantees of all the people. Freedom of conscience, of speech, of press and of assembly, the inviolability of the home and the rights of unionization and organization will reign effectively without the restrictions with which the dominating classes currently limit them.

"So that this may be effective, the union and social organization and other sectors of workers will be called to intervene in the decision of the organs of power, at the level that corresponds them."

That would seem to suggest that Unidad Popular thinks in terms of making cooperatives of the newspapers.

However, when the coalition gets around to talking about the construction of the new economy on page 14, we read: "A process of transformation of our economy is initiated with a policy destined to constitute a state dominated area formed by the companies that the state currently possesses, plus the companies that are expropriated. As a first step there will be nationalized those basic resources that, like the big copper, iron, nitrates and other minings, are in the power of foreign capital and internal monopolies."

Among the industries to be expropriated are listed communication and the paper industry, because, Unidad Popular says, "They are activities that condition the economic and social development of the country."

But that is not all that Unidad Popular promises. We can read on page 23 that "the media of mass communications, and to define it they put between parenthesis, radio, editorial houses, television, press, motion pictures--and we close the parenthesis--are fundamental in aiding the formation of a new culture and a new man.

"For that reason there must be impressed on them an educational orientation and they must be freed of their commercial character by adopting measures so that the social organization dispose of these media, eliminating from them the abominable presence of the monopolies."

That would suggest the media are to be taken out of private hands, at the very least.

All of this leads one to conclude--leads me, at least, to conclude--that while it may well be true that freedom of the press exists in Chile, it won't for long, if the candidate of Unidad Popular lives up to his word to impose its program. Thank you. (Applause)

MR. HARRIS: Thank you, Bill. Now I understand there are one or more gentlemen here from Chile who would like to speak, and they may have the floor.

SR. HECTOR GONZALEZ V. (El Rancaguino, Rancagua, Chile): Sr. Presidente, queridos amigos, he estado escuchando con la más profunda atención todo lo que se ha dicho en esta asamblea acerca de las inquietudes que estamos viviendo los periodistas de Chile. Con especial atención escuché el informe rendido por mi estimado amigo Willie Giandoni.

En sus líneas generales estoy total y absolutamente de acuerdo con lo que ha dicho. Pero estimo y siento la obligación de decirlo que podrían sus palabras interpretarse de forma diferente a como la estamos viviendo los periodistas en la actual realidad chilena.

Para que mis propias palabras no sean mal interpretadas, quiero recordarles, estimados amigos, a quienes me conocen, que mi pequeño periódico, El Rancaguino de Rancagua, tiene una tradición de democracia, de americanismo y de libertad que se remonta al año 1915, fecha en que fue fundado por mi padre.

Y para que no se interpreten mal las palabras mías, quiero recordar también que con profundo orgullo, y con una emoción muy grande, hace tres años, en Puerto Rico, recibí el Premio SIP-Mergenthaler de libertad de prensa, después de haber escrito entre los años 66 y 67 dos cientos artículos editoriales defendiendo la posibilidad de que fuera amagada la libertad de prensa en Chile.

Con enorme orgullo cada vez que he concurrido a las asambleas de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa en los últimos diez años en que ustedes me han visto aquí, he escuchado que el informe sobre Chile termina con una frase breve, pero hondamente significativa: "En Chile existe la libertad de prensa."

Hoy escucho también con orgullo esa frase contenida en el informe, y puedo declarar y ratificar ante todos ustedes que hasta hoy, 22 de octubre de 1970, en Chile existe la libertad de prensa.

Bueno, ¿a qué vienen entonces las inquietudes que pueden existir, que existen y que han existido en los últimos días en nuestro país?

Vienen de la interpretación de una posibilidad de lo que pueda ocurrir bajo el régimen de gobierno que se va a iniciar en mi patria dentro de dos días.

¿De qué vienen, específicamente, en forma concreta estas inquietudes? Las expresó Willie Giandoni. De lo leído en este folleto profusamente distribuido en Chile, donde se contiene el programa de gobierno de la Unidad Popular. Vale decir, del conjunto de partidos entre los que está incluido el partido comunista y el partido socialista de tendencia innegablemente Marxista.

No voy a repetir las citas textuales que ya las expresó Willie Giandoni, contenidas en un capítulo especial denominado "Los Medios de Comunicación Masiva."

Pero aquí viene mi agregado, Sr. Presidente, que yo quisiera se tomara en cuenta al ser redactado el informe sobre Chile. Estimo personalmente

que lo contenido en este folleto ha sido ya fundamentalmente modificado en los últimos días. Y ha sido modificado, me refiero a lo relacionado a la libertad de prensa, justamente para hacer posible la continuidad del régimen democrático en Chile.

Voy a ser simple, creo que me estoy ya en los lindes de la hora límite, para decir que en Chile había hasta el día de la elección, tres tendencias más o menos parejas, la Unidad Popular, la izquierda; la del candidato Sr. Alessandri, la derecha; y la del Partido Demócrata Cristiano que pudieramos estimar de centro.

El Partido Demócrata Cristiano, derrotado en la elección, después de ella hizo un convenio con la Unidad Popular, vale decir con el Sr. Allende, exigiéndole la firma de lo que se ha denominado el estatuto de garantías para incorporarlo en el texto de la constitución política de Chile como condición para prestarle su apoyo pasado mañana en el Congreso pleno. Y este estatuto de garantías modifica la actual constitución política de Chile en lo relativo a la libertad de prensa.

Si el Sr. Presidente me permite, y no me extiendo en la hora, puedo leer en dos minutos cual es el nuevo texto de la Constitución chilena en lo relativo a la libertad de prensa. Dice así:

"La Constitución política....."

MR. HARRIS: Mr. Ornes has proposal to make.

SR. GERMAN E. ORNES: Han pasado los cinco minutos que los estatutos establecen en el caso de los oradores. Tratándose del problema de Chile, que es tan importante y tan interesante, yo propongo que por este caso las reglas sean suspendidas y que se continúe el caso de Chile sin limitación de tiempo. (Aplausos)

SR. HECTOR GONZALEZ: Muchas gracias, Sr. Presidente. Muchas gracias, queridos amigos.

El nuevo texto de la Constitución Política de Chile será el siguiente:

"La Constitución garantiza la libertad de emitir sin censura previa sus opiniones de palabra o por escrito, por medio de la prensa, la radio, la televisión o en cualquiera otra forma, sin prejuicio de responder de los delitos y abusos que se cometen en el ejercicio de esta libertad, en la forma en casos determinados por la ley.

"No podrá ser constitutivo de delito o abuso sustentar y difundir alguna idea política. Toda persona natural o jurídica, ofendida o aludida por alguna información tiene derecho a que su aclaración o rectificación sea gratuitamente difundida en las condiciones que la ley determine por el órgano de publicidad en que esa información hubiere sido emitida.

"Todas las corrientes de opinión tendrán derecho a utilizar, en las condiciones de igualdad que determine la ley, los medios de difusión y comunicación social de propiedad o de uso de particulares.

"Toda persona natural o jurídica, especialmente las universidades y los partidos políticos, tendrán el derecho de organizar, fundar y mantener diarios, revistas, periódicos y estaciones transmisoras de radio en las condiciones que establezca la ley.

"Sólo por ley podrá modificarse el régimen de propiedad y de funcionamiento de esos medios de comunicación. La expropiación de los mismos podrá únicamente realizarse por la aprobada en cada cámara con el voto conforme de la mayoría de sus miembros en ejercicio.

"La importación y comercialización de libros impresos y revistas serán libres, sin perjuicio de las reglamentaciones y gravámenes que la ley imponga.

"Se prohíbe discriminar arbitrariamente entre las empresas propietarias de diarios, periódicos, revistas, radiodifusoras y estaciones de televisión, en lo relativo a la venta del papel, tinta, maquinaria u otros elementos de trabajo o respecto de las autorizaciones o permisos que fueren necesarios para efectuar tales adquisiciones dentro o fuera del país.

"Quedan garantizadas la circulación, remisión y transmisión por cualquier medio, de escritos, impresos y noticias que no se opongan a la moral y a las buenas costumbres.

"Solo en virtud de una ley, dictada en los casos previstos en el Artículo 44, No. 12, podrá restringirse el ejercicio de esta libertad."

Estimados amigos, con la lectura de esta exposición, que ha sido la condición para que mas de un tercio del pueblo de Chile acepte que desde pasado mañana el Sr. Salvador Allende sea Presidente de Chile, creo que por lo menos en este momento, los periodistas de Chile podemos tener la seguridad de que tendremos un texto constitucional al que echar mano para levantarlo como bandera para seguir defendiendo la irrestricta libertad de prensa en nuestro país.

Y aún más, por el conocimiento personal que tengo de algunas situaciones, de algunas instituciones, y aún de algunos miembros del futuro gobierno, creo que no podemos en este momento aventurarnos a creer que la libertad de prensa está pronta a morir en Chile.

El proceso eleccionario se ha realizado en mi patria conforme a las leyes, conforme a la constitución y de manera totalmente democrática. El proceso ha sido legal y democrático. Si en la elección hubo una mayoría muy pequeña para los partidos de la Unidad Popular, dentro de dos días en el Congreso la mayoría que la apoye va a ser total y absoluta. Ese es un hecho.

Queridos amigos, si con emoción profunda en los últimos diez años en que he concurrido junto a ustedes a levantar el pendón de la libertad de prensa he escuchado con emoción la frase "En Chile hay libertad de prensa," yo quiero creer, y lo declaro ante ustedes en este momento, que el próximo año cuando esté otra vez con ustedes, en los años venideros, en la próxima década, o cuando mis hijos, uno de ellos aquí presente en esta Asamblea y testigo de mis palabras, concurra a estar con los hijos de ustedes, pueda seguir también escuchando con orgullo y con emoción un informe breve, corto, pero dramático en su simplicidad, que diga, "En Chile hay libertad de prensa." Nada mas. (Aplausos)

MR. HARRIS: Thank you, Mr. González.

SR. HORACIO AGUIRRE: El informe presentado por el Sr. Giandoni en la parte específica de si hay o no hay libertad de prensa en Chile, afirma que hay libertad de prensa en Chile, lo cual es satisfactorio para todos nosotros.

Yo he escuchado con mucha atención las hermosas y patrióticas palabras de nuestro distinguido amigo y colega, Héctor González, del Rancaguino, cuyas ejecutorias en el seno de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa son brillantes y han sido siempre reconocidas como tales por todos nosotros.

A mi me satisface inmensamente que él tenga la esperanza o la convicción de que en el próximo año, en una frase dramática y breve podámos decir en el seno de la Asamblea que hay libertad de prensa en Chile. Y en efecto, hasta el momento la hay. Y quiera Dios que así sea siempre por la voluntad sostenida de los chilenos y por la actitud vigilante de los periodistas de esa patria y de todos los que integran la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa.

Ahora bien, yo quiero hacer una observación que desde luego en nada empaña el concepto de que hay libertad de prensa en Chile, y es con relación a esto: el por qué de la presunción del temor.

La presunción del temor radica en el hecho de que es consustancial a un régimen marxista el atropello a la libertad de prensa. Hay mas. Los comunistas la defienden cuando les beneficia, pero cuando son gobierno, no intentan siquiera defenderse del cargo que se les hace de que violan a la libertad de prensa.

El hecho de que se haya firmado un documento de suprema jerarquía jurídica y política como el que leyó nuestro distinguido colega, desde luego dadas las condiciones republicanas y democráticas de Chile, que todos admiramos y respetamos, puede tener un gran valor allí.

Pero siempre existe la posibilidad, la presunción es lógica, de que ese documento se viola porque los comunistas siempre están dispuestos a firmar cualquier cosa que sea necesaria para llegar al poder, para entronizarse en él y después echar por el suelo todas las libertades públicas, comenzando con la libertad de prensa.

Distinguido colega González, esa es la razón de la presunción, independientemente del documento que usted nos ha leído, independiente del hecho de que en la actualidad exista libertad de prensa. Considero que es muy importante, como dice usted, que si se produce la violación habrá la posibilidad de echar mano de ese documento para agitarlo junto con la bandera de Chile, en contra del régimen liberticida, si es que se presenta el caso. Que quiera Dios que no se presente.

Ahora bien, yo sí considero que sin que esto tenga que aparecer en nuestro informe, esto es mas bien una sugestión, una recomendación a todos nosotros, debemos asumir una actitud vigilante dentro de la Sociedad y fuera de ella, con respecto a un caso como el de Chile en donde por razones históricas relacionadas con un régimen marxista es lógico presumir, y en esto no se está ofendiendo a nadie, que hagan en Chile lo que han hecho en otras partes, sin que esto signifique que el caso de Chile no puede ser una excepción, como todos lo deseamos en la intimidad de nuestras conciencias y con toda la fuerza de nuestro espíritu.

Puede usted estar seguro que en esta tribuna mi palabra modesta estará siempre en defensa de la libertad de Chile, de la libertad de prensa en Chile, y si en alguna ocasión hubiese algún atentado o alguna amenaza contra esa libertad, pues en esta Sociedad se oirá la voz de todos nosotros, defendiendo la democracia chilena y su esencia, que es la libertad de prensa. Eso es todo, Sr. Presidente. (Aplausos)

DR. GUILLERMO MARTINEZ MARQUEZ: He oído, con profunda emoción, las palabras sinceras de mi querido, de mi estimado compañero del Rancaguino, Héctor González. Pero desde el fondo de mi pensamiento, mirando hacia atrás y lo que ha pasado en mi patria, yo siento mucho decirle que él está equivocado.

En Cuba ocurrió exactamente igual. Castro dijo que iba a suprimir las armas, que iba a cerrar los cuarteles y ha convertido a Cuba en un arsenal y una fortaleza.

Pero, para ser mas breve en mi exposición y darle un sentido mas directo y ejemplar, yo voy a recurrir a dos anécdotas. La primera es la siguiente.

Había una vez una licitación, una subasta, y el licitador iba a poner a la venta una pluma como esta, valuada, digámos, en diez dólares. Naturalmente alguno de los presentes, tratando de sacar ventaja de la ocasión, ofreció un dólar. ¿Quién da más? Inmediatamente se levantó otro y ofreció cinco dólares. Mas tarde vino un tercero y ofreció nueve dólares y medio. Ya a él le interesaba por cuestión de amor propio llevarse la pluma. Pero apareció uno mas y dijo, "doy cien dólares por la pluma." Todo el mundo se quedó pasmado. ¿Cómo era posible que ofreciera tanto por tan poco? La razón se vió prontamente, cuando el que ofrecía cien pesos demostró que no iba a pagar nada.

Por eso, los comunistas ofrecen tanto, porque no piensan pagar nada a la subasta política. (Aplausos)

La segunda anécdota, muy precisa también, tiene un tono un poco humorístico que quizás contrasta con el drama que está viviendo la América y que está centralizado en este momento en Chile.

Es nada menos que una anécdota del gran actor, del genial actor mexicano Mario Moreno, bien conocido por Cantinflas.

La escena se desarrolla en el dormitorio de Cantinflas. Está él a punto de acostarse con su esposa y en ese momento la señora oye un ruido en la cocina y le dice a Cantinflas, "Mario, creo que hay ladrones en la cocina."

Y Cantinflas, un poco desconcertado, subiéndose los pantalones, va a la cocina. La puerta de la cocina está cerrada. En ese momento caen en la cocina algunos aparatos. Se oye un ruido grande. Y Cantinflas, en pie delante de la puerta cerrada de la cocina, toca en la puerta y pregunta, "¿Hay alguien allí?"

Y el que está en la cocina le dice, "no hay nadie."

Cantinflas regresa al dormitorio, ve a la señora y le pregunta la señora, "¿había ladrones? ¿Había alguien?"

"No," dice Cantinflas, "no había nadie."

Y la señora le dice, "¿y cómo tu lo sabes?"

Dice, "porque él mismo me lo dijo."

Esto es lo que estamos haciendo. Esta tremenda ingenuidad que linda con la tontería es la que nos tiene detenidos ante la puerta de la cocina, frente a un hecho innegable, diciendo, "No va haber comunismo en Chile." El mismo Allende lo dice. Muchas gracias (Aplausos).

MR. HARRIS: We have another gentlemen from Chile who would like the floor.

SR. CARLOS LLANES, Santiago, Chile: Se me ha brindado la oportunidad de poder decir un par de palabras, y con mucho gusto trataré de aprovechar dicha oportunidad.

Mi primer pensamiento va dirigido como un agradecimiento al Sr, Presidente por la oportunidad de usar la tribuna, después de haber oído participar en ésta a brillantes personalidades.

Mi segundo punto va dirigido a reconocer en la persona de James B. Canel, como el amigo que con diligencia supo solucionar problemas relacionados con

la inscripción como observador de una agencia pequeña y nueva como es Cono Sur. Fue él que con mucha amabilidad solucionó este problema, que en Chile pensé que iba a ser difícil y burocrático. Bien.

Es mi intención al hablar de Chile, explicar a ustedes lo que mi agencia Cono Sur pretende ante el momento trascendental que vive mi país.

Nosotros pretendemos ofrecer servicios, enviando informes periódicos sobre lo que ocurre en la región y efectuar, a solicitud de ustedes, reportajes y estudios sobre temas especializados que conciernen a cualquier aspecto de la realidad del Cono Sur de nuestro continente.

Un ejemplo de lo que somos capaces de hacer ha sido el estudio que nosotros hemos llamado "Chile, la Democracia en Juego," estudio que he tratado de hacer llegar a ustedes.

Hemos pensado en Chile por ser en este momento, o debería serlo, foco de atención por los importantes cambios que sin lugar a duda se producirán en nuestro país.

Con mucho respeto pretendo llamar la atención sobre el caso chileno. La diferencia de Cuba, como ustedes saben, Allende llega a la presidencia en elecciones libres y limpias. De allí que dentro de un marco de absoluta legalidad, llega al poder un hombre que tiene él personalmente una trayectoria democrática en mi patria, pero que pertenece a un partido marxista, el Socialismo, que en Chile representa dentro del abanico político de partidos políticos, la extrema izquierda.

No nos engañemos, Es posible que en este instante no tengamos problemas de libertad de prensa en Chile. Pero allí estoy con lo que dijo el destacado señor don Horacio Aguirre, en que, si bien es cierto que no tenemos grandes problemas en este momento, es sin lugar a duda que los tendremos.

No veamos en Allende lo que la opinión pública americana vio en Castro cuando recién subió al poder. Opinión que no sé hasta que punto fue influida por destacados y distinguidos corresponsales que es imposible que logren captar lo que un equipo--y si ustedes me permiten en este momento pasar un aviso--lo que nuestro equipo podría ofrecerles a ustedes.

Se puede decir que Cono Sur es básicamente un equipo no marxista, pero sí objetivo e informativo, formado por profesores universitarios, por periodistas colegiados y por profesionales destacadísimos en sus respectivos campos, con vinculaciones directas al periódico.

Eso es todo, y muchísimas gracias, señores. (Aplausos)

SR. ROMULO O'FARRILL, JR. (Novedades, México, D.F.): Es nada mas una explicación que me pide el Sr. Presidente James Copley el hacer extensiva a esta honorable asamblea con motivo de que el Presidente Copley nombró una comisión para que a nombre de esta asamblea se haga una visita de cortesía al Sr. Presidente de México. Lic. Gustavo Díaz Ordáz. Pide a todos los miembros de esa comisión que ya se ha nombrado y que se les ha informado que tengan la bondad de reunirse con nosotros para tomar el autobus.

Esa es la razón por la cual ustedes han visto que algunos miembros de nuestra organización han salido y desde luego el debate puede seguir adelante, y perdonen la interrupción. Gracias.

MR. LEE HILLS (Knight Newspapers, U.S.A.): Mr. President, I think one of our problems in connection with Chile is that we have all heard and read of threats that were made during the campaign. I think many of us are apprehensive about what is going to happen in Chile. The new regime is not yet even in power there and the truth of the matter is we don't know what is going to happen. And we won't until after the new President takes over and we see what develops.

I have a simple suggestion, and the suggestion is that the new officers of IAPA consider sending a small mission in the next several weeks, say in the next month or two months, to Santiago; a mission, perhaps, composed of two or three of our most prominent Latin members, to make an appointment with him; ask whether these modifications of the last few days that we hear about are really true; to find out whether he intends to carry on the great tradition of freedom that Chile has exemplified over the years; and to try to get a commitment from him, an accurate picture from him as to just what he does intend to do in all these areas of freedom, including freedom of the press.

And then I would suggest that that comission make public what it finds out. I think this could be constructive and helpful to the Association. We can talk a lot, we can debate a lot about fears and apprehensions, but we really don't know. That is merely a suggestion to the new administration of IAPA.

Mr. Chairman, if you will permit me, I would like to say one thing about the Guidelines, because this applies to every part of the debate of the last two days.

I think Mr. Williamson put a lot of it in perspective, but there is one point I would like to touch on and that is that a government can influence, sometimes control or even extinguish a free press through economic means just as easily as it can do through political means, and sometimes much more easily.

I would like to remind you that a destitute newspaper, like an impoverished woman, is much more susceptible to an indecent or wrong proposition

than is one that is economically independent. And that is really basic to our free press. It needs its economic independence. And I think these Guidelines on economics are just as important as some of the other Guidelines.

The other point I would like to make on it was that is said in the report originally, and that is that freedom of the press, like love and faith, is a relative and not an absolute term. It varies from country to country and it changes from time to time and degree.

The whole effort of this is to really put it in perspective and not say that one little restriction here or one big restriction there means we have no free press. I think this has been our weakness in the past, that we have fastened on one item which is a restriction. And God knows, I think probably all the countries of the hemisphere have one restriction or another. What we're talking about is relative freedom.

We live in an imperfect world and the thing this Association has fought for from the beginning is to try to improve the situation, not to try to make it perfect. We could strive for ideals, but I don't think we are going to accomplish the ideal maybe in our lifetime. And if we can keep these things in perspective, if we can allot to the different Guidelines some measure of their importance or unimportance, I think we can get a much more accurate and faithful and true picture of freedom of the press in the various countries of the hemisphere. Thank you very much. (Applause)

SR. RIOBO CAPUTO (El Litoral, Santa Fe, Argentina): A mi me parece que en esta circunstancia no se debe omitir un análisis (del proyecto de ley existente en Chile. Yo lo he oído con atención, me gustaría leerlo, me gustaría que ustedes lo observaran y me parece a través de ese documento, que casi es ley porque lo ha aprobado la mayoría de los congresales o de los partidos, existe en Chile la mas grande amenaza contra la libertad de prensa.

MARIO RIVADULLA: Creo que el caso de Cuba y el de Chile presentan algunas diferencias.

En Cuba Castro no llegó al poder con un programa comunista. Las primeras fuerzas que entraron en la capital estaban al mando del comandante argentino, Ernesto Che Guevara.

Yo tuve la oportunidad de integrar una comisión presidida por el ya fenecido decano del Colegio de Periodistas de Cuba, Jorge Quintana, que visitamos en la fortaleza de la cabaña en los primeros días de enero de 1959 al Comandante Guevara para hacerle una pregunta esencial. ¿Será reestablecida la libertad de prensa en el país?

Su respuesta categórica fue la siguiente: "La revolución se ha hecho esencialmente para restituir las libertades públicas y entre ellas la libertad de prensa."

Castro aseguró que se iban a restituir todas las libertades públicas, y todas las libertades públicas fueron asesinadas por Castro.

En el caso de Allende se trata de un comunista confeso. No dudo que haya firmado toda esa serie de pactos y compromisos con el Partido Demócrata Cristiano y con cualquier partido. No dudo que siga firmando pactos y compromisos, pero no dudo tampoco que en cuanto tenga la menor oportunidad, los comunistas convictos y confesos que han llegado al poder en Chile habrán de violar todos esos compromisos.

Decía aquí el distinguido compañero, Héctor González, en su emotivo discurso que se sentía tranquilo en parte porque tendrían un instrumento legal al cual acogerse en caso de que hubiere incumplimiento por parte del próximo gobierno chileno.

Yo, sin ánimo de pretender ser adivino, quiero advertirle lo siguiente: En cuanto los comunistas tengan la menor oportunidad incumplirán todos sus pactos, asesinarán todas las libertades, entre ellas la libertad de expresión, y en ese caso no le quedará nada a que agarrarse, ni siquiera ese instrumento. Si acaso le quedará tiempo para que no lo agarren a él o a cualquier otro periodista que quiera rebelarse contra el dominio comunista. Eso es todos. Gracias. (Aplausos)

MR. HARRIS: We are going to hear one more speaker on Chile, then we are going to have a coffee break.

SR. ALDO ZUCCOLILLO: Es para felicitar al colega del Rancaguino. Tiene realmente valor.

Por fin, señores, comienza a hablarse un lenguaje mas entendible dentro de nuestras reuniones. Es la primera vez que hablamos en estos términos y debatimos con tanta franqueza estos puntos. Hasta ahora hemos estado hablando en un lenguaje que hoy ya no tiene mas vigencia.

Tengo algo que preguntar como segundo punto con respecto al informe presentado sobre Chile. Primero ¿dónde están los chilenos? ¿Dónde están los periodistas chilenos que sienten que el comunismo les está por socavar la libertad de expresión? Los que así piensan deberían estar aquí defendiéndose. No esperar que nosotros los defendamos a ellos. Por eso felicito al señor Rancaguino.

Como ustedes recordarán, compañeros, aquí vinieron los argentinos cuando se sintieron amenazados, a defenderse. Y en Washington el Sr. Dale

Nogare, de Primera Plana, tuvo la valentía de ir a defender su posición contra Onganía, sopena de que realmente la dictadura militar le diera con todo. Sin embargo, él tuvo la valentía suficiente para ir allá a Washington y expresó sus pensamientos, como realmente debe hacerlo un periodista libre y honesto.

El Sr. Mesquita Neto tuvo la valentía ayer en su informe de decir aquí concretamente, "en Brasil no existe la libertad de prensa." Sabemos que existe un gobierno militar fuerte que muy bien podría utilizar lo que dice el Sr. Mesquita Neto contra él y aplicar todo tipo de coacción. Tuvo esa valentía.

Yo sugeriría que desde el momento que la palabra que se mencionó aquí es El Mercurio, el Sr. Edwards venga a defender su posición desde este micrófono. Es una sugerencia.

Perdón ¿El Sr. Edwards está?

No se, tal vez la visita al presidente, Díaz Ordaz, ha sacado un poco de gente aquí. Es una visita muy importante.

Tercer punto, objeto el informe que se hizo de Chile. No tiene nada que ver con nosotros. Nosotros tenemos que informar acá si hay o no hay libertad de prensa. Y decir mas o menos lo que a nosotros nos parece. No tenemos que venir aquí a leer discursos políticos. Además, es falso el informe porque si nosotros somos periodistas y estamos bien informados, están los teletipos allí que mandan noticias, lo que pasó ayer en Chile no llega hasta mañana acá. A esta mesa no debería de haber llegado el informe que se presentó sobre Chile sin contener las rectificaciones que vino a hacer acá el señor del Rancaguino.

Entonces, señores, yo digo que el informe de Chile debe contener imprescindiblemente las observaciones que hizo el señor del Rancaguino.

Nada mas, señores. (Aplausos)

MR. HARRIS: I said one more speaker, but Mr. Ornes has some words, then we will have a coffee break.

SR. GERMAN ORNES: No tenía ninguna intención de hablar hasta que oí al Sr. Zuccolillo hacer uso de la palabra.

Yo también viví bajo un dictador, y espero que algún día el Sr. Zuccolillo se sienta tan avergonzado como me siento yo de haber sido periodista en la República Dominicana de Trujillo.

Yo no creo que los periodistas chilenos sean cobardes por no estar aquí. Ni creo que esta sea la primera vez que aquí se habla la verdad, de que se

discutan las cosas con la claridad que merecen. Yo creo que la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa se distingue precisamente por eso. Porque está formada por hombres que tienen el coraje de sus convicciones, y que han sabido defenderse en los momentos en que ha sido necesario.

Creo que el Sr. Edwards no está aquí no porque haya ido a ver al Presidente. Creo que él ha tenido que irse de la Ciudad de México por cuestiones urgentes. Creo que los chilenos han hablado claro aquí, y creo que es el deber de todos los periodistas de América estar a su lado porque la libertad de prensa es indivisible.

Tan amenazados estamos cuando está amenazada en Chile como cuando está amenazada en la República Dominicana, o cuando no existe en la República Dominicana o cuando no existe en Paraguay.

Creo que todos debemos defender la libertad, no importa donde, y que no hay que ser chileno para defender la libertad en Chile. (Aplausos)

MR. HARRIS: Thank you, Mr. Ornes.

We will now have a 10-minutes coffee break.

MR. HARRIS: Will everyone please resume their seat so we can go on with the debate on Chile.

FATHER ALBERT J. NEVINS (Maryknoll Magazine, Maryknoll, N.Y.): Mr. Chairman, when I came in this morning I intended not to say anything, and I was tempted several times, particularly when religion was introduced here as a subject, but I wanted to see this thing move forward.

However, I think this Chilean debate has taken a turn that I, for one, don't want to let go unanswered. Mr. González has told us that he seems to believe in what has been written by Mr. Allende's party, and Mr. Hills cautions us to go slowly because we don't know what will happen. I would like to answer Mr. González by answering Mr. Hills.

I think we do know what is going to happen. We have the record of history, with 20 years of very sad experience. We do know that the Marxists do not recognize our understanding of truth, of our understanding of honor, of our understanding of integrity. We do have the silent witness of history for us, the history of Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia; of Rumania, of Albania, Poland, of North Korea, of China, Ceylon. We have a tragic witness of Czechoslovakia, what happened when the people there tried to gain just a little freedom.

We are eternally humble and ashamed because we took the word of Fidel Castro and allowed a great free press to die and a lot of our colleagues

to be imprisoned because we believed in the word of a Marxist and we waited to see what would happen.

If Mr. Allende is a Marxist, if the Chilean government is Marxist-controlled, I firmly believe we know what is going to happen, and it is perfectly clear what events will take place in Chile. Freedom is God's greatest gift to man, but it is a gift that has to be nourished; it's a gift that has to be guarded and protected, and the time to do that is while freedom still exists and not always be reacting to freedom when it is lost, which is what we usually do.

We must now only express our concern, but we must take some active means of efforts to support the majority of the people in Chile who voted against Mr. Allende. I've seen too many friends disappear from the face of the earth because they believed in a word that you can't believe and because they waited too long.

I speak this morning simply because I feel so strongly on this that we cannot stand still, we cannot believe, and we cannot wait for it to happen agains. (Applause)

MR. LEE HILLS: Perhaps I didn't express it very well. I think I am just as apprehensive and concerned about what is likely to happen in Chile as my good friend Father Nevins. What I was trying to suggest was something that might be the most effective thing that IAPA can do. Now I am sure we are not going away from this meeting in Mexico without expressing our concerns and apprehensions, because there is too much on the record already in what Dr. Allende has said and the threats that have been made, even though they have been modified.

I think that will be publicly known and if you can suggest anything else that this Association can do that is really effective, that's what I was getting at. And I think what I suggested would be helpful. What the results will be I don't know. But I think we need to do everything we can, one thing is to express our concerns, and which I am sure we will do and which I am sure will be done in resolutions. I was suggesting a step beyond that, which is a visit by some of our most prominent Latins and who thereafter might call a press conference or at least make publicly known exactly what they are able to find out. I think this could be useful. (Applause)

SR. N. VIERA ALTAMIRANO: Una ligera, breve referencia a lo que aquí se nos ha dicho de una posibilidad favorable en el cambio político en Chile.

Acerca de esto me voy a permitir recordar con verdadera satisfacción como editor de un periódico, que el día 19 de enero de 1959 tan pronto

como Fidel Castro dio a conocer su programa de gobierno yo denuncié la posibilidad del camino que iba a seguir. Lo dije claramente, "Ya empiezan a verse las manchas del tigre."

En el caso de Allende mas de una mancha se ve al instante. Lo que aquí acabamos de conocer de una promesa de rectificación democráticas incluye una amenaza tangible, palpable a la libertad de prensa. Mas todavía, el día de ayer en Excelsior vimos una información del agente del corresponsal del New York Times en Santiago, en que afirmaba el Sr. Allende que el 28% de los chilenos no tenían nada que temer. Esta es la confesión paladina, la confesión mas cruda de su posición ideológica autoritaria, porque la democracia ni el 1% debe temer la acción de la ley y la justicia. El 99% de un país no tiene derecho de atropellar un solo derecho humano de una sola persona en ese país.

Tenemos ya, pues, como una información periódística y con lo que aquí acabamos de conocer, que ya las manchas del tigre están a la vista, y que no debemos dejarnos engañar ni entretener, sino afirmar una vigilancia extrema para salvar lo que en Chile pueda todavía salvarse, porque como acaba de decirlo aquí uno de los colegas, la libertad es indivisible y no podemos nosotros permanecer indiferentes a los acontecimientos de ningún país de la América en donde los derechos humanos sean violados. Muchas gracias. (Aplausos)

SR. ARMANDO LEMUS (Revista Horizonte de America de Santo Domingo, Rep. Dominicana): El hecho de que hayan intervenido tantos distinguidos compañeros en relación con el asunto de Chile, nos da una medida cabal de la preocupación que existe por el futuro de la libertad de prensa en Chile.

Comparto plenamente el criterio y el pensamiento de los que creen que en Chile va a morir la libertad de prensa. Sé por experiencia trágica y amarga que los comunistas incumplen siempre su promesa. Pero considero que si seguimos girando alrededor de Chile, jamás terminaremos esta discusión y se hará eterna esta sesión de la SIP.

Por tanto, creo que la posición correcta de nosotros debe ser reconocer con satisfacción profunda que en este momento hay libertad de prensa en Chile, y formular nuestros mejores votos porque así siga siendo en el futuro.

Pero debemos mantenernos alertas y vigilantes sobre ese futuro, y decirle a los compañeros de Chile que han de tener todo nuestro concurso para cooperar con ellos contra el primer amagó de destrucción que pueda sufrir esa libertad en Chile.

Pero considero además que este concurso no debe limitarse solamente a que la SIP, en el ámbito estrecho de los locales donde celebra sus reuniones, proteste por la cuestión de Chile cuando la libertad sea agredida allí como

tengo la seguridad absoluta que va a ser agredida. Pero que debemos hacer el compromiso formal, todos y cada uno de los que tenemos un órgano de opinión hará eco de todos los pronunciamientos que la SIP haga, y que además, por nuestra cuenta, nos convertiremos en abanderados de la libertad de prensa en Chile, porque comparto también la opinión de que la libertad que es indivisible, cuando está atacada en Chile está atacada en todas partes. Muchas gracias. (Aplausos)

SR. HECTOR GONZALEZ: Sr. Presidente, únicamente dos cosas muy breves.

Una, una sugerencia. Quisiera sugerir con el respeto que me merece quienes redactaron el informe sobre Chile y la confianza que tengo en quienes harán la redacción final, que en esta redacción final del informe se consigne o se agregue la satisfacción, porque tengo entendido que tiene que ser satisfacción, de constatar que hay una modificación en la constitución política del estado de Chile destinada a garantizar la libertad de prensa en el futuro, y que se agregue el texto de ese artículo, cuya copia he traído aquí hasta la mesa.

Y en segundo lugar, Sr. Presidente y amigos todos, para expresarles el agradecimiento mas grande, con todo mi corazón de chileno, por todas las frases que aquí se han expresado y que aunque tengan puntos de vista diferentes, revelan un solo fondo, la preocupación por lo que suceda en nuestra patria, la preocupación por la prensa de Chile, y que para mi se traduce como chileno en cariño y en amistad de todos ustedes. Muchas gracias. (Aplausos)

MR. HARRIS: Thank you, Mr. González. Any other comments on Chile? If not, we would like to move to another trouble spot, Bolivia. Is Mr. Canelas ready for Bolivia?

SR. CARLOS CANELAS (Los Tiempos, Cochabamba, Bolivia): Una apretada síntesis de los últimos acontecimientos en el país voy a hacer para el conocimiento de la sala sobre la situación que aflige ahora a la prensa boliviana.

Los últimos movimientos políticos producidos en Bolivia han tenido graves repercusiones en lo que atañe a la libertad de prensa. Después de la renuncia del Ministro Bailey el 13 de agosto último, la prensa de Bolivia recobró la libertad de expresión. Los diarios reiniciaron sus ediciones sin restricciones, amparados por el decreto modificatorio que el gobierno expidió al siguiente día de la renuncia de aquel Ministro.

Al producirse el golpe revolucionario del General Torres el 6 de octubre, al siguiente día, 7 del mes, fueron asaltados casi simultáneamente los talleres y oficinas de El Diario de La Paz, el matutino Hoy, también de La

Paz, y Los Tiempos de Cochabamba.

Grupos de choque de obreros y estudiantes realizaron el asalto. Habiendo reaccionado inmediatamente los trabajadores de cada una de estas empresas en defensa de sus propias fuentes de trabajo, lograron quedar ellos en posesión de las instalaciones y oficinas respectivas, con lo cual se evitó además, la destrucción de las máquinas y equipos, intento que al parecer llevaban los asaltantes.

A partir del siguiente día de estos sucesos, los tres diarios iniciaron su circulación bajo el dominio de los sindicatos internos de cada uno de los órganos. Después de cinco días ven que se mantenía esta situación, Los Tiempos de Cochabamba logró retomar el control y manejo de su empresa por acuerdo directo con su personal, que mostró en la ocasión su lealtad con la empresa.

El texto del acuerdo que se hizo conocer al país al reiniciar la circulación bajo el control de la empresa, es el siguiente:

"La empresa y el sindicato mixto de trabajadores del matutino Los Tiempos informa a la opinión pública: primero, la intervención del sindicato en el diario obedeció fundamentalmente a la necesidad de resguardar la fuente de trabajo de sus afiliados ante el peligro de que terceras personas pretendieran incautarse de oficinas, talleres, máquinas e instalaciones, o destruirlas como en noviembre de 1953.

"Dos: conjurada la situación y ante la material imposibilidad del sindicato de seguir operando y administrando por su cuenta la empresa editora, resolvió devolver el periódico a sus propietarios.

"Tres; La empresa y el sindicato declaran su conformidad con los anteriores puntos y hacen pública su determinación de defender por los medios que crean convenientes, su fuente de trabajo y la marcha normal de su labor periodística. Cochabamba, 13 de octubre de 1970."

Sin embargo, Los Tiempos sigue sometido a toda suerte de amenazas que vienen de aquellos sectores extremistas encrustados en los ambientes universitarios y obreros, manteniéndolos, en consecuencia, en estado de inseguridad permanente.

El matutino Hoy, de la Paz, que aún seguía hasta el domingo último, fecha en que partí de La Paz, que seguía circulando hasta esa fecha bajo la dependencia del sindicato interno, hizo saber en la tarde del domingo a sus propietarios su decisión de devolver las instalaciones.

El sindicato ha considerado la imposibilidad de continuar con el manejo de la empresa debido al desequilibrio económico que acusa.

Queda entonces como un caso todavía sin solución inmediata la situación de El Diario, de La Paz, cuyo personal mantiene el deseo de cooperativizarlo. Las circunstancias que han rodeado el caso de este matutino son las siguientes, que deseo hacer conocer en algún detalle a fin de que se pueda formar una idea cabal del caso.

Desde el día 7 de su incautación, 7 de octubre, el matutino inició su circulación bajo el lema "al servicio del pueblo y por voluntad de sus trabajadores" y bajo la dirección de Pablo Arrieta, uno de los redactores mas antiguos de la planta de El Diario.

El día 11 la Confederación de Empresarios Privados de Bolivia hizo conocer al nuevo presidente su preocupación por lo sucedido con los periódicos El Diario, Hoy y Los Tiempos.

Los siguientes días transcurrieron sin alteración del estado de cosas, hasta el día 13, en que dos ministros de estado visitaron las instalaciones de El Diario para, según los trabajadores, "recabar información con el objeto de redactar las disposiciones legales que emitiría el gobierno para esta empresa."

Simultáneamente, y haciendo eco al pedido de los ocupantes de El Diario, el sindicato de trabajadores de la prensa de La Paz exigió al gobierno la inmediata expropiación de la empresa y su posterior cooperativización entre sus trabajadores, alegando causales de "interés social".

Al efecto la Asociación de Periodistas emitió un comunicado que, además de la exigencia anotada, apoyaba al personal del matutino, así como afirmaba que no permitirá, bajo ningún concepto, el retorno de los legítimos propietarios a la conducción de la empresa.

Entre las consideraciones previas el documento manifestaba que El Diario vino mostrando "una abierta oposición al proceso revolucionario, desconociendo la justicia social y anhelo de soberanía nacional, coartando la libertad de expresión e identificándose con las corrientes pro imperialistas."

El documento referido dio lugar a la emisión de declaraciones de parte de Jorge Carrasco, propietario de El Diario, quien el día 14 pidió garantías al gobierno y rechazó en forma airada las afirmaciones del sindicato de trabajadores de la prensa de La Paz.

Entre otras cosas, Carrasco señaló que el pueblo no estuvo presente en la toma del matutino. Pidió a los periodistas demostraran sus aseveraciones, negó que su familia hubiera hecho abandono de la empresa, y puntualizó que la Central Obrera Boliviana y la Universidad de La Paz carecen de facultades legales y atribuciones para intervenir en empresas privadas y disponer de ellas a su arbitrio.

Finalmente, reiteró su pedido de garantías constitucionales y afirmó que su empresa en julio del presente año inició estudios jurídicos con condición de realizar una obra progresista para formar una sociedad entre propietarios y personal de empleados de El Diario.

Entre tanto el gobierno ha mantenido un inexplicable silencio. Cabe aquí hacer dos consideraciones que el gobierno deberá tomar en cuenta para dar solución a este problema. La constitución política del estado boliviano, que se dice está en vigor, reconoce y ampara el derecho de toda persona o entidad a trabajar y dedicarse al comercio, la industria o cualquier otra actividad lícita en condiciones que no perjudiquen al bien colectivo. Así como garantiza la propiedad privada, siempre que el uso que se haga de ella no sea perjudicial al interés colectivo.

La expropiación solo se impone por causa de utilidad pública o cuando la propiedad no cumple la función social.

Por otra parte, la misma ley fundamental estipula con claridad absoluta que jamás se aplicará la confiscación de bienes como castigo político.

Como se puede ver las circunstancias en que la prensa libre de Bolivia debe cumplir su misión no pueden ser más desfavorables y riesgosas.

A la vez se han planteado para nuestro hemisferio problemas que afectan la vigencia de la política interamericana y afectan también al régimen interno de cada nación. Es a la prensa libre de América que le corresponde asumir su papel histórico en defensa de la libertad de pensamiento y de las instituciones democráticas.

En esta hora de lucha por la libertad del hombre corresponde a la prensa el puesto de primera fila porque es en el campo de las ideas donde se laboran las conflagraciones históricas antes de que llegue la hora de las definiciones.

Al agradecer nuevamente a la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, tanto en mi propio nombre como en el de los otros diarios de mi país, víctimas de los atropellos, por la infatigable defensa de sus intereses que ha venido siempre ejercitando esta institución, pido que la SIP haga llegar al Presidente, General Torres, un llamado pidiendo que su gobierno asuma una posición clara en resguardo de la libertad de prensa y de la propiedad privada vinculada a la función periodística.

Esa es toda la información que puedo dar, señores. (Aplausos)

MR. CHARLES L. DANCEY: Peoria is a long way from Cochabamba or La Paz, but because of a great personal affection for Carlos Canelas I followed with special interest events in Bolivia in the last year. And I just want to say

that this man has never flinched, nor for one hour or one moment, from any attack from any direction throughout that year, and I think that the Assembly quite properly should make a special tribute to a very brave man. (Applause)

MR. HARRIS: I would like to say that I endorse 100% what Mr. Dancey said in this case. If any publisher in this hemisphere has been tried and tested, it has been Mr. Canelas.

We are now ready for the report on Panama. Since George Westerman, our Vice-Chairman for Panama is not here, Pedro Joaquín Chamorro will give this report, and then I understand after that there is a delegate from Panama who would like to speak.

SR. PEDRO JOAQUIN CHAMORRO: Repito la explicación de nuestro presidente de esta Comisión en el sentido de que como el Sr. George Westerman de Panamá, que es quien debía rendir el informe por ser miembro directivo de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, no concurrió a esta asamblea y como es costumbre entre nosotros que los directivos de la zona vecina al sitio de donde se debe de informar lo que hagan en su ausencia, ocupo esta tribuna y lo explico así especialmente a los tres caballeros que han concurrido desde Panamá, y a quienes antes nunca había tenido el gusto de ver en una asamblea de la SIP.

Acabamos de escuchar amplias y dramáticas discusiones sobre Chile y sobre Bolivia y nos encontramos con que ya va siendo costumbre en nuestros debates que sea por razón de una izquierda extrema, o sea por razón de una derecha militar militarista, o simplemente de un militarismo puesto en marcha, se ponga en peligro y se atente contra la libertad de expresión.

En Panamá, a partir de la instalación de un gobierno militar han desaparecido periódicos, uno de ellos El Mundo, al que se le puso primero una censura y luego se cerró el periódico con esos argumentos de que el banco lo demandó por esto de lo que debía tal cosa o de que los obreros del periódico decían tal otra cosa, etc., etc., que son, como decía Lee Hills muy bien, acciones de doble tipo, unas económicas y otras políticas, pero que conducen a la clausura de los periódicos y a la negación total de la libertad de expresión.

Los demás periódicos de Panamá se publican pero han sufrido intervenciones gubernamentales al extremo de que muchas personas que actualmente representan a esos periódicos no han sido nombrados por sus legítimos propietarios, sino por el gobierno.

Decía nuestro recordado amigo y compañero, Jules Dubois, que para saber si había libertad de expresión en un país bastaba casi siempre con leer los periódicos, porque cuando todos los periódicos, absolutamente todos son pro-gubernamentales, sean de cualquier origen ideológico en su historia anterior, en un país en donde eso sucede evidentemente no existe libertad de expresión.

Hay en Panamá también una ley mediante la cual casi todo lo que se diga de un funcionario público es delito, delito que se paga con multas, delito que se paga con cárcel.

Durante el último mes de mayo tuve la oportunidad de visitar Panamá. Hablé con numerosos colegas periodistas a quienes he conocido desde hace tiempo, y todos me dijeron que no había verdadera libertad de expresión. Luego hablé con altos funcionarios del gobierno, reclamando en una forma cortés y a título de ser miembro de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa y del Comité de la Libertad de Prensa, reclamando digo, por el restablecimiento de la libertad de expresión.

Se me dijo, y fue una sorpresa para mí, que no se podía reestablecer en Panamá algo que nunca había existido. Porque la tesis del actual gobierno panameño es que la forma tradicional de la libertad de expresión como existe en nuestras sociedades, es decir, impulsada por el trabajo y el esfuerzo de la empresa privada, no es libertad sino un abuso de la oligarquía.

Esa fue la respuesta que altos personeros del gobierno de Panamá me dieron en aquella ocasión.

He leído ocasionalmente, no siempre, no diariamente, periódicos panameños y me encuentro con ese mismo panorama de silencio, con ese mismo panorama de pro gobierno, de pro exaltación de la gran figura del libertador, del reformador, etc., etc., que es muy familiar para todos nosotros, lo cual me hace llegar a creer que, llegar a presumir que la situación sigue siendo igual al momento en que se me presentó tan de cerca por mi visita a Panamá.

Creo, señores, que en Panamá no existe una verdadera libertad de expresión. Es mi opinión honesta y aunque, como dijo alguien aquí, creo que fue el compañero Germán Ornes, no soy yo panameño, soy un latinoamericano con derecho de luchar y defender la libertad de expresión, sea en Nicaragua, sea en Santo Domingo, en Chile, en Bolivia o en Panamá. Gracias. (Aplausos)

MR. HARRIS: Thank you, Pedro Joaquín Chamorro. We have a supplement to that. Mr. Ornes will read a message or a press release that came out today regarding Panama and SIP.

SR. GERMAN ORNES: El resumen de las informaciones de prensa que voy a leer dice así:

"Ciudad de Panamá, octubre 20. Morning edition today matutino front page banner headline: El Presidente Sucre invita a la SIP a que investigue la libertad de prensa.

"Lead story carried cable message reportedly sent by Lic. Arturo Sucre P. serving as president in charge of the Junta Provisional de Gobierno to James Copley, President of SIP.

"Cabled text complete: Señor James Copley, Presidente de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, Hotel Camino Real, México, D.F., A nombre gobierno revolucionario de Panamá formulo votos por éxito reunión Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa. Renovamos invitación delegación SIP visite nuestra patria a comprobar adelantos palpables dos años de gobierno a favor pueblo panameño. A la vez observar una libre y positiva libertad prensa orientadora de una verdadera opinión pública. Lic. Arturo Sucre P., Presidente encargado de la Junta Provisional de Gobierno de Panamá."

"Lead editorial same edition entitled, "Panamá en la SIP" notes in part: Desde hace dos años, en forma unilateral la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, a la cual pertenecen la mayoría de los dueños de periódicos mas importantes de América, ha declarado que en la República de Panamá no existe la libertad de prensa.

"Editorial continúa: Nadie ha visto en nuestro país a una comisión investigadora de la SIP examinando en el terreno los medios y la opinión panameña para comprobar la veracidad de tan peregrino criterio a la luz de la legítima realidad de nuestro acontecer nacional."

Al llegar a este punto me siento obligado a hacer una aclaración. La SIP sí ha enviado comisiones investigadoras. En 1968 a raíz de la reunión de Buenos Aires la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa envió una comisión presidida por el presidente de la Comisión de la Libertad de Prensa, el Sr. Tom Harris, y formada por cinco otros miembros de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa: El Sr. Raymond Dix, el Sr. Charles Dancey, el Sr. Brady Black y por dos miembros latinoamericanos, el Sr. Carlos Ricart de Santo Domingo y quien les habla.

Tuvimos oportunidad entonces de reunirnos con los oficiales que acababan de dar el golpe de estado, y se le rindió un informe a la Comisión de Libertad de Prensa y a la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa sobre ese viaje.

Es evidente que quien escribió esto está muy mal enterado de las cosas que pasan en la propia Panamá.

Sigo ahora leyendo el editorial del periódico:

"Nunca ha exhibido la SIP documentación alguna fehaciente que demuestre que entre nosotros existe censura previa y ninguna otra forma vigente de conculcar la libertad de prensa.

"No existe censura de ninguna naturaleza. Cada periódico y cada periodista traza su propia política de acuerdo con su propia interpretación de

la realidad nacional. Si se nota respaldo a la gestión oficial es porque el respaldo se justifica a la luz del consenso de la opinión popular, unanimidad de opinión en favor del régimen panameño."

Este párrafo creo que se explica por si mismo. Habla por si solo.

Y sigo leyendo: "Pero ello no significa que haya sometimiento ni siquiera acuerdo unánimo. Basta leer la prensa diaria para hacerse cargo de que la crítica existe sobre los actos oficiales. Cada diario las realiza de acuerdo con su tono y con arreglo de los intereses directos al sector del público al cual sirve de preferencia.

"Esto en nuestro juicio es libertad de prensa y no otra cosa existe en los otros países hermanos que no han sido acusados como el nuestro de tener prensa sojuzgada.

"Grave es la responsabilidad de la delegación panameña ante la reunión de la SIP en México. Tendrán que decir nuestra verdad, de demostrarla; tendrán que hacer frente a las críticas interesadas y disfrazadas que tratan de hacer prevalecer a los viejos intereses."

El Sr. Harris, Presidente de la Comisión de la Libertad de Prensa, me ha pedido que les informe que la Comisión va a proponer como una de sus recomendaciones que se acepte la invitación de enviar una comisión a Panamá.

MR. HARRIS: Now, we have a gentleman here from Panamá, Mr. Carlos Rangel, who may now have the podium.

SR. CARLOS RANGEL (Panamá América, República de Panamá): Señor Presidente, señores delegados: no quería extenderme mucho en mi exposición de ahora porque de acuerdo con el reglamento solamente tengo derecho de hablar cinco minutos. Sin embargo, veo que esta regla ha sido omitida en algunas ocasiones, justificadamente, por cierto, y, por lo tanto y en vista de la información previa traída a esta tribuna por el colega Chamorro, me voy a ver precisado a informar a esta asamblea de algunos detalles que me obligarán a extender algo más de ese tiempo reglamentario, aunque no mucho más, por lo que les solicito respetuosamente a la mesa directiva que se me permita unos minutos más de ese tiempo reglamentario. Muchas gracias.

La delegación panameña tenía preparado un planteamiento escrito que facilitara, no solamente su exposición en esta tribuna en el tiempo ese reglamentario, sino que también brindara ocasión de mejor estudio a la Comisión de Resoluciones para la decisión final sobre el caso de Panamá.

Sin embargo, al hablarse aquí a base del informe rendido por el Sr. Chamorro, se ha dicho algo que es necesario esclarecer.

El periódico El Mundo, primer caso presentado por el Sr. Chamorro, fue clausurado por su propio propietario porque desde su comienzo fue una verdadera aventura económica.

El mercado publicitario de Panamá resiste muy accidentalmente las erogaciones de anuncios y propaganda que requieren el mantenimiento de los muchos órganos de publicidad que han funcionado en esa república. Así ha ocurrido que hubo ocasiones en que la República de Panamá, con una población total de millón y medio de habitantes, de las cuales hay que eliminar un alto porcentaje por razón de su aislamiento territorial en las regiones mas aisladas del país, reduce el número de lectores a un porcentaje mínimo. Sin embargo, se han publicado hasta nueve diarios en la República de Panamá en un momento dado, los cuales han ido muriendo lentamente uno tras otro hasta quedar en pie solamente los órganos tradicionales que por su larga trayectoria y su consistencia económica han podido resistir esos embates financieros que el funcionamiento complicado y costoso de un diario exige.

En cuanto al nombramiento de los delegados actuales, los tres que estamos presentes aquí, para representar a los periódicos panameños, no ha sido hecha por sus legítimos dueños como afirma el Sr. Chamorro, se hace necesaria una explicación que voy a dar inmediatamente.

Los periódicos que nosotros representamos son los siguientes: El Panamá América, The Panama American y El Panamá América Edición Matutina, La Estrella de Panamá y The Star and Herald. Son cinco de siete periódicos diarios que funcionan en Panamá.

En cuanto a The Star and Herald y La Estrella de Panamá, órgano de publicidad de existencia centenaria, creo que muy poco tengo que explicar por cuanto el delegado que la representa aquí en estos momentos es el Lic. Tomás Gabriel Altamirano Duque, bisnieto de su fundador, don José Gabriel Duque, quien la fundó hace más de 100 años, nieto de Tomás Gabriel Duque, quien fue su director por más de 50 años, sobrino nieto de su director saliente, don Alejandro Duque, quien se retiró a la respetable edad de 80 años, habiendo sido por más de seis años, hasta el momento de ser elegido director por la junta directiva de La Estrella de Panamá, el Lic. Altamirano Duque, ha ejercido la subdirección por más de seis años, siendo ahora mismo su actual director. (Interrupción por falla mecánica).

Esto lo voy a confirmar, dándole a ustedes lectura a un memorándum pasado a los empleados de El Panamá América, Crítica y El Expreso. En ese tiempo existía, ahora ha sido substituído por el matutino que funciona en la mañana. Dice así este memorandum: "A partir de este fecha el Chase Manhattan Bank ha nombrado como administradores de las empresas arriba mencionadas a la Overseas Management Company con la aprobación de la Junta de Gobierno en representación de los intereses del Chase Manhattan Bank y de los demás acreedores.

"La Overseas Management Company no tiene intención alguna de hacer cambios en el personal de estas empresas por el momento, Los nuevos administradores no tienen ningún interés ni autoridad con respecto al contenido editorial de los periódicos, y por lo tanto esta responsabilidad continuará en manos de los directores de los diarios mencionados.

"Para proteger los intereses de las empresas mencionadas, solicitamos la cooperación de todos los directores y jefes de departamentos a fin de mantener en un mínimo los gastos y dentro del respectivo presupuesto.

"No se autorizará ningún nuevo gasto hasta tanto se haya hecho un estudio completo con respecto a la necesidad de este. "Panamá, enero 17 de 1969. Firmado por (personeros) del Chase Manhattan Bank y la Overseas Management Company.

Están pues, señores delegados debidamente enterados del fenómeno de tipo económico judicial que ha dado como motivo la situación de estas empresas.

Al ser declarada la liquidación de El Panamá América, el juez, por mandato de la ley, tiene que designar un liquidador. El liquidador es quien nombra los directores, los redactores, los porteros, los choferes, los barrenderos, en fin, es el que administra en reemplazo de los administradores suspendidos por mandato judicial a todo el personal de la empresa.

De allí es que el liquidador actual nombrado por el juez, el tribunal, el Lic. David Córdoba, un ejecutivo panameño de relevantes cualidades y de condiciones y ejecutorias probadas, quien ha sido ministro de hacienda y tesoro y es actualmente catedrático de la Universidad de Panamá en Administración Pública y Comercio, me confirió la distinción de nombrarme editorialista y consultor legal de la empresa, y de nombrar director general al Sr. Guillermo Rodolfo Valdez, quien está aquí con nosotros, quien es el director de los periódicos y quien tiene, así diríamos, una condición atávica de periodista, ya que es hijo de Ignacio J. Valdez, Jr., uno de los más insignes periodistas que ha tenido la República, uno de los más ardientes defensores de la libertad de pensamiento y quien sufrió a través de vida las agresiones económicas y físicas que de todos lados le sobrevinieron por su valentía en defender este principio.

Tendría que extenderme demasiado y abusar de la paciencia de los señores delegados para entrar en mayores detalles. Creo que con esta explicación quedan ustedes más o menos informados.

Eso no impide que si más adelante cualquiera persona desee más información, nuestra delegación está en condiciones de subministrarla, incluso, si así lo quisieran, de subministrar las cifras, los números que están fundamentando el deterioro económico que ha dado como razón la intervención de

los periódicos a que he hecho referencia.

Como quiera que nuestra misión aquí es la de dejar establecida nuestra situación en Panamá, nos hemos permitido redactar este planteamiento que dejaremos en manos de la Junta Directiva para que sea considerado en las discusiones posteriores para que sirvan de base a la resolución final de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa.

Me agrada muchísimo saber que el Comité de Libertad de Prensa ha aceptado la invitación que se le hizo para que fueran a nuestro país a verificar sobre el terreno estas condiciones que nosotros explicamos en nuestro informe.

Ya antes de venir a esta tribuna tenía conocimiento del cablegrama que se leyó y había sugerido en la parte final que se hiciera honor a esta visita.

El planteamiento panameño dice así: "Las delegaciones de periódicos panameños, representantes autorizados de La Estrella de Panamá, The Star and Herald, El Panamá América, The Panama American, y el Panamá América edición matutina, miembros activos de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, comparecen ante esta XXVI Asamblea General de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa y en desarrollo del punto de la agenda de la misma, relacionado con el informe y debate país por país para evaluar la libertad de prensa existente en cada uno de ellos, se acogen a las normas sobre prensa libre propuestas por el Sr. Tomas Harris, Presidente sobre Libertad de Prensa de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, para plantear ante esta magna convención sus apreciaciones sobre la libertad de prensa en la República de Panamá.

De conformidad con el cuestionario consignado en las recomendaciones del Sr. Harris, las delegaciones de periódicos panameños proceden a dar contestación a las interrogantes allí planteadas en la siguiente forma:

Número 1, en la República de Panamá existe un clima adecuado a la existencia de una prensa libre tal y como la define la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa por cuanto la constitución nacional en plena vigencia actual ha instituido como una de las garantías fundamentales del individuo la libertad de expresión.

Este principio tiene plena vigencia en la prensa escrita, hablada y televisada, y se encuentra reafirmada mediante su reglamentación en la correspondiente ley de libelo.

Debo aclarar que esta ley de libelo, dictada hace algunos meses, fue inspirada en la ley de libelo del estado de Florida y que fue suministrado a la comisión de estudio por el Sr. George Beebe, de The Miami Herald, quien se ofreció galantemente a subministrar ese documento a la comisión que estudiaría la ley de prensa panameña durante su visita a Panamá como miembro de la comitiva del Sr. Rockefeller.

Número 2 - En Panamá no existe censura de ninguna clase sobre los medios de divulgación, ya sea estos radiales, de televisión o escritos. Sobre este punto debo señalar que en el año 1968 en los primeros meses del golpe revolucionario que produjo un cambio de gobierno, el gobierno entrante, por razones que ellos llaman de seguridad, mantuvo por un tiempo eventual, la censura sobre los periódicos en vista de que estaban suspendidas las garantías individuales.

Una vez restablecidas esas garantías, fue eliminada totalmente la censura de todos los órganos de publicidad, ya fueren hablado, televisados o escritos.

Punto tercero - Panamá está libre de todo tipo de restricciones sobre la recopilación de noticias o el acceso a informaciones de cualquiera clase. La circulación de publicaciones extranjeras es libre en Panamá y tampoco existe censura cablegráfica.

Sobre este particular quiero referirme a un simpático incidente ocurrido hace poco, cuando un periodista de la revista Visión estuvo en Panamá y publicó en esa acreditada revista bajo la dirección del expresidente Lleras Camargo, un artículo en el cual hacía sus apreciaciones sobre el caso panameño. La revista llegó regularmente a Panamá y la curiosidad natural que siente todo panameño cuando se enfoca a su país desde otro ángulo que no sea local, produjo la inmediata extinción de los ejemplares que se habían puesto a la venta. Corrió el rumor que la revista Visión había sido incautada, lo cual acrecentó el interés de los lectores, situación que aprovechó con auténtica habilidad periodística el director del matutino de El Panamá América, designado por el liquidador nombrado por el juez, para darle a este periódico una mayor circulación, reproduciendo íntegra la entrevista o el reportaje de Visión con lo cual su periódico se apuntó un hit periodístico que se le acredita al Sr. Valdez. Esto pues, incluso los rumores, sirvieron para aprovecharlo periodísticamente. Aquí tengo la página dedicada por el matutino al artículo de la revista Visión que, por el milagro del offset, permite su reproducción tal como apareció en la revista.

Punto Número 4 - En Panamá no hay en la actualidad ningún propietario de periódico, estación de radio o de televisión detenido. Tampoco se encuentra detenido ningún trabajador de la prensa, radio o televisión.

Al comienzo de estos debates el Presidente de la Comisión de Libertad de Prensa hizo alusión al exilio de dueños de periódicos. El único caso que nosotros conocemos se refiere a una persona que no tengo mayor interés en mencionar, que funde en sí la condición de propietario de uno de estos periódicos intervenidos económicamente por el Chase Manhattan Bank, que aunque estuviera en Panamá no podría atender ese periódico y que además de ser propietario de un periódico intervenido, es presidente de un partido político.

Las razones políticas, señores, no estan dentro del ámbito de acción de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa.

Punto Número 5 - No existe en Panamá restricción alguna en cuanto a la importación, venta, uso de papel periódico o equipo de imprenta, radio o televisión. Muy por el contrario, todo equipo de divulgación informativa o cultural, se encuentra libre de gravámenes arancelarios en el territorio panameño, por ley.

Punto Número 6 - No existe en Panamá ningún periódico que opere a nombre del gobierno, ni hay competencia periodística de ninguna especie con los órganos de divulgación de la empresa privada.

Punto Número 7 - En Panamá no existen leyes que restrinjan la entrada a periodistas extranjeros ni la dirección de órganos informativos está restringida en modo alguno a ningún tipo determinado de ciudadano en particular.

Sobre este punto quiero informarles a esta distinguida Asamblea que hasta hace pocos meses, antes que la situación económica de The Panama American impidiera seguir, pues, un staff nutrido, estuvo a la dirección de este periódico. The Panama American, un ciudadano norteamericano y algunos de sus redactores eran de ciudadanía norteamericana.

Actualmente en The Star and Herald hay un staff instituido, organizado por elementos de nacionalidad norteamericana. Y en la Estrella de Panamá, el decano de la prensa panameña en español, el jefe de redacción que tiene el título de director auxiliar, es de nacionalidad colombiana.

O sea que incluso allí, la República de Panamá no tiene restricciones.

Punto No. 8 - No existe en Panamá ningún control extralegal ejercido por el gobierno contra órgano alguno de expresión. En efecto, a pesar de los sucesos políticos de hace dos años, no se produjo en Panamá entonces ni después ningún caso de incautación, ni confiscación de diarios, radio-difusoras, televisoras, ni de ningún otro medio moderno de divulgación.

Hace algunas horas en esta asamblea se registró con beneplácito de parte de todos que en un país sudamericano había sido levantada la clausura de un órgano publicitario de publicidad, y eso, como es natural, ha debido producir satisfacción en todos nosotros.

Pues, señores, en Panamá ni siquiera eso ha sido necesario, porque nunca se ha clausurado ningún órgano de publicidad.

Punto No. 9 - En cuanto sus funciones divulgativas, los directores de periódico en Panamá enmarcan sus facultades dentro del código de ética del

sindicato de periodistas de Panamá, aprobado y vigente desde hace más de 20 años.

Punto No. 10 - En Panamá no se exige licencia de ninguna especie para ejercer la profesión del periodismo, considerada por la constitución y las leyes del país como de libre escogimiento.

Debo también recalcar que tanto en esta provisión como en otras, y como en todos los planteamientos en los cuales sea necesario ver las cosas a través del prisma legal, la constitución panameña establece que los panameños y extranjeros son iguales ante la ley.

Existen en Panamá en pleno funcionamiento dos entidades periódísticas gremiales y una escuela de periodismo en la Universidad de Panamá, las cuales operan independientemente y con entera libertad. Las dos organizaciones sindicales se desempeñan bajo la más absoluta protección laboral, instituida por el código de trabajo.

El código de trabajo panameño ha establecido una institución que se denomina Fuero Sindical, por el cual los periodistas agremiados que ocupan puestos directivos están protegidos contra la destitución arbitraria de los empresarios, a quienes le queda el recurso cuando consideren que hay razones justificativas para ello de recurrir a un tribunal laboral, quien si considera que existen razones legítimas, otorgará el permiso para la destitución.

Aparte de las consideraciones anteriores, los delegados panameños quieren dejar establecido que en Panamá no se ha clausurado en los últimos años ninguna publicación diaria, semanal o periódica, que los que han dejado de operar lo han hecho por faltarles los correspondientes recursos financieros.

También desea establecer que en Panamá los diarios están dirigidos actualmente por periodistas profesionales agremiados, los cuales han sido designados por los organismos legítimamente autorizados para ello, y al decir legítimamente autorizados, estoy diciendo conforme a lo que dice la ley.

La delegación de los periódicos panameños aprovecha asimismo la oportunidad para insistir en que la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa verifique sobre el terreno la autenticidad de los hechos expuestos mediante el envío a Panamá de la correspondiente comisión a fin de que la clasificación que se le señala a la República de Panamá responda al pleno conocimiento de la realidad panameña y se evite hasta donde sea posible recurrir a fuentes indirectas que insidan de manera desfavorable en la formación del correcto juicio de la prestigiosa Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa.

Finalmente, considera que la adopción del sistema de evaluación mediante normas precisas recomendado por el Sr. Tom C. Harris, Presidente de la Comisión de la Libertad de Prensa de la SIP, responde en forma general de manera adecuada a las exigencias de características individuales y particulares de cada país y permiten producir un concepto más justo sobre la verdadera situación de la libertad de prensa en cada uno de ellos.

México, octubre 20 de 1970. Delegación de periódicos de Panamá, por El Panamá América, The Panama American, la edición matutina. Guillermo Rodolfo Valdéz, Carlos Rangel por La Estrella de Panama y The Star and Herald, Tomás Gabriel Altamirano Duque. Muchas gracias.

SR. GERMAN E. ORNES: Yo quería hacerle una pregunta al Sr. Rangel, nada mas, sobre algo relativo a un memorandum que él leyó.

El Sr. Rangel, si no me equivoco, y él me podrá corregir si me equivoco, dijo que la cuestión de la intervención de los periódicos que el representa aquí, era una cuestión esencialmente de derecho privado. Es una controversia financiera entre un banco y las organizaciones periodísticas.

Sin embargo, en el memorandum que el leyó se dice que el arreglo entre el Chase Manhattan Bank y el Overseas Management Co. está aprobado por la junta de gobierno.

Yo quisiera que él nos explicara como, si se trata de una controversia eminentemente de derecho privado, tiene la junta de gobierno de ningún país que intervenir en eso y darle su aprobación.

SR. RANGEL: Me pregunta el operador de la grabadora que por qué no se le permitió grabar esto si se está hablando aquí de libertad de expresión.

SR. GERMAN ORNES: Le voy a decir por qué. Porque esto es una reunión pública de periodistas y esa grabadora, nosotros sabemos para que es. Eso es un control, y nosotros no estamos sujetos a control de ninguna especie aquí. Por esa sencilla razón yo no dejo que me graben mis palabras allí. A usted que se las graben.

SR. RANGEL: Bueno. Lo que yo quería tener la grabación yo personalmente, para que después no se diga que donde digo digo no digo digo, sino digo diego. Quería que grabara eso, pero ya que no lo quieren, sigamos sin grabación.

Ah bien, si se está grabando aquí, perfectamente. Muchas gracias.

Bueno, la pregunta que me hace el Sr. Ornes tiene que contestarla nada menos que una potencia económica de los Estados Unidos que se llama The Chase Manhattan Bank, que fue quien redactó este memorandum. Esto está firmado por el gerente general del Chase Manhattan Bank.

De modo que ustedes tienen acceso por la via telefónica si quieren inmediatamente a preguntar al Chase Manhattan Bank por qué redactó este memorandum en esta forma.

SR. ORNES: Otra vez me tienen aquí. Yo creo que esta es una asamblea de periodistas, de personas que saben mucho, que han sufrido mucho, que conocen mucho como funcionan los dictadores. Nosotros no le podemos preguntar al Chase Manhattan Bank, pero a las personas que funcionan bajo ese arreglo sí podemos preguntarles, y sí esperábamos una contestación mas directa.

En vista de la evasiva, hay que creer que la intervención de la junta de gobierno es precisamente porque la junta de gobierno controla los periódicos de Panamá.

SR. RANGEL: Yo creo que no debemos llevar esto a una polémica insignificante en sus proyecciones. Es mejor que la Comisión de Libertad de Prensa envíe los delegados a examinar sobre el terreno esta situación, y allá pueden indudablemente conversar con los funcionarios del Chase Manhattan para ver si es que sus decisiones están supeditadas al capricho de la junta de gobierno.

Es preferible que ustedes investiguen sobre el terreno. Se les está invitando. De modo, pues, que no creo que debemos aquí seguir en un cambio de preguntas y respuestas cuando lo mas sensato es que se averiguen estas cuestiones sobre el terreno.

SR. PEDRO JOAQUIN CHAMORRO: Yo noté algunas cosas del Sr. Rangel, muy interesantes por cierto, porque él nos ha relatado en un magnífico lenguaje jurídico una serie de coincidencias.

Por ejemplo, el diario El Mundo se cerró porque andaba muy mal de dinero, pero eso ocurrió con el advenimiento del nuevo gobierno militar en Panamá.

El Panamá America y otra serie de nombres de periódicos que él mencionó fueron demandados por los bancos mediante un acuerdo de los bancos con la junta militar de gobierno, como acaba de decir Germán Ornes. Pero eso ocurrió precisamente cuando llegó el gobierno militar.

Y cuando llegó el gobierno militar hubo cambios de orden familiar en otras de las empresas periodísticas.

Y también cuando llegó el nuevo gobierno de Panamá, dice el Sr. Rangel, el Panama América está fuera del alcance de sus propietarios. Y también quisiera preguntarle otra cosa. ¿Como es posible que nos venga a dar una cá-

tedra de derecho privado, de respeto al derecho ajeno en donde menciona juzgados civiles, interventores, etc., en un gobierno que no ha nacido de ninguna norma jurídica?

¿No les parece a ustedes un contrasentido venir a explicar la acción de cierre o captura de los medios de información a base de ese malabarismo legal que existe en todas partes, que puede existir en todas partes?

Dijo el Sr. Rangel que no hay competencia con los periódicos de Panamá. El quiso decir que no hay competencia gubernamental para los periódicos de la empresa privada. Pues claro, si todos los que antes eran empresas privadas son ahora mitad del banco y mitad de la junta, o influidos por el banco y la junta.

Y otro pequeño contrasentido jurídico, porque me parece que no debemos de hacer polémica una cosa que está tan clara. ¿Como es posible, jurídicamente hablando, que un accionista minoritario de una empresa en quiebra haya sido, mediante quien sabe que argucia legal, desde luego, el que puso los directores, los redactores, los choferes, los porteros del periódico?

Son contrasentidos legales que no se pueden ocultar a ninguna de las personas que estamos aquí.

El dijo, casi para concluir, que no hay control extra legal. Esas si fueron sus palabras, que no hay control extra legal sobre los medios de información de Panamá, lo cual quiere decir que hay un control legal, lo cual quiere decir que no existe plena libertad de prensa en Panamá.

Y en cuanto a la invitación que nos hace, para preguntarle al Chase Manhattan Bank si hizo semejantes cosas respecto a los periódicos de Panamá aliados con la junta militar de gobierno, debemos decirle, Sr. Rangel, que aquí, si es necesario condenar a un gobierno, lo condenamos. Y si es necesario condenar a un banco, sea el Chase, o el que sea, también lo condenamos. Gracias (Aplausos)

SR. ARMANDO LEMUS (HORIZONTES DE AMERICA, Santo Domingo, Rep. Dominicana): Como me parece que la cuestión de Panamá está suficientemente debatida y que dada la controversia que se ha establecido, es muy difícil que se llegue a una conclusión por la Asamblea, me permito someter a la consideración de la Asamblea por mediación del Sr. Presidente que se dé por cerrado el caso de Panamá y que se deje a la consideración del informe, o se queda pendiente del informe que ha de rendir la comisión que visitará Panamá, el dictámen que en su oportunidad ha de emitir la Comisión sobre Libertad de Prensa.

Ratifico, o propongo que se dé por cerrado el caso de Panamá, que será interminable si seguimos concediendo turnos para debatirlo y que la Co-

misión de la Libertad de Prensa no dictamine sobre el caso de Panamá hasta tanto la comisión que visite Panamá no emita su informe. (Aplausos)

MR. HARRIS: We have three more people to be heard on this subject, and our policy in IAPA, at least my policy, has been to try to give everyone an opportunity to be heard. So we will continue with the debate.

SR. ALDO ZUCCOLILLO: Sr. Presidente, querría, por favor, si me permite mi buen amigo Germán Ornes, respondiéndome con un monosílabo solamente, preguntarle si le consta al Comité de Libertad de Prensa con pruebas contundentes el informe que pasó el vicepresidente, Sí o no, nomás, por favor.

El informe sobre Panamá. Querría saber si es sí o no la respuesta. Si tienen pruebas concretas.

SR. GERMAN ORNES: ¿De lo que dijo el Sr. Chamorro? Nosotros estamos escuchando, estamos debatiendo. Aquí es donde se presentan las pruebas ahora.

SR. ZUCCOLILLO: Ya sé, Germán. Ahora, por favor, estoy tratando de colaborar con la mejor organización de la SIP.

Un vicepresidente de un país, cualquiera que someta un informe, tiene la obligación de venir acá; tiene la obligación de venir aquí con sus documentos comprobatorios de lo que él está mandando por correo. Porque si no, señores, estamos nosotros escuchando una lata, como la que hemos escuchado sobre el caso de Panamá.

Ahora nosotros estamos a oscuras, y resulta que terminamos una Asamblea de la SIP en la cual debemos decidir si existe o no libertad de prensa en Panamá. Y la Comisión no tiene argumentos porque el vicepresidente que firma no está aquí con su comprobante.

SR. GERMAN ORNES: Para hacer una aclaración. El vicepresidente de Panamá no fue quien rindió el informe sobre Panamá. Lo ha rendido un miembro de la Sociedad, el Sr. Chamorro. El informe es del Sr. Chamorro, no es de nadie que está ausente. Es de un miembro de la Sociedad que está presente.

SR. ZUCCOLILLO: ¿Panamá no tiene vicepresidente?

Entonces, muchachos, aquí no se puede tomar en cuenta ninguna clase de información que novenga avalada por la firma del señor que hace la información. Y hago la moción concreta que en lo sucesivo, cuando la SIP vaya a estudiar este problema lo haga antes de venir a la Asamblea.

A la Asamblea venimos ya nosotros con el panorama bien claro. Esta es una parte elemental del principio de análisis que utilizamos nosotros en

nuestras empresas. Necesitamos argumentos, comprobaciones. Entonces tengamos aquí el mismo sistema.

Señores, por favor, el mismo caso de Chile. Yo propongo concretamente que en lo sucesivo la SIP no tome más en consideración los informes de los vicepresidentes que no vienen avalados por la firma del vicepresidente del país, no de un país amigo, vecino o lejos. Que venga avalado por la firma del vicepresidente y por el delegado responsable.

MR. HARRIS: I just want to clarify one point on behalf of Mr. Chamorro. He was assigned by the Chairman to cover Panama when it became obvious that our vice president would be unable to come.

MR. BRADY BLACK (Cincinnati (Ohio) Enquirer): I was identified by Mr. Ornes as one of the Commission which went from Buenos Aires to Panama to investigate in 1968, shortly after the military government took power. We heard a great many people on the situation that then existed. The newspapers were closed, we were told, and the operators at that time were in disfavor with the new government.

Now I have a question for the gentleman who was here speaking, representing Panama, and that is, when a newspaper is closed, as a general principle not much revenue comes in, and when operators of newspapers are in disfavor with the military government this can have a very depressing effect on business. Did those two conditions have any effect on the failure of the two papers which you say were in financial distress and was that the reason for the changes which you describe?

SR. RANGEL: Voy a aprovechar la oportunidad para contestar en la forma mas breve posible la pregunta que se me ha hecho y las observaciones que se han hecho también.

Estoy totalmente de acuerdo con el delegado que hizo el uso de la palabra para decir que esos informes enviados aquí por control remoto no deben ser tomados en cuenta por la Comisión de la Libertad de Prensa, porque no es esa la manera de proceder justa y equitativamente para analizar y evaluar un país.

En cuanto, primero, al cierre del periódico por razones financieras, ese fenómeno se ha venido repitiendo en Panamá constantemente, porque allí todo el que puede en un momento dado tener la esperanza de levantar un diario hace su ensayo, su aventura económica.

Por ejemplo, eso de que dicen que la coincidencia del cierre con la cuestión del cambio de gobierno, no se trata de la coincidencia de las causales de ese cierre. Las causales de ese cierre, no cierre propiamente, sino de intervención judicial por iniciativa particular, vienen desde mucho atrás.

Vienen a través de muchos años de deterioro económico de la empresa. También es así que cuando el juzgado del circuito que conoció el caso ordenó que se separara a la junta directiva que había manejado en una forma inconveniente a los intereses de la empresa, prácticamente esta empresa estaba en perfecta bancarrota. Y la bancarrota de una empresa no se produce en un mes ni en dos meses.

Aquí tenemos las cartas del Chase Manhattan Bank que son del mes de enero de 1970. La carta en que el Chase Manhattan recomienda que se intervenga, que se acuda a los tribunales, es del 11 de junio de 1969. La demanda puesta por la accionista minoritaria fue instaurada en julio de 1969.

La accionista minoritaria es, para que se sepa, la madre de los nietos del fundador de la empresa, cuyos intereses estaban siendo burlados por los accionistas mayoritarios, quienes condujeron una empresa solvente y floreciente a la ruina, por malos manejos. Eso tendrá que establecerse en el correspondiente tribunal, y eso no podemos debatirlo en esta Asamble.

En cuanto a la desaparición de periódicos, eso ha venido ocurriendo hace años. El caso de El Sol, dos meses antes del primero de octubre, que fue cuando se inauguró el gobierno que después fue derrocado.

La revista Semana, el periódico La Nación, el periódico El Día, todos eran diarios que estaban funcionando corrientemente pero con mucho tropiezo económico, hasta que sus propietarios decidieron clausurarlos, no porque hubiera ninguna presión ni ninguna violencia de tipo gubernamental.

En cuanto a la especulación filosófico jurídica del Sr. Chamorro sobre el control extra legal, lamento decirle, pues, que en ese caso le haga el reclamo al Sr. Tom Harris, quien en el punto 8 hizo la pregunta ¿está su país libre de cualquier control extra legal? Nosotros usamos la misma terminología del Sr. Harris.

Quiero, con mucho gusto, referirme a las observaciones del último que tomó la palabra para preguntar sobre si los temores de las empresas publicitarias por anunciar en los periódicos podría deberse a presión gubernamental.

Eso si es posible y ha ocurrido muchas veces. Pero como les explico a ustedes, la situación económica de estos periódicos no data de la época del cambio de gobierno. Es una situación muy anterior. Se inició casi en el año '63 con el fallecimiento del fundador de esa empresa, que era una empresa sólida, respetable y sumamente poderosa. Fue destruyéndose a sí misma, y llegó el momento en que el principal acreedor era el Chase

Manhattan Bank, y que no creo que todavía haya caído a convertirse en títere de ningún gobierno centroamericano, fue quien tomó la iniciativa de incautar, es decir, de intervenirlo.

Quiero advertir que esta intervención, dictada por el juzgado del conocimiento, permanecerá hasta la liquidación o hasta que se restituya la situación anterior, porque la causa esta siendo debatida en un tribunal superior en grado de apelación. Es decir, esto está siguiendo su curso regular y no existen aquí, como han querido darlo a entender, presiones oficiales de ninguna clase.

SR. TOMAS ALTAMIRANO DUQUE (La Estrella de Panamá): En realidad yo no creo que vaya a pasar de los cinco minutos, ni mucho menos, pero no veo la restricción de tres tampoco.

Señores, yo considero que hay libertad de prensa en Panamá, porque yo en el periódico que dirijo, puedo publicar lo que yo quiera.

Hace aproximadamente dos meses, voy a contarles una anécdota, el presidente de la república, a quien me encontré en una fiesta, me dijo que por qué no había publicado un artículo que estaba en contra de él. Yo le dije que no lo había publicado porque no estaba de acuerdo con el artículo.

Me dijo entonces que después lo iban a acusar de que no había libertad de prensa. Pero, señores, yo tengo mi opinión en el periódico que yo dirijo, y no me parecía que el tono en la forma como se escribía ese artículo era para publicarse en La Estrella de Panamá, un periódico que mas bien ha sido tildado de conservador a través de su historia.

La Estrella de Panamá y The Star and Herald datan de 1853, cuando pasó a la familia Duque y su primer director fue el Sr. José Gabriel Duque, bisabuelo mío. El nombró a su hijo, mi abuelo, Tomás Gabriel Duque, director del periódico, puesto que estuvo desempeñando por más de 50 años, hasta su muerte, en donde la junta directiva de accionistas nombró a mi tío -- yo le digo mi tío, cuando en realidad es hermano de mi abuelo - tío abuelo, lo nombró director del periódico y me nombró a mi subdirector del periódico.

Alejandro Duque, mi tío abuelo, y yo, hemos permanecido en esa posición hasta hace aproximadamente unos tres o cuatro meses, cuando habiéndose él jubilado por estar cerca de los 80 años, la junta directiva me nombró a mi director de La Estrella de Panamá y The Star and Herald.

De manera, pues, que no ha sido el gobierno el que me ha nombrado a mi como el director del periódico.

Yo también soy accionista de el diario El Mundo. Pero mucho antes que viniese el gobierno revolucionarios se comentaba en todos los círculos en Panamá la difícil situación económica que atravesaba dicho diario.

Para las campañas políticas en Panamá aparecen muchos diarios. Hemos tenido hasta diez al mismo tiempo, cantidad de diarios que ni siquiera se ven en ciudades grandes, que cuando pasan las campañas políticas desaparecen, porque se fundan solamente para la campaña política.

No quiero decir que ese ha sido el caso de El Mundo, puesto que considero que el Sr. Samudio sí tenía las intenciones de continuar con su periódico.

Pero no está de más que se sepa en esta Asamblea que en Panamá, para la última campaña política había lo que llamo yo un libertinaje de prensa. Al Sr. Samudio los periódicos contra él, que son los que representan los señores hoy en día, se referían a él como mister peculado. Acusaciones de homosexualidad en los periódicos eran diarias. Y señores, si ustedes leyeran los periódicos de la campaña política, no lo creerían porque no creo que en otro país se haya podido llegar al extremo que se llegó en Panamá en el lenguaje que se utilizaba y la serie de acusaciones que se hicieron durante la campaña política.

Quizás exagero, pero creo firmemente que uno de los enemigos principales de la libertad de prensa es precisamente el libertinaje. No hay que confundir la libertad de prensa con el libertinaje.

No debemos de olvidar que el derecho de unos terminan donde comienzan los derechos de otros. La libertad de prensa no significa libertad de calumnia no significa libertad de insulto, no significa libertad de atropello o chantaje. Es mas bien el derecho de emitir nuestro pensamiento con responsabilidad dentro de los principios de la ética, respetando los derechos de los demás en un sistema democrático.

Señores, para terminar, puesto que no voy a pasar los cinco minutos y no creo que haya llegado a ellos, quiero decirles, como les dije al principio, que yo soy, no solamente director de La Estrella de Panamá, sino el mayor accionista individual de La Estrella de Panamá, en donde puedo publicar lo que me da la gana. Muchas gracias.

SR. PEDRO JOAQUIN CHAMORRO: Yo pedí la palabra porque me dió mucha pena que en esta Asamblea General de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa se nos dicte una cátedra sobre lo que es la libertad de prensa. Y una cátedra en el sentido, en la forma en que la estaba dictando el Sr. Altamirano, que dice que durante diez años ha sido director de periódico y que hace seis años los periódicos de su país eran pornografías y que ahora, con el nuevo gobierno, ya esos periódicos, como el libertinaje se ha reprimido o está terminado, son periódicos decentes.

Encuentro que hay dos personas en la persona del Sr. Altamirano, o que viene aquí a defender lo indefendible, que es lo que he pensado desde un comienzo yo de su posición.

SR. DUQUE: Sr. Chamorro, o usted no me entendió bien o yo no me expliqué bien.

Yo he sido subdirector de La Estrella de Panamá cuando murió mi abuelo, y Alejandro Duque fue director de La Estrella de Panamá, y dentro de los periódicos que hacían uso de ese libertinaje no incluyo a La Estrella de Panamá, quien por tradición es un periódico totalmente conservador, y así creo que opinan muchas personas quehan tenido la posibilidad de leerlo.

Yo me estaba refiriendo a los otros periódicos que se publicaban en la Ciudad de Panamá durante la campaña política, y naturalmente había unos que estaban en una situación totalmente diferente a otros, unos más fuertes que otros. Gracias.

MR. HARRIS: Ladies an gentlemen, I want to thank all of you for bearing with us so long. We are going to have to adjourn the session shortly and resume tomorrow at nine o'clock. In the meantime I have some important announcements.

At 3:30 this afternoon the Technical Center will be devoted to the all important subject of promotion, promotion of circulation, of advertising, of the newspaper itself. There will be a panel of experts and a wide discussion of the subject. I hope each and every one of us will be here to attend this meeting because I think all of us can use more promotion in our newspapers.

Don't neglect to vote. The ballot box is now open. Ballots are available at the registration desk. Vote for only 15, no more, no less, otherwise your ballot will be invalidated. Voting is open until 6 p.m.

The Chairman of the Committee on Conclusions has looked with great favor, and will bring to the attention of his committee the proposal of Mr. Hills that we send a commission to Chile and the proposal of Mr. Ornes and others that we send a commission to Panama.

We will meet tomorrow morning at 9 a.m., and we have some exciting reports in and a constinuation, if any, on this debate, Paraguay, Ecuador, Peru and the United States.

Mr. Ornes' committee will meet at 3:30 this afternoon in the Taxco Room. He will make an announcement on that subject.

SR. GERMAN ORNES: El Comité de estilo conclusiones y recomendaciones está convocado para esta tarde a las 3;30 en el Salón Taxco. Los miembros son William Giandoni, William Williamson, Andrés García Lavín, Horacio Aguirre, Brady Black, Riobó Caputto, José Dutriz, Pedro Joaquín Chorro, Julio Mesquita, Peter Manigault, Rodrigo Madrigal y Napoleón Viera Altamirano.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
Fifth Meeting  
Thursday, October 22, 1970

ASAMBLEA GENERAL  
Quinta Sesión  
Jueves, 22 de octubre de 1970

MR. JAMES S. COPLEY (The Copley Press, U.S.A.): I would like to reconvene the General Assembly.

This afternoon is devoted to the Technical Center. First, for your information I have several announcements. At the conclusion of the session the buses will leave at 7:30 for a reception to be tendered by former President Miguel Aleman, President of the National Tourism Council, at the Club de Golf México. This is going to be a reception and a dinner followed by a show. I have been asked to announce that.

The other announcement is that the General Assembly will continue its debate on freedom of the press tomorrow at 9:30 a.m.

I would like now to turn the meeting over to Ed Scripps, President of the Technical Center.

MR. EDWARD W. SCRIPPS (Scripps League Newspapers, U.S.A.): Will the meeting please come to order. This is a meeting of the Technical Center, and we appreciate the fact that so many of you who were here this morning at a very busy session are kind enough to attend this meeting. We hope that we can add something of value to the services performed by the Technical Center.

The first gentlemen I would like to call on, one of them the man who has been with the Association long before I was connected with it, Mr. John R. Reitemeyer, who would like to present the awards.

We will wait a few minutes for the awards because our manager will speak first.

MR. NOEL LEON (Manager, IAPA Technical Center):

Compañeros periodistas:

El Premio "John R. Reitemeyer", según la regla primera de las bases que lo rigen, tiene como finalidad "estimular el interés de los periódicos y periodistas iberoamericanos en la divulgación de las actividades científicas". Lleva, como se sabe, el nombre de su ideador, un distinguido veterano de la letra impresa, y representa el apoyo del Centro Técnico de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa a una necesidad del periodismo moderno: el tema científico en su más palpitante actualidad; la información sobre eventos

y acontecimientos en la ciencia y por la ciencia originados; la divulgación de los avances, progresos y conquistas que han ido afirmando, a la luz de la experiencia y la especulación crítica, las posibilidades vitales del hombre y de la naturaleza misma.

Ese es el sentido del Premio, cuya creación propuso un día el señor Reitemeyer, y que este año incluye en su nómina el nombre de un periodista que supo merecerlo en 1970: Arístides Bastidas.

Está, pues, de plácemes el periodismo venezolano particularmente. El señor Bastidas, de San Pablo, estado de Yaracuy, se inició en el periodismo en "Ultimas Noticias", de Caracas, y desde 1949 hasta ahora ha trabajado en "El Nacional", de la propia Ciudad. Fue él, en 1968, el fundador en este periódico de la Página Científica. No es el "Reitemeyer" el primer premio que anota su labor. Entre los que ha merecido figura el Premio Nacional de Periodismo que concede el Ministerio de Educación de su país. Por otra parte, la dedicación del premiado a observar el desenvolvimiento científico no es eventual, sino permanente.

El mérito de los trabajos presentados al concurso llevó al Jurado a discernir dos distinciones; y, así, acordó una Mención Especial para el concursante señor Jorge A. Ibarra, de Guatemala, y otra para el señor Benjamín Almanza, del Perú. El primero, director de la revista "Historia Natural y Pro Natura", es también colaborador de "El Imparcial" y "Diario de Centro América", publicaciones guatemaltecas las tres; y el segundo colabora asiduamente en "El Comercio", "La Crónica", "Industria Peruana" y "Actualidad Militar", en Lima.

El Centro Técnico se honra destacando en el día de hoy los nombres que acabo de pronunciar, en los que aplaude, complacido, el esfuerzo perseverante de un periodismo serio y responsable.

Nos acompaña el señor Felipe Sanfuentes de la OEA, en la entrega del primer Premio Reitemeyer, que presentará el propio señor Reitemeyer.

MR. JOHN R. REITEMEYER (Hartford Courant, Hartford, Conn., U.S.A.):  
If Mr. Sanfuentes will pardon me for a moment, I would like to suggest a very gracious thing that this organization could do would be to send a letter of congratulation to Dr. Norman Ernest Borlaug, who yesterday received a Nobel Prize in science for his work in the field of agriculture.

Dr. Borlaug was born in Iowa and graduated from the University of Minnesota and for the last 26 years he has been working here in Mexico. Just to mention one item, which illustrates how important and vital scientific research is to all of us, as a result of his efforts he has been able to raise the production of wheat on a Mexican farm, the production of wheat per acre, from 320 kilograms per acre to 1,200 kilograms per acre.

Now believe me, gentlemen, in this world with its population explosion, with the concern on the part of so many of us as to how we are going to feed the people who are crowding into our cities, into our towns, an achievement of this sort, raising the production of wheat from 320 kilograms to 1,200, is really a great achievement and one which is of great value to mankind generally.

In addition to that he has had similar success with corn and also with rice.

So I think because of this, and the interest of our Technical Center in science, we should certainly send a note of congratulations to this gentleman, who is now living and has lived for the last 26 years in Mexico. (Applause)

Now, there is one more matter that I feel somewhat concerned about and that is a cartoon which appeared in a local newspaper several days ago, and I am sure it is directed at us because the headline is "World Press, Incorporated." Sitting behind a desk with a whiskey bottle in front of him, sitting beside him partaking of the whiskey bottle and with a press card in his hat is a man, and the man who is the editor apparently, has his feet up on the desk. On the other side of the picture is a man on a telephone, who says as follows: "Hey, chief, some cat in Latin America isolated and zapped a cancer cell. Want to cover it?"

And the editor says: "Naw, it ain't a revolution, landslide, epidemic or airwreck. I ain't going to touch it."

Now, I dare say that is supposed to represent the attitude of the North American press toward scientific activities and developments in Latin America.

I understand why the cartoonist developed this picture the way he did. He wanted to make it as strong as possible, he wanted to give it the impact he wanted to have.

On the other hand, may I suggest to this cartoonist that not all of Latin America has been too enthusiastic about developments in the scientific field either.

There is another famous scientist -- I won't mention either his name or his country at this time -- who won a Nobel Prize. Instead of it being in applied science it was in pure science, and, of course, obviously in pure science you don't know exactly where you are going to go, you know it is a great breakthrough, but at the moment you can't tell how great its future may be. This man, instead of being praised by the papers of his country, was bitterly, bitterly criticized by the papers of this country for not doing something that would be of benefit to his particular country.

Now what this all shows is a great lack of understanding of the importance of scientific research, not only of applied research, but of pure scientific research too.

I understand that many of the Latin American universities and research agencies of Latin America are working in fields of applied science. For instance, the man who won the prize this year comes from Venezuela,

In Venezuela they have what is known as the Institute of Scientific Investigations, presided over by Dr. Marshall Roche. The last time I saw Dr. Roche, which was about six years ago, he was working on something called the kissing bug. The kissing bug is a small insect that goes into the blood stream and kills I don't know how many people in Venezuela every year. And by this time he has probably solved the problem, because he was working on the infertile male principle and he hoped to eliminate all of these insects which were causing such havoc in Venezuela.

This is applied science, and this does result in great benefit to the country where the scientific work is conducted, but the field of pure science is equally great.

And that is why I was a little bit disturbed by this cartoon directed to what they call the "World Press" but obviously the Inter American Press Association, because the Inter American Press Association, believe me, has taken great interest in science and we have done everything we possibly could to develop interest in science in Latin America, not only in the government offices, but in the schools, in the universities, where the scientific facilities in many cases are inadequate, where too many people want to be lawyers and not enough people want to be scientists.

Eight years ago the Inter American Press Association in cooperation with the OAS and Mr. Sanfuentes, who is waiting here to receive the award, conducted a meeting which ran for three days in Santiago, Chile. What we were trying to do is to bring the scientists and the newspapermen together so the newspapermen would understand the work of the scientists and the scientists would understand the responsibilities and desires of the newspapermen.

We had a very distinguished group there, people not only from North and South America, but from Europe, too, and the major part of it was financed by the Inter American Press Association.

We have done a variety of other things which I won't go into. I might say in connection with this award that I set up after I won the Tom Wallace Award, the scientific division of the Organization of American States has been of the utmost help and cooperation to us in seeing to it that the award got into the right hands.

The Organization of American States, through Mr. Sanfuentes, set up a committee to screen all the documents, literature, writings or whatever it may be, that came in and it is composed of a very distinguished group of scientists, and so far as I am concerned the award has been properly made in each case.

Unfortunately the winner of this award from Venezuela was unable to be here today and Mr. Sanfuentes of the Scientific Division of the Organization of American States is going to receive it in his behalf.

It is with great pleasure that I present this, the check and the scroll to Mr. Sanfuentes. (Applause)

SR. NOEL LEON: Jorge A. Ibarra ¿él está aquí hoy?

MR. REITEMEYER: I had not expected that this would be my responsibility but I am very glad to assume it.

Several of the documents submitted for this prize were of such superior quality that the board of judges decided that supplementary awards should be made, and one is to Mr. Jorge Ibarra of Guatemala.

I can't pass over here without saying that Guatemala is one of my favorite countries. I love to roam in the hills of Guatemala. You stay in the old town of Antigua, I am sorry that it is not more secure at the moment than I would like to have it, but I am delighted to have this award go to someone, a distinguished science writer from Guatemala. Mr. Ibarra. (Applause)

The third award goes to Benjamín Almanza Ocampo from Lima, Peru. For some reasons, I am sure obvious to all of you, there is no one here from Lima, Peru, so Mr. Sanfuentes will also see that this scroll is properly delivered. (Applause)

MR. SCRIPPS: Thank you, John. At this point I would like to say that our program today deals with promotion. Promotion is one of the most basic aspects of journalism. Whether it be a newspaper, a magazine or a book, without an understanding of the basic principles of promotion on the part of the publisher, the readership of any printed material is greatly limited.

We have with us today, three very capable people: Mr. Vince Spezzano, Director of Public Service for Gannett Newspapers, a group of 36 daily newspapers with headquarters in Rochester, New York. He is also president of the International Newspaper Promotion Association, which has 1,150 members in 33 countries. He is a former reporter and political writer on foreign newspapers and has won half a dozen awards for writing and reporting.

Mr. Spezzano was named Rochester Citizen of the Year in 1964 and Kiwanis Club Man of the Year in 1965. He is a graduate of Syracuse University.

We also have with us Mr. Thomas H. Copeland. Mr. Copeland has been senior marketing psychologist of Copley International Corporation in California for the past 2 1/2 years. Previous posts have been as marketing research manager for the Minneapolis Star and Tribune; research manager for The Houston Post; media analyst for the Los Angeles Advertising Agency and assistant director, research division University of Minnesota School of Journalism.

Mr. Copeland, who has a B.A. and an M.S. from the same university, is currently chairman of the Research Advisory Council of the Bureau of Advertising (ANPA). He was editor of the INPA Research Newsletter for 8 years, and is past president of the Houston Chapter American Marketing Association. He received the 1970 Sidney S. Goldish Award for his continuing and outstanding contribution to newspaper research.

We also have with us Enrique Gómez Junco, who is manager of sales and public relations for Editorial El Sol, S.A., of Monterrey, N.L., Mexico, publishers of the newspapers El Sol and El Norte. He has worked for this publisher for the past 15 years.

Mr. Gómez received his degree in business administration from the Institute of Technology, Tecnológico de Estudios Superiores in Monterrey.

He is also manager of Publicitarios y Representantes, S.A. and president of the Asociación de Fútbol Americana Infantil, both of Monterrey,

Mr. Gómez belongs to the International Newspaper Promotion Association, the National Advertising Association of Mexico, the Monterrey Pilots Club and the Rotarians of the same city.

I would like to say to those of you in this meeting who represent the larger newspapers may find the subject of promotion "old hat." From personal experience with smaller newspapers, I know that good promotion can become an intensely personalized means of solidifying the service we can give our readers.

After the sad story we have been hearing in the last few days regarding freedom of the press in the Americas, everything we can do to make the remaining newspapers strong will be most worthwhile.

Good sales promotion in all departments, whether it be for circulation, editorial, production and mechanical, or the sale of advertising, will greatly improve the economic strength of a publication.

It is my opinion that the smaller publications do not use promotion to the extent that is necessary to gain revenues proportionate to the potential of the markets they serve. I sincerely hope that this program will be helpful in correcting problems in this area. Thank you.

MR. LEON: Now, to move right along, we are covering a vast subject in a very limited amount of time, what I will just mention is that we have divided the subject of promotion into three separate areas.

Mr. Spezzano will deal with promotion in general, touching on some of the promotion to increase circulation.

Mr. Gómez Junco will talk about promotion as it relates to increasing advertising sales.

And Mr. Copeland will deal with the problems of surveys and the need for surveys. Vince, will you please start?

MR. VINCE SPEZZANO: Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen.

There is a story about a farmer who sold a burro to a neighbor, with the promise that this burro would follow his every order and command, but when the neighbor got the burro home he found that the burro would do nothing. So he brought him back to the farmer and demanded his money back, but the farmer said, "I don't think you have treated him right", whereupon he walked behind the burro and firmly kicked him in the posterior.

The neighbor said, "why did you do that?"

And he said, "well, with this burro, you have to get his attention first."

And that pretty well sums up what newspaper promotion is and does. You have to get the attention of the reader first.

Newspaper promotion is what we will be discussing with you today. What it is. How it works. Why it sometimes doesn't work. How it can help you.

As a format we will cover promotion in three major segments -- advertising promotion, circulation and editorial promotion and research.

This is perhaps oversimplifying the subject, but we intend to cover the field in a broad way and then leave substantial time to answer your specific questions.

But first let me tell you something about promotion in general, because we will make the general assumption -- however wrongly -- that no one in this room knows anything about promotion -- and you might soon discover that that includes the speakers.

For too long it has been considered sufficient to produce a newspaper that satisfied the editor and publisher, sell it to a reasonable number of readers and deliver it at a reasonable time.

If you changed some things about your paper -- from features to format -- you could expect some complaints. If there were too many, you could always change back.

If you increased the price of the paper, it was done with the expectation that there would be a loss in circulation.

If you increased advertising rates, you could expect some loss in advertising lineage.

But it was felt that the increased revenues would offset the losses until readers and advertisers stopped being angry and came back to the paper.

This was also the time when newspapers were a big mystery to most people. They still are too many. And a warm feeling toward the paper came more by accident than as something instigated by the paper.

But even though there was no organized promotion department on most newspapers, promotion was going on. Only in the past decade has promotion become a significant department of most newspapers.

Evidence of this is the International Newspaper Promotion Association, which has doubled its membership in the past six years.

The number of newspapers in INPA with full time promotion men is approaching 1,000. And INPA membership is about 1,150 in 33 countries.

Why all this new activity in promotion? What is promotion? As a definition, promotion is anything that advances the interests of the newspapers in its community.

And the reason for the growth of promotion departments on newspapers is that enlightened publishers realize more and more that this does not happen by itself; that there must be some catalyst that makes it clear to the reader that the newspaper is a valued member of its community and invariably does more than just print some pages of type.

Why promote? To firmly fix in the minds of the reading public that their newspaper is an indispensable part of their lives. Someone once said that "you don't have to be great to be considered great -- but it helps. What you have to do is to get a lot of people to think so."

Who promotes? Everyone who works for a newspaper is an image maker of some sorts, but the overall image of strength, impartiality, completeness and whatever else a newspaper wants to be is the product of planning by promotion people. That is not to say that people establish their own impression of a newspaper by what they read and see, but too often the image -- and too often a wrong one -- is established by what people hear others say about a newspaper.

When do you promote? You never stop. A successful merchant advertises when his business is good to maintain a good sales flow. When business falls off, the smart merchant continues to advertise to build back that sales flow. And so with promotion.

How do you promote? You kick the burro. You get the attention of the public; you tell them you are good and necessary to their lives -- but you make them think it is their idea.

To do this is like making whale stew. First you have to catch a whale.

First you have to decide what it is you are or want to be in your community. What is the image you want to create? What is the image you have? Do you want to change your image?

Once you have decided, it is the job of the promotion man to help establish the image in whatever the newspaper does and in whatever area it does it.

There are three things necessary to having a good promotion department on a newspaper.

One is a publisher who understands and believes that promotion can be a valuable tool in the success of a newspaper. If you do not believe this is so, the best thing is to ask a publisher who does have a good promotion department. I will wager he would be willing to do without many things on his paper rather than lose his promotion department.

Secondly, there must be financial support for the department.

There is nothing worth doing unless it is done well -- and few things can be done successfully without some kind of support, both moral and financial.

And thirdly, there must be an able man to conduct the promotion.

Many papers have tried to have someone do this part time -- along with another job -- but it rarely works.

Try something with me. Fold your arms across your chest. Which hand is on top, holding your upper arm? Now try to fold your arms the other way, with the other hand on top.

Not so simple. One is very comfortable and natural. This is the way you do this best. The other way is awkward and unnatural.

It is the same with trying to give a man who is doing well on one job, a second one that is strange and uncomfortable.

You would not be as good in your job as you are, if you also had to deliver your newspapers to the reader.

So I urge you now to listen to what other newspapers are doing in the area of promotion -- not that these are things that you must do, but as an indication of the kind of things you may not be doing now, that could be of great benefit to your paper.

#### EDITORIAL PROMOTION

It is difficult to separate editorial promotion from circulation promotion because both have the same goal -- to increase the readership of the newspapers. And this means the readership of individual newspapers and of additional newspapers.

But pure editorial promotion involves the promotion of things or people. The "things" are the new features or columns or sections that you introduce to the reader.

The "people" are the staff writers, reporters, columnists that give your newspaper its personality and a better identification with your readers.

Each has its place and purpose.

Your paper may have a great sports section -- better than a competing newspaper's, or just a good one without competition. But your readers may not be as aware of it, and only with promotion can you make them appreciate the fact that you cover all sports; provide all scores, use more photos than most other newspapers, or whatever the strengths of your sports section may be.

I recall that several years ago, one of our papers was redesigned in format and we promoted it as a paper that was easy to read. We said this over and over.

Some months later we conducted a study on the paper and one of the questions asked why people like the paper -- and a large percentage said because it was easy to read -- our words coming back at us but with the reader feeling it was his idea.

But most kinds of editorial promotion have intangible benefits. It is almost impossible to measure the fact that because of promoting columns or columnists, you get better readership and more readership.

(Slides)

#### CIRCULATION PROMOTION

There is a fine line separating editorial promotion and circulation, but the major difference is that circulation promotion takes a more direct approach to selling more newspapers.

Circulation promotion can take several forms.

It can be a series of in-paper ads which call attention to the newspaper's coverage in the circulation.

It can be in-paper ads which emphasize the fact that the newspaper is gaining new subscribers and growing.

It can be in-paper advertising featuring circulation service -- either the availability of the paper to readers or the prompt and regular delivery to the household.

It can be in-paper ads which call attention to the carrier boys who deliver your newspaper -- and used either for the image of providing young people with an opportunity to earn money and make their way in the world, or as a pure recruitment tool to coax more youngsters to become carrier boys.

Circulation promotion can be in-paper ads which point out the reasons why the casual reader should subscribe regularly, and contain a coupon for ordering it -- or a special offer to new subscribers.

It can be a contest of any one of a hundred or a thousand forms to involve both the regular subscriber and the potential subscriber. The purpose for the reader may be to win some award, but the goal is to add readers or extend subscriptions of present readers.

It can be contests for carrier boys, as incentives to increase the number of subscribers.

It can also be rack cards, one of the most potent types of promotion advertising since when it tempts the reader, it is at the point of sale and he can purchase a newspaper on the spot.

And it can be all of these and more which tell the reader, on the purchase of the newspaper.

Circulation promotion quite often is used in other media -- in addition to in-paper advertising, principally because you can reach only the casual or occasional non-subscriber with in-paper ads. If they don't read the paper, then you must go to some other method to reach them -- and this includes television, radio, ads in other publications.

Now you may raise some question about buying advertising in other media but if you have a truly good product, I feel you must use whatever means possible to make people aware of it.

Even placing free copies in the hands of potential subscribers -- as we do in sampling campaigns -- without the psychology of some sales promotion, usually has a small return.

This psychology, on more and more papers throughout the world, is taking on the aspect of image campaigns by papers, to more closely identify them with their communities and the problems of today's world.

For years most newspapers have conducted programs, seminars, concerts and a broad range of community service projects in an effort to build good will among the people it served.

This is still necessary for newspapers, particularly in view of the doubt cast against newspapers and other media by some political figures.

But too many newspapers have not kept pace with their readers' interests and are finding themselves a half step behind and racing to catch up. Unless newspapers are in tune with the times and aware of the new waves of concern of their readers, the effort they make to establish a good and better image will be all but wasted.

Newspapers through image promotion are and should be making an effort to relate with their communities and the people, not only in analysing the problems and dreams of their community, but taking a leadership role in helping to solve the problems and making the dreams come true.

If housing is your problem, then this should be your goal. If crime is your problem, then this should be your goal. And if illiteracy is your problem, then this should be your goal.

In this latter respect more and more newspapers are working with educators on the use of newspapers in the classroom as a primary and most useful educational tool, not only to combat illiteracy, but to improve reading comprehension and knowledge of its future citizens and leaders.

Let me, then, make just one final point, and that is that while promotion has been ideally used by larger newspapers, it is becoming more and more adaptable to smaller publications.

Promotion is a tool to every newspaper and to every department on every newspaper. It can be as valuable as newspaper management wants it to be and wants so make it, and it can give new strength, both in terms of financial returns and deserved prestige, to the publisher and newspapers wise enough to use promotion wisely. (Applause)

MR. LEON: Thank you very much, Vince.

La próxima será una charla a base de promoción para incrementar la publicidad. La hará el Sr. Enrique Gómez Junco de El Norte.

SR. ENRIQUE GOMEZ JUNCO (Gerente de Ventas y Relaciones Públicas de los periódicos El Norte y El Sol de Monterrey, N.L., Mexico): Ya nos decía el Sr. Spezzano, y nos daba la definición de promoción y de cuando se hace una promoción. El nos decía que siempre es tiempo de estar promoviendo las ventas y que ésto nunca termina.

Yo no pretendo presentarles una cátedra en cuestión de promociones o relaciones públicas, pero he escogido algunos puntos de interés en nuestras experiencias que creo que serán de mucho interés y posiblemente de aplicación a ustedes.

El Sr. Spezzano nos decía a quien se le debe encargar la publicidad o las promociones en un periódico. Les diré lo que nosotros hacemos. Básicamente, el departamento de ventas y relaciones públicas es el encargado de mantener la promoción constante en nuestra empresa, pero nosotros además pedimos la intervención de diferentes personas de nuestros departamentos, con lo cual logramos dos objetivos: (1) una ayuda para enfocar mejor nuestra promoción y (2) una oportunidad más que nos da para mantener el diálogo con nuestro personal, que mucho nos ayuda con su entusiasmo y con sus ideas. Esto lo considero muy importante, pues en nuestro caso personal nos ha ayudado a mantener en nuestra empresa un ambiente familiar, acogedor, y además nos hace mantener una constante situación de intercambio de ideas.

La promoción nosotros la dividimos en tres campos, o en tres mercados diferentes: Los anuncios desplegados o anunciantes; los avisos de ocasión o anuncios clasificados y los lectores o circulación.

Dentro de estos tres grupos o mercados llevamos a cabo diferentes actividades.

En relación a las tarjetas de tarifas, le hemos puesto mucha atención a su producción y a su manufactura. Ustedes por experiencia sabrán o habrán visto las tarjetas de tarifas de muchos periódicos, las cuales se concretan exclusivamente a presentar a su cliente los números fríos de los costos de publicación. Nosotros hemos agregado a esas tarifas los resultados de las investigaciones que hemos llevado a cabo durante ese año, o en su caso, el slogan de la clase publicitaria que estamos usando en nuestra campaña.

Esta que les estoy mostrando a ustedes es la que llevamos a cabo en 1967, y hablábamos de nuestro medio como un seguro de ventas para "su negocio".

Esta es la del año actual, 1970, en donde estamos llevándole el mensaje al comerciante de los resultados de nuestra última investigación de mercados, en donde se arrojaron unas cifras por cada tres periódicos que nosotros editamos; nuestros competidores editan uno.

Además de su diseño y de su impresión, pensamos hacer una cosa original. Estas tarjetas, que después les puedo dejar algunas si las necesitan, llevan un baño de plástico, de manera que sean bien presentadas y tengan una apariencia fina.

En cuanto a los anuncios desplegados, llevamos una investigación de mercados constante. Desde el año 1959 nuestra empresa ha contratado a compañías calificadas para hacer investigaciones de mercado. Esto lo hacemos anualmente, pero ha habido ocasiones, como en este año, que llevamos a cabo dos o más investigaciones.

Estas obviamente son de gran ayuda para nuestros vendedores, que le demostrarán a los anunciantes, o a los clientes o agencias de publicidad una certificación de la circulación del periódico. Pero también le proporcionarán datos básicos para que sus anunciantes o las agencias de publicidad puedan distribuir su presupuesto publicitario, puesto que en las investigaciones de mercado nosotros incluimos datos como las esferas o grupos socio-económicos que están leyendo en nuestro periódico y lógicamente, su poder de compra.

Estas investigaciones, además de hacerlas en unos simples cuadernos en donde demostramos exclusivamente números, también hemos hecho la presentación de estas investigaciones en forma animada. Esta que les enseño a ustedes es del año 1968, y esta es la del año 1964.

Esto tiene por objeto que el anunciante tenga un atractivo más para leer la información que le proporcionamos y que eso ayude a su decisión de compra hacia nuestro medio.

También procuramos que los anunciantes realicen investigaciones propias. Esto en el caso de tiendas de departamentos que promueven sus ventas a plazo.

Estas compañías antes de abrir crédito a sus clientes deben hacer una larga investigación de cada uno de ellos y lógicamente hacen un cuestionario. En este cuestionario les hemos aconsejado, con muy buenos resultados, que incluyan la pregunta ¿qué periódico leen?

De esta manera el anunciante a la vuelta de un corto tiempo tendrá su propia investigación y sabrá a dónde dirigir su publicidad.

Dentro de las promociones para nuestros anunciantes, promovemos la visita de anunciantes a nuestro periódico, pues nos hemos dado cuenta que en su mayoría desconocen totalmente el funcionamiento de un periódico, su producción, lo difícil que es hacerlo, y, sobre todo, que estén conscientes que el periódico es un producto que cambia todos los días.

Esto, además, lo hacemos con un doble fin. La imagen de un periódico no es la del vendedor o la del gerente de ventas o del gerente de relaciones públicas o del director general.. La imagen de un periódico la forman todos y cada uno de los que trabajan en ese periódico. Así aprovechamos la visita de los clientes al periódico para presentarlos a las personas de diferentes departamentos que tienen relación en una o en otra forma con su anuncio.

Esto hace que el anunciante vea cuanto personal y cuanta gente trabaja para que él lleve el mensaje publicitario a sus clientes.

Dentro de la promoción tenemos que hablar también de organización puesto que no se puede promover si no se organiza. Para nosotros es un punto muy importante la ayuda técnica a los vendedores. Esto lo considero de sumo interés, puesto que si nuestro personal de ventas no está suficientemente motivado las campañas que desarrollemos serán desperdiciadas en gran parte.

Es aconsejable que el departamento de ventas tenga, por lo menos, dos seminarios especializados de ventas al año.

Nosotros, además de mantener estos seminarios, hemos estudiado muy despacio el tiempo que le lleva al vendedor hacer su relación con el cliente, tener sus contactos y hacer el trabajo que corresponde para una campaña publicitaria.

Entonces, encontramos que instalándoles en sus automóviles aparatos de radio comunicación ahorran ellos muchísimo tiempo y teníamos un mejor control del mercado que estaban ellos cubriendo.

Esto trajo como consecuencia que en muchas ocasiones nuestros vendedores sean los que encuentran una noticia, la reporten al periódico oportunamente y consigamos noticias exclusivas.

Siempre ha sido nuestra idea que su puesto no es privativa nuestra exclusivamente, cuando hablamos de promociones, tratar de hacer promociones originales.

Yo tenía para enseñarles dos films de unos anuncios de televisión que hemos desarrollado, uno el año pasado y uno este año, que los han nominado como los mejores anuncios en cuanto a promoción se refiere. Desgraciadamente no había facilidades técnicas, puesto que la película no traía el sonido y nos fue imposible arreglar ese asunto.

Pero sí quiero mostrar a ustedes una promoción que hicimos, o que hemos hecho, siguiendo esa mala costumbre de tener que regalar u obsequiar algo a nuestros clientes durante la época de Navidad. Durante muchos años pensamos, e insisto fueron muchos años, en ver qué podíamos hacer de una cosa original; el resultado fue estas pijamas que llevan impreso nuestro periódico. Han tenido tanto éxito que en este año estamos terminando nuestra cuarta edición para entregarla a nuestros clientes. Entre paréntesis, quise traer algunas para regalarlas pero no estaban todavía terminadas.

Esto es en cuanto a nuestros anunciantes o el departamento de anuncios desplegados. En cuanto a nuestros avisos de ocasión o nuestra sección de anuncios clasificados, además de la promoción constante que hacemos, que era uno de los films que les traía para enseñarles, creo yo que el éxito que hayamos tenido en este departamento de avisos de ocasión se debe en gran parte a la atención que le prestamos al funcionamiento de ese departamento.

Aquí vuelve otra vez a tomar el primer plano la investigación. Hace poco tiempo llevamos a cabo una investigación de nuestros lectores y anunciantes de anuncios clasificados, o avisos de ocasión, para tratar de saber si la forma en que estábamos presentando los avisos de ocasión y el servicio que se estaba dando estaban de acuerdo con las exigencias de nuestro público.

Los resultados de esta investigación nos llevaron a hacer algunos cambios. Primero, tuvimos que instalar una central telefónica exclusivamente para el departamento de avisos de ocasión. De no haber sido por la investigación no hubiéramos sabido que nuestra central general estaba bloqueada constantemente y no había manera de atender a esos clientes.

Hicimos posteriormente una reclasificación de las páginas de anuncios de ocasión o avisos clasificados, presentando éstas en una agrupación lógica de artículos similares. Complementamos estos cambios con una campaña publicitaria, resaltando la rapidéz del resultado de avisos de ocasión y al mismo tiempo promoviendo nuestra central telefónica. Esto lo hicimos obviamente en nuestro periódico y en otros medios.

El resultado total de esta promoción y estos cambios que hicimos fue un aumento inmediato del 9% en los avisos de ocasión.

La tercera parte que nosotros desarrollamos con promociones tuvo que ver con nuestros lectores. El Sr. Spezzano ya nos habló ampliamente sobre eso. Yo quisiera agregar dos experiencias que hemos tenido que nos han dado mucho y muy buen resultado en cuanto a promoción de subscripciones.

Uno, tener una información constante de los matrimonios que se llevan a cabo en la ciudad. Si es posible, antes. Y entrevistarlos para que antes que ellos formen su hogar ya tengan su periódico, su subscripción para estarla leyendo.

Y número dos, un punto que considero sumamente importante, la promoción hacia los niños. Para todos nosotros es conocido que el avance en la tecnología hace que nuestros niños tengan al alcance de su mano la información y el entendimiento.

Si nosotros no atacamos a temprana edad ese mercado potencial que son los niños, estamos corriendo un gran riesgo de perderlo. Entonces, nuestra idea fue que así como promovíamos las visitas de los anunciantes al periódico, promovimos las visitas de los niños al periódico a través de las escuelas, invitando a sus maestros, y conseguimos con esto unos grandes resultados. Pues al organizar esas visitas estábamos ayudando a la formación y a la enseñanza de los niños.

Estamos realizando también una labor directa de ventas y de relaciones públicas, y lo que es más importante, estamos promoviendo nuestro periódico ante esos niños, que serán los nuevos lectores y nuestros futuros anunciantes.

Como estoy hablando ante la Asamblea de la SIP, con una mayoría de directores generales de periódicos o editores, yo quisiera que pensarán en esta pregunta: todo esto trabajo no se puede desarrollar, y ya lo decía también el Sr. Spezzano, si no tenemos el apoyo decidido y el apoyo económico de la dirección general.

Yo quisiera que ustedes pensarán, ¿le dan ustedes esa atención y ese apoyo económico a sus medios? Muchas gracias, (Aplausos)

SR. NOEL: El Sr. Tom Copeland, sicólogo de Copley International hablará sobre las encuestas e investigaciones.

Mr. Thomas H. Copeland: Thank you, Noel.

My topic in general terms is what research can do for newspapers. Unfortunately I got carried away with my topic and brought too much material

to cover the session, so if my continuity seems a little rough and sounds like I am jumping around, it is because I am. I hope the translators will bear with me.

First I would like to make several random and general observations about newspaper research and then I will quickly go through some examples of how the research approach has been used on a number of newspapers. And I will restrict these examples to research which has been done for the editorial, advertising and circulation departments, since I am concerned with a basic behavioral approach which rules out purely mechanical and production oriented problems.

Research activity in these areas by newspapers really needs no justification. Each passing year finds more and more newspapers becoming aware of the many benefits a behavioral discipline provides. It does pay for itself, many times over. It has helped to increase advertising revenues, to maximize distribution operations, to provide intelligence for general management and to provide editors with the information they seek concerning the habits and desires of their readers, and of their non-readers.

When researchers stick their noses into the editorial area they sometimes get them bloodied by the editors. Now this is not hard to understand, because it is pretty well accepted that most editorial people do not much like being challenged as to just how well they know and understand their readers. But perhaps an analogy will put this into proper perspective.

I am sure you are aware that many professional newsmen reply to current criticism of the mass media by stating that their critics are trying to kill a messenger because he brings bad news. Well, researchers are in a rather similar position when they have to tell the editors what their readers think about them and their product.

I think the problem here, in many instances, is that the public critics simply do not understand the way newspapers function. Likewise, few understand the research approach because it involves statistics and other behavioral methodologies. But it is really not all that difficult. Basically it is a pragmatic approach which attempts to rule out, as far as possible, the human bias and prejudice which all of us contain.

Now let's quickly switch topics and talk about circulation and distribution problems for a few minutes.

One of the perennial problems of many newspapers is the large sums of money they expend annually in order to obtain new subscribers. It has been generally held that many of these new subscribers are purchased over and over through the money paid to these solicitors.

Expensive as it is, the practice has continued because of the desire to hold and increase circulation. In any event, this is what was thought. However, there has been no proof that this situation actually exists.

If our retention of new subscribers is high and we do not continually repurchase the same subscribers to any large extent, then a whole new set of factors may be operating. We may, for example, discover that we are actually losing our older subscribers at a greater rate than any of us might suspect.

At one newspaper we decided to obtain some much needed information on this problem of retention of new subscribers and established a carefully controlled method of checking new subscriber over a period of time. We developed enough information, both expected and unexpected, to keep us busy for quite a while.

However, let me just pass along some of the more dramatic findings which have now been documented and known for sure, thus allowing management to make more precise decisions for dealing with the problems.

First, at the end of a year we discovered that we still retained about 60% of the new subscribers, a figure much higher than any of us would have bet on. We also found that new starts made by telephone had a better retention rate and were thus more efficient than the new starts made by carriers.

One out of every five new subscribers indicated problems in getting the paper started and delivered properly and regularly. Almost five percent of all new subscription orders written were never delivered. Now you project this figure into numbers of subscribers and you have a loss running into the thousands.

Men were significantly more concerned over regular and timely delivery of the newspaper and played a stronger role in deciding whether or not the household subscribed to a newspaper. Yet circulation, solicitation and promotion had historically been aimed at the woman of the house.

This information was then acted upon. Promotional and solicitation operations were modified to reach more men, and a series of changes involving communications and record-keeping were instituted within the circulation department to prevent the loss of subscribers through default.

Now how about using research to help increase advertising lineage. Here again research has proved itself. In one instance a very large retailer in a city built a new headquarters store in a new location. The retailer felt this was the time to upgrade his business from the lower-middle to the upper-middle class type of customers. He felt he needed a

new name for the store, which would reflect this new image, a new format for his advertising and some idea of what the public thought about his operation compared to his major competitors.

At the newspaper we designed a survey which measured public reaction to the name suggested for the store, and indicated the retailers position in relation to that of his competitors in terms of such things as quality merchandise, quality advertising, guarantees, credit policy, service, etc. This information pointed to those areas in which the retailer should concentrate to improve his competitive position.

The result was an increased lineage schedule for the newspaper. A follow-up survey a year later indicated an improved image in the competitive picture, and a healthy and increased advertising schedule continued.

In another instance an important advertiser planned on using premiums in an advertising and promotion campaign. A number of premiums were considered but no decision could be reached. The campaign was aimed primarily at youth and their acceptance of the premiums was unknown.

At the newspaper we decided to take various premiums into the field and systematically test them on a sample of the proposed audience. One particular premium emerged head and shoulders above the others in terms of acceptance, and as it had not been particularly liked by most of the executives who had been doing the planning, the chances were that it would have been passed over for a less effective premium had not the research been done.

Now again, a little testing helped develop a more effective promotion campaign which proved so successful that the advertiser decided to extend his campaign, which meant additional lineage schedules.

Now let me jump to a topic in which I am currently involved. It concerns a study of our young people, ranging from approximately the age of 15 to 25.

The goal of this research program is to shed some new light on a particular area of concern to newspaper people; that is, the relationship of young people today with the mass media, and in particular, newspapers.

It is specifically concerned with those basic motivations, attitudes and opinions of young people which may affect their relationship with the mass media, and what newspapers can do to make sure these young people will mature, become good, solid newspaper readers.

This is a very large and extensive project. Not only are the Copley Newspapers involved, but we have also contracted to do the research for about a dozen other newspapers across the nation. We are still involved

in the field work, but already some findings are beginning to crystalize. I will mention several of these preliminary findings, but first I would like to point out the particular research approach being used on this project.

It consists of tape-recorded, moderated discussions with groups of young people. This is a qualitative, exploratory method of research used to uncover and assess the strength of unknown attitudes and opinions, as well as those which are already known or suspected. It is extremely useful for probing the thoughts, feelings and emotions of the individuals involved.

Because of the small sample sizes involved and the difficulty of obtaining a true representative sample, the findings of this type of research cannot be projected directly to the population at large. The results obtained are meant for utilization by newspaper management and staff to modify old hypothesis and to develop new ones, to stimulate new thought along old and new lines and to develop a bench mark for additional retail research.

In other words, it is a method of obtaining some sparkling, earthy feed back.

So far I have talked to over 300 young people in about 30 group sessions across the nation, and I would like to share a few of my preliminary findings with you.

Young people are receiving more exposure to newspapers than any of us believe to be the case. However, the newspaper may not be playing as important a role in their lives as it once did in our generation.

The other media, and in particular television, are forcing the youth to pick and choose from the daily offerings of news and entertainment. The general feeling of excitement and action which youth attach to television may be over-shadowing some of the appeal of many newspapers.

Newspapers definitely do have a credibility problem. All of the media do. But generally newspapers rank below both television and weekly news magazines. What is particularly disturbing about this is the reasons given by the young people for their ranking. They are not particularly valid reasons; in fact, some are patently illogical, especially when applied to the weekly news magazines.

For example, the youth tend to believe that since magazines have a week to work on news stories, their news stories are more accurate and less biased than newspapers coverage of the same items. In other words, they fail to distinguish between the two variables of accuracy and bias.

Most of the young people studied so far appeared to be alert to many of

the traditional negative criticisms levelled against newspapers. Further probing has indicated that a substantial portion of this negative attitude towards newspapers, and to all media, has been derived from their experiences in both high school and college courses.

It would appear that in many schools in civics, current affairs, communications and other classes of the same nature where the mass media are studied to some degree, often the teachers take special pains to point out how the mass media bias the news.

The students are taught, in other words, to recognize the propaganda techniques supposedly used by the media.

There is also a definite indication that this type of instruction is coming from the younger teachers rather than the older ones.

While there are very different exceptions in almost every group studied, the shallow level of thinking displayed by most of these young people was obvious. The fact that many of them are merely parroting current criticisms of our social, political and economic life style, quickly becomes apparent when they are asked to substantiate their claims or provide workable solutions and alternative systems to their specific problems.

One of the reasons which may be responsible for this negative reaction on the part of the youth is the psychological limbo in which young people exist as they go through the maturation process from juveniles to adults. They are actively seeking acceptance from the adult world and, as is sometimes the case, will go to almost any length to achieve recognition.

Often they do not seem to care whether that recognition is positive or negative, just so long as it's there.

On the other hand, they are sensitive to the negative image of young people, which they feel is being presented by the mass media. There is almost a consensus among them that newspapers, for instance, ignore the good things done by youth and over-emphasize the bad, thus distorting the true situation prevailing among these young people.

In effect, they feel that the mass media do not mirror society; in any event, their world.

Special teen pages and sections run by some newspapers do not appear to be accomplishing their objectives of communicating with the young. The very fact that they are a part of the Establishment newspaper automatically disqualifies much of what they have to offer, even when they purport to be written by the young themselves, and this is one area that needs much more study and attention.

The degrees of maturity and pragmatism displayed by high school and college students on the one hand and the young people who work and/or keep house on the other hand, is very dramatic.

The responsibilities of earning a livelihood appear to exert a profound effect on the outlook of youth. This is another area which needs to be explored in more detail.

In summary, the project is documenting many of the hypotheses we have held and incurring a few new findings. At its conclusion we also hope to make some specific recommendations for these newspapers to follow in considering this particular segment of their audience.

Now, let me show an example of another type of research, and here I think we will put the lights down, please.

This slide shows how employees of three departments -- classified advertising, retail advertising and editorial -- on a particular newspaper rank their own newspaper according to a semantics scale, which is a list of polar adjectives used to stimulate discrimination.

Notice that the editorial employees had a lower, or more negative, opinion of their own newspaper than did the other employees.

A further study finally isolated some leadership problems within the editorial department, which were major contributing factors to low morale on the editorial staff. On such stimulus words as "fair" and "responsible" you can notice how much more negative the editorial people are.

Notice also how the editorial employees differ from the other employees in describing their newspaper as more tense than relaxed and more timid than bold, which turned out to be definitely a reflection of their working atmosphere.

Now, one more example used to make editorial decisions concerns the testing done on a newspaper considering a new type size. To conduct this testing identical pages were set and printed with the exception of the type size and the spacing.

Test one used an 8-point type on an 8 1/2 slug, while test five used 9-point type on a 9 1/2 slug. Respondents were shown the two pages and asked which they preferred as more appealing in terms of overall appearance, which they preferred in terms of ease of reading, and whether they would rather have a page with smaller type and more words or a page with larger type and fewer words.

Here are the findings. We can see on this slide that 92% of the sample of readers preferred test 5. That is the layout using the larger type.

Here are some of the major reasons why they preferred the page with the larger type for overall appearance: easier to see, to read, type bigger, larger, more space, more contrasts, stands out, print clearer, etc.

Ninety one percent chose the larger type for ease of reading. Their reasons for preferring the larger type for ease of reading are similar to responses given for overall appearance. In other words, easier to see and to read, type bigger, larger, more space, more open, clearer looking, quicker reading, etc.

Eighty one percent of the sample of readers preferred larger type and fewer words. And here are their reasons for preferring the larger type with fewer words: more concise, cut details and still give the story, quicker reading, easier reading.

We concluded, obviously, that the larger-size type was overwhelmingly favored both for its overall appearance and for ease of reading. Also, roughly 80% of the readers were willing to accept fewer words with larger type.

However, something else developed which we felt was of additional importance. A substantial number of people injected a time element, indicating they were interested in being able to read the news easily and quickly. They felt the news could be more concise, that some of the details could be edited out without damaging the total news content. Needless to say the editorial staff took this under consideration and made some changes.

I wish I had more time to get into some more examples, but I know we have other things to get to today, so I'll close by merely listing several other areas in which research has proved to be extremely beneficial.

Readership of short summary items compared to long, textual material. For instance this one, examination of allotments on the sports page, for instance compared to reader interest in various sporting activities.

Pre-testing of names for a new section to be instituted in the newspaper. The testing of various methods of television log layout.

Comparative study of public reaction to different types of weather maps.

Pre-testing of editorial promotion slogans, etc.

I could go on for a very long time, but I think I had better cut this off now.

I hope I have touched on something that has caught your interest and that some of this information will prove to be of use to you. Thank you very much for your attention. (Applause)

MR. E. W. SCRIPPS: Thank you, Mr. Copeland. I think that these various studies have opened up many new fields to all of us.

Thoughtfully, our own newspaper organization, in its expansion program, has found that many newspapers that we have acquired -- that is individually owned newspapers - have had such queer promotion and such complete lack of it that in many cases that is why those newspapers were for sale to start with. They did not make use of the potential in their own markets.

I would like to open this to questions and answers. Any questions that you in the audience have we would like to try to answer.

SR. ZUCOLILLO: Señor Presidente, lamento sinceramente que seamos tan pocos los que estamos aquí. Hace mucho que no escucho una reunión tan interesante para nosotros y para América, como la que tuvimos en este momento.

Hay unas preguntas de carácter comercial que desearía hacer a alguno de los señores que hablaron. Pero, sin embargo, la primera parte de la exposición del Sr. Copeland es altamente importante para nosotros, no desde el punto de vista comercial.

Si analizamos la actuación de la SIP veremos que existe una completa y absoluta separación, distanciamiento, disociación entre lo que dijo el Sr. Copeland y lo que hacemos nosotros dentro de la SIP.

Si nosotros aplicáramos las técnicas que el Sr. Copeland mencionó en un comienzo y si basáramos en América la actuación de nuestros periódicos sobre los resultados que indican la respuesta que el Sr. Copeland mencionó acá, yo creo que tendríamos el arma más eficaz para combatir el comunismo.

Eso que ustedes averiguan en los Estados Unidos nosotros, los que tenemos periódicos pequeños en Sud América, por lo general no lo podemos hacer. No tenemos, en muchos casos, los técnicos y en muchos casos cuando tenemos los técnicos no tenemos los medios necesarios, los medios económicos.

Entonces yo sugeriría a Mr. Scripps que por favor estas averiguaciones que estos señores sacan de la experiencia en los Estados Unidos, cualquiera de los miembros de la SIP que lo haga personalmente, o la SIP que lo haga en su calidad de nuestra Asociación, que por favor sea remitida a todos los socios de la SIP, sobre todo en la América Latina. Nosotros necesitamos imperiosamente de estos conocimientos para trabajar. Eso es, señores, en lo que respecta a la parte editorial del diario.

Ahora, por favor, querría preguntarle al Sr. Gómez Junco. Existe un problema entre el periódico, las agencias de publicidad y los promotores de venta propios del periódico. Nuestros periódicos tienen sus propios

vendedores. Entonces, en muchos casos las agencias de publicidad tienen sus clientes, pero no tienen la agresividad necesaria como para conseguir el anuncio del cliente. Entonces el diario se da cuenta del hecho, en muchos casos se acerca al cliente de la agencia publicitaria. Por supuesto, automáticamente, la agencia publicitaria se ofende.

Por favor, esa es una pregunta. No sé si le interesa al resto de la reunión, pero sucede muy a menudo en las ciudades pequeñas, en las ciudades que tienen menos de 500,000 habitantes.

SR. ENRIQUE GOMEZ JUNCO: Efectivamente sí es un punto importante en México y en la América Latina en general. Nosotros hemos hecho este trabajo.

Como punto número uno, nunca visitamos a un cliente directamente de parte del periódico que es atendido ya por una agencia de publicidad. En caso de que exista una situación como la que el señor expone, lo que se hace primero es visitar a la agencia de publicidad e investigar cuáles son los motivos por los que no se está incluyendo nuestro medio o nuestro medio está incluido en una proporción menor a la que nosotros pensamos o esperamos.

Posteriormente se hace una visita al cliente acompañado del representante de la agencia de publicidad. Esto a nosotros, se lo digo con mucha satisfacción, nos ha dado muy buen resultado. Podría decirle de 7 años a la fecha los problemas que se han presentado similares a los que el señor expone, los hemos solucionado satisfactoriamente siguiendo ese método, y estableciendo con las agencias de publicidad una buena comunicación de manera de no interferir ellos en nuestro trabajo y nosotros en el de ellos, sino al contrario, haciéndolo en una forma de cooperación, juntos.

MR. SCRIPPS: You asked another question, I believe, that was not answered, and that was that these surveys, the techniques of surveys that are applicable to small newspapers might be valuable, that is, the formats that we use, like a readership survey or a survey that we have conducted among our readers. Those on our newspapers generally are a very simple, small format and if I could get a show of hands those of you who would like a photocopy of some of our ideas on this, we would be very happy to send them to you, if they would be of any value. We could also have them translated so that you could look at them and use the type of surveys that might be of value to you. Would this be of any help?

SR. ZUCOLILLO: Una segunda pregunta.

Ocurre también en las ciudades pequeñas; la gente se conoce mucho, los anunciantes se conocen mucho y ocurre el siguiente problema:

Como relaciones públicas para las agencias de publicidad se acostumbra insertar dentro del diario fotografías de ejecutivos de firmas representadas que vienen con algunos acontecimientos sociales que corresponden a la

compañía, cosas por el estilo. Pero en muchos casos las agencias de publicidad, a veces son importantes y confunden las relaciones públicas con la promoción comercial. Entonces ellos mandan una fotografía en donde decididamente hay una promoción comercial de por medio, o, en muchos casos, mandan un suelto sobre un acontecimiento cualquiera. El problema que ocasiona es que si no lo publicamos se ofende la agencia, que es importante, además el cliente, que también es importante. Y si lo hacemos, entonces nos vienen a la carga todos los competidores de la gente que aparece en la información.

Por favor, si hay alguna manera, alguna técnica moderna que se pueda aplicar a este problema.

SR. GOMEZ JUNCO: Es un problema también que existe. Yo me concretaré a contestarle en nuestra experiencia lo que hemos hecho.

Definitivamente preferimos tener un problema con el anunciante o con la agencia a ceder en una promoción que obviamente es comercial y no editorial. Sin embargo, sí habrá casos en que esa noticia o ese boletín que se nos manda pueda tener un carácter informativo. Entonces eso lo pasamos simplemente a redacción y si en opinión de redacción ese material que nos hayan enviado es de carácter noticioso, se publica.

Debo aclarar que sí hemos tenido esos problemas, pero los hemos amainado, haciendo más relaciones con los clientes, con las agencias y exponiéndoles cual es el problema que se nos crea al enviarnos ese tipo de material.

Creo yo que en los últimos tres años, podría decir así, esta situación casi ha desaparecido en nuestro medio.

MR. SCRIPPS: I think those questions were very informative, and if there is anybody else here particularly with problemas for the small newspapers, ways that you can increase your revenue through promotion, specific questions, we would enjoy receiving them, no matter how embarrassing they might be.

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: ¿Qué instrumento de investigación recomienda para el examen de lectores, del mercado de lectores y sus preferencias? ¿Encuesta de qué tipo, análisis de contenido, estudio del marco de referencia de los lectores, y cuáles son las variables que recomienda estudiar?

MR. THOMAS H. COPELAND: This is a very complicated question and I really can't do it justice here, but I would like to point out two possible approaches, the two most simple approaches, and then just mention some of the dangers involved.

One approach is what is commonly known as the "readership survey." This

is where interviewers go out with copies of the newspaper and they try to develop a sample of the readership population and then go through the newspaper item by item to see how many people read each item in the newspaper. The results are then tabulated and collated and scores are developed so that the various editorial items can be compared to each other in terms of the number of people who read them and the same is true for the advertisements in the newspaper.

Now there are some dangers involved in this type of research, especially with daily newspapers. In the first place, it is extremely difficult to get enough competent interviewers to go and do this survey, because it has to be done very rapidly. In other words, after 24 hours the product is out of date, it has become contaminated by the next day's issue, which means all the interviewing has to be done over a very short span of time.

This imposes a series of problems, of which perhaps the most difficult is the problem of obtaining a good representative sample, because no matter what the sample you draw, not everyone will be home during the 12 or 18 hour period during which you do your research work, so in a typical readership study it is impossible, a sheer physical impossibility, to come up with a representative sample. Therefore, the data must be looked at very carefully and it must be used very carefully, because they are not representative data.

The other approach is what is called a "reader interest." This can be done over a longer period of time and you do not have the sampling problems involved. This is where you use various rating scales or semantics scales or a wide variety of scaling devices to try to obtain the degree of interest that the readers have in the various types of items -- editorial items and advertising -- in the newspaper. This is not readership. You do not ask them what they read and what they did not read, but you can go through and using a series of techniques, try to determine where their particular interest lies.

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Pero considero que el problema de la fidelidad a que se refiere se puede obviar con la prueba de cuestionarios, con una prueba previa al cuestionario. Y que en poblaciones pequeñas se puede lograr también una representativa óptima.

Respecto al contenido de los periódicos, yo quisiera que me precisara lo que se refiere a análisis de contenido, si cree que el método de las escalas es el más, el que da una mejor referencia de la preferencia de los lectores o encuestas simples con el periódico para determinar que es lo que lee el lector, efectivamente, en cada página.

MR. COPELAND: If I understood you correctly, you asked me to make a comparison between content and analysis, which is another form of research

on the newspaper product that I didn't mention, and reader interest approach. I would say that the reader interest approach is much more preferable if this is the only thing to be done. I think that content analysis approach is merely a bookkeeping operation in that it shows you in terms of column inches, or whatever measure you wish to use, what the editorial staff thinks should go into the newspaper, and this, of course, is based on what the editorial staff thinks the readers themselves want. And the editorial staff, in some cases, does not always know. Therefore, the reader interest approach, in terms of marketing, will give you a much better evaluation of what the consumers, the readers of your product, desire from your product.

SR. ZUCOLLILLO: La última pregunta marginal al señor psicólogo. Si cree que en lo que se refiere a la influencia en la formación de actitudes de los lectores uno tiene que preguntarse a veces si por ejemplo el despliegue informativo sobre las encuestas de los medios de comunicación, que dan los medios de comunicación, produce o crea un proceso de contagio en la escala internacional.

SR. NOEL LEON: El reporte a que el Sr. Scripps se refirió antes yo creo que le dará la respuesta perfecta a esa, y eso se lo podemos dar mañana. No tenemos mucho tiempo para seguir ahora.

SR. XAVIER CHAMORRO, (La Prensa, Managua, Nicaragua): En todo Latinoamérica es muy conocida una práctica que usan los medios electrónicos, televisión y radio, de dar sobre-comisiones a las agencias de publicidad. No sé en México si funciona en esa forma. Quería preguntarle al colega mexicano si acaso existe esa práctica aquí, y cómo los medios impresos combaten esa sobre-comisión de los electrónicos.

SR. GOMEZ JUNCO: Definitivamente nosotros hemos tomado una actitud hacia esa situación de que otros medios den más comisión a las agencias. Hemos tomado, como le decía, una actitud directa con el cliente y exponemos claramente una actitud poco ética de esa agencia que él emplea. Definitivamente esta no es una situación fácil de manejar, pero no se puede hacer de otra forma.

Se tendrá que atacar directamente el problema con el cliente y establecer con los demás medios, aunque es una lucha poco productiva y tardía, la comisión del 15% que es mundial.

MR. LEON: We have a number of questions that were submitted to us by papers when we first announced this program and, frankly, we don't have time for all of them. There is one, however, that ought to be answered, and it is this one written to us by an English language daily that asked if there is a service available that provides either mats, copy or other materials with which to conduct promotion programs. Also, if Mr. Spezzano's organization, which is the International Newspaper Promotion Association has or offers any such service. Could you tell us that?

MR. SPEZZANO: Yes, we do. That is one of the purposes of INPA, to provide as much promotion service to its members as possible in any and all areas. I think that you will find that promotion people are very generous with the information that they have. In fact, I find it rather flattering to have other people try the things that they have tried through INPA and its New York office. We can and do supply members with information on any kind of promotion and in any kind of promotion area that they are interested in.

MR. SCTIPPS: That concludes the Technical Center meeting. I hate to run out of time. We didn't get started early and there are so many more things that we would have liked to discuss.

An announcement: at 7:30 this evening the buses will be leaving to go to Miguel Aleman's reception at the Club de Golf.

The General Assembly will meet again at 9:30 a.m. tomorrow, Friday.

The meeting is adjourned.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
Sixth Meeting  
Friday, October 23, 1970

ASAMBLEA GENERAL  
Sexta Sesión  
Viernes, 23 de octubre de 1970

MR. JAMES S. COPLEY: Ladies and gentlemen, we have quite a big program today, so I'd like to get started. We are going to make every effort to conclude the agenda in the morning. If this is not possible, the Assembly will meet again at 3:00 p.m. this afternoon, as shown on the program.

I am going to have some announcements to make later on. Meanwhile I would like to pass the Chair over to Tom Harris.

MR. HARRIS: This is a continuation of the Freedom of the Press Committee meeting. We closed last night on Panama. Is there any further discussion on Panama? We will now go to Paraguay.

SR. ALDO ZUCCOLILLO: Sr. Presidente, señoras y señores. Hace un año en Washington, cuando se juzgó la situación de la prensa en el Paraguay, se dijo en aquella oportunidad, que el asunto de libertad de prensa era o blanco o negro; que había libertad de prensa o que no había libertad de prensa. En esa oportunidad Paraguay dijo que la libertad de prensa no es un padrón que puede ser aplicado a cualquier país en cualquier lugar, sino que tiene sus relatividades.

Por supuesto, lo que dijo Paraguay no tuvo ningún valor en aquella oportunidad y Paraguay fue incluido entre los países que no tienen libertad de prensa.

Posteriormente, parece que durante el año, se adoptó otro criterio con respecto a lo blanco o negro de la libertad de prensa. Suponemos que el Paraguay pueda haber ayudado en algo para que se adopte ese criterio, lo cual nos satisface.

No queremos creer que se deba solamente a que el Perú se haya colocado en la misma posición.

El informe sobre Paraguay: En el Paraguay hay una prensa restringida. Aunque el Congreso aprobó el año pasado una ley susceptible de restringir la libertad de prensa, la situación a este respecto en Paraguay ha mejorado.

Periódicos de oposición en general están circulando libremente, no existe ninguna censura gubernamental. Pero los directores tienden a tratar algunos temas con cierta cautela.

Tengo a disposición aquí los ejemplares de los periódicos de oposición, donde ustedes van a ver que tratan de cualquier cosa a la gente de gobierno.

Una ley aprobada por el Congreso de Defensa de la Paz Pública y Libertad de las Personas, presentada por el poder ejecutivo podría muy bien limitar la libertad de prensa. Esa ley ha sido sancionada, pero no ha sido utilizada ninguna vez, que yo sepa.

Señores, con este argumento que tengo en la mano sugiero que se incluya al Paraguay entre los países en los cuales existe una prensa restringida. Nada más, Sr. Presidente.

MR. HARRIS: Any comment on Paraguay?

Is there anyone here to report on Ecuador?

SR. LUIS FELDMAN JOSIN (Jornada, Trelew, Argentina): Bueno, como no hay nadie del Ecuador que informe sobre la situación de la prensa en ese país, me voy a permitir hacerlo yo en razón de que he estado en ese país hace muy poco tiempo, y he ayudado a constituir allá un nuevo organismo internacional en defensa de la libertad de prensa.

Al ocupar la tribuna en este momento me guían dos propósitos: primero, hablar sobre la situación de la prensa en Ecuador; segundo, acceder a un pedido de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa para informar de qué carácter y qué propósitos tiene ese nuevo organismo internacional. Lo voy a hacer muy brevemente.

Funciona en Guayaquil una vieja asociación de prensa dirigida por hombres democráticos de amplio conocimiento americano, como don Julio Villagrán Lara. Esa asociación ha invitado a periodistas de toda América para constituir una sociedad a nivel profesional. Es decir, la SIP es a nivel de entidades periodísticas, empresas periodísticas, pero faltaba una a nivel profesional, y ese fue el propósito que llevó a Julio Villagrán Lara a invitar a periodistas de toda América y entre ellos de la República Argentina, concurriendo el que les habla, a esa asamblea.

Tuvo una concurrencia numerosa de gente de prensa de Chile, Perú, Argentina, Brasil, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, y allí se dispuso que ese organismo siga más o menos los mismos pasos de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa para defender la libertad de expresión, la libertad de pensamiento.

Es decir, que no es un organismo que se opone a la SIP, sino que es un organismo colateral que ayuda a la SIP a un nivel profesional en defensa de la libertad de prensa en un momento en que toda América está convulsionada y donde los extremismos podrían haber tomado ese organismo en su beneficio.

Debo decirles que no fue fácil, porque precisamente algunas delegaciones

gubernamentales y otras delegaciones extremistas trataron en todo momento de impedir la cristalización de ese propósito y de introducir ponencias en favor de sus propósitos.

Felizmente, la organización nació perfectamente bien y hoy día la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa puede decir con orgullo que existe ya en América otro organismo como la Confederación Americana de Periodistas, presidida por don Julio Villagrán Lara, con sede en Guayaquil, que ayudará en toda América a defender la libertad de expresión.

Dicho esto quiero decirles ahora qué pasa en el Ecuador. Nosotros defendemos la libertad de prensa, oponiéndonos siempre a que los gobiernos, por el poder de la fuerza, impidan esa libre expresión. Pero nosotros pensamos de que esa libre expresión debe actuar en tres niveles: en el del gobierno, en el de las empresas y en el de los sindicatos.

Cuando nosotros sesionamos en Guayaquil en el mes de agosto, sucedió que en ese momento el gobierno daba libertad de prensa al periodismo ecuatoriano. En ese momento. Pero el sindicato de periodistas del Ecuador había ordenado silenciar totalmente la actuación y las deliberaciones de la Confederación Americana de Periodistas.

Había una censura sindical. Esa censura sindical la aprobaron una gran parte de las empresas periodísticas de Quito. A tal punto que en ese congreso se dió un premio muy importante, el Premio Jules Dubois, a Nascimento Brito, del Brasil, y la prensa quiteña, en su totalidad, ignoró el otorgamiento de ese premio. No dió información en absoluto ni publicó una sola palabra.

Cuando nosotros hemos entrevistado al Presidente Velasco Ibarra y le hemos pedido de que asegure la libertad de prensa en ese país, la prensa quiteña ignoró totalmente esa entrevista. ¿Por qué? Porque el sindicato de prensa del Ecuador había dispuesto no publicar nada con respecto a la nueva Confederación Americana de Periodistas de carácter democrático.

Ese sindicato tiene sus puntos de vista extremistas o, mejor dicho, izquierdistas.

En definitiva, en el Ecuador existe libertad de prensa, salvo las violaciones que comete el gobierno de ese país, salvo las violaciones que cometen las empresas periodísticas de ese país, y salvo las violaciones que cometen los sindicatos de ese país.

Tres tipos de violaciones distintas, que hacen configurar al Ecuador en este momento una situación especial.

Ahora quiero mencionarles de que hace muy pocos días desde el Ecuador

se ha enviado a la prensa americana esta situación: El director del Canal 2 de TV, don Xavier Alvarado Roca, también presidente de la editora de las importantes revistas Vistazo, Estadio y Hogar del Ecuador, ha sido presionado varias veces a suprimir los editoriales de sus publicaciones.

La clausura del Canal 2 fue dirigida por el propio Ministro de Gobierno, Sr. Héctor Espinel Chiriboga.

El diario El Telégrafo, decano de la prensa del Ecuador, ha sido molestado en varias oportunidades y sus directivos han sido llamados a la comandancia militar en tres oportunidades, con el propósito de molestarlos.

Está detenido en prisión el periodista Julio Villagómez López y está detenido un periodista gráfico del diario El Universo, Sr. Jorge Enrique Espinosa, y también el Sr. Chamorro de la Provincia de Carchi.

Yo he pedido en razón de una conversación anterior, una entrevista con el Presidente del Ecuador para el martes próximo con el propósito de solicitarle la libertad de los tres periodistas detenidos y con el fin de ayudar a la Confederación Americana de Periodistas. Y podría incluso hacerlo por la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa para que vuelva a reinar en el Ecuador la verdadera libertad que todos deseamos.

Esa entrevista ha sido concedida y espero que Dios me ayude para tener éxito. Nada más sobre el Ecuador. (Aplausos)

MR. HARRIS: I am sure your activities there were in the best interests of the IAPA as well as in the new federation. I hope you succeed in your interviewing mission with the president. Do we have any other comments on Ecuador?

The Conclusions Committee will note and make an addition to the official report on Ecuador, which covers about the same grounds as Mr. Feldman did.

Next country will be Peru.

SR. PEDRO MORALES, (El Pueblo, Arequipa, Perú y Diarios Asociados de Perú): Sr. Presidente, señores delegados: corresponde hacer el informe sobre la situación de la libertad de prensa en el Perú al presidente de la Comisión de la SIP en nuestro país.

Es también regla que cuando dicho presidente no puede concurrir personalmente, envíe su informe a la reunión por escrito. El informe sobre el Perú debe haberlo presentado don Pedro Beltrán.

Siendo el único delegado de Empresas Periodísticas Peruanas presente

en la Asamblea en esta ocasión, debo intervenir necesariamente en la reunión de la Comisión de Libertad de Prensa.

Debiendo haberse formulado pues el informe general en la forma pertinente debo limitarme a una referencia directa de la situación de los periódicos en las regiones de mi país donde opera la entidad periodística a mi cargo. Me refiero concretamente a las ciudades de Arequipa, Cuzco y Trujillo. Allí la situación de los periódicos es absolutamente normal. No tenemos ningún problema.

Los asuntos litigiosos que se han planteado bajo las normas del Estatuto de Prensa han sido resueltos en forma satisfactoria para nuestros diarios por los tribunales de justicia del Perú.

En consecuencia, ateniéndonos a los hechos y en nuestra opinión, se ejercita en la actualidad la libertad de prensa en el Perú. Es todo.  
(Aplausos)

SR. ALDO ZUCCOLILLO: El informe sobre Perú aparenta estar un poco incompleto. Se refiere a una área del país. Aparentemente tiene aplicación aquí también lo que dijimos de Chile.

Al señor vicepresidente del Comité de Libertad de Prensa en la zona yo creo que no le falta máquina de escribir y papel y una lapicera para firmar su informe y autorizar suficientemente a que una persona en su representación venga a leerlo. Me parece que el informe que se leyó aquí sobre el Perú es absolutamente insuficiente para juzgar la situación de la prensa en el Perú.

Todos sabemos que existen problemas allá con un par de diarios. Entonces convendría que el delegado del Perú nos informe un poco sobre la situación de los diarios en la capital, Lima.

Estamos de acuerdo con él en lo que a su zona se refiere. Si se puede ampliar el informe de manera que el Comité pueda tener mayor información rogaría se hiciera. Nada más.

SR. PEDRO MORALES: Debo repetir que en general, en los últimos seis meses, es normal la situación de la prensa peruana y estoy seguro que la Comisión de Libertad de Prensa debe tener o tendrá el informe del Sr. Beltrán. De manera que es todo cuanto puedo decir sobre el particular.

MR. HARRIS: Befor we go on with Peru. I'd like to clarify a couple of points.

Number 1, the Vice Chairman of Peru was Elsa Arana, who resigned in our first session, so we have no written report as such on that country.

However, if one part of the country is affected by censorship, as we know it is in Lima, then I think the whole country is without freedom of the press.

We know that since our meeting in Washington, on January 1st of this year, the government put in a new stringent press law in Lima. In Peru there were confiscated and turned over to the employee two newspapers; taken from their rightful owner. They have even fined newspapers, some provincial and some in the city, for not printing government releases, which is required under the new press law.

So in the absence of a written report, through our own information and investigation I'll make that report on Peru as the Chair.

One other thing I'd like to add to that is that Elsa Arana and another well-known Peruvian writer, Mr. Ravines, are exiled from their country and are not allowed to practice journalism there after long years of experience in that country. So, I think from that conclusion the press is not entirely free.

SR. NAPOLEON VIERA ALTAMIRANO (El Diario de Hoy, San Salvador, El Salvador): Voy a referirme muy brevemente al informe que el periodista peruano acaba de rendir, para hacer una pequeña advertencia.

En primer término, sabemos nosotros de restricciones manifiestas a la libertad de prensa en el Perú, siendo el testimonio más vivo en estos momentos para la prensa del continente, el exilio del periodista Eudocio Ravines, que merece para nosotros un profundo reconocimiento porque se ha convertido en una de las palabras más vibrantes en defensa de la democracia y del combate franco al totalitarismo.

En segundo término, porque en la sesión anterior alguien en esta tribuna manifestó que los periódicos que cumplían al pie de la letra el estatuto de la prensa en el Perú trabajaban normalmente.

Sería más que conveniente que ese estatuto fuera conocido e interpretado, analizado en plenitud por todos los miembros de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, porque es muy fácil acomodar a empresas encadenadas por una dictadura dentro de un marco legal. Podemos estar casi seguros de que los periodistas que sobreviven en La Habana trabajan normalmente, porque trabajan conforme a un estatuto adecuado para su función esclavista.

Mientras Eudocio Ravines esté fuera del Perú, habiéndosele negado su ciudadanía, no podemos nosotros creer que el régimen peruano no tenga el valor y fuerza y consistencia para resistir la palabra de un hombre solo. Muchas gracias. (Aplausos)

MR. HARRIS: Any other comments on Peru? We will now move to the United States.

MR. CHARLES L. DANCEY: In the United States there is a free press.

While there is no frontal attack of a centralized nature on press freedom in the United States, there have been an endless series of local violations.

Individual judges here and there, a local prosecutor in one place, a mayor in another, a state legislator somewhere else pops up with a restriction or sanction or control device against the gathering of news. Examples were cited from every part of the country.

A Georgia legislator has proposed legislation at the national level to provide similar rules as those applied in broadcasting to be applied to the newspaper industry in what he describes as "the right of access."

It really calls for the right to expropriate or "hijack" a newspaper's press, its pressmen, its printers and its acquired audience for the use of any irresponsible element at any time for almost any purpose.

It would have to either function that way or place the entire press of the nation under the dubious and infinite details involved under complex government regulations which details would be subject to the interpretations of an official hearings officer or a political pseudo-court commission.

As it stands, in a medium that is entirely event-oriented instead of 95% entertainment-oriented, it would clearly mean that anyone who wanted to "holler fire in a crowded theater" could require us to furnish him, on demand, both the theater and the crowd.

This, of course, would also completely reverse the traditional meaning of the First Amendment from a "hands off" injunction against the government into the opposite, a mandate for government to enforce on the American people whatever current version of "free press" obligation the politicians in power choose to invent or interpret.

Another warning is before us in the blooming philosophy of "the reporters right to speak", and forecasts of more and more confrontations by reporter groups demanding editorial space for their views, or the perversion of their regular efforts to the same end, are discussed in professional circles and in such publications as the ASNE Bulletin and the Columbia Journalism Review.

Those familiar with IAPA, and with what has happened in some of our sister countries, and particularly those of us who listened to the fanatic claims of the Peruvian union leaders at Montego Bay, realize where this philosophy could lead us...an end of press freedom.

Newspaper personnel and working materials are now being "hijacked" on a growing scale. In some cities, it reached epidemic proportions. Reporters and material were yanked from their work and taken, of all places, to the country court house or federal building--by a device known as the subpoena.

This action compromises reporters by forcing them into the role of investigators for the courts. It disrupts working organizations, ignores deadlines, and is accessible not only to law enforcement agencies but to every lawyer with a civil case to exploit and a fishing expedition (for evidence) in mind.

It became sufficiently serious for the Attorney General of the United States to establish restraining rules on his own agencies in their seeking of subpoenas for newsmen (while at the same time he affirmed the right to commandeer newsmen and records when "needed" by the courts.)

In Chicago, a court has directed the clerk to withhold subpoenas for newsmen from attorneys unless and until there has been a court hearing that finds such service actually imperative to the case.

This came after more than a full dozen staffers were called from one newspaper off the same working shift all at the same time, and after one newsman was served with four subpoenas demanding that he be in four different places at the same time.

In St. Louis, Mo., a newspaper has adopted the policy of disposing of all unpublished photographic records within a week in an effort to avoid such intervention and harassment of its daily operations as much as possible, apparently.

Such a visitation can come like a plague of locusts to any sizable city. When it does, it presents an intervention with the operations of daily newspapers, and it recasts them arbitrarily into an unwanted and impossible semi-official role which is destructive of their newspaper function.

The abuse of the subpoena power has shaken some already, and it must not spread further,

Finally there is widespread concern over the persistent attacks of various local officials across the country and by the Vice President of the United States at the highest level. To many the vice president's persistent and extreme attacks on all media of free expression seems designed to shake the credibility of all and threatens to undermine such freedoms thereby.

It's also true that this concern is not shared by a large segment of the U.S. press, and that all segments emphatically agree that the Vice

President, like every other citizen, has an absolute right of free expression. That right is unchallenged. He, also, of course, is responsible for the consequences.

Unfortunately and perhaps unwittingly, his public statements in this matter parallel those in a hemispheric campaign which is tragically successful in some countries, with tragic results and thus, by his own definition in matters of such parallel propaganda, he gives aid and comfort to the enemies of freedom in other countries.

At the heart of the challenge to press freedom in the United States is a feeling among the middle-aged and the older that the press is doing an inadequate job and a feeling among the young that government controls should be imposed so that the press will do what the young conceive to be an adequate job.

This mood is a challenge to the press to do an adequate job, to convince those who support press freedom that it is doing an adequate job and to encourage the young to learn enough history to discover from the history of man that the taking away of man's constitutional freedoms is not the solution to man's endless discontent with the institutions which serve him. (Applause)

MR. HARRIS: We now go to the discussion on the report on the United States.

MR. HUGH B. PATTERSON, Jr. (Arkansas Gazette, Little Rock, Arkansas): I have been the publisher since 1948 of a newspaper called The Arkansas Gazette at Little Rock, a paper which in that period of time has enjoyed the privilege of freedom of the press to the extent of having suffered boycotts on two occasions, one for having opposed a demagogue governor named Faubus, who, fortunately, we aided in roundly defeating in his efforts to achieve the democratic party's nomination for governor again just this year.

I would concur in everything that Mr. Dancey has said with respect to the state of freedom of the press in the United States. I thought I would like to have this opportunity, though, to enlarge a bit in the sense of suggesting that technical freedom of the press, which certainly we enjoy in the United States and which I do not think is seriously questioned, despite the attacks of the Vice President, does not necessarily imply a vigorous press.

I refrained from joining in the debate on Canada yesterday, feeling that perhaps I should wait and do my little piece on the United States time, but I was struck with the thought during that debate that it is a rather singular thing that more papers in the United States are owned by

a Canadian than are owned by any citizen of the United States. I am speaking of those owned by Lord Thomson.

And in respect to this matter of the vigor of the press, I must say that I have had a growing concern over the years, not from any thought of the lack of right of ownership, but in the matter of a deep conviction that the best newspaper is the most indigneous newspaper to its area, that we have had growth of multiple newspaper ownership, some by groups who are distinctly and definetely newspapermen and who run their group newspapers as vigorous newspaper; other, unfortunately, by men who seem to be motivated almost entirely by the profit motive and I have had a difficult time reconciling in my own mind that an owner of a newspaper or an owner of a group of newspapers could be a Democrat in one city, a Republican in another, a Conservative in the morning, Liberal in the afternoon. To me newspaper ownership implies final responsibility for editorial policy of the newspaper.

I thought I should just make those remarks because I feel that our constitutional government depends very, very seriously on a vigorous press and a press that enters into the controversies of the day.

I will say that my paper was one of four newspapers in the United States characterized by the Vice President as being of the radical lib press. The others were The New York Times, The Washington Post and The Atlanta Constitution, and I assure you that we are delighted to be in such good company.

I have remarked that it's a sad thing editorially that so few of us made it. But I would say in defense of a number of other newspapers in the country that they deserve to be on the Vice President's list too, and he should have his attention called to this neglect.

I think that we should be concerned in the press in the United States with the fact that actually in some respects we do face a constitutional crisis in varying degrees of importance. I think, for example, that the fact that our great cities have become virtually unmanageable because of the lack of constitutional provisions that permit them to finance and govern themselves. I am thinking of the great threats that exist to our health and life and the fact that there need to be resources and there need to be firm regulations applying to pollution and to the conservation of resources.

These are things that are not just local questions, they are questions throughout the world. We are experiencing a nature of continuing revolution throughout the world, much of it having been brought on rapidly through the very devices of communication with which we deal. The fact that the transistor radio has made it possible for the poorest of Mayan Indians in the mountains of Guatemala to learn that things are not necessarily everywhere as they are in his own immediate environment.

It seems to be that as a French statesman said at the time of the French Revolution, if we are to be responsible members of the press, we must indeed "have our foot in the camp of the revolutionists." Otherwise we are not sensitive to the dynamic nature of life.

And I suggest to you that as we think of the technical matters of freedom of the press, we need to think much more seriously of our obligations as members of the free press. Thank you. (Applause)

MR. RAYMOND E. DIX (The Daily Record, Wooster, Ohio): I am from what people call a "provincial newspaper" from Wooster, Ohio.

I agree almost completely with what Chuck Dancey said and with what Hugh Patterson said, but I sort of think that our report on the United States in which we specifically criticize the Vice President, we should also acknowledge his rights to say what he said.

We editorialized against his remarks in our own newspaper, but we also acknowledge the fact that he had a right to say what he did. And I think perhaps he might have made us a little more responsible by some of the remarks.

If it isn't out of order, I would like to suggest that the Committee at least study the possibility of acknowledging this right of a man who holds the second highest position in the land. (Applause)

MR. BRADY BLACK: I would like to direct my remarks to a practical situation in the United States, which I shall call a state of mind among the people. And to illustrate this I wish to tell a little personal story.

I was interviewed recently on the radio station of the University of Cincinnati by a professor of law who formerly was dean of the College of Law, and I would say that his questions and his concerns represented middle-aged and older America in its regard for the press today. His questions, while he supported the rights of free speech and free press, reflected a feeling that the press in the United States is not doing an adequate job of accurately reporting and presenting serious comment on the important issues of the day.

He proposed some sort of citizens committee to watch the press, to consult with the press, to review the press and to point out what it considered be shortcomings of the press, all in the interest of improvement and reform of the press.

Whether those of us in the press see or fail to see merit in this proposal, his views do reflect one of the problems of the press today, a lack of confidence in the press and a lack of acceptance that we are doing an adequate and responsible job.

The young moderator of the radio program interjected a suggestion that the country proceed directly to government licensing and regulation, as is done with broadcasting, in order to resolve the law professor's concerns.

This is another of the problems of the press today and it rests principally with the young. I, of course, referred the young man to a study of history of an understanding of the experiences of our founders with controlled information of the search for human freedoms, which lead to the settling of America. I suggested that he review the controls on the free flow of information, which a dictator so quickly imposes so that the people will know only what the government chooses for them to know.

Now why, ladies and gentlemen, do I recite this experience? I recite it because it is at the heart of the problems of the press in the United States today in my judgment.

We need to do an adequate job, we need to prove to those who support freedom that we are doing an adequate job and we need to encourage the young to learn some history so that they will discover from the history of man that taking away of man's constitutional freedoms is not the solution to man's endless discontent with that which serves him.  
(Applause)

MR. DANCEY: I want to acknowledge Ray Dix's comments about the Vice President and certainly would concur in the appropriateness of saying that he the Vice President, has a right to speak freely.

I think we would also be obliged then to say, however, that all of us, and certainly the Vice President, is then responsible for the consequences.

I know this is a sensitive proposition and so I want to point out to you the wording of the report. I tried to do a reporter's job. I did not try to concur or not concur with the opinions as to whether it should or should not be a matter of concern. I tried to report the undeniable fact, I think, that there is widespread concern. And, as I say, just a reporter's job.

I think the other matter is perhaps more serious. We had Monday a long presentation on the problems from one end of the hemisphere to the other, centered on a campaign against press freedom and were told that the basis of this is two persistent charges everywhere from the regime in Panama to Bolivia and the campaign in Chile, and that these are that the press is the voice of the oligarchy and that the press is not to be believed.

Now the idiom in the United States is a little bit different. But

the translation of the Vice President's remarks go to precisely the same two things.

I happen to be sympathetic to his political objectives, but there is a larger matter involved, or a broader matter, than our political argument in the United States. And I think by the Vice President's own definition, this parallelism does give aid and comfort to the enemies of press freedom beyond the borders of the United States. Thank you. (Applause)

MR. JOHN R. O'ROUKE (Scripps-Howard Newspapers): I rise as the devil's advocate. I rise to defend that kindly, high-minded old family man, Throttlebottom from Baltimore, Spiro Agnew.

I think he is a victim of a scurvy plot by the radical liberals who are, of course, the grown up children of the New Dealers now in their dotage and too old to change.

During most of my life Democrats have had their snouts at the public trough by using the moneys to buy support and by skillfully assassinating the character of their enemies.

I point out that for four terms the Democrats won the White House by blaming the country's ills on Herbert Hoover.

I would like to recall that it was F.D.R., a Democrat, who publicly called the late and sainted Drew Pearson a liar, and nobody said that freedom of the press was endangered. He also publicly questioned Mr. Pearson's parentage, and the species of his mother, but we did not feel that freedom of the press was being destroyed.

Mr. Truman followed Mr. Roosevelt in office, naturally, another Democrat, and he did the same thing to Mr. Pearson. Nobody cried that Mr. Pearson was being intimidated.

Mr. Agnew has not gone that far.

I also recall that Mrs. Graham's music critic was threatened by Mr. Truman who offered to kick him in a place which would be very painful, and yet Paul Hume, the critic, never felt that he had to wear football gear and he went right on reviewing the music.

Now, Mr. Agnew is filling a role, of course. He is engaging in the ancient and honorable game of party politics. When the Republicans call for unity, they mean they want more Democrats to vote Republican. And when Ted Kennedy takes time off from mourning his mistakes, and says that Mr. Agnew is destroying unity, he means if he doesn't want the Democrats to go.

So let us put it all in context. I think that the heat engendered is largely rhetoric. I think Mr. Frank Stanton of CBS is faking when he gets up and cries out his fears. He knows that the big electronic communications media in the United States have the Federal Commission in their pockets. He knows that there has not been, so far as I can remember, a single radio station, no matter how miserable -- and the country really suffers from miserable radio stations -- has not had a single one recalled. They go right on with false claims, selling goat glands and vitality pills and bad music, and it works.

So let us forgive poor Mr. Agnew's rhetoric, which, honestly, I enjoy. Thank you. (Applause and laughter). Let us go on with the pillow fight.

MR. HARRIS: Any other comment on the United States?

SR. ALDO ZUCCOLILLO: Sr. Presidente, si insisto reiteradamente en venir a este micrófono, es porque trato de convencer a algunas personas sobre una realidad concreta que estamos viviendo.

El Sr. Patterson de Arkansas tiene una razón grande como una montaña cuando habla de lo que debería hacer la prensa. La libertad de prensa como nosotros amorosamente la hemos venido defendiendo de palabra aquí, no es garantía para la libertad de los pueblos.

Tenemos como ejemplo a Chile, real y concreto. La votación popular puso un presidente marxista. Si nosotros tenemos confianza en lo que decimos, no tenemos por que temer lo que pase en Chile.

No se justifica la no presencia aquí del Sr. Edwards de El Mercurio, ni todas las consideraciones que hemos estado tejiendo sobre el particular.

Si nuestros temores se confirman, y a pesar de la prensa libre el comunismo instalado en el gobierno en Chile sojuzga y esclaviza su pueblo, entonces la libertad de prensa que nosotros hemos venido propugnando no es garantía para la libertad de los pueblos.

A mi criterio señores, y es lo que trato de explicar, la mejor garantía para la libertad, esa libertad que buscamos nosotros, la garantía real y efectiva es la que tiene Costa Rica, que se preocupó con entusiasmo desde hace mucho tiempo, en la educación de su pueblo. Y hoy tienen un pueblo culto, pacífico, trabajador en donde el comunismo, a pesar de la absoluta libertad como actúa y de la absoluta protección que tiene, no puede tener cabida en el pueblo. Nada más, señores. (Aplausos)

MR. HARRIS: Thank you, sir.

Any other comments on the United States?

During our discussions we had a report that there was freedom of the press in Venezuela, but we never called for a discussion on this. Is there any discussion on Venezuela?

Now this concludes our country-by-country report, but in keeping with our policy of an open mike for anyone who has anything to discuss within time limits, I now open the floor for any country that has been missed or anyone that has anything to say.

SR. GERMAN ORNES: Desafortunadamente estaba afuera cuando se discutió el Paraguay y me permito pedirle al Sr. Presidente que me deje hacer unas cuantas preguntas al Sr. Zuccolillo.

La última intervención del Sr. Zuccolillo aparentemente tiende a que revisemos todos nuestros conceptos sobre la libertad de prensa. Hemos estado equivocados hasta hoy acerca de lo que es libertad de prensa.

Aparentemente -- el Sr. Zuccolillo me puede corregir si estoy equivocado -- lo primero que tenemos que hacer es educar a palos con dictaduras, y una vez que hayamos metido la letra con sangre a través del tiempo, podemos entonces hablar de las posibilidades de libertad de prensa.

Yo creo que lo que el Sr. Zuccolillo desea es justificar lo injustificable, la existencia de la falta de libertad de prensa en Paraguay. Y digo esto porque en el informe del Sr. Zuccolillo que conozco hay una información que es muy reveladora de la situación en Paraguay, y no me refiero a la existencia de una ley más o menos restrictiva de la libertad de prensa, que desafortunadamente y para desgracia de todos nosotros existe en muchos países de este continente.

Me refiero al hecho concreto de que un periódico católico no ha podido aparecer en Asunción a pesar de todas las gestiones que han hecho las autoridades eclesiásticas porque un departamento del gobierno no le ha dado la autorización para salir a la luz pública. ¿Cree el Sr. Zuccolillo que puede haber libertad o que se tenga el camino a la libertad cuando la prensa para publicarse necesita de una autorización de un gobierno?

SR. ZUCCOLILLO: Germán Ornes puso el dedo en la llaga. Sí señores, considero que es cierto lo que dijo el Sr. Ornes.

A patada limpia tenemos que meterle instrucción a nuestros pueblos. De cualquier manera tenemos que conseguir que ellos consigan el nivel educacional que nos permita a nosotros venderles diarios que ellos después puedan leer.

El Sr. Patterson dijo que en las montañas de Guatemala se escuchan radios transistores, ¿y quién escucha al radio transistor? Escucha el

que no sabe leer. ¿Y qué escucha? Radio Moscú, Radio La Habana. Y mientras nosotros tranquilamente en nuestras oficinas de aire acondicionado estamos queriendo hacer un editorial, los otros señores que tienen más cabeza y más inteligencia que nosotros y que conocen más de las motivaciones de las masas, están actuando realmente como se debe hacer en estos momentos.

Es muy fácil dirigir la política de la SIP desde los Estados Unidos. Ellos no conocen de analfabetismo, de pobreza, de enfermedad en nuestros pueblos. Nosotros sí conocemos, y por eso es que insistimos en la educación de los pueblos.

Y para responder al Sr. Germán Ornes yo le llamaría acá a don Guillermo Martínez Márquez. En nuestras cárceles existen presos políticos y yo voto para que se queden allí, porque si esos señores salen de allí van a salir a hacer lo que el Sr. Guillermo Martínez Márquez no quiere que hagan.

Entonces vamos a estar nosotros manteniendo el cáncer que nos va a liquidar. ¿Cuándo vamos a comenzar a actuar nosotros?

En nuestro país existe una prensa restringida. Nosotros tenemos sentido común. Soy director de un diario de hace tres años, y durante 37 años he estado en la prensa privada, dirigiendo el gremialismo en la prensa privada, y yo conozco los defectos que tenemos nosotros en nuestro equipo. Y esos defectos tenemos que corregirlos, señores, rápido. El momento es de emergencia. No tenemos tiempo para estar tratando política a largo plazo.

Ahora necesitamos nosotros -- de ninguna manera necesitamos que nos manden fusiles --, necesitamos que los señores de los Estados Unidos, los periodistas, le digan a su gobierno que nosotros queremos tractores, queremos escuelas para enseñar a nuestra gente. Los tanques de guerra que nos mandan no nos sirven para nada.

Eso por un lado. Eso, defendiendo la posición de mi país.

Segundo, es la segunda vez que le digo al Sr. Germán Ornes que qué pasa en Santo Domingo con las máquinas que un señor que quiere poner un periódico de oposición no consigue sacar de la aduana. ¿Por qué el gobierno no le da permiso? Entonces estamos, señor Ornes, uno a uno. (Aplausos)

SR. ORNES: En primer término quiero decirle al Sr. Zuccolillo que no estamos en iguales condiciones.

El gobierno dominicano ha cometido un acto arbitrario, y yo y todos los periodistas libres de la República Dominicana hemos protestado una, dos, tres, cuatro, cinco veces.

Y ustedes, Sr. Zuccolillo, saben de la existencia de esa situación porque la han oído aquí, y la han oído aquí porque hemos venido a protestar de ella, como hombres libres. No hemos venido a aguantar que el gobierno dominicano cometa arbitrariedades, callados. Hemos venido a protestar de las arbitrariedades del gobierno dominicano aquí y allá en Santo Domingo, dentro de Santo Domingo.

Esa es la diferencia Sr. Zuccolillo, entre usted y yo. Yo protesto en mi país por las arbitrariedades que se cometen. Usted nó.

MR. G. J. SCHOUTEN: Mr. Chairman, I think that the meeting in this particular case is becoming very personal. I think we have strayed from the freedom of the press. Can we not come back on that? And not become personal, because the meeting up to now has been beautiful. Thank you.

SR. ORNES: Vamos a dejar lo personal entonces, y vamos a preguntar de nuevo si cree el Sr. Zuccolillo que hay libertad de prensa en un país donde un periódico necesita de una autorización gubernamental para publicarse.

SR. ZUCCOLILLO: Señores, nosotros tenemos sentido común. No me considero ningún extremista, ni de derecha ni de izquierda. Deseo combatir al comunismo con las armas que mi inteligencia me provee, y de ninguna manera yo personalmente haría nada que de mi conocimiento vaya a favorecer al comunismo.

Entonces, vuelvo sobre mi exposición anterior. Podemos tener 14 periódicos en el Paraguay cuando tengamos un pueblo culto. Entre tanto, cuando se creen periódicos que incitan a la subversión, que estén tratando de destruir lo que se intenta construir, entonces yo, señores, voto para que este periódico no se lo permita, porque el señor que actúa así no puede considerarse periodista.

Y para juzgar la situación en mi país, me encantaría que don Guillermo Martínez Márquez, una apreciada persona en esta asamblea y en esta asociación, fuera al Paraguay y revisara a ver qué es lo que pasa en Paraguay. Y después, entonces yo le responderé al Sr. Ornes. Entre tanto, en ningún momento he afirmado que en el Paraguay existe el concepto de libertad de prensa que nosotros hemos venido acá defendiendo.

Existe una libertad de prensa real y nosotros combatimos los problemas y atacamos al gobierno con altura. No queremos proveer a periodistas irresponsables una máquina de escribir y un pedazo de papel donde pongan burradas que a nada conducen. Nada más, Sr. Presidente. (Aplausos)

MR. HARRIS: Ladies and gentlemen, we have a long list of people who want to speak. Let us please confine our remarks to freedom of the press.

I am going to close this controversy between Mr. Ornes and Mr. Zuccolillo and let Mr. Ornes make the last three-minute reply.

SR. ORNES: No voy a tomar ni tres minutos siquiera. Queda de evidencia, y creo que ese es el propósito de esa reunión, que por lo menos el periodista que representa al Paraguay en esta reunión no cree en la libertad de prensa como nosotros la interpretamos. No quiere contestar una pregunta clave sobre la manera de establecer si existe o nó libertad de prensa en Paraguay, que es lo que deseamos aquí.

Yo no estoy envuelto en ninguna controversia personal con el Sr. Zuccolillo. Lo estimo, parece ser una persona muy buena, pero él no cree en la libertad de prensa como creemos nosotros en ella. Y eso es lo que hay que establecer aquí.

Si no nos contesta la pregunta, tenemos que admitir que el que calla otorga, que él sabe en el fondo de su corazón que en el Paraguay no hay libertad de prensa, ni como la conocemos nosotros ni como la conoce él.

En cuanto a sus expresiones particulares y su impresión muy especial sobre lo que es libertad de prensa y sobre cómo se deben educar los pueblos, esa es una cuestión que no me atañe a mí. El y su conciencia la tendrán que decidir. (Aplausos)

SR. ZUCCOLILLO: Señores, ayer dije yo que el presidente o vice-presidente zonal que viniera acá debería venir con argumentos en la mano. Señores del Comité de Libertad de Prensa, aquí tienen ustedes ejemplares que yo apporto.

Son dos diarios de la oposición. Hablan el idioma que todo partido político habla contra el gobierno. Ustedes, señores, muchos de los cuales han estado en la política, conocen el idioma. Nada más, punto final.

MR. HARRIS: Thank you. I have looked over these papers from Paraguay and find that nearly all of them contain attacks, some vicious attacks on the government. We'll continue now with Mr. Aguirre.

SR. HORACIO AGUIRRE: Dentro de la brevedad de estos minutos quiero referirme a tres puntos. En primer lugar, por circunstancias especiales, estaba yo ausente esta mañana cuando se planteó nuevamente el caso del Perú.

Tengo entendido que aquí en esta asamblea se trató de demostrar que había libertad de prensa en el Perú, lo cual no es cierto. En el Perú no hay libertad de prensa porque están pendientes los casos de los periódicos Expreso y Extra, lo mismo que las persecuciones de que son objeto la periodista Elsa Arana y el ilustre colaborador del Diario las Américas, Eudocio Ravines.

Además existe allí, como una amenaza, una llamada ley industrial que al aplicarse dejará a las actuales empresas con el 50% de las acciones de ella y esto que hasta el momento considero como una amenaza, sumado a la prohibición del regreso al Perú de la periodista boliviana, hija de padre o madre peruano, pero con una larga trayectoria de periodismo militante en el Perú. Lo mismo que la expatriación de Eudocio Ravines, constituyen evidencia absoluta de que en el Perú no hay libertad de prensa.

Con respecto al caso de Bolivia, yo quisiera sugerirle a nuestra Comisión y en general a los periodistas, todos, para que no queden sumidos en el silencio los asesinatos perpetuados en las personas de dos periodistas Alfredo Alexander y Jaime Otero.

La censura que a éstos se les ha impuesto tiene carácter de eternidad. Matar a dos periodistas es peor que cerrar temporalmente un periódico o encarcelar temporalmente a un periodista. No creo que nosotros debemos de pedir a las autoridades bolivianas, que desde luego en esta circunstancia no estarán dispuestas a cooperar con nosotros, la investigación exhaustiva de estos dos crímenes que no deben quedarse en silencio y que deberían ser castigados.

El tercer punto. Creo que hay que hacerle un poco de justicia al noble pueblo paraguayo. Me pareció entender al colega Zuccolillo que no es un pueblo culto. Yo creo que en términos generales todos los pueblos nuestros tienen deficiencia en ese sentido, pero el pueblo paraguayo es un pueblo que se clasifica dentro de los cultos y merece todos los atributos correspondientes a la cultura. Eso es todo Sr. Presidente. (Aplausos)

MR. PAUL KIDD: I thank the Chair for recognizing that I concede, I defer to the delegate from Aruba at this point on the understanding that I will follow him. Otherwise, I will speak now.

On a point of order which means I am still not speaking to the substance. The meeting by-law stipulates that speaking on a matter before the meeting in substance will be five minutes and not three minutes. And only in the case of rectification and clarification, it will be three minutes.

Therefore, in accordance with this, but in view of the fact that throughout this meeting every principle of this by-law has been violated, and I have made notes and I can quote them one by one, which country. We have just had an example here with three rights of reply instead of one right of reply. Therefore, I do not feel that I should be obligated to those by-laws, but the Chair should give me the same courtesy that it has given every other member. That is the end of my point of order.

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, when this conference began President James Copley told us that this was going to be, and I quote, a vitally important meeting. That is why, he said, the whole general Assembly was being considered a Committee on Freedom of the Press.

And it would seem to me that this Committee has a responsibility to draw up and define by what standards freedom of the press are to be judged.

We have before us the proposed guidelines, and I want to insert now that many of you may have been misled in a report in today's News, published in Mexico City, and I quote:

"Reporting on Canada, Mr. Kidd said that the press in 14 countries of the hemisphere is operating in contravention of the IAPA guidelines. Another point he said emphasized the restriction on newspaper ownership constitutes a violation of IAPA guidelines."

Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure that all of you heard, and I am sure that the minutes will confirm without any doubt, I at no time referred to the IAPA guidelines; I referred to the proposed IAPA guidelines, which is what all this is about. We have not yet adopted these guidelines. They are still proposed.

Furthermore, in the News, and I fail to see how this happened, but the News quotes me as "charging" that the Canadian, a "charge" against the Canadian government's ban on foreign ownership of news media.

I have never "charged", on the contrary, I have defended the Canadian government's ban against foreign ownership. I have said this over and over again at this meeting; I've said it at previous meetings, and I will say it again now.

Therefore, I also submit that every member in this Assembly should have before him a copy of the guidelines as proposed; that is, Document 5. I also submit that they each should be in possession of Document 23, the Resolutions.

This document No. 5 is before the General Assembly and before the IAPA can act on any country, members must know whether that country has violated freedom of the press as defined by the IAPA.

Therefore, we must first vote on what form the freedom of the press guidelines must take. Whether they should be left as proposed, or whether certain sections should be deleted. Before this is done the guidelines cannot be considered valid.

Once we have voted the guidelines into official existence, then every delegation should scrupulously observe these guidelines, here and at all future conferences. They should omit nothing from the annual reports. Wherever a guideline is violated, it should be noted in the report.

MR. HARRIS: I believe, Mr. Kidd, that you have this matter coming up when we bring up the Resolutions. You will be given the same time for debate at that time. I suggest in the interest of the work that our Committee has to do in compiling what has happened so far in connection with freedom of the press, you desist now and bring this up when the Resolution comes up.

MR. KIDD: Mr. Chairman, with the greatest respect, and I speak on a point of order, I fail to see how the delegates assembled here can honestly and truthfully vote on a delegation-by-delegation report unless they have had adequate time beforehand to decide how to vote. They cannot decide how to vote unless they know under which guideline they are operating.

That is why I submit that here and now is the pertinent time to get rid of this particular constitutional matter. I will make a motion to that effect, if necessary.

MR. HARRIS: The guidelines were approved on Monday by the Board of Directors as an experimental means to find proper evaluation of freedom of the press in each country.

This was sufficient action under our Charter and by-laws to put these into effect on an experimental basis, and this is the basis on which the Committee is working.

You have a resolution on this same subject coming up when the Resolutions are presented. At that time there will be debate. Once more the Chair rules that you can make your points at that time.

MR. KIDD: This is purely on a point of order. Point of order is to three minutes. I don't know whether it applies at this meeting or not. Mr. Copley specified it would be three minutes to every delegation. I timed the Cuban, he was 18 minutes. Panama went over half an hour.

MR. COPLEY: You have been here 7 1/2 now.

MR. KIDD: Sir, I will not be blocked off this platform. I am sorry. I feel that you are using discrimination and bias in this assembly. I will not be pushed off this platform. I am sorry. I say that in the greatest respect.

MR. HARRIS: Mr. Kidd...

MR. KIDD: I have very little more to say, but unless I say it, I will remain here.

MR. HARRIS: I want to make one other point that certainly if there is anyone in this room that has not been discriminated against, it is you. Now, go ahead and finish your remarks. (Applause)

MR. KIDD: My report is this. I feel that the members should know what they are dealing with when it comes to acceptance of these guidelines.

If they accept Guideline 7, as I have already outlined, it goes against 14 countries, and, as I have already said, unless notation is made in every annual report of the violation, and it is specified that that country -- Mexico is violating it, Argentina, etc. -- I shall speak, I shall deliver, I shall obey the Chair scrupulously -- I shall speak five minutes and then I shall speak for three minutes on each country.

This is a total of 8 minutes. There are 14 countries, that means a total of about 112 minutes. I assure you, Mr. Chairman, I assure all delegates here, that if Section 7 remains in these By-laws, I will speak for 112 minutes at every meeting on the same pattern I have followed. Thank you.

MR. HARRIS: Thank you, Mr. Kidd. Is there any country that we missed? Anyone who didn't have a chance to speak? No one can leave this meeting without saying that he didn't have a chance to say what he wanted to say about freedom of the press.

Any other comments on this question? If not, the Conclusions Committee... Mr. Ornes has one more remark.

SR. GERMAN ORNES: Para informarle a la Asamblea que hemos examinado los periódicos de oposición del Paraguay. No hay una sola crítica al General.

MR. HARRIS: Any other comments on freedom of the press?

If not, Mr. Ornes' Committee on Conclusions will repair to the Taxco Room as soon as possible to bring in the Conclusions so we may present them to the whole Assembly. At that time if they are unacceptable to anyone, we can debate it.

In the meantime I will turn the meeting over to President Copley, who will go on with the regular business of the Assembly.

MR. JAMES S. COPLEY: Thank you, Tom. I take this opportunity to ask Dr. Alberto Gainza Paz, the Chairman of the Special Committee on Cuba, to read his report.

DR. ALBERTO GAINZA PAZ (La Prensa, Buenos Aires, Argentina): Señor Presidente, en mi carácter de Presidente de la Comisión Especial sobre Cuba, voy a leer el informe.

La libertad de expresión ha sido -y es- preocupación constante a invariable meta de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa. Durante los veintisiete años transcurridos desde nuestra fundación no hemos tenido fecha de descanso. De una nación hemos tenido que pasar a la otra. Con frecuencia nos hemos visto obligados a combatir en varios escenarios distantes. Hemos ganado muchas batallas, y no hemos abandonado ni una de las acciones iniciadas sin haber asegurado la victoria. Con razón ha podido decirse que la libertad de prensa requiere una vigilancia continua. Ahora la lucha sigue. Pero en estos momentos el panorama es más deprimente, y mucho más peligroso que en cualquier tiempo pasado, no sólo por el número de países donde la libertad de expresión sufre un eclipse total, o está amenazada de muerte, sino porque lo que tenemos a la vista no es como antaño producto de circunstancias nacionales, sino consecuencia directa de un plan concertado y en ejecución que se extiende a casi todas, por no decir a todas las naciones del Hemisferio. Se trata nada menos que de borrar hasta los últimos vestigios de las instituciones libres. Para lograrlo, como es lógico suponer, su primera meta es acabar con la libertad de expresión.

El adversario se ha establecido en Cuba. Hace varios años, durante la titulada Conferencia Tricontinental, anunció sus planes. A pesar de haber publicado en sus páginas los aviesos propósitos del enemigo común, la mayoría de los periódicos no le concedieron la importancia que merecía. Sencillamente no creyeron en la posibilidad de su ejecución. Nuestra incredulidad facilitó su avance y en estos momentos nos obliga a multiplicar e intensificar la acción antes de que sea demasiado tarde.

La creación de vuestro "Comité Especial sobre Cuba" fue el primer paso de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa en este sentido. Por vez primera rompíamos el marco de la defensa directa y exclusiva de la libertad de expresión, para entrar en el campo de acción de una nación de nuestro hemisferio. Teníamos que hacerlo así, porque en caso contrario la amenaza y el peligro se extenderían con increíble rapidez -con la velocidad uniformemente acelerada de piedra que cae por un plano inclinado- más allá de la libertad de expresión, para arrasarlo con todos los otros derechos democráticos.

El régimen comunista establecido en Cuba atraviesa ahora severa

crisis interna, que va de lo económico a lo político, afecta a la población entera y se extiende del orden doméstico a las relaciones con el resto del mundo comunista. Desde este punto de vista, las circunstancias presentes podrían favorecernos, si supiéramos aprovecharlas con puntualidad en el instante preciso. Pero tendremos que concertar nuestra acción.

Ha sido el propio Fidel Castro quien acaba de reconocer su fracaso y sus dificultades. De su discurso del 26 de julio son las confesiones siguientes:

"Nuestros enemigos dicen que tenemos problemas. Tienen razón".

"Dicen que hay descontento en Cuba. Tienen razón".

"No fuimos capaces de librar simultáneamente las batallas de la zafra, la agricultura y la industria".

"El país habrá de vivir cinco años más de escasez".

"Nosotros, los dirigentes de la Revolución, hemos costado demasiado caro en aprendizaje".

"Tenemos grandes desequilibrios en nuestro comercio exterior, fundamentalmente con la Unión Soviética".

"¿Cometió el régimen comunista un error garrafal dejando partir a la clase administrativa?".

"Lo que estoy haciendo aquí no es un discurso. Es un informe altamente secreto sobre la economía".

Oigamos ahora lo que sobre el fracaso de la zafra azucarera de Cuba dicen los técnicos cubanos:

"El comunismo ha realizado en Cuba doce zafras, sin otro resultado que un dramático sacrificio para el pueblo. El fracaso se debe a la ineficiencia y a la falta de incentivos para todos los que intervienen en la producción.

Durante los 25 años anteriores a la instauración de la Primera República Socialista de las Américas la industria funcionó bajo la llamada "Ley de Coordinación Azucarera", la más avanzada del continente desde el punto de vista económico-social. Las cuatro partes interesadas, que eran los obreros, los productores de caña, los fabricantes de azúcar y el gobierno, vigilaban y hacían cumplir sus preceptos y repartían equitativamente sus beneficios. La eficiencia era la base de la producción azucarera cubana. En unos cien días de tareas continuas, unos trescientos cincuenta mil

hombres, llegaron a producir más de siete millones de toneladas de azúcar. Y las utilidades se extendían, no sólo a los productores, sino también al resto de la población. Este año, Fidel Castro ha obligado a trabajar en la zafra a todos los hombres y mujeres aptos para rendir un esfuerzo físico; ha extendido las tareas a casi 18 meses; ha sumado parte de la zafra anterior, y según su informe -que es posible que sea falso- apenas produjo un millón de toneladas más que la mayor zafra anterior. Respecto al futuro no hay datos precisos, pero se anticipa un fracaso mayor. Por otra parte, al tratar de alcanzar la meta fijada en su propaganda, se han abandonado las demás actividades agrícolas e industriales, lo cual redundará en nuevos y más terribles privaciones y sacrificios para la población. Otro punto de interés sería el hecho de que el régimen comunista utiliza el azúcar como arma de guerra económica. Al mismo tiempo le sirve para deprimir el precio del mercado mundial y para obtener armas y pagar la subversión en las Américas".

Cuestión importante, a la que este informe debe referirse aunque sea de manera somera, es la que se refiere a la estación naval, establecida hace tiempo en el puerto de La Habana, -que se dice destinada a la flota pesquera- y la base para submarinos que se ha informado está construyéndose en el puerto de Cinfuegos, provincia de Las Villas, al sur de la isla.

La creciente presencia de barcos pesqueros, con bandera cubana, en los mares americanos, desde Terranova a la Tierra del Fuego, constituye una prueba evidente de la importante estación naval de La Habana. Y el hecho de que muchas de estas embarcaciones estén dotadas de aparatos electrónicos sofisticados sería suficiente para precisar una intención distinta a las normales a la industria pesquera.

Ha sido la Secretaría de Defensa de Estados Unidos de América la que hace poco confirmó los rumores circulantes desde hace mucho tiempo. Lo que la presencia de submarinos soviéticos, tipo "Polaris", dotados de armas atómicas, podría significar, no sólo para el incremento de la subversión en el sur de nuestro hemisferio, sino también para la seguridad de Norteamérica, no necesita ser acentuada. Sería nada menos que una amenaza cierta de confrontación nuclear dentro de los límites del Nuevo Mundo.

En las últimas horas, ha vuelto a hablarse del llamado "Pacto Kennedy-Krushchev", que se afirma fue concertado a raíz de la "crisis de los cohetes", y debió comprometer a la URSS a dismantelar las bases que había construido en la isla, y a Estados Unidos a no atacar ni permitir que desde su territorio se atacara a la isla de Cuba. Este pacto, -según acaba de informarse ante esta misma asamblea por el subsecretario para asuntos de América Latina del Departamento de Estado, Hugh Crimmins, no fue concluido en momento alguno. No pasó de proposición.

Más allá de estas declaraciones, hay un hecho cierto: los guardacostas norteamericanos con frecuencia han detenido en alta mar a naves armadas por cubanos que se proponían desembarcar en su patria, con el propósito de liberarla del yugo comunista. Quiere esto decir, que aunque el pacto no hubiese sido concertado formalmente, Estados Unidos se adelantó a cumplir su parte. De igual manera podría afirmarse, que la construcción de la base naval de Cinfuegos, pone en evidencia el incumplimiento de Rusia.

En estos momentos el régimen comunista cubano afronta una grave crisis más, confesada por el propio Castro; pero América Latina -media docena de repúblicas de manera evidente y casi todas las otras en forma más o menos controlada- se ven envueltas en conflictos derivados sin duda de otras tantas intromisiones de los agentes de Castro.

La Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa no puede ni debe soslayar esta situación, que al comprometer el normal desenvolvimiento de las instituciones libres, afectaría fatalmente a la libertad de expresión.

El Comité Especial sobre Cuba cumple su deber al informar a la asamblea sobre tan graves acontecimientos. A la asamblea en la presente reunión, o al Comité Ejecutivo, en el futuro inmediato, corresponderá lo que proceda en este caso.

Antes de terminar, para completar su informe, el Comité Especial sobre Cuba, desearía oír la palabra autorizada de un dirigente cubano, que después de haber obtenido un voto de confianza de la mayoría de sus compatriotas exiliados, ha recorrido una docena de naciones americanas en busca del apoyo moral que necesitan sus planes para la liberación de Cuba. El ingeniero José E. de la Torriente -que es el dirigente al que acabo de referirme- se encuentra en esta capital, con el propósito de reunirse con los cubanos residentes en México. Es un hombre que vivió al margen de la política anterior a 1969. Podemos aprovechar su presencia en esta reunión, para pedirle nos dé algunos datos adicionales a lo dicho y al propio tiempo, a título informativo, nos diga algo sobre las proyecciones de sus actividades en el panorama americano.

¿Querría el ingeniero de la Torriente atender nuestra invitación y darnos un informe sobre la situación de Cuba?

En nombre del Comité Especial sobre Cuba, lo invito a que ocupe nuestra tribuna, y nos dé sus impresiones en torno al tema que tanto nos preocupa.

Ingeniero Torriente: con todo gusto lo invito a hablar ante esta tribuna de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa que es una tribuna libre, al servicio de la libertad.

Puede usted utilizarla para la causa de la libertad de Cuba que usted defiende.

Alberto Gainza Paz  
John Reitemeyer  
Horacio Aguirre  
George Beebe  
Guillermo Martínez Márquez

SR. JOSE E. DE LA TORRIENTE: Con permiso de los concurrentes a esta reunión de habla española, voy a dirigirme a la Asamblea en inglés, ya que la mayoría de los de habla española entienden inglés, en una proporción mucho mayor que las de habla inglesa entienden el español. Así que con permiso de ustedes voy a hablar en inglés.

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen: It is, indeed, a pleasure and an honor for me to address such a distinguished assembly of the people who have, through the last 27 years, expressed the opinion of the majority of all the inhabitants of the Western Hemisphere that are firm believers in liberty and democracy.

But in doing so, I am going to have to speak out several truths, some of which are known to the majority of those present here, and some not. As usual, truth is always harsh. It may sound, because of the circumstances under which we have labored through these years, that in so doing I may be anti-American. I am not.

I always say that the country of my birth is Cuba, but my nationality at the present moment is American, not because it is convenient for me to be an American, but because throughout my 66 years of life, my loyalties have always been divided amongst the two countries. And I owe a great obligation to both. And in so recognizing, I am proud to state that my own deepest feeling is that if I cannot be a Cuban I want to be an American.

The history of Cuban-American friendship is one of many years of standing. It is one of those friendships which has been sealed through the years by loyalty on both sides, and by the blood of both Cubans and Americans.

Ever since we emerged into the free world, and maybe this is a little out-dated, back in 1902 we have to recognize that for the first time in the history of the world a great nation had helped a smaller nation that had been fighting for practically the last hundred years to gain their freedom. And after the freedom was obtained, with the help of the Americans at the end of the Cuban War of Independence of 1895-1898, after a comparatively short period of what we may call a period of

training of the Cubans so that they could be able to exercise their democratic rights as people who had fought and helped win a war of independence, the government of Cuba was turned over to the Cubans by the Americans.

Throughout the years whenever the United States has been involved in wars as they have in the first World War, Second World War, Korean War, Vietnam War, etc., up to the year 1958, Cuba had been on the side of the United States, and still, in spite of the fact that our country today is under the sway of Communism, there are still a lot of Cubans --and when I say a lot I mean thousands-- who are fighting alongside the men of the United States Army, Navy, for the freedom of the world. Many, many thousands of Cuban are there.

In the year 1959, when Fidel Castro took over the destinies of Cuba, after what he pretended to call a guerrilla war, which I, as a Cuban resident in Cuba who had business interests all over the Island, can assure you that there was no such a war. The war that Castro won was strictly a war of words, a war of propaganda, what we today call a psychological war, But be that as it may, he got into power.

So at the beginning of 1960, the government of the United States got together with Cuban exiles and created what has been known as the Consejo Revolucionario. This, in turn, with the help of the United States created the now historical 2506 Brigade for the purpose of landing in Cuba with the help of the Americans and under the direction of the Americans, for the purpose of regaining the independence of Cuba.

As things worked out, the Cubans were trained, the Cubans were landed. But for a reason which I would rather not qualify, they were abandoned at the crucial moment and the battle was lost.

In this particular instance, unlike many others, a battle may be lost but the war may be won. In this particular case the battle was decisive. It was lost. The Cubans lost the battle. The Americans lost the prestige, which is a lot more important than winning a war, especially when the war is lost through the incomprehension and through the lack of faith of people, in whom other people had staked not only their faith, but their lives, That is history.

After that we had, as you all know, the President of the United States publicly recognize that the fault had been his. Very manly, but it didn't help. The dead were dead; the wounded were wounded, and all wounded and prisoners were in jail.

Through the efforts of several people, amongst them there were

many Americans, a negotiation was carried on to liberate those prisoners that had survived the Battle of the Bay of Pigs and the years in prison.

I have talked to many of the men who were in prison, many of the men who escaped. All of them considered essentially that the fact that they were bought is a shame, not only on them who had nothing to do with the negotiation, it is a shame on those who negotiated and those who paid, regardless of the fact that it was a kind act and an act of humanity.

But again we are faced with history. Life went on. The United States Army offered to train all of those Cubans who had returned from the Bay of Pigs, as well as all of those who wanted to volunteer for service in the United States Armed Forces. This they did, and they trained thousands of Cubans, a lot of them went to Officers Candidate Schools, graduated as officers. Some of them resigned because they went into that training specifically for one purpose, to fight for the liberation of Cuba.

And, as we all know, then came the October Missile Crisis. The October Missile Crisis is one of those things that has never been understood by the Cubans. The agreements supposedly reached between President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev were never made public, but still they were enforced.

Most of us that had been connected with such activities can bear witness to the fact that they were enforced, as Dr. Gainza Paz just mentioned, to the extent, and this to me as a Cuban and as an American, is shameful.

I believe the United States has the right to enforce the laws in its own country, but they have no God-given right to enforce their laws on the high seas. In my language that is called piracy and that has taken effect and nobody has been able to complain about it. I am complaining now, as representative of the majority of the Cubans in exile, who are the only Cubans that can exercise the freedom for which you are fighting, the freedom of expression.

This is also a matter of record. Anyone of you who wants to see the proof of everything I have said today, I have with me the documents that will bear me out.

But the questions the Cubans are asked and which we cannot answer, is there actually a Kennedy-Khrushchev pact which is inhibiting the Cubans from gaining the liberation of the country? The answer is "yes". It has been publicly recognized by the White House, by the Secretary of Defense of the United States and by the Russian government through their agency TASS. Recently a representative of the State Department mentioned in this very Assembly that the pact had been talked about but had not been implemented.

I want now to go on record as making a correction to that statement. The pact was talked about, was not signed, but without any question was implemented. And today we can see the results of that throughout our hemisphere, because this Western Hemisphere that has been recognized since it was discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1492 as the Continent of liberty, the Continent which, through the Declaration of Independence of the United States in 1776 actually started the first working democracy in the world, democracy that has been followed throughout the whole length and breadth of the Continent, sometimes becoming either pale or shattered, but never lost.

Today we all have to recognize that as a result of the unwritten pact of Kennedy-Krushchev, but through the implementation of the same which gave Castro the impunity to subvert all other countries of the hemisphere which today have been subverted, including Castro's allies. Canada is already suffering the same problems of subversion, assassinations and a lot of other things that the rest of the countries of this continent are already familiar and aware of. I mean the whole length and breadth of this Continent, from Alaska to Patagonia.

I can assure you that there is no place anywhere in the whole length of this Continent that has not felt the influence caused by the subversion of Communism through their agents located in Cuba.

The Russians today probably are at the stage where they directly don't want to intervene in the problems of other countries because they trade, they want to exchange technical missions, commercial missions, etc. In other words, I think, and with me a lot of intelligent people with whom I have talked on this matter, Russia is getting to the point where they want no territorial gains, but they do want to hold what they have.

What they do want now is what the United States has, which is the empire of commerce, which in definition of itself is the only lasting empire because once it reaches the stage that it doesn't want to impose their habits and customs on other peoples of the earth, they will be accepted like the Americans, in spite of the fact that practically everybody talks bad of them, and this is no mystery. But still it is nothing but talk, while actually the Americans go out of their way in helping other countries to become places of liberty, places where human beings can live peacefully.

Maybe they don't have sometimes --and when I say that I am accusing my own self, because I am an American-- the necessary tact, but we do have the good will, and are willing to sacrifice our pockets and our time to train other people to become a nation like the United States,

wealthy, happy and free. And I may say, like the United States was, because it isn't any more.

The big problem the American has is, during this last century we have lived in internal peace, but we people of the rest of America have not lived in peace these 100 years. We have gone through the throes of growing; we have gone through the throes of admitting in our midst a lot of new political philosophies. We have already paid our price.

The United States is now paying the price, with the disadvantage that we have the experience and they don't. So it is going to be hard.

And, as I firmly believe, if President Nixon cannot continue his fight against vice and crime, which are destroying American society, America will be in a civil war within the next ten or fifteen years. I may not be here to see it, but some of you are young enough to see it and will see it, unless we put an end to this, and the sooner the better.

Maybe you think that as Cuban born I stress the point that all this subversion comes out of Cuba. It isn't me, it's everybody. It is a fact, a fact that is borne out by the many things that are happening here on the Continent.

I have written a paper, which all of you can take home. Today I do not want to speak very long, because I may be tiresome to you, but I want you to know, and in this we request the help of all the free press in the world which is represented here today, that today we see a situation similar to 1962 at the time of the Missile Crisis. We hear rumors. We know that the Naval Base in Havana has been in existence for quite a while. They are building a submarine base in Cienfuego.

We have known since March of this year that such a thing is being done, and I am afraid that again, as in the Missile Crisis and as the Americans say, "the Cuban people are going to be sold down the river." I hope it does not happen, because if it does, the big losers are not going to be the Cubans, who are already enslaved. The big losers are going to be the rest of the countries of America, specifically the United States, because of guaranteeing to the Russians again that the United States nor any other American country will intervene in Cuba. Neither will the United States let the Cubans fight the war. They are just cutting their own throat.

Maybe this might sound a little too harsh for you, but I happen

to be familiar with this situation since 1957. I never believed in Castro. Castro is nothing but a gangster. He proved it. I don't think Castro is much more of a Communist than I am; he is just a Castroite who uses Communism for his own ends, since Communism in itself helps the ends that he wants to achieve, which has been to put his foot on the throat of all the rest of the American countries, and believe me, he is succeeding. We have just seen an example in Chile; we have another one in Bolivia and pretty soon we will have one in Peru. And who can tell where the rest may be.

But I can tell you as a resident of the United States that today the United States is undergoing what you might call a war of attrition, because Communism all it does is to create the necessary conditions that at the right time they, in turn, can create armed subversion in such a force as to obtain control of the country.

Again, I may seem like I contradict myself in telling you that I don't believe that the United States will go through that last phase, but I do firmly believe that if they don't put an end to it, very shortly they will have a civil war, which I have great hopes will never happen, because I think, as I mentioned before, and I am neither Republican nor Democrat, I am just simply a naturalized citizen of Cuban birth. I don't believe that the work that I am doing throughout the Hemisphere enables me to meddle into American politics, but it is my personal conviction that the United States has at this moment the right President at the right time. (Applause)

When the United States, or rather Mr. Kennedy made whatever you want to call it with Krushchev, he violated one of the existent treaties of the United States. The majority of you, either Cubans or Americans, are not familiar with the fact that in the year 1901, when the First Constitutional Assembly for the new republic of Cuba was in operation, Article 7 of that Constitution says that it agrees to lease to the United States the land necessary for coaling and Naval Stations at Guantanamo and Bahía Honda. But the United States acquired also through Article 7 a Resolution passed by the Congress of the United States coinciding with that Article 7, and Article 7, wherein they agreed with the people of Cuba -- not government of Cuba -- with the people of Cuba that in exchange for the privilege of those two coaling stations, only one of which they took over, they would guarantee the territorial integrity of the Cuban nation.

At the time the pact or agreement or whatever you want to call it, was signed between Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Krushchev, that treaty was ignored.

I only ask a question: to what are we coming in the free world if the United States can sidestep its obligations, contractual obligations, and without any qualms or conscience and without the knowledge of the American people condemn seven million people, who through many years had been the best allies (Applause) to the enslavement, delivered them to the mercies, of Communism? I do not think that is fair.

So in this Assembly, which has the importance of representing freedom of expression of which I am gratefully making use of, I wish to denounce that if this happens again, as it has been said in spite of the denial that you heard here, that President Nixon and the Russian Ambassador have come to an agreement to take out the bases at Cienfuegos, this time they are going to find out that the people of Cuba, who can express what they think and which I am very proud to represent at this moment, we will fight back with whatever it takes and no matter how long it takes.

I want this, and I ask this favor of all newspaper editors here represented in the Inter American Press Association to convey this message to the millions of readers who read their papers. We Cubans are ready to fight and will fight, if we receive, as we have been promised, the help of other countries. We will welcome it.

But regardless of whether we receive it or not, we are going to fight, and we are going to do all it takes to again become a free people. (Applause)

In saying goodbye to you, because I have taken quite a lot of your time -- more than I intended to -- this, as you can well imagine is to me a subject close to my heart and, therefore, emotional in a great degree.

I consider it a great honor that you have authorized Dr. Gainza Paz, to whom the Cubans owe so much, to have me speak to you, but especially so in Mexico City, in a country which has produced quite a number of lovers of liberty whom I admire very much. I could name dozens of them, who have been willing to give everything and fight for the right of freedom of determination, which is what we want, not determination by a Communist government but determination by a free Cuba, so that we can all decide what kind of government we will have in the future.

But in Mexico this is particularly important to me, because I have greatly admired two of whom I consider Mexico's greatest men. One of them, the man, who through very many difficulties showed he had the integrity and he had the will to fight over many years against the occupation of the French troops. And in modern Mexico there is a man

I admire very much, maybe because he has always been on our side regardless of the consequences that it might have brought him at the moment he was doing it. And I am referring, in the first place to President Benito Juárez and in the second place to President Aleman (Applause) both of whom I admire very much.

So Mr. President and Mr. Gainza Paz, I want to thank you, and I want to say that this has been a priceless opportunity for us to, even omitting certain things because of the length it would take to narrate them all, express the opinion of the Cubans who consider themselves the free Cubans because they live in a free world. Thank you very much. (Applause)

MR. JAMES S. COPLEY: I would like to take this opportunity to thank Mr. de la Torre.

We have a long program, so we will have to go ahead. Mr. Horacio Aguirre Baca has asked for the microphone. I will turn it over to him.

SR. HORACIO AGUIRRE BACA: En primer término, quiero felicitar de manera muy entusiasta al destacado líder del exilio cubano, vocero de la libertad de ese pueblo, Ingeniero José Elías de la Torre, por su magnífica exposición esta mañana ante este foro de periodistas de América.

En relación con el informe rendido por el ilustre Presidente del Comité Especial Sobre Cuba, el Dr. Alberto Gainza Paz, Comité que está integrado por John Reitemeyer, George Beebe, el Dr. Guillermo Martínez Márquez y quien les habla, quiero poner énfasis en la necesidad y conveniencia de que en todos y cada uno de nuestros periódicos se divulgue en la medida de lo posible el contenido de este dramático mensaje, de este dramático informe.

No es posible silenciar la causa de Cuba ni dejar abandonado ese pueblo a la suerte de las cadenas que lo oprimen. Es importante divulgar el fracaso en el orden económico y social que ha representado el comunismo en Cuba, y desde luego es importante con carácter supremo destacar lo que en el orden moral ha significado como catástrofe.

Hay que denunciar la esclavitud que padece ese país y al mismo tiempo, como cuestión de seguridad colectiva, es importante decir en todo momento y en el tono que las circunstancias lo requieren, que Cuba no sólo está exportando la subversión de mil maneras, sino que también está tratando de armarse y se ha armado ya en una forma extraordinaria para amenazar a los Estados Unidos de América y a los pueblos y repúblicas todas de nuestro hemisferio. Eso es todo, Sr. Presidente. (Aplausos)

MR. COPLEY: We are going to have to be very short in some of our speeches. Is there anyone else who wants the floor?

MR. ROBERT J. ANGERS (Acadiana Profile Magazine, Lafayette, Louisiana): Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen of the convention, I am going to make this very brief.

When I left Louisiana to come to my first IAPA convention I did not know that this great American and Cuban patriot was going to be here today to make this presentation. I mentioned to you at the time that we had a resolution that we handed to the Resolutions Committee that we were going to be debating this afternoon.

But at this time I would like to remove my resolution and suggest to this convention that it do whatever has to be done from a parliamentary viewpoint, take the report of the Special Committee on Cuba and take the 8-page report in some detail that Mr. Torriente has made available to this convention, take the resolution that has been suggested by our Resolutions Committee this afternoon and do anything else that needs to be done to put together this so-called Magna Charta that we talked about the other day so we can in effect take the pen and put the pen to work for the freedom of Cuba.

Let me just make one or two brief closing observations. I mentioned to you before that I spent over ten years working with the Cuban exiles, and I know the sadness and the misery and what has taken place as far as they are concerned in Miami, in Louisiana, in New Jersey and throughout the United States. Cuba has been thrice betrayed.

We had a Cuban in Louisiana who tried to warn this country about Communism once before when he exposed a certain Louisiana Communist, and there has been a little book written by him on this subject called "Red Friday." Most of you probably have not heard about it. His address, by the way, is Box 2506, New Orleans, Louisiana, which is the same number as the Brigade. I do not work for him and I do not have any property in Cuba that has been seized, I am just ashamed of what has happened to our Hemisphere as a result of this situation.

Nevertheless, we did not listen to this Cuban before, this Cuban in Louisiana when he exposed the Communists. And that Louisiana Communist, gentlemen, went to Dallas and assassinated the President of the United States and his name is Lee Harvey Oswald.

So I suggest to you that this is perhaps the most crucial convention or assembly that the IAPA has ever had, and coming from a brand new member this must sound rather foolish. But I have read the

history of this Association and I am proud to be a member, and I am proud to be a journalist in this Hemisphere. But I say to you in all sincerity, if we want to continue as free journalists in a free society, we have got to rid this Hemisphere of Castro, and I think that we can do it with the pen and not with the sword and its within the capability of this convention to get the show on the road. Thank you. (Applause)

SR. ALDO ZUCCOLILLO: Sr. Presidente, hace una hora veinte que estamos hablando sobre Cuba. Estamos en completo acuerdo en muchos puntos con el Sr. Torriente, en algunos puntos estamos en completo desacuerdo. Ruego por favor a los señores de habla española, colegas, que se consigan el documento número 24 en español que está allá, que está firmado por el Sr. Torriente, donde él explica bastante de lo que dijo en su exposición.

Al final quiero tomar la libertad de leerles a ustedes lo que pide el documento, lo que le pide a la Asamblea, a nuestra Asamblea, a la SIP:

"Primero - Reconocer que la ola de crímenes, atracos, bombas, secuestros de aviones y de personas, la subversión producida por la intervención (sabotajes, las guerrillas urbanas y rurales, los incendios y saqueos) y toda la gama de delitos comunes, incluyendo la introducción de drogas en las universidades y centros de enseñanzas para corromper a nuestras juventudes y destruir la Sociedad y los gobiernos libres y democráticos en todas las repúblicas del Continente, son planificados, protegidos, ayudados y dirigidos por una minoría criminal; por el Castro-comunismo desde Cuba."

Estamos de acuerdo en lo de minoría criminal y en lo de Castro-comunismo de Cuba. En lo que no estamos de acuerdo, señores, es en toda esta larga lista de hechos que se le achaca al comunismo. Absolutamente no. Porque si fuera así entonces esa azafata que murió cuando dos señores que estaban en el régimen comunista de Rusia se escaparon a Turquía, entonces quiere decir que eso también deberíamos atribuirlo nosotros al Castro-comunismo.

Esos se escaparon de Rusia, de manera que el problema aparentemente no es solamente ese.

Nosotros en toda América sí comprendemos a los Cubanos y lamentamos sinceramente, querríamos de todo corazón ayudarlos. Los norteamericanos son los que más pueden hacer. Sin embargo, nosotros, estimados amigos cubanos, entendemos que también tenemos problemas que solucionar.

Parte de la conferencia o la asamblea es lo que les corresponde a

ustedes, no toda la asamblea. Entonces, voy al segundo punto de la petición:

"Repudiar y denunciar el mal llamado "pacto Kennedy-Krushchev de 1962", por inmoral e ilegal".

Señores, de ninguna manera. El presidente Kennedy fue un gran presidente de los Estados Unidos y en Latino América nunca terminaremos de llorarlo, y nosotros periodistas jamás podríamos venir aquí a poner en tela de juicio la conducta del Presidente Kennedy por "inmoral e ilegal", de ninguna manera.

Acá se pide que todos los periódicos del Continente hablen para ayudarle a Cuba. Correcto señores, vamos a hacerlo. Comparto esa opinión, pero al mismo tiempo le pedimos a los periodistas de los Estados Unidos, reiterando lo que dije hoy, que le pidan a su gobierno o a sus gobiernos que no nos manden tanques de guerra, que nos manden tractores; y que no nos manden aviones jet de combate, que nos manden escuelas para enseñar a nuestra gente lo que no saben.

Con eso, señores, nosotros vamos a combatir el subdesarrollo y la ignorancia en nuestros países. Y al combatir ese terreno fértil donde prolifera y donde fertiliza el comunismo, nosotros combatiremos este problema y los ayudaremos a nuestros hermanos cubanos.

DR. GUILLERMO MARTINEZ MARQUEZ: Sr. Presidente, señores delegados, señoras y señores. Cuando solicité el uso de la palabra no había oído a mi colega del Paraguay.

Respeto su opinión, pero de veras no la comparto. En primer lugar, cuando él dice que dos lituanos asaltaron un avión ruso y lo llevaron a Turquía y que esto no tiene nada que ver con el caso de Cuba, yo le diría que cuánto hace de que Cuba inició la piratería aérea. ¿Alguien había llevado un avión antes?

Por lo tanto, fue Cuba, fue Castro, fue el amparo que dió Castro a la piratería aérea el que dió ese ejemplo también. (Aplausos)

Respeto también, pero no comparto la opinión tampoco del mismo colega del Paraguay cuando se refiere al Presidente Kennedy. No estoy en la posición de hacer un ataque personal a Kennedy por lo que él hiciera en la América Latina, a pesar de que discrepo totalmente del Sr. Kennedy y de la Alianza para el Progreso que apenas ha servido para socializar a la América Latina. (Aplausos)

Kennedy ha socializado a la América Latina y Kennedy ha entregado a Cuba vilmente en dos ocasiones distintas. (Aplausos)

Pero esto es --perdónenme ustedes-- una breve respuesta a mi colega del Paraguay. Querría agregar a lo dicho por mi ilustre compatriota el Ingeniero Torriente, dos palabras que él no pudo, ni quiso decir. La primera es que él representa actualmente a la inmensa mayoría de los cubanos exilados y también que ha despertado la fe y la esperanza, no sólo de los cubanos esclavos de Cuba, sino también de todos, absolutamente de todos los hombres libres y los gobiernos independientes de la América Latina. (Aplausos)

Soy testigo de esto porque recibo correspondencia de Cuba clandestinamente, a veces por legaciones europeas, a veces por conducto secreto.

Y soy testigo también, porque lo he acompañado a él a visitar a 8 ó 10 presidentes y autoridades de la América Latina, y todos, absolutamente todos, en el plano privado algunos, en el plano público otros, han demostrado su interés de americanos libres y han dicho, "cuando ustedes lo necesiten, nosotros vamos a estar junto a ustedes".

El plan Torriente tiene esta fase que voy a explicar muy brevemente, y es necesario que se haga aquí para que todos los periodistas presentes la entiendan,

La primera fue la fase de la confianza, de la personalidad. Los cubanos se reunieron en Miami y luego se han reunido en 100 lugares distintos en Norte América y fuera de Norte América, como se van a reunir aquí también en México, para otorgarle al Ingeniero Torriente un amplio voto de confianza, con una sola meta, la liberación de Cuba. Y se han reunido los cubanos de todas las tendencias del pasado cubano, de todas, absolutamente de todas. Aún los que equivocadamente en la primera etapa del gobierno actual, apoyaron a Fidel Castro.

Obtenido el apoyo de la mayoría de los cubanos, el Ingeniero Torriente, en lugar de seguir el camino que usualmente llevan casi todos los dirigentes que han pretendido hacer obra en su patria, en lugar de ir a Washington a pedirle permiso para la guerra de liberación de Cuba, fue a la América Latina, porque es de la América Latina de donde debe venir el apoyo necesario para que Washington, en el momento oportuno, le de el apoyo a los cubanos.

Nosotros vamos a iniciar la guerra en Cuba. La América Latina nos va a ayudar y los Estados Unidos, como en el 98 en Cuba, como en el 14 y el 41 en Europa, como el 50 en Korea, y como el 64 en Vietnam, van a salir, porque siempre han salido, porque ese es su destino, porque ese es su deber, en defensa de la libertad de un pueblo que no puede por sí solo conquistar su independencia. (Aplausos)

Quiero nada más poner un ejemplo para que ustedes vean claramente la razón de ese plan, que pudiéramos decir es de dos tandas. ¿Por qué los Estados Unidos han ido a Europa dos veces, han ido dos veces al Asia y una vez han estado a punto de ir, y quizás todavía están a punto de ir, al Medio Oriente, y por qué han acudido a lugares distantes y no han ido a ayudar a su aliado, a su amigo, a Cuba, a 90 millas? Esa es la pregunta que todos ustedes pueden haberse hecho alguna vez y que yo voy a contestar aquí. No han ido a Cuba porque hasta ahora la América Latina no ha estado con la causa de Cuba. (Aplausos)

Cuando sus aliados, los demócratas de la América Latina se lo pidan, cuando no actúen como actuaron la mayoría de los periódicos de la América Latina, atacando a los Estados Unidos porque fue a defender la democracia de verdad en la República Dominicana, cuando los aliados de la América Latina se lo pidan, estoy seguro, absolutamente seguro, y detrás de mi palabra está mi experiencia de 50 años de periodismo profesional, estoy absolutamente seguro que el Presidente Nixon hará lo que hay que hacer para ayudar a los cubanos a la liberación de Cuba.

Por eso esta tarde, en virtud de las palabras del Ingeniero Torriente, de la generosidad del Dr. Gainza Paz, de John Reitemeyer, de George Beebe, de Horacio Aguirre, miembros del Comité Especial Sobre Cuba, que han permitido que el Ingeniero Torriente venga acá, esta tarde me siento de veras emocionado y satisfecho, porque con la ayuda de la prensa vamos a acabar de conseguir la voluntad de la América Latina, y con la ayuda de la voluntad de la América Latina, seguros vamos a conseguir la libertad de Cuba. Muchas gracias. (Aplausos)

MR. ANDREW HEISKELL (Time, Inc., New York, N.Y.): Mr. President, I am going to be very disagreeable. I have been listening here for an hour and a half. I can see why there is disarray in the Hemisphere. We have discussed everything except our business.

If we think that we in this room are going to solve all of the problems of the world, if we are going to express our political opinions, cheer for one president and cheer for another, get involved in all the political aspects of the Hemisphere, we will have no IAPA left within a year.

Please, let us stick to our business. (Applause) Our job is to make better papers, if we make better papers we will have better countries, not by trying to solve all the problems that can be solved in different arenas, properly talked about in different arenas, but let us stick to our business and attend to it, and not get involved in emotional, passionate speeches of all kinds on all subjects.

The time is not long. We have not got more than a few years in which to solve our problems and we are going to solve them by doing a better job. We are not going to solve them by any other method. (Applause)

MR. RAYMOND E. DIX: I am completely in accord with Andrew Heiskell. I think we have gotten off the course here. I have sat over here and listened to the United States of America being blamed for this and being blamed for that. I certainly welcome the people who have supported us.

I would just like to remind you of a little speech that Ricardo Castro Beeche made in Acapulco a few years ago. He was caught in a situation like this and they were talking about American imperialism. He said, "you know what American imperialism is? It is fighting two world wars; one world war to make the world safe for democracy; the other to rid Europe of one of the worst despots we have ever had."

We spend our resources, we spend our taxes, we have lost our lives to fight against Communism and to bring freedom to the world.

I just wanted to rise and say that on behalf of my country, which I think has done its best through the years.

Now I think we ought to get back to business here and talk about freedom of the press. (Applause)

MR. COPLEY: The Chair is inclined to agree with this. I think we have been on Cuba, we could spend all day, we have been on it long enough and in order to get back to business I would like to call on the Chairman of the Committee of judges, Máximo Gainza, to tell us what happened with the election.

SR. MAXIMO GAINZA C. (La Prensa, Buenos Aires, Argentina): Los resultados de la elección para determinar los nuevos miembros de la Junta de Directores fueron los siguientes:

Tom C. Harris, Carlos Canelas, Juan S. Valmaggia, Jack D. Fendell, Hugh Patterson, G.A. Sherman, Elsa Arana Freire, Guido Fernández, Stuart Keate, Fernando Léniz, Francisco Rizzuto, Ignacio Lozano, Earle Braisted, Horacio Aguirre, Riobó Caputto. (Aplausos)

MR. COPLEY: We will read a telegram.

SR. JAMES B. CANEL: Un cable dirigido al Presidente James Copley del Presidente de El Salvador, Fidel Sánchez Hernández, dice así:

"Pláceme dirigirme a usted para saludar cordialmente en su persona a los distinguidos directores y editores de periódicos de América que se encuentran reunidos en la capital mexicana celebrando la XXVI reunión anual de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa. Comparto con ustedes su preocupación por los peligros que amenazan a la libertad de los pueblos del Continente y aprovechando que uno de los temas de sus discusiones ha sido el de la libertad de prensa, me satisface decirles que El Salvador se enorgullece de la amplia libertad de expresión que existe en el país, y la cual contribuye a garantizar plenamente el mantenimiento de las demás libertades de la ciudadanía. Al desearles mucho éxito en su reunión, aprovecho de la oportunidad para reiterarles las demostraciones de mi especial aprecio y consideración".

MR. COPLEY: Thank you, Jimmy. I had several other items that I wanted to bring up this morning. It is now afternoon and the gentlemen have been waiting around. I hope that you won't mind if I call on them.

The first one is that the other day we had quite an interesting speech by Sir Etienne Dupuch and he only got started on it, and I told him that if he wanted to keep it short, we would be glad to let him finish his remarks.

I would like to call on Sir Etienne now, but I would like you to keep it as short as possible, please.

SIR ETIENNE DUPUCH: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen. I might inform you at the outset that the President has kindly given me fifteen minutes. You can time me. I will take 15 minutes.

Mr. President, I want to thank you for the opportunity to enlarge on the points on freedom of the press raised by me during the five-minute limitation period on Wednesday.

I will now reinforce the report made by Mr. Tom Sherman, Chairman of this section, that freedom of the press still exists in the Bahamas. And I will repeat the qualification I gave his report when I stated that it hangs by a thin thread.

Many events have taken place in government circles in Nassau to point clearly to a desire to muzzle my newspaper, even to the extent of a suggestion made during a debate on the floor of the House that I should be indicted for high treason and dealt with in a manner deserving of all traitors.

My only offense is that I exercise my rights as a free publisher

to print the kind of truth that is an embarrassment to the government. As I have told them on more than one occasion, they make the news. If they make ugly news they can blame only themselves for the news as it is printed.

Because of the pressure of time I will skip the details and give you a brief outline of parliamentary practice under the British system, so that you may better understand what I am about to say.

The House of Commons in London, the mother of Parliaments, is vested with the ancient right to punish acts of contempt committed beyond its precincts. Under this power men have been committed to prison by the Speaker from the Bar of the House. But this Bar has been abdicated through disuse. No case of this kind has been held by the Commons for over a century and so no Speaker would dare to try to revive it today.

Under the old colonial system there were two principle types of colonies; the conquered colony, which was administered direct from Westminster in London and the settled colony.

In the case of the settled colony, it was generally accepted by government in Britain that wherever an Englishman settled he carried Parliament with him.

This was the principle applied to the American colonies and it was classified in three of the oldest Parliaments in the British Commonwealth of Nations, Bermuda, the Bahamas and Barbados.

But these colonial Parliaments were not vested with the right enjoyed by the House of Commons, to deal with alleged cases of contempt committed beyond the precincts of Parliament. Although the practice has fallen into disuse in the House of Commons, there is now a tendency in former British Colonies which have advanced to independent status who enjoy a very advanced form of constitution, to include this power in what is known as the Power and Privileges Act, the general principles of which act as a guideline for Parliaments all over the world.

You will recall that it was on this issue last year that the IAPA came to my assistance. The Bahamas House of Assembly was considering an amendment to its Powers and Privileges Bill to give the Speaker certain powers of punishment over the press.

Thanks to your support, the government backed down and a greatly modified amendment was passed, but still enough to offer a threat to the press, and especially my newspaper which is about the only free and fearless voice left in the Colony today.

But this trend is now rearing its ugly head in other parts of the former British Colonial Empire.

I have come to this meeting after attending a conference of the International Press Institute in Hong Kong in May, and the Commonwealth Press Union which concluded meetings in Scotland only last week.

The Commonwealth Press Union is deeply concerned with two cases: one in a town in Australia and the other in Guinea, in which an editor was summoned to the Bar of the House and dealt with by the Speaker. In both cases the men were cautioned.

This power is held as a big stick over the head of the press by the party in power, especially in the Bahamas where the Speaker may bar a reporter or a newspaper from the facilities of Parliament for any period up to a year.

The Press Union has referred these cases to the Committee on Freedom of the Press. The prevailing thought in the Press Union is that all cases of this kind should be referred by Parliament to an impartial tribunal, probably the courts and not dealt with arbitrarily by a lot of politicians who may be emotionally motivated.

Before the debates on the freedom of the press opened in this hall on Wednesday, we had the privilege of hearing a brief talk from Sally Aw, who is President of the International Press Institute and founder chairman of an Oriental Press Association with headquarters in Hong Kong. In her speech she dropped the thought that the time had come when the major press associations in the free world should establish closer liaison and on certain occasions speak out as the world press rather than as a regional voice.

Because there was fear of movements that endangered freedom of the press in various parts of the world, when she was elected President of IPI in May I discussed with her the desirability of advancing this thought to the Commonwealth Press Union at its session in Scotland.

As a result of our activities, with my humble support, the Commonwealth Press Union adopted a resolution placing on record a desire to establish closer liaison with the International Press Institute, the Inter American Press Association, the Oriental Press Association and several major broadcasting services in Britain, Europe, and the Americas.

And I now advance this suggestion to the IAPA, which I hope you will find worthy of serious consideration.

We sit in this room and we spent three days considering questions that have a bearing on our problems, but might I suggest that there are larger issues which have a direct bearing on all human freedoms that should also exercise our minds.

Last year a Chilean was President of this organization. He flew to Nassau and helped me with my fight with Parliament. As far as I can see, there is no representative of Chile at our meetings during this convention. The reason is clear. Chile has placed in power the first constitutionally elected Communist government in the Western Hemisphere. And it is accepted.

In the light of experience with all Communist countries, the press freedom will die with all the other freedoms in Chile. And so we must accept the principle that a free press presupposes that it is operating within the structure of a truly democratic society.

This means that we should not be concerned only with freedom of the press. A greater concern should be that democracy must prevail in our Hemisphere.

One of many distinguished men who addressed the Commonwealth Press Union in Scotland was the Right Honorable Alec Douglas Home, Britain's Foreign Secretary. He spoke on freedom of the press within the context of a free world democracy. He also took that opportunity to discuss the reasons why Britain now finds it necessary to forge closer relations with South Africa by selling that nation arms for external defense purposes only.

Britain is now concerned about the situation that developed in the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean. The dissolution of the vast British Empire created a vacuum wherever the stabilizing influence of British administration has been removed.

Small and powerless independent governments have been created all over the world. Wherever Britain has moved out, Russia has tried to move in. We have the most recent case of Mauritius, a new island independent state that has given important marine concessions to Russia.

Many new governments in that part of the world that still retain a place in the British Commonwealth of Nations have moved dangerously within the Soviet orbit. Hence Britain's need to forge a closer link with South Africa in the hope of keeping the trade routes to the East open.

A budding issue in the Bahamas today is independence. I firmly

believe that a large majority of the Bahamian people do not want to take the final step into independence. They realize from the experience of other islands in this Hemisphere the great financial burden it entails without returning corresponding benefits to the people.

Through my newspaper they have also become aware of the fact that the Russians are now intruding their navy into our Hemisphere. A fact of which far too few people in the Americas are aware is that the Royal Navy, with its America and West Indies Fleet headquartered at Bermuda, patrolled the waters of this Hemisphere and enforced the Monroe Doctrine for over a century.

Britain has now scrapped the Bermuda station and the United States has the responsibility for policing this area. She still patrols with a single frigate because she is still responsible for the defense of a few islands in the Caribbean, the Bahamas and the Atlantic.

As long as Britain retains this link with the Islands we have the assurance that Communism cannot take over. Break this link and any future government in the Bahamas could extend marine privileges to the Russian navy as Mauritius has done in the Indian Sea.

And I suggest that there is great danger of such a situation developing. The government is pressing for independence despite the outspoken opposition of the Bahamian people. Leftist elements in the United Nations are constantly demanding that Britain set the Bahamas free and Castro recently made a public threat in which he declared that if Britain can no longer take care of the Bahamas, then these islands should be set free, and he added significantly that Cuba will take care of them.

You will recall that in a statement made nearly five years ago Castro threatened to surround the United States with a ring of steel. I have been fighting this threat in my newspaper. Mr. Earle Smith, American Ambassador to Cuba at the time of the Castro take-over, whose warnings were disastrously ignored by his government, has written a letter to my newspaper supporting my stand and expressing his firm conviction that Communist pressures and ultimate take-over by the Reds would follow independence for the Bahamas, a range of islands which are so close to the United States that Soviet control in this area would constitute a serious threat to American security.

And we must recognize that anything that threatens the security of the United States today threatens world security, as America now stands as the last bulwark of security for the free world.

In his opening address on Wednesday our President told us of a conversation he had with President Eisenhower, who felt that if the free world's line of defense in the East collapsed America could withdraw to this Hemisphere and establish security for the peoples of this area.

May I suggest that the whole world military structures changed since that day. Russia did not have a powerful navy at the time of the Kennedy-Krushchev confrontation over the establishment of guided missiles in Cuba. Immediately after that confrontation, Krushchev gave orders for a Russian navy to be built to match the power of the United States. The world became painfully aware of how quickly Krushchev's orders were carried out in the Pueblo instance with Korea, when the United States Navy backed down on the appearance of a strong Russian naval unit to back the tiny North Korean nation's confrontation with the United States.

I am convinced that the American high command is alert to the Communist threat to this Hemisphere. They issued a joint forces statement recently in which they revealed that the establishment of Soviet Naval bases in the Caribbean would threaten the southern flank of American defenses.

I think the time has come when the free press must raise its sights from its own regional problems and take a much broader view of situations that are fast developing all around us, situations that are bound to destroy freedom of the press on a broad scale.

I must remind you of two things, but before I do so I wish to make it clear that I am British in my loyalties and outlook. Firstly, whatever differences any of us may have with the United States, she is the last hope of a free world society, so that any situation that might threaten the security of the United States must consequently be of concern to all of us.

Secondly, if we are to have a free press in this Hemisphere we must do everything in our power to repel any attempts of Communist infiltration to any countries, and especially in close proximity to the United States.

I feel that it is not enough for the High Command in Washington and members of the press to be aware of situations that might threaten our freedoms. I think that the press of the Hemisphere would do the free world a service if they constantly informed their readers of the dangers that are developing all around us today.

I am convinced that if the people of the United States were made alive to world movements that are now spreading in this Hemisphere, in conflicts which are now eating like a cancer at the very soul of a great people, would quickly disappear if the American people would be drawn together in a common cause against a common enemy. Thank you. (Applause)

MR. COPLEY: Thank you, Sir Etienne. I might say that you kept your word. You were a quarter of a minute less than 15.

The resolutions are not ready yet, so we are going to come back here and start as close to 3:00 o'clock as we can and I hope we will have a big attendance.

We will adjourn now and meet here at three o'clock. Thank you.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
7th Meeting  
Friday, October 23, 1970

ASAMBLEA GENERAL  
Séptima Sesión  
Viernes, 23 de octubre de 1970

MR. JAMES S. COPLEY: I would like to call the meeting to order. We have an awful lot to do and I have a couple of things that I want to bring up before we get into the resolutions.

The first is that I have a telegram that I received in my room that I would like to have somebody read.

SR. GERMAN E. ORNES: Voy a leer un telegrama que ha recibido el presidente de la SIP, el Sr. James S. Copley. Dice así:

"Managua, Nicaragua, James S. Copley, Asamblea SIP, Hotel Camino Real, México, D. F.: Considero que no saldría un juicio completo de la situación de la libertad de prensa si la investigación de los factores calificantes se limitan a las actitudes de los gobiernos. La negación permanente al derecho de rectificación de parte de ciertos periódicos en abierta violación de las leyes de la materia, constituye sin duda una violación del mismo principio que debe ser investigada y denunciada por la SIP como garantía de sinceridad de su postura.

"Por otra parte la SIP debe hacer claro pronunciamiento de su decisión de investigar y denunciar a los periódicos que sistemáticamente definen con el disimulado ropaje la actuación de grupos disidentes, sediciosos, alborotadores, incendiarios y revolucionarios que propugnan por la destrucción de las libertades que le dan la libertad de hablar y actuar como lo hacen por una libertad de prensa sincera y responsable."

No se identifica nada mas que con su nombre, Dr. Plata.

Hay otro telegrama al Sr. Tom Harris, Presidente de la Comisión de Libertad de Prensa. Este viene de Puebla, y dice así:

"Atentamente suplícole intervención SIP para que se aclare atentado contra mi vida perpetrado ocho septiembre pasado. Por correo explico ampliamente. Director diario La Opinión, Puebla, atentamente Manuel Sánchez Ponton."

MR. COPLEY: Thank you.

At noon on Thursday, October 22, the President of Mexico, Mr. Gustavo Diaz Ordaz, received a committee of the General Assembly of the Inter American Press Association appointed by the president of that organization.

The purpose of this visit was to greet him and to express thanks to Mexico for all the considerations given the Inter American Press Association during its XXVI General Assembly.

President Diaz Ordaz received this committee in his official residence at Los Pinos with traditional Mexican courtesy and made important declarations concerning freedom, particularly freedom of the press, and the work and the efforts of IAPA in defense of that freedom.

Mr. James S. Copley, president of IAPA, greeted the President of Mexico and thanked him for the kind reception and attentions IAPA enjoyed in the generous land of Mexico.

Among other concepts, President Diaz Ordaz expressed the following in reply to Mr. Copley:

The respect of the government and people of Mexico for all public freedoms and, particularly, for the freedom of the press, which he considers basic to all the other freedoms.

Speaking on freedom and the devotion of the Mexican people for it, Mr. Diaz Ordaz said that the people of Mexico would remain without food sooner than they would accept living without freedom. Referring to the freedom of the press, he said that it was one of the freedoms that was most difficult to preserve. In this context, he congratulated IAPA for being soldiers in this great battle, which is one of the most difficult to fight in favor of that freedom.

Mr. Diaz Ordaz said that relations between the United States and Mexico are at their most satisfactory point in history despite all the problems they have had to overcome. He mentioned that, in general, it is easy for two widely separated countries to have good relations, but the same is not always true when they are neighbors, especially when they have over 3,000 kilometers of frontier and there are great differences of language, religion, culture, and ethnic character between our peoples.

In answering questions put to him, the President of Mexico pointed out that he had made efforts on behalf of imprisoned newspaper men in Cuba on several occasions, in response to approaches made to him by IAPA. Such steps were taken by Mr. Pedro Beltran from the day he took office and subsequently at the meeting of Presidents at Punta del Este. Mr. Julio Mesquita, then President of IAPA, and the former president of that organization, Dr. Guillermo Martínez Marquez, presented the same petition to him in the name of IAPA.

The President said that he regretted to report that his efforts had been unsuccessful.

In reference to the fact that freedom of the press is fully in force in Mexico, President Diaz Ordaz said with satisfaction that during his six years in office he had attended the dinner celebrating Freedom of the Press Day on June 7, of each year. He added that the newspapermen of Mexico would never have held such a dinner if freedom of the press did not exist in the country.

The President requested the Committee to convey a cordial greeting to the entire Assembly, expressed his hopes for success in their deliberations, and wished them a pleasant stay on Mexican soil.

He asked me to pass this on to all of you and I thought that was the best way to give you a report of what happened. (Applause)

Before we get on with the business of the day, we have had a gentleman who has been with us for a number of years, Mr. Schouten, and he and I talked day before yesterday and yesterday and he said that he brought with him from his country some ideas that he and others had on how the IAPA perhaps could help implement some of our desires to preserve or obtain freedom of the press.

Mr. Schouten has been after me to have the floor and I agreed yesterday that he could and I didn't have a chance. I have agreed now to let him have it for a few minutes. He said that he would be as short as possible, so I would like to turn the floor over to Mr. Schouten.

G. J. SCHOUTEN: Mr. President, ladies, members and guests: I was not going to attend this meeting. Mexico was too far away and the expenses would be too high for a small newspaper.

I received then from the Inter American Press Association the communication that this meeting was going to be something very special and I decided, therefore, no sacrifice should be too great to attend. Although still curious it would be worthwhile to attend and if it would not be the same old cliché, meetings rushed, speakers deprived of complete time necessary to make their points clear, with the exception of a few, to get through early for cocktails and speeches and to rub shoulders with the great ones in newspaper business and to be able to hear, "glad to see you again."

When this conference was declared in session, the President, Mr. James Copley, told us that this was going to be a vitally important meeting and said the whole General Assembly was being considered a committee on freedom of the press.

It would seem to me, therefore, that this General Assembly has the responsibility to draw up and define by what standards freedom of the press are to be judged. Once the General Assembly has decided that violation of the

press has occurred, it must do something meaningful about it. What I suggest is that all members be alerted, as usual through the central office in New York of the violation.

The Inter American Press would start its action. Then it should be incumbent upon all members to send letters of protest to the government concerned in the violation.

It will also be very good for the members to editorially in their own newspaper press their governments not to do business with the country violating press freedom.

Let us start now with the Netherlands Antilles and continue with others. You have a motion on the Netherlands Antilles that has been approved that there exists a law, Article 136, Section A, B, C and D, which is definitely against the freedom of the press and, therefore, we should all together protest now to the representative of the Crown, the Governor of the Netherlands Antilles and the Cabinet of Ministers of the Netherlands Antilles to have this law, which is in conflict with freedom of the press, stricken from the penal code, or that the Inter American Press Association would have to declare that there is no complete freedom of the press and start action against the government until this Article 136, A,B,C and D is stricken from the penal code.

If I am not mistaken, in Mexico there is also an emergency law known as the Social Dissolution Law, established during World War II, which has not been repealed. But let the Mexican delegates tell us about it, and if they have fought or what they are doing to have this law repealed so that we can use this as a guideline how to deal with the Netherlands Antilles government and other countries if they may have such a law violating the freedom of the press.

United we stand, divided we shall be trampled upon. Let all governments know that the Inter American Press Association and all its members are not going to stand for any more nonsense against freedom of the press, and that the fight is going to continue until complete freedom of the press is restored in all countries. I have made it short. Thank you, Mr. President. (Applause)

MR. COPLEY: I would now like to proceed with the meeting and turn the microphone over to Tom Harris.

MR. TOM C. HARRIS: This will be the concluding session of the Committee on Freedom of the Press. We only have one piece of business at this meeting and that is to present the Conclusions by the Committee on Conclusions and Recommendations.

I would like to say that these Conclusions have been drawn up by great team work of the Committee. We used to have from Monday until Friday and now we have from Wednesday until Friday.

Mr. Ornes, the Chairman of the Committee on Conclusions, will now proceed to read his report.

SR. GERMAN E. ORNES: Voy a dar lectura a las Conclusiones del informe de la Comisión de la Libertad de Prensa.

### III- CONCLUSIONES DE LA COMISION DE LA LIBERTAD DE PRENSA

Nunca antes, en toda su historia, se había reunido la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa bajo condiciones tan poco propicias para la existencia de una prensa libre en el Continente americano.

El telón de silencio, de censura y de opresión, que separa las naciones donde no existe libertad de prensa, de aquellas donde todavía existe una prensa libre, ha bajado sobre más países en el curso de este último año.

Cuba y Haití siguen siendo los ejemplos clásicos de países esclavizados por dictaduras - ya sean de izquierda o de derecha - donde una prensa libre, independiente y responsable ha desaparecido totalmente para dar paso a publicaciones sumisas, cuya política informativa y editorial está totalmente controlada por las autoridades.

Cuba y Haití son, quizá, los ejemplos más claros del eclipse total de la libertad; pero no son los únicos países donde la libertad de prensa, no existe, está severamente restringida o persiste bajo la ominosa amenaza de destrucción.

En 14 países del Continente existen restricciones ya sea al derecho, por parte de extranjeros, de dirigir periódicos o de ser dueños de empresas periodísticas. Esos países son: Brasil, Canadá, Chile, El Salvador, Panamá, Honduras, Guatemala, Perú, Paraguay, Venezuela, Colombia, República Dominicana y Haití.

En Brasil todavía la prensa no es libre. Sin embargo, una serie de acontecimientos recientes permite abrigar esperanzas de una mejoría en una situación que ha mantenido por varios años a los periodistas brasileños bajo severas restricciones.

En Paraguay la situación no ha cambiado. La prensa sigue obligada, para aparecer, a obtener un permiso previo del régimen del General Alfredo Stroessner, lo cual es evidencia clara de que el ejercicio libre e independiente es imposible.

Bolivia ha sufrido en las últimas semanas serias convulsiones de orden político y social que se han reflejado adversamente en el funcionamiento de una prensa que ya operaba con severas limitaciones. Como consecuencia de los recientes acontecimientos, que han llevado al poder a un régimen militar, apoyado en fuerzas de izquierda, prácticamente todos los periódicos independientes fueron ocupados por intrusos que los han estado operando y que amenazan con "cooperativizarlos" en su favor. (La creación de las llamadas "cooperativas" de periodistas y otros empleados de prensa es la más reciente forma de usurpación de la propiedad de los periódicos).

No obstante, existe un indicio de que en Bolivia pueda producirse un cambio de esta orientación inicial. El periódico "Los Tiempos", de Cochabamba, que fue ocupado por un grupo de sus propios trabajadores, ha sido devuelto a su propietario, Carlos Canelas, por los propios trabajadores de la empresa y existe la posibilidad de que lo mismo ocurra con otros diarios. Pero aún así, la prensa boliviana no recuperará su completa libertad hasta que no hayan desaparecido tanto las medidas de ocupación arbitraria de sus plantas físicas, como las condiciones materiales que niegan a los periódicos bolivianos la facultad de publicar con entera libertad y sin sujeción a caprichos de gobiernos o aventureros.

Pese a las protestas de la prensa independiente y a las instancias de la SIP, en la República Dominicana todavía no se ha solucionado la situación creada por la negativa del gobierno dominicano a permitir la entrada al país de las maquinarias destinadas a la impresión del periódico "La Voz del Pueblo", cuya aparición ha sido demorada por esa razón. El gobierno dominicano alega que esas maquinarias están destinadas a la publicación de propaganda comunista.

En Uruguay los periódicos siguen bajo la prohibición de publicar la palabra "Tupamaro" y de vez en cuando reciben sanciones oficiales por la publicación de noticias o editoriales, pero por lo general, funcionan con libertad e independencia. En Chile donde hasta el presente se ha mantenido la libertad de prensa, existe ansiosa expectativa por saber si frente a su próximo gobernante marxista, aquella situación ideal de las democracias occidentales va a continuar prevaleciendo.

Panamá continúa como uno de los puntos negros en el panorama de la prensa hemisférica y, pese a las seguridades del gobierno panameño, y de algunos periodistas adictos al mismo, allí no hay libertad de prensa. Y es que no puede haber libertad donde un gobierno se reserva el derecho de nombrar las directivas de periódicos y cambiarlas a su antojo, ya sea con subterfugios legales o con la anuencia de los propios propietarios. Tampoco puede haber libertad donde la prensa no contiene ninguna crítica seria al gobernante de turno.

Pese a que la libertad de prensa ha experimentado muchos reveses este año y de que las amenazas que pesan sobre ella continúan siendo muchas y muy variadas, es posible señalar alguna que otra mejoría que nos lleva a reforzarnos en el convencimiento de que la lucha no es infructuosa y de que aun en los momentos más aciagos hay esperanzas de victoria. Este año un país que muestra progresos es Argentina. El gobierno del general Roberto M. Levingston, que sucedió al del general Juan Carlos Onganía, ha levantado la orden de suspensión que impedía la salida de varias publicaciones y algunas han reanudado sus operaciones.

Sin embargo, la existencia en Argentina de una agencia oficial de noticias, la imposición de un impuesto de importación de un 10% del valor en el papel y la falta de instituciones representativas tales como una Asamblea Legislativa libremente elegida por el pueblo, son a nuestro juicio, obstáculos considerables en el camino de la absoluta libertad de prensa a que aspiran todos los periodistas Argentinos y del resto del Continente.

Por supuesto que las amenazas y peligros que acechan a la prensa no provienen exclusivamente de los gobiernos.

Sindicatos, partidos políticos, grupos e individuos que pretextan investir una representación sindical o popular basada principalmente en la demagogia, mantienen en la actualidad una campaña constante de descrédito contra la prensa. Con mayor o menor violencia, esa campaña es de carácter hemisférico. Sólo cambian sus procedimientos para ajustarlos a las condiciones locales.

En algunos casos esa campaña va dirigida a presentar a los periódicos como voceros de intereses especiales y, por tanto, incapaces de publicar las noticias objetivamente o de defender los genuinos intereses nacionales.

Como uno de los principales peligros, se debe señalar la existencia de un amplio movimiento en favor de la expropiación total o parcial de las instalaciones de la prensa, por supuestos trabajadores que en realidad son activistas políticos encargados de destruir la libertad.

De norte a sur en todas las Américas han surgido reclamos que incluyen, desde la clara usurpación de los periódicos por aquellos que dicen ostentar la representación de los trabajadores, hasta peticiones gremiales de que se haga espacio para insertar sin ningún control opiniones contrarias a la línea editorial de las publicaciones. Esto se hace a nombre de un supuesto derecho de los periodistas a ofrecer en "su propia verdad" usando la propiedad ajena sin estar sujetos, en lo más mínimo, a las responsabilidades que establecen las leyes sobre libelo.

Es necesario advertir a los pueblos de las Américas, que la práctica de esas actividades constituye un grave amedrentamiento y una amenaza a la confianza en la información, a su diversidad y a la libertad de prensa.

El producto final de esta novel técnica de infiltración es el control político que lleva a la dictadura totalitaria.

En esta situación, preciso es señalarlo, los propios editores, que se sienten por razones de ética obligados por la norma de informar objetiva e imparcialmente, resultan muchas veces involuntariamente un factor contribuyente del esfuerzo deliberado por destruir la libertad.

Muchos de nuestros miembros son conscientes de eso y han planteado el problema en la siguiente forma:

¿Pueden los enemigos de la libertad servirse de la libertad para destruir la libertad?

En resumen este año las circunstancias no permiten que elevemos voces de triunfo en esta lucha continua por la defensa de la libertad de expresión. Pero no hay, tampoco, razones para desfallecer o para admitir derrota. Por el contrario, los esfuerzos que hacen aun los más despiadados dictadores por justificar sus acciones, presentar sus odiosas prácticas como consistentes con las tradiciones de libertad, nos indican que no son inmunes a la fuerza de la opinión pública y que la verdad y la libertad, que son las metas finales de una prensa independiente, pueden sufrir golpes - tal vez severos - pero jamás desaparecerán definitivamente de la faz de esta tierra. (Aplausos)

MR. HARRIS: Thank you, Mr. Ornes. Since the Assembly of the IAPA met as a Committee as a whole and each country's report was debated at the time, we will not read the country-by-country report again. This will be taken care of in the resolutions and debate may come up at that time.

I particularly want to thank Mr. Ornes and his Conclusions Committee for the work that they have done. The task this year, due to the shortage of time, was very difficult. At times it seemed almost impossible. Their function was to draw the Conclusions in brief form from the country-by-country reports, after studying the official reports in writing and listening to the debate on each.

We had a good Committee this time and they worked conscientiously, so I would like to thank Mr. Ornes, as Chairman, and each member of that Committee personally.

I also want to thank all of the vice-chairmen in the past year, who did outstanding work in keeping headquarters and the Chairman informed of the conditions in their country. I hope we can expect this same kind of cooperation from our vice-chairmen and from our members in the future.

I would like to thank Mr. Jim Copley, the President, for his advice and council and his help in the work of the Committee on Freedom of the Press in the past year.

I would like to thank Mr. George Beebe, Chairman of the Executive Committee, who was on the phone many, many times during the past 12 months in the interest of freedom of the press.

And I would like to thank the headquarters office and Jimmy Canel for their fine work in helping the Committee to function during the past year.

This now completes the 1970 work of the Freedom of the Press Committee. I am going to turn the microphone back to President Copley with the motion that the report on freedom of the press be adopted.

Anyone wanting a complete copy of the Introduction, the Country-by-Country report and Conclusions may get the same by writing to the New York headquarters, since time did not permit us to get this mimeographed and distributed at this meeting.

Mr. Copley, I made the motion that the report be accepted.

MR. COPLEY: We have a motion that has been seconded. We also have a point of order. What is it Mr. Kidd?

MR. PAUL KIDD: I just want to know what the report is on Canada. Do I have to wait and write to New York? This may interest other delegations, just what their recommended reports are on their individual countries. I think we have a right to know.

MR. COPLEY: Mr. Kidd, all I can say is that I think the report was just read to you. We all heard it. Copies are not available for distribution yet. As soon as they are, we will distribute them. Meanwhile, Mr. Feldman has a correction he would like to make.

SR. LUIS FELDMAN JOSIN: Sr. Presidente, con toda corrección y amabilidad quiero dirigirme a la Asamblea en nombre de los delegados argentinos en esta reunión para expresar de que en el informe leído por el amigo Ornes se ha deslizado un error.

En la Argentina no existen impedimentos para que ningun extranjero dirija un diario. Tenemos pruebas en este mismo momento de dos diarios del interior de la Argentina que son dirigidos por extranjeros. Además todas las colectividades extranjeras que residen en la Argentina tienen su propio órgano dirigido por un extranjero de ese mismo origen.

En segundo lugar, la Agencia a que se refiere es una agencia oficial, pero no impide que actuen en la Argentina las demas agencias internacionales, como United Press International y Associated Press y la Reuters y France Presse.

En tercer lugar, debo decir que se debió respetar el informe de nuestro vicepresidente de libertad de prensa, Dr. Valmaggia, quien ha dicho en su escrito a la SIP que en la Argentina han quedado restablecidas las libertades, especialmente aquella que se refiere a la libertad de prensa.

Esto es toda la corrección que yo quería expresar en nombre de mi delegación.

SR. GERMAN ORNES: Yo supongo que se refiere al Sr. Feldman a la lista de 14 países donde existen restricciones.

Con mucho gusto vamos a hacer la enmienda de esa lista. El informe dirá entonces: "En 13 países" y queda borrado el nombre de la Argentina.

En cuanto a la objeción que hace el Sr. Feldman a este informe, estas son las conclusiones, Aquí no se traen los informes que presentan los vicepresidentes. Son las conclusiones de la Comisión en general.

Tratándose ya de una cuestión de interpretación, yo no me creo en el derecho de hacer una enmienda a esta parte del informe. Pero siempre puede someterse a votación y cualquier enmienda que decida la Asamblea será incorporada.

MR. COPLEY: Thank you. A motion to accept the report was submitted to a vote and carried. I would like now to pass the meeting over to the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee.

MR. GERMAN E. ORNES: They are asking for a roll call on this subject.

MR. COPLEY: The Chair counted the hands and there were so many more in favor of it than against it that it was obvious. O. K. We are back on the stick again. We are going to have a roll call.

SR. ORNES: ¿Lo aceptan así en vez de hacer un roll call, hacer una votación nominal, que los que se opongan registren su voto?

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Mr. Chairman, I am getting thoroughly confused by all this talk between people on the floor and people on the podium. It seems to me that if anyone wants to express himself, he should speak for the benefit of everybody in the room. This is totally confusing, and I, for one, would like to get this thing over with and I suggest that if anyone here objects to the acceptance of this report that they stand up and be counted.

SR. DAVID KRAISELBURD (El Día, La Plata, Argentina): Voy a pedir en primer término que se rectifique la votación porque se tomó en circunstancias bastante confusas. Muchos de los delegados no estábamos sentados, incluso había pendiente una situación que nosotros, el grupo de argentinos creo que por lo menos la mayoría, consideramos que no había sido tenido en cuenta.

Al informe general, leído por el Sr. Ornes, con el cual estamos en general de acuerdo, se habían formulado dos observaciones. Una, en cuanto se mencionaba la Argentina entre los 14 países que prohibían por ley a extranjeros la propiedad de diarios.

En la Argentina no existe tal ley, cosa que se había hecho presente aquí en la reunión anterior por parte del vicepresidente de la Comisión de la Libertad de Prensa, el Dr. Valmaggia. Eso fue aceptado por la Comisión y se eliminó del informe.

La otra observación que hizo el Sr. Feldman, en nombre de los argentinos, fue que se mencionaba entre los factores distorsionantes a la libertad de prensa la existencia o la presencia de una agencia oficial y al mismo tiempo el hecho de que en la Argentina se había establecido un impuesto del 10% a la importación de papel.

Con respecto a la existencia de una agencia oficial dijo el Sr. Feldman que eso no era una traba de libertad de prensa porque esa agencia oficial estaba en un plano de competencia con todas las agencias internacionales que operan en Argentina, que son las que mencionó el Sr. Feldman y otras muchas más.

Esa agencia que puede o no ser simpática o antipática a nosotros, funciona, repito, en un plano de competencia libre con las agencias privadas. No constituye a nuestro criterio, y quiero aclarar para ubicación de toda la Asamblea que ninguno de los delegados argentinos aquí somos gobernistas o estamos vinculados por ninguna clase de intereses al gobierno argentino, repito que esa agencia oficial no significa para los argentinos una traba a la libertad de prensa.

Queremos hacer esta salvedad porque estamos aquí defendiendo el pres

tigio de la SIP, por lo menos así entendemos, frente a la Argentina. Cuidamos mucho, porque la SIP es muy respetada en la Argentina y tememos que un informe equivocado aun en las conclusiones generales pueda contribuir a que los enemigos de la SIP en Argentina la satiricen y la desfiguren frente a un prestigio muy bien ganado y muy consolidado. (Aplausos)

En cuanto al impuesto de 10% ha sido una lucha muy sostenida por ADEPA y toda la prensa argentina que en sus editoriales ha señalado que ese impuesto es, no solamente contraproducente e inconveniente, sino que es un impuesto a la cultura porque puede contribuir a la disminución de la circulación de los diarios por la indispensable translación de ese aumento sobre el precio de venta de los ejemplares.

Pero no consideramos, y nunca lo dijo ADEPA, que ese impuesto del 10% constituya una amenaza a la libertad de prensa. No queremos tampoco que aquí la SIP incurra en un error.

Sí, la SIP podría decir como lo dijo ADEPA reiteradamente, que ese impuesto sí es inconveniente porque es una forma de elevar el precio de los ejemplares y consecuentemente de reducir la posibilidad de información al pueblo. Pero no un atentado a libertad de prensa.

Incluso, nosotros tenemos la seguridad que este impuesto se va a aplicar o se está aplicando en forma general, no en forma discriminatoria. No tenemos el menor temor, ni la menor sospecha de que haya discriminación en la aplicación de ese impuesto. Es uniforme, y lo pagarán todos los diarios argentinos.

No estamos de acuerdo con el impuesto, pero no porque lo consideremos atentatorio de la libertad de prensa. En consecuencia estimamos que las referencias que se hacen en ese informe con respecto a la Argentina, son equivocadas. Nos desubican a nosotros, es decir desubican a la SIP frente a la opinión pública argentina.

Eso es lo que queremos salvaguardar fundamentalmente. Por eso pedimos que se corrija el informe en esas dos partes. Esa es la intervención que quería manifestar.

SR. GERMAN ORNES: Para proponer a la Asamblea la eliminación del párrafo del informe que dice así:

"Sin embargo, la existencia en Argentina de una agencia oficial de noticias, la imposición de un impuesto de importación de un 10% del valor en el papel y la falta de instituciones representativas tales como una Asamblea Legislativa libremente elegida por el pueblo, son a nuestro juicio, obstáculos considerables en el camino de la absoluta libertad de prensa a

que a que aspiran todos los periodistas argentinos y del resto del Continente."

En vista de que esto va a causar una demora enorme, y, hasta cierto punto, no le pone ni le quita nada a las conclusiones del informe, yo propongo que sea eliminado ese párrafo.

MR. PAUL KIDD: Point of order ....

MR. COPLEY: We will be here all night and I will cancel the banquet if you keep this up.

MR. KIDD: Point of order....

MR. COPLEY: What do you want? How long a point....

MR. KIDD: Ladies and gentlemen, this, of course, is a totally invalid presentation. All these countries who have been listed can object here and now. There is, in fact, a restriction of freedom of the press in their country because the guidelines have not yet been adopted by this General Assembly, which specify that anything related to foreign ownership is a restriction.

They have not yet been adopted; therefore, unless they have been adopted we cannot rule that there is a restriction.

MR. COPLEY: Mr. Kidd, you have been doing this for two days, and as far as I am concerned, you are out of order. You can discuss that when we come to the resolutions.

MR. KIDD: I submit, sir, that we put Resolution No. 5 to the vote now, and then I will accede.

MR. COPLEY: Why don't you sit down and let us get to the order of business and then we will get to it.

We have a roll call request. I don't see that we need to go through the roll call name by name, but if you would be happy I will call for the vote again and say that only the Active members can vote....

You have withdrawn it. Alright, now we have a motion from Germán Ornes to withdraw that one paragraph. Is there a second?

It has been moved and seconded. Approved.

Allright, now we will go on with the Resolutions Committee. John O'Rourke, would you take over, please?

MR. JOHN T. O'ROURKE: Mr. President, Mr. Chairman, colleagues, following are the Resolutions which have been passed by the Resolutions Committee:

I

WHEREAS, Harold A. Fitzgerald, as publisher of The Pontiac Press, Michigan, and S. G. Fletcher, as Managing Director of the Daily Gleaner, Kingston, Jamaica, for 20 years have given generously their time, energy and wisdom to active participation in the IAPA, and have practiced and upheld the highest principles of journalism,

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLVES:

To designate Harold A. Fitzgerald and S. G. Fletcher, Life Members of the Inter American Press Association.

(Approved)

II

The Inter American Press Association protests the failure of the government of the Netherlands Antilles to eliminate Articles 136-A, B, C and D of the Penal Code which constitutes a potential threat to press freedom.

(Approved)

III

WHEREAS, The IAPA Technical Center, for more than a decade a major source of consultation and advice to members, maintaining for their benefit a bank of technical information, is vital to their needs, and

WHEREAS, The Technical Center's operations now are jeopardized by a decaying fiscal situation,

BE IT RESOLVED:

That those members who receive Technical Center Services be charged a fee equal to 50% of their annual dues to be used to help defray Technical Center administrative costs, and

That it be suggested to the membership that those members who do not use these services voluntarily contribute a similar amount.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED:

That the Technical Center be authorized to accept advertisements in its Bulletin.

MR. JOHN C. A. WATKINS: Mr. Chairman, it was my understanding that the Technical Center was established and functions for the purpose of enabling newspapers with limited financial facilities to improve themselves technically and professionally so that they can become viable, successful operations, which, in turn, leads to improvement in freedom of the press and of the information of the public in their countries.

Now, if we start charging these people for this service, it seems to me that in the first place, we are attempting to impose a financial burden on an organization which already is financially burdened and which needs the services of the Technical Center for that very reason, and that the dues or the fees that the Association as a whole pay to, or contribute to the Technical Center are for the purpose of helping these people become as successful as other members of the organization.

I would rather, as the publisher of a reasonably successful newspaper, have my dues increased and have the dues of everyone in the organization increased, in order to help the people who are less fortunate.

Therefore, I recommend that we disapprove this motion; that is, the first half of this motion.

MR. O'ROURKE: Thank you, Mr. Watkins. Is there any other comment?

MR. H. EARLE BRAISTED (Hablemos Magazine, New York, N. Y.): I agree with Mr. Watkins in that philosophy. I would just like to point out, however, that the Technical Center needs something definite and the idea of that increase of 50% in the dues was an idea that originated in Latin America. It was pointed out that if it was not made mandatory, that most papers would certainly benefit to the extent of that contribution; as a matter of fact, much more so.

This was the reason the motion was made and suggested if it is the feeling of this group that it should be a contribution from all members, that is fine, but I just wanted to make that clarification that we need some kind of decision if, in fact, the Latin American members who are here today, who are using the services, feel that this should not be passed, I

would be the first to agree.

If, on the other hand, we can substitute this motion with another one which would specifically call for some income from all members, this is fine.

I just have the feeling that this is something that we have to decide fairly fast. Thank you.

MR. E. W. SCRIPPS: I feel that the Technical Center can perform a great service if we all support it. However, we don't want to place additional burdens on any of you, and we will be glad to consider this and defer this motion at this time and take it under consideration.

However, I would like very much to hear from all of you and get your ideas and how best we can proceed. We feel that we have performed and will perform a service in proportion to our budget. That is about as far, I feel, as we can go. Thank you.

SR. IGNACIO E. LOZANO: I would think that a modest increase in the dues of all the members, in view of the fact that many U.S. members pay higher dues than the people who are using the Technical Center, would be a more practical solution and a more fair solution for everyone concerned, rather than putting the entire burden on those Latin American publications who are utilizing the services of the Technical Center.

I would like to propose a substitute motion that the Technical Center staff make an economical study of what this 50% increase in dues of the user publications of the Technical Center represents in dollar figures and balance it out with what increase would be required of the general membership to come up with an equal amount, and propose that at the next Board of Directors meeting.

MR. JAMES B. CANEL: We have already made a study of this and we calculate that we would have an income of only \$15,000.00.

MR. LOZANO: Do you know what that \$15,000.00 represents, or what increase percentagewise in our dues would \$15,000.00 represent? I would think it would be infinitesimal. I mean of the total general membership, North and South America.

MR. CANEL: That would come to about -- I am guessing no -- \$50,000.00.

MR. LOZANO: That's not my question. What increase in our dues would be required to raise \$15,000.00 a year, in the dues that we all pay, in percentages?

MR. CANEL: I am not a very good mathematician. We have an income of about \$90,000.00. I would say 2 or 3% of the general membership.

MR. ANDREW HEISKELL: My arithmetic is better than Mr. Canel's if he says that on annual dues of \$90,000.00 we are trying to raise \$15,000.00 on general membership, I would say that the answer is quite simple, it is about 16 3/4%. So it's not more complicated than that.

But I don't think this is really the point. We are talking about adding 50% to those who use the services, many of them small, the biggest paying \$300, \$400. If the services that we are providing aren't worth at least five or ten times that increase of 50%, then we probably have no business doing what we are doing.

If those who are using this are not interested in it to that extent, of paying 50% more than \$50, or \$100, then obviously, the answer is that we shouldn't be doing this.

We have to make up our minds as to whether we think this is worthwhile or not and the people who have to make up their minds are those who wish to use it.

I don't think that you can get away from it, and I would suggest a very simple answer, and that is that we go ahead with the proposition of 50% for this year and at the next annual meeting all those have been involved will get a chance to express their views as to whether it was worth the extra \$25, \$50, or \$100 involved. And if it isn't worth it, then it raises a serious question as to what we are doing.

SR. ALDO ZUCCOLILLO: Es para hablarles a las personas de la América Latina que ayer no estuvieron en la reunión del Centro Técnico aquí de tarde.

Lo que ayer de tarde se dijo aquí, muchachos, es altamente importante para nosotros. Entonces los conocimientos que a nosotros nos puede proveer el Centro Técnico son importantísimos, máximo a nosotros periódicos pequeños que estamos incursionando en el offset.

Los conocimientos que vamos a recibir nosotros por una muy poca suma de aumento, son muy importantes. Además, ayer acá se hicieron algunas muy interesantes consideraciones sobre marketing, circulación, motivaciones de los lectores y otros detalles que son muy importantes para el funcionamiento de nuestras empresas.

De manera que, si se lleva a votación, yo sugeriría a las personas de la América Latina que tengan interés realmente en recibir un servicio y

asesoría de primera categoría, que no vayan a vacilar en invertir en lo que el Centro Técnico nos puede ofrecer. Cualquier peso o dólar que ustedes inviertan va a ser retribuido con muchísimo más interés. Gracias.

MR. O'ROURKE: Is there any further comment on this resolution?

If not we will put it to a vote. (Approved)

#### IV

WHEREAS, There is a need in the Western Hemisphere for wider understanding and acceptance of the premise that the people's right to know, which is basic to stable self-government, depends on freedom of the press and other communications media,

BE IT RESOLVED:

That the headquarters office of the IAPA, under direction of the Executive Committee, or of any legally constituted special committee found to be necessary, inaugurate hemisphere-wide campaign to instill in the people a greater awareness of their need of press freedom if their liberties are to be preserved and defended, and that the membership cooperate to the fullest practicable extent.

MR. ANDREW HEISKELL: Just a few words of explanation. At the Board meetin in April we discussed this subject at considerable length, and the conclusions seemed to be that one of our problems -- we have many -- was that whereas we have a fairly clear notion as to the importance of freedom of the press, that our public in general does not, and they think of freedom of the press as something that is a privilege of the publisher, not a privilege of the reader.

We noted that most publications are very good at defending themselves when under attack at a time of crisis, but then between crisis they tend to do very little to explain their general function, their general usefulness to the readers in terms that are meaningful to the reader rather than to the publisher.

So we developed the thought of using a technique that tends to support us; namely, advertising, as a way of trying to express the various notions surrounding the right to know, the need to know and that if the entire press of the Western Hemisphere were enthusiastic about, in effect, running a campaign that would promote to the public the idea and value of the right to know, that it would be a worthwhile thing.

We very shortly recognized that just the idea of right to know varies from country to country; that each newspaper publisher is the greatest promotion director that ever was, and, therefore, that whatever we prepared at headquarters would be of a somewhat tentative nature, but nevertheless would give you, the membership, either something that you could run or something that you could adapt. A series of ads that you could change to fit your particular needs, that you could either sign yourselves or sign the name of the IAPA, or maybe have signed in Argentina by the ADEPA, or in another country by another association. Conceivably, you could even get some commercial interest to sponsor a campaign of this kind.

But generally speaking the idea is that we would try to create a series of guideline advertisements in various sizes, forms and shapes, with merchandising additions, which we would send you and then you could or could not use it, could or could not adapt it. But obviously, there isn't much point in our going to all the effort and expense at headquarters, where we have limited amounts of money, unless the membership really believes that this could be a very significant effort by the press of the Hemisphere.

MR. O'ROURKE: Thank you, Mr. Heiskell. Is there anyone who would like to further comment?

MR. E. W. SCRIPPS: I would like to comment because we publish 39 small newspapers, and if anybody needs this sort of thing it is the small newspapers. The Bureau of Advertising and several other organizations provided forms of this sort in the past and they have been most helpful to us. What I have seen of these, they look very good. Thank you.

MR. O'ROURKE: Is there any further comment? If not, we will put it to a vote (Approved)

V

WHEREAS, Freedom of the Press is still non-existent in Cuba and more than 40 journalists remain in prison,

BE IT RESOLVED:

1. To ratify as a high priority matter for the IAPA the continuation of efforts to achieve the freedom of the heroes of freedom of the press still in jail in Cuba.
2. To launch a wide international campaign aimed at gaining the liberation of these prisoners.
3. To request once more that all members of the IAPA comply with a prior agreement under which they will permanently

publish, in each of their editions, a box in which it is stated that there is no freedom of the press in Cuba and that 40 Cuban newspapermen are still in Castro's prisons.

4. Direct the Special Committee on Cuba to carry out these efforts and to promote the contacts necessary to the achievement of this end.

## VI

WHEREAS, Freedom of the Press means that government may not interfere with the freedom of publication of news and business practices cannot be considered infringements of press freedom,

BE IT RESOLVED:

That Sections 5, 6 and 7 be eliminated from the proposed guidelines on freedom of the press as defined by IAPA or let the proposed guidelines be applied equally and rigidly to all the Hemisphere countries.

MR. PAUL KIDD: Thank you, Mr. O'Rourke. Ladies and gentlemen, if by being a nationalist means you love one's country and you are prepared to fight for that country and fight for the laws of that country which you consider right, then consider me a nationalist, a Canadian nationalist.

I have been coming up here today repeatedly and throughout the meeting to try and get this Assembly to decide once and for all whether in fact a restriction against foreign ownership does comprise an infringement of the press and a violation of press freedom in this Hemisphere.

I do not consider that it does. It seems to me that many people in my country, from repeated conversations, from repeated editorials, and from a stance taken by a recent House of Commons Committee, calling for Canadianization of industry, that they do not either.

I should tell you, ladies and gentlemen, there has been a very big change in Canada in the past five years. The House of Commons Committee which just ended its deliberations, consisting of Conservative, Liberal and Socialist parties, were unanimous in calling for 51% Canadian ownership across Canada, exactly as Mexico has.

Fifteen years ago Mexico was in the same position of Canada. Two thirds of Mexico's economy, and I know about which I speak because I just spent more than two weeks in Mexico talking to Mexico Ministers, talking to heads of American organizations here -- fifteen years ago two thirds of Mexico's economy was American owned or foreign owned. Today it is no more than between five and ten percent.

Mexico has bought back its economic rights, and that includes freedom of the press. It has categorically stated that it requires 51% Mexican ownership, and we in Canada we asked that we have 75% Canadian ownership.

I don't think that everybody here understands the extent of foreign penetration into Canada. This is not a call for nationalization. Quite the contrary. We are just asking to go along the same lines as Mexico has done, a gradual recovering of our economy.

I won't bore you with a lot of figures, but they range from 99% control of our petroleum refining corporations all the way down to 56.7% of all manufacturing.

Now it seems to us in Canada that one of our great important rights is to protect our communications media, and also our banks. Mexico has the same law with regards to banks. We want to protect our media because we are so close to the United States, for which I have the greatest affection, in which country I have lived, in which country I have worked, in which country I have studied. But to be pro-Canadian does not mean to be anti-American. It just means that you want to be able to tell your own story, just as 14 other countries in this Hemisphere want to tell their own story.

It was cited earlier today by Mr. Patterson, and I would like to thank Mr. Patterson for bringing it up, and I quote him that "more papers in the United States are owned by Canadians than by any citizen of the United States." I am glad that he brought it up and I am glad he was specific enough to identify Lord Thomson of Fleet.

I would like to put the record straight. Lord Thomson of Fleet is no longer Canadian. Lord Thomson of Fleet is a Peer of the Realm, and he is now considered British.

It is not the Thomson Newspapers of Canada that own more than 40 newspapers in the United States, it is the Thomson International Organization, which has more than 150 newspapers throughout the world.

Now the United States, with close to 2,000 papers -- I think the figure is 1,760 or in that area if someone has the exact figure and would help me later, I would appreciate it, but I am very close to it -- 40 papers are just a pinprick into the United States. You have no need to worry.

But supposing Thomson moved in and bought up 40 newspapers in Mexico, which he could not. Supposing he moved in and tried to buy up 40 newspapers .....

MR. O'ROURKE: Mr. Kidd ....

Mr. President, with the greatest respect, I have belabored this point ...

The point I would like to make is -- I would just like to wrap it up here and now, and at least I should be shown the courtesy when the Cuban delegations and others spoke for up to half an hour. I promise you I will be no more than three minutes. With your permission, sir. Thank you.

The point that I am making is that we have to decide whether the right of a country to protect its communication media is, in fact, a violation of freedom of the press.

Things are going to happen in Canada. We do control our newspapers, but we do not control our magazines. And I would like to quote from the Edmonton Journal:

"As the Commons Committee on External Affairs recent report reminds the Federal Government, it's about time something was done about the peculiar status in Canada of Time Magazine and Reader's Digest Magazine.

"The O'Leary Royal Commission in 1961 pointed out that Canadian magazines could never hope to compete for advertising revenue with Canadian editions of American publications because these Canadian editions have very little in the way of editorial costs. They merely import the content of their parent publications.

The Pearson government in the mid-1960's implemented the tax and tariff measures recommended by the O'Leary Commission to put an end to this unfair advantage. But apparently, because of political pressure from Washington it exempted Time Magazine and Reader's Digest.

A healthy, indigenous magazine industry is a vital aspect of communications in a country striving to find a national identity. That Canadians

must do without such magazines simply to protect the economic interests of two American publications is a preposterous situation. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

MR. O'ROURKE: Thank you, Mr. Kidd.

MR. LEE HILLS (Knight Newspapers, U.S.A.): I don't think it is our business or the business of this organization to be for or anti any country and I am not interested in talking about nationalism or vice versa. I would like to stick to the business of IAPA.

So I respectfully and strongly urge that the members of this General Assembly defeat proposed Resolution No. VI for the following reasons:

A government can influence, control or even bankrupt a free press by punitive economic measures, just as easily or more easily than by political means.

The proposed Resolution mistakenly refers to Sections 5, 6 and 7 of the Guidelines as "business practices." This is not accurate. The three sections refer to a large number of specific economic restrictions by which a government can influence or coerce a free press.

As I said in the debate yesterday, an impoverished newspaper, like a penny-less woman, is more vulnerable to a dishonest proposition than is a newspaper which is economically sound and independent.

Economic independence is just as important to the freedom of the press as any other part of this freedom. This freedom is indivisible.

The other point I would like to make is that these guidelines, for the first time, put our assessments and reports on freedom of the press into fair and honest perspective. For example, in the past several years we have heard delegates, or at least a delegate argue that if a country has any restriction on newspaper ownership that country has no free press.

Obviously that one restriction does not and should not mean there is no free press in Canada or the other 12 or 13 countries that have such a restriction. In fact, Section 7 mentions four different kinds of restrictions, of which this is only one. And it assigns only five points out of 100 to the four different restrictions, or 1 1/4 points for each.

So any country which had ownership as its only restriction would thus rate 98 3/4% free. And I submit that in this world of relative freedom, this is free, indeed.

Some small countries feel threatened by any kind of foreign ownership of the press and, therefore, have passed such laws. As has been mentioned, Lord Thomson owns more newspapers in the United States than does any single United States citizen, yet we of the press in the United States do not feel threatened and we make no effort to seek such restriction. And I am not saying this is good or bad or the other is good or bad, I am just reporting to you.

The main point on the guidelines is that we are starting, for the first time, to give some relative importance to the large number of restrictions that affect our fight for freedom of the press.

I tried to make this very brief because I know we are way over time, and I would like to conclude by making two motions:

My first motion is that I move that this Assembly vote "no" on proposed Resolution No. VI And then I'll give you the second later.

MR. O'ROURKE: Any further comment?

MR. JOHN C. A. WATKINS: Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask Mr. Hills a question just for the purpose of clarification. This proposed Resolution No. VI in the second sentence says, "or that the proposed guidelines be applied equally and rigidly to all hemisphere countries."

There are no saving clauses in the guidelines, as I understand it, and therefore it is implicit that there shall be no reservations to the guidelines.

MR. HILLS: We have to apply rules and guidelines or anything else we adopt uniformly and fairly, and I think Mr. Kidd has made a good point on this. He has made it before. As he said, he has even belabored it. I think everybody understands it and any guidelines should be applied equally to all.

MR. KIDD: Mr. President, I shall only be one minute. I just wish to clarify a point made by Mr. Hills. He made the point that I had said if there are such restrictions there did not exist freedom of the press.

I am not saying that at all. I am agreeing with him 100%. What I am saying is that a restriction imposed by a government is its national sovereign right and should not be considered by this organization as a violation of the freedom of the press, just a single violation.

In order to accommodate the members, if some are wondering just how to vote on this, I would be prepared to put in an amendment and modify this resolution by eliminating 5 and 6 and simply leaving the resolution to read: "or to restrict newspaper editorship and ownership to citizens of your country."

I would put in that modified resolution if the membership so wishes.

MR. HILLS: Just one point of clarification. I was not referring to you when I said a delegate. This delegate has been speaking on the opposite side, and has wanted to make a black and white thing of just one small restriction of this kind. And I am saying that is unfair, and I think you agree with it.

If I may comment, I think eliminating these other things defeats the whole purpose of what we are talking about. Unless you want to say that it is fine for any government to restrict, restrain, coerce or destroy the press through economic means. I am against that.

MR. WATKINS: I second Mr. Hills' first motion

MR. CLARENCE MOORE (The Times of the Americas, Washington, D.C.): I simply want to state very briefly in support of what Lee Hills has been trying to get over to us and what I think his Committee has done a wonderful job at in putting together this proportionate way of evaluating freedom of the press, that many of us who had newspapers in Havana failed because of factors 5, 6 and 7. Factors 5, 6 and 7 were certainly related to freedom of the press as related to us. Many of us were not taken over, although we may have had our plants surrounded by machine guns, but we failed because, many of us, because of economic factors. We discussed this in Bogota in 1958 and we have discussed it other years.

To me it is a terrible mistake to presume that factors 5, 6 and 7 - what - ever be national sovereignty's right - do not affect what you and I commonly call freedom of the press. And I just wish to state in support of Lee Hills' statements on 5, 6 and 7 that I think they should stay the way they are, because they are freedom of the press. (Applause)

MR. O'ROURKE: Thank you. Mr. Moore. Before putting this to the question, I would like to remind the membership that there is an alternative in this resolution which provides that these proposed guidelines, as they now exist, will be applied rigidly and equally to all the Hemisphere countries' publications. Now, all in favor of this motion raise their hands.

MR. HILLS: My motion is to defeat the resolution. My motion is that we vote "no" on the resolution.

MR. O'ROURKE: Yes, but we are not voting on your motion. We are voting on the resolution itself. Right?

MR. HILLS: Allright, well put that and then I recommend a "no" vote on the resolution.

MR. O'ROURKE: That's what we are voting on, isn't it? All that is in front of the house, as I understand it is the resolution.

MR. HILLS: Allright, go ahead.

MR. O'ROURKE: Now we vote it up or we vote it down. Is that your understanding, Mr. President? Up or down, that's my understanding, gentlemen.

I will re-read the resolution. I am ready to be instructed on the parliamentary procedure if I am doing this wrong. But as I understand it, this is the correct way.

The resolution that we are considering reads as follows: "Be it resolved that Sections 5, 6 and 7 be eliminated from the proposed guidelines on freedom of the press as defined by IAPA or that the proposed guidelines be applied equally and rigidly to all the Hemisphere countries." Everybody understand that? (The motion is defeated)

MR. HILLS: If I may, I would like to make a motion that applies directly to this.

I move that this General Assembly ratify the report in the guidelines on freedom of the press which were unanimously approved by the Board of Directors here on Monday of this week.

MR. O'ROURKE: You heard the motion and you heard a second.

All in favor raise their hands. (Approved)

## VII

WHEREAS, During the electoral campaign, Dr. Salvador Allende, president apparent of Chile, international wire services reported that if he won, he would nationalize (that is expropriate) El Mercurio, a newspaper nearly 150 years old and one of the great dailies of the Americas; and

WHEREAS, Various Marxist organizations representing his supporters and party have made public declarations that Chilean communications media were faced with expropriation by the incoming administrations;

WHEREAS, Dr. Allende also stated before a group of El Mercurio workers that he had no intention of intervening in the editing or publishing of the paper unless they -- the workers -- asked him to do so; and

WHEREAS, These statements take on an even more serious aspect in view of the fact that Dr. Salvador Allende, who describes himself as a Marxist, was elected with the support of the Communist party:

The IAPA considers these statements as one of the most grave threats in a country which enjoys the benefits of a free and independent press;

Expressing its solidarity with those Chilean colleagues who are continuing to fulfill their duty with calm courage, the 26th annual assembly of the IAPA,

RECOMMENDS:

That the officers send a committee of members to Chile after the inauguration of the next president, to interview him, and to gather information on which to base a public report on the situation prevailing there in so far as it affects the press and other communications media.

SR. HECTOR GONZALEZ: Sr. President, estimados amigos: En la intervención que me cupo el primer día en que se trató aquí sobre la libertad de prensa en Chile, me permití darles a conocer a ustedes parte de un documento que yo estimaba introducía una modificación sustancial a los hechos que antes de la existencia de ese documento todos conocían y todos tenían sobre lo que pudiera ocurrir en Chile.

Ese documento es el que en mi país se ha denominado el Estatuto de Garantías constitucionales para preservar la continuación del régimen democrático en Chile.

Creo que esta resolución que aquí se propone podría hacernos aparecer ante la opinión pública de Chile, por lo menos como que estamos atrasados de noticias y que los periodistas estemos atrasados de noticias lo considero sumamente grave.

El Senado de Chile, en su sesión de ayer, ratificó este Estatuto de Garantías Democráticas, aprobado ya anteriormente por la Cámara de Diputados y con el voto de la casi totalidad de los parlamentarios de todas las tendencias políticas.

Este Estatuto nació a petición del partido que es mayoritario en Chile y que ha sido por doctrina antimarxista, el Partido Demócrata Cristiano. Pues bien, el hecho que el Senado haya aprobado ayer este Estatuto y que ya esté aprobado por la Cámara de Diputados, significa que se incorpora en seguida a la Constitución Política del Estado de Chile. Y de acuerdo con el artículo que se refiere a la libertad de prensa le presta, si no una ideal y total garantía, por lo menos una garantía que en principio nos satisface.

Y de acuerdo con este Estatuto, digamos con la Constitución Política del Estado por muy fuerte que sea el poder ejecutivo, es decir el gobierno, el Presidente de la República, no está en sus manos expropiar periódicos.

Esto podría hacerse únicamente en virtud de una ley dictada por el Congreso que tendría que contar en este hipotético caso, con la mayoría de todos los miembros. Es decir, consciente de todos los partidos políticos, y no creo que existan en este momento parlamentarios en Chile que quieran asesinar la libertad de prensa.

Estimados amigos, después de mi intervención que cité al comenzar estas palabras, muchos de ustedes me hicieron otras preguntas concretas a la salida de esta sala, incluso algunos creyeron que me ofendían al tratarme de ingenuo. Yo lo acepto. Quier ser ingenuo. Prefiero ser ingenuo en este momento y que mi ingenuidad me permita creer que va a continuar la libertad de prensa en Chile.

Y me preguntaron que de donde sacaba yo que esta fe o esta esperanza de que continuará la libertad de prensa, y yo les decía para simplificar podría dar dos argumentos, uno de carácter material, otro de carácter inmaterial.

El de carácter material lo conocieron: el Estatuto de Garantías Democráticas que es letra ahora de la Constitución Política de Chile.

Voy a terminar. El de carácter inmaterial es la larga tradición democrática del pueblo de Chile que se remonta a los albores de la independencia, el espíritu libertario del pueblo de Chile que se remonta a uno de los más lejanos aborígenes y la esperanza de que esto va a seguir manteniéndose y que el espíritu de libertad de los periódicos de Chile jamás permitirá que sea conculcada la libertad.

Para concretar, yo suprimiría el exordio de los considerandos de esta resolución, lo simplificaría en dos frases y en seguida agregaría nada mas que una palabra en la recomendación que acepto, que encuentro muy atinada de parte de Mr. Lee Hills. Agregaría únicamente "si es necesario."

Entonces que "si es necesario sus funcionarios envíen a Chile..."

MR. O'ROURKE: Thank you, sir. As I understand it, you propose the insertion of the words "if necessary." Is that correct ?

SR. RIOBO CAPUTTO (El Litoral, Santa Fe, Argentina): Con respecto a ese proyecto ayer en la mañana era una posibilidad. Hoy, según el Sr. González, está ya francamente en vigencia.

Yo he leído ese Estatuto y he reflexionado un poco y he escrito estas cosas que se los quiero leer:

Con respecto a la situación de la prensa en Chile, por el momento, pese a las conjeturas ciertas que inteligentemente nos hacemos, lo mas efectivo contra la libertad de pensamiento hecho en ese país consiste en el proyecto de enmienda constitucional que cuenta no solo con un número sobrado de parlamentarios para aprobarlo, sino en las dos agrupaciones políticas que han convenido un acuerdo para el próximo período gubernamental chileno.

Este proyecto es un plan intencionado, un designio que francamente incita en Chile a iniciar un gobierno de tipo autocrático.

La Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa no debe dejar pasar por alto este documento de hechura de viso legal que anuncia permanentemente un desafecto a la sustancia de un régimen de libre opinión pública en el país.

La delegación de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa irá o debe ir a Chile a cumplir un cometido de carácter persuasivo. Y con términos plegados a la circunstancia, poner en claro, si pueden, el panorama opaco que se cierne para los órganos de opinión con esta enmienda consti-

tucional, cuyo solo proyecto importa una intimidación absoluta a la prensa del país andino.

Por último debo decir que esta reforma es un amago, el primer amago de que se suponen con actitud lógica, contra esa gran nación de una escasa minoría, que para emerger victoriosa ha esgrimido un escandaloso criterio, como el que se ha sustentado para sostener que ganó las elecciones.

DR. ALBERTO GAINZA PAZ: I have a great sympathy and consideration for my distinguished colleague from Chile, from the Rancaguino, Mr. González, but I don't agree with him.

I know that they have enacted and approved in Congress an amendment to the Constitution that apparently guarantees freedom of the press and other freedoms, but, and I don't mean to insult Dr. Salvador Allende when I mention Perón, in my country, when Perón came into power we had and kept during his tenure of office, our constitutional guarantees which couldn't be wider and more categoric. They were even beyond what the American Constitution contains.

We had one article saying that Congress shall not pass laws infringing on freedom of the press, and that freedom of expression was always secure and that no censorship could be applied by any means.

In spite of that, you know what happened in Argentina. As soon as an evil man or an evil group has majority in Congress, they can legally kill, assassinate freedom of the press or suppress any newspaper. It happened with mine, as you all well know.

So I think that we should vote the recommendation, which is only a recommendation, to send this committee of a few members to talk to the newly elected president and I believe that in spite of the amendment, the whereases are absolutely pertinent and I move that the Resolution be adopted. Thank you.

FATHER ALBERT J. NEVINS: The other day I attempted to answer Sr. González on this very point and I deliberately didn't use the word naive or naiveté because I did not want to insult him. He has used the word himself today, and I would hesitatingly agree with him.

I don't care what the constitutional guarantees are, we know from history and from experience that a marxist's word means nothing; that a marxist, one of his basic principles is that the end justifies the means. We have seen constitutional guarantees broken all over the world whenever marxist governments have come into power.

We had the promises and guarantees of Fidel Castro and as soon as he came down from his mountain he immediately broke them.

And I do not respect the guarantees of Mr. Allende and I refuse to accept them and, therefore, I support this Resolution. I would even like to see it stronger, but it is strong enough for me to support.

MR. ANDREW HEISKELL: I don't suppose that we have ever had as difficult and troubling a proposition as the one we are facing here. I would like to make two points:

One, that unfortunately in the modern economic system constitutional protection may be of some help, but in Chile in the next few months it will be entirely possible to put publications out of business simply by turning the economic screw. And there is absolutely nothing unconstitutional or illegal about that.

Now, I suppose we could go on arguing this proposition for a long time, but I really doubt very much that additional knowledge is going to come to us and, therefore, each of us, out of our sense of history, out of our knowledge of the Continent, out of our knowledge of Chile, out of our gut feelings, are simply going to have to vote, and I would suggest that this Assembly vote. Thank you.

MR. O'ROURKE: Thank you, Mr. Heiskell. We are running out of time here quite rapidly, Mr. Aguirre would like to speak and I am limiting him to one minute.

SR. HORACIO AGUIRRE: En relación con este asunto de Chile, es bueno recordar que no solo somos nosotros los que hemos tenido duda de lo que pueda ocurrir en Chile. El hecho mismo que al candidato Salvador Allende se le hayan impuesto estas condiciones, relativas a la libertad de prensa y a otras libertades públicas en Chile por parte de los legisladores de la Democracia Cristiana, está demostrando hasta la saciedad que el candidato marxista no inspira confianza en modo alguno.

Hay más. A un repúblico de una democracia jamás se le hubieran exigido esas condiciones. Por consiguiente yo creo que es procedente aprobar la resolución.

SR. HECTOR GONZALEZ: No quiero que me comprendan mal. Efectivamente si se le exigieron garantías al Sr. Allende, y se lo exigió el partido mayoritario de Chile, es porque se sentía temor y se sentían dudas y se sentía inquietud. Y ese temor y esas dudas y esa inquietud no sólo las han sentido ustedes, la sintió la mayoría de Chile y la sentimos todos nosotros los periodistas.

Pero yo lo que decía es que estaba en desacuerdo con los considerandos de la resolución que no reflejan el momento actual. En este momento tenemos que hacer fé en un pacto de garantías democráticas firmado por la inmensa mayoría de los representantes del electorado de Chile.

Quiero seguir siendo ingenuo, Padre, no es para mí un insulto. Yo quisiera que mi ingenuidad fuera debidamente premiada, como se ha premiado a los pobres de espíritu en el reino de Dios, y que el próximo año pueda decirles creo que tenía razón, sigue la libertad de prensa en Chile.

MR. O'ROURKE: Thank you, sir. Let's put it to the question. All in favor of the resolution, raise their hands, please (Approved)

#### RESOLUTION NO. VIII

RESOLVED: That this meeting express its deepest appreciation of the warm hospitality of our Mexican hosts, especially the President, the former President Aleman, and, of course, our own former President and colleague Mr. Rómulo O'Farrill, Jr., and their charming wives, who have made our visit to this wonderful country a memorable experience which none of us will ever forget. (Applause)

I don't believe I will put that to a vote. I think it is unanimous. Thank you. That ends the Resolutions.

MR. COPLEY: Thank you very much.

We are very, very late. We have an awful lot to do. I am going to adjourn the General Assembly with the reminder that members are invited to attend a cocktail party by the Mergenthaler Linotype Company at 7:30 outside the doors here, to be followed at 9:00 o'clock by the IAPA Adjournment Banquet, if we can get the room ready.

Now, I have to have a Board of Directors meeting. I would like the Board members to stay here and I would like them to move down in the front seats, please.

SR. JULIO C. HERNANDEZ (El Colombiano, Medellín, Colombia): Yo no voy a ser largo. Unicamente voy a leer un telegrama que acabamos de recibir el Dr. Roberto García Peña, director de El Tiempo de Bogotá y mi persona de El Colombiano.

"Dr. Roberto García Peña, Director de El Tiempo, Julio C. Hernández, Gerente de El Colombiano: Nuestra Junta Directiva haciéndose intérprete preocupación embarga totalidad diarios colombianos cordialmente so-

licítoles hacer constar ante asamblea SIP profunda inquietud ocasiona continuos reajustes precio papel colócanos situación de desventaja frente a otros medios y su plena identificación con conceptos Presidente ANPA publicada SIP presente mes en diarios. Martínez la Torre, Presidente. Como miembros de la Asociación de Diarios de Colombia, pedimos muy respetuosamente a las casas productoras de papel que reconsideren esos precios si es posible. Es una solicitud únicamente. Muchas gracias."

MR. COPLEY: The meeting of the General Assembly is adjourned.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Second Meeting

Friday, October 23

JUNTA DE DIRECTORES

Segunda Sesión

Viernes, 23 de octubre de 1970

The second meeting of the Board of Directors convened at 4:30 p.m. October 23, under the chairmanship of Mr. James S. Copley.

MR. JAMES S. COPLEY (The Copley Press, U.S.A.): I would like to call the meeting to order and I would like to welcome the newly elected directors.

The first order of business, and very quickly, I would like Brady Black to comment on future sites.

MR. BRADY BLACK (The Cincinnati (Ohio) Enquirer): The up-to-date schedule of future sites that the Sites Committee recommends is as follows:

1971 Mid-year meeting March 22-25, El Embajador Hotel, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.

General Assembly 1971, October 25-29, Ambassadors Hotel, Chicago.

1972 Mid-year meeting, San José, Costa Rica.

1972 General Assembly, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

1973 we have no mid-year site, but we have a suggestion that it be in Yucatán.

1973 General Assembly, Boston, U.S.A.

1974-No site either for the mid-year meeting or General Assembly.

1975-No site for the mid-year meeting, but General Assembly, Montreal, Canada.

MR. JAMES S. COPLEY: Thank you very much. I would like to ask the Chairman of the Nominating Committee to submit a slate of officers, please.

DR. ALBERTO GAINZA PAZ (La Prensa, Buenos Aires, Argentina): Mr. President, as Chairman of the Nominations Committee, and with the approval of all of its members except in one case, I submit to the Board of Directors in accordance with Article 3, Paragraph 6 of our By-laws, the following members to be elected officers of the IAPA for the next period:

President, Manoel Francisco do Nascimento Brito; 1st Vice President, John C. A. Watkins; 2nd Vice President, Rodrigo Madrigal Nieto; Secretary (and that is where my vote was not counted) Máximo Gainza; Treasurer, Raymond E. Dix; President of the Executive Committee, George H. Beebe; Vice President, Luis Feldman Josin.

Members of the Committee, in addition to the ex-officio members: Tom Harris, Robert U. Brown, Agustín E. Edwards, Carlos Ricart, Mrs. Marian S. Heiskell, Mrs. Katharine Graham, Ignacio E. Lozano, Horacio Aguirre, Germán Ornes.

That is all.

MR. COPLEY: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

MR. IGNACIO E. LOZANO (La Opinión, Los Angeles, California): I hate to create any turbulence in what, up to now, has been such a serene meeting, but I feel I must.

I would like to start by saying that I have nothing but the highest regard for our candidate for second vice president, Mr. Madrigal Nieto, and I mean that sincerely, I hope he considered me a friend and I hope that he considers me a friend after this meeting.

However, I am deeply concerned at what appears to me unseemly haste with which he is being pushed up the ladder towards the presidency of this organization. As I understand it, Mr. Madrigal Nieto joined the journalistic fraternity about three years ago by purchasing a majority interest in the newspaper which he represents at this meeting. As I further understand it, he has been active in IAPA for approximately two years and was barely elected to the Board of Directors a year ago today in Washington, D. C. At that time he was also elected secretary of the Association.

The man I propose be substituted in the post for second vice president represents the second generation of his family who have given long and distinguished service to this organization. His father was publisher of two newspapers, which he founded; one in 1922, one in 1938. His father served with distinction as a director of this Association, as a member of its Executive Committee, and as Secretary. In addition, his father is recipient of the Maria Moors Cabot Award and served as vice president of the Freedom of the Press Committee for many years.

The man I am proposing for second vice president today has also served as vice president of the Freedom of the Press Committee, as a

director of this Association for a number of years, as a member of the Executive Committee for a number of years, and as Chairman of the Scholarship Fund, which he currently holds.

Last year the newspapers which he represents were awarded the World Press Achievement Award by the American Newspaper Publishers Association Foundation. I think we cannot argue with his qualifications.

I therefore propose the following substitute slate of officers for the coming year:

Manoel F. do Nascimento Brito, President; John C. A. Watkins, 1st Vice President; Rodolfo Junco de la Vega, Jr., 2nd Vice President; Máximo Gainza Castro, Secretary; Raymond E. Dix, Treasurer.

And because of the - as far as I know - unprecedented action I have taken here today, I ask that a secret ballot be cast if my nomination is seconded.

MR. COPLEY: Rodrigo Madrigal has asked to leave the room while we have this discussion, and I told him to do so.

SR. GERMAN ORNES (El Caribe, Santo Domingo, Rep. Dominicana): En realidad tenemos una situación muy desacostumbrada aquí esta tarde. Tenemos un candidato a segundo vicepresidente, que es el Sr. Rodrigo Madrigal Nieto, que a mi me parece que tiene condiciones excepcionales para el cargo. Es un hombre brillante; es un hombre que merece la elección, que merece llegar a ser presidente de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, cosa que yo espero.

Tenemos también una enmienda en lo que se refiere al segundo vicepresidente en que se nos presenta un candidato igualmente calificado; igualmente merecedor de la posición para el cual ha sido propuesto.

En estas condiciones yo creo que haríamos muy bien, por votación secreta, y de una forma muy democrática, elegir entre estos dos hombres buenos e igualmente calificados. Digo que se debe hacer por votación secreta porque será muy duro para todos nosotros decidirnos por uno o por el otro de una manera pública.

Me parece que merece que en este caso se alteren las reglas y que se vote por uno o por el otro en forma secreta, y ganará el que más simpatía tenga; no el que más calidad tenga, porque ambos son de mucha calidad y de mucho mérito.

DR. ALBERTO GAINZA PAZ (La Prensa, Buenos Aires): Mr. President, I have the greatest consideration, respect and friendship for Mr. Junco de

la Vega, so I have no objection whatsoever to what Mr. Lozano expressed.

Nevertheless, the decision was taken unanimously by the Committee of five members and I stand by that decision; and frankly, I don't see why the vote should be secret. After all, we are responsible men, and I am sure that whoever I vote for will be pleased and whoever I vote against will not change his consideration and esteem for me. So I oppose the secret vote.

MR. COPLEY: Tito, anybody has the right to ask for a secret vote. What I would like to do - if it would be agreeable - is to take the slate as presented, without the second vice president, and see if we can approve that and get that behind us. Then we can determine what to do with the second vice president. Nacho, do you want me to go down it one by one?

MR. LOZANO: No, Jim, my substitute slate was identical except for the second vice president. If you want to go through the formality of going one by one, that's fine. There are no other nominations for any other officers, I don't think there is any problem as far as the election of the other officers is concerned.

MR. COPLEY: We have to vote, and John Reitemeyer wanted me to do it one by one. I don't see why we can't take them all except the second vice president, John, why?, don't we take the slate as submitted by the Nominating Committee and I would like to ask for a show of hands. All in favor of the slate except for the second vice president, raise their right hand. Opposed. The slate is passed except for the second vice president.

Now, Tito, we have had a request for a secret ballot. We could ask everybody to take a piece of paper and write down one of the two names and hand them in to me, or we can have it a show of hands. It doesn't matter to me either. Alright, we are going to vote now on whether or not we will have a secret ballot.

MR. LOZANO: As a point of order, Mr. President, did I not hear you say that anyone had the right to request and be granted a secret ballot?

MR. COPLEY: I get your point. You are requesting. We have to decide whether or not we will do it.

MR. LOZANO: Well, I think the Chair - I suppose that the Chair - has to decide. If Col. Reitemeyer or a parliamentarian can straighten us out on this matter, I would appreciate it.

MR. JOHN R. REITEMEYER (The Hartford (Conn.) Courant): Let me read you what the rules say:

"All votes at meetings, with the exception of election votes, shall be by a show of hands.

"Any delegate has the right to request a roll-call vote, which will be decided by a majority of those present."

It says nothing about a secret ballot. All our rules say is that any member has the right to request a roll-call vote.

MR. COPLEY: All right, that is what I said before. The motion is: All those in favor of a secret ballot, raise their right hand. We had 16, according to Jimmy Canel. All those opposed to a secret ballot. We came out 16 to 15 and Jimmy thinks he would like to have a recount. Those in favor of a secret ballot, put your hands way up so Jimmy can count them, but I want to be sure just Board members are voting.

Those opposed.

Fifteen to 17, so let's get some pieces of paper out.

Only active Board members can vote. All those entitled by the rulebook can vote.

While they are counting the ballots, I would like to ask your permission to approve membership to the IAPA of El Herald in Mexico City and the Union Leader in Union, New Jersey. All those in favor please raise your right hand. Opposed? We need all the members we can get. Thank you. Ed Scripps, while they are finishing the count, why don't you take over. Very quickly, Ed.

MR. EDWARD W. SCRIPPOS (Scripps League Newspapers, U.S.A.): Thank you, Jim.

The Technical Center will take over at this point because we will try to streamline our procedure and set a good example for the IAPA by keeping it short.

The Technical Center directors are the same as those directors of the IAPA. Therefore, at present the Technical Center is in session. Do I hear any nominations for the elections of the officers for the Technical Center?

SR. ANDRES GARCIA LAVIN (Novedades de Yucatán, Mérida, Yucatán, México): Inter American Press Association Technical Center Board of Directors, Mexico City. Gentlemen:

The undersigned members of the IAPA Technical Center Nominations Committee at the XXVI Annual Assembly of the Inter American Press Association hereby submit the following names of persons whom they nominate as officers of the Technical Center for the year 1970-71:

Chairman, John R. Herbert, Boston Herald-Traveler, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.

President, E. W. Scripps, Scripps League Newspapers, San Mateo, California.

Vice Presidents: Horacio Aguirre, Diario las Américas, Miami, Fla; James S. Copley, Copley Newspapers, La Jolla, California; J. Montgomery Curtis, Knight Newspapers, Miami, Florida; Máximo Gainza Castro, La Prensa, Buenos Aires, Argentina; Guillermo Guitérrez V-M, Novedades, Mexico, D.F.; William R. Hearst, Jr., Hearst Corporation, New York, N. Y.; Andrew Heiskell, Time Inc., New York, N. Y.; Julio de Mesquita Neto, O Estado de S. Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil.

Treasurer, H. Earle Braisted, Joshua B. Powers, Inc., New York, N. Y.

Secretary, Peter Manigault, The News and Courier, Charleston Evening Post, Charleston, South Carolina.

Signed by myself, Andrés García Lavín, Novedades de Yucatán, Mérida, Yucatán, México; Horacio Aguirre, Chairman, Diario las Americas, Miami, Florida, Riobó Caputto, El Litoral, Santa Fe, Argentina.

MR. SCRIPPS: We have a motion that the nominations as presented be one ballot and be accepted. I would like a show of hands. All those in favor of the motion. Opposed. Unanimous.

In closing the meeting of the Technical Center, I would like to make one or two comments, and I will keep it brief. We have been here a long time.

I would like to urge all the small newspaper publishers present at this meeting to bring or to mail tear-sheets on any ideas that they may have that will be profitable to their newspapers or newspapers similar to theirs. I would like also for them to have in mind to present anything in the way of promotion; ideas for improving revenue; all those things that we have discussed at these meetings.

I believe that by sharing this knowledge, by an exchange of these ideas that we can, more economically, conduct the affairs of the Technical Center. We surely want to keep the costs down. We don't want

to spend a lot of money. We want to do and perform the service at the minimum of cost for you people, sharing ideas, particularly the things that have been outstandingly successful in your communities.

In North America and in our country some of our ideas work fine in our areas, and we will send them to you. But we are most interested in what will actually get results for you; actually make your newspapers economically strong.

If there are any other ideas or suggestions before we close the meeting, I would like to hear from you. Thank you. Adjourned.

MR. COPLEY: Thank you very much, Ed. I've got to tell you now that we had very close vote, and I just want to double check. Did everybody that is eligible to vote for the second vicepresident vote? Anybody didn't vote?

We had 34 votes cast. We had 18 for Rodrigo Madrigal, and we had 16 for Junco de la Vega. So the second vicepresident is Rodrigo Madrigal.

Now we have one other point of business and then we will be all through. I would like to hand the meeting over to John Reitemeyer for the Scholarship Fund.

MR. JOHN R. REITEMEYER: Mr. President, all I have here are nominations.

MR. COPLEY: The motion is that Jack Fendell thinks that out of all kindness and fairness he would like to have the election made unanimous. The motion has been seconded. All those in favor raise your right hand. Opposed. Approved. All right, John.

MR. REITEMEYER: I'd like to offer nominations for the Scholarship Fund.

President, Rodolfo Junco de la Vega, Jr.

Vice presidents, John S. Knight, Harold H. Fitzgerald, William Cowles.

Treasurer, (and this is new) Charles E. Scripps.

Secretary, Roberto Fabricio.

As Chairman I move that the Secretary be authorized to cast one ballot for the election of these officers. I might add that the directors of the Scholarship Fund are also directors of the IAPA.

MR. COPLEY: It has been moved and seconded. All those in favor raise your right hands. Opposed? So moved.

And with that I will adjourn the meeting. Oh, wait a minute. You are not going to let me adjourn? Do you want to come up here and do it?

(Andrew Heiskell said something that was inaudible). Applause.

MR. COPLEY: Andrew, thank you very much. I appreciate that, and we have had a fine meeting. I will see you at the banquet. Just a minute, Jimmy has something.

MR. JAMES B. CANEL: We have a few complete Freedom of the Press Reports in English here for anyone interested.

MR. COPLEY: The meeting is adjourned.

ADJOURNMENT BANQUET  
Friday, October 23, 1970

BANQUETE DE CLAUSURA  
Viernes, 23 de octubre de 1970

JAMES S. COPLEY: While we have worked together we also have enjoyed the world-famous hospitality of Mexico. Romulo O'Farrill and his host committee have made our stay one long to be remembered.

Also, we give our thanks to Pepe Rodríguez Estrada, the coordinator, and his dedicated wonderful staff.

Hilda O'Farrill and her charming committee members have issued a challenge in planning for the future pleasure of the ladies attending our IAPA sessions.

Licenciado Miguel Alemán and his staff provided the unusual in attractions for our company and for this attention we are deeply grateful.

In summation of our gratitude, I would be derelict in appreciation if I failed to remind this association of the many favors each of us has received from Jimmy Canel, our General Manager, and his tireless staff.

Also highly pleasing has been the hospitality we have come to expect from our allied industries. To thank each would be a task but, I am sure, the special attentions of all are well-known to our membership.

In opening this session of the Inter American Press Association, I made the statement that "these are trying times" for our Western Hemisphere.

Tonight, as we formalize the closing of this auspicious 26th annual meeting, I regret to say that there have been no reported improvements in the trouble areas during the week we have labored together to preserve the right to know for the more than 500 million people of our Americas.

It is hoped that serious studies will be directed toward implementing the interesting and valued suggestions made by Romulo O'Farrill in his challenging opening address, and by our esteemed colleagues Galo Plaza and Lee Hills.

I would much have preferred to turn over the presidency of this great organization on a happier and more promising note and say that freedom of the press, in fact, exists throughout the Western Hemisphere. Instead, my successor faces dangerous shoals ahead for the freedoms of mankind.

Yes, I said we were in "trying times" last Monday. This Friday we face a grim situation, but we leave here well aware of our obligations and we are prepared for a united effort under the leadership of Manoel F. do Nascimento Brito.

It is now my privilege to introduce to our family of publishers the new officers of the Inter American Press Association. (Applause)

Manoel F. do Nascimento Brito  
President  
Jornal do Brasil  
Rio de Janeiro

John C. A. Watkins  
1st Vice President  
Providence Journal-Bulletin  
Providence, R. I.

Rodrigo Madrigal Nieto  
2nd Vice President  
La Republica  
San Jose, Costa Rica

Maximo Gainza Castro  
Secretary  
La Prensa  
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Raymond E. Dix  
Treasurer  
The Daily Record  
Wooster, Ohio

James B. Canel  
General Manager

Each of these highly competent and dedicated workers in the vineyards of freedom of the press can be counted upon to give great strength to the efforts of our new president and this illustrious body.

It would be repetitious for me to biographically introduce to you our new president. Mr. Nascimento Brito long has been associated with us and his record of service has been an inspiration to all members of IAPA.

We know of his abilities and he need have no concern for our wholehearted cooperation as he faces the great demands that will be made upon his highly capable leadership.

Manoel, as I hand to you this instrument of leadership, you are assured of my ever-ready cooperation in the tasks you face. I only wish that this transfer of authority could be made with a brighter picture of world affairs and, in particular, a more comforting Western Hemisphere situation.

We walk with you in the next 12 months. We know you will stand sure in your strength of leadership. (Applause)

MANOEL DO NASCIMENTO BRITO;

JOURNALISTS OF THE AMERICAS:

Since we last met, our side of the world has witnessed many changes -not least among which, are the signs that in many parts of our continent irreversible options have been taken; options which, together with other problems that have concerned us for some time, demand our attention and our careful thought.

And let us have done with, once and for all, that unenviable habit of thinking in terms of "they" and "we" - the one being the United States super-industrialized and the other Latin America still tackling the problems of development. Let us think as one - for our Association is one, is indivisible, common interests unite us. The further strengthening of our Association is our common purpose. If I now devote more attention to the Southern Hemisphere, it is because I am convinced that at this present juncture in our history, this part of our continent demands of our Association a great deal of attention; attention which will see to it that the dark clouds that hang over us will not be allowed to jeopardize those ideals of liberty and free expression for which our Association stands and for which it has so long fought.

It becomes increasingly clear that the nations of Latin America are no longer free from the gravitational pull that originates from international events and movements. The institutional difficulties of some of our countries cannot be disassociated from the conflicting forces which condition global political realities. If national difficulties grow into impasses and their just resolution delayed, it is because the internal vision is fatally influenced by penetrations from without, be they good or bad, genuine or false.

Communications have made of the world one global forum in which each and every country of our continent participates. Local history, in the traditional sense, is now meaningless. No event, however apparently isolated, can fail to have repercussions which transcend national boundaries. It is in this context that we must build a community alert and capable of absorbing those influences which further our ideals and are capable of repelling ideological opportunism. If not, we run the risk of seeing our natural inclination for liberty, responsibility, and tolerance threatened on every front.

This, then, is our dilemma. We have a continent alive to the anxieties arising from those changes which authentically further human advancement but we have failed to find that basis of common interest which would create a corresponding communion of endeavour.

Political, economic and social definitions which seemed, but yesterday, to have qualities of permanence suffer the onslaught of circumstances, because there has been lacking that greatest of defenses; the enlightened mind. The harsher realities of experience have taught us that liberty is a tender plant. We know now, too well, that the word alone cannot achieve miracles. The ideals and options of its inspiration cannot take root by the simple reiteration of their value, norms, and principles. Their acceptance as a way of life does not imply their automatic implementation. To dream of the great freedoms is only too easy; to cultivate them and to exercise them with responsibility is a task that requires love, patience, determination and constant vigilance.

Latin America requires, now, more than ever, the constant and direct attention of our Association; attention which is as broad and as diverse as the countries here represented. Peripheral emotionalism has given place, in our nations, to a profound and highly sensitive nervous system of responses. The complex results and ramifications of this change must be accompanied at close quarters, by those bodies whose function is to observe; judge and orientate. If not, their vigilance most certainly take on an aspect of remote formalism which would be completely ineffective in this world of dynamic necessities.

I am convinced that it is not enough that we have principles - which are of the best. We have to translate these principles into action; action which is at once, ever-present and ever versatile. We have to learn to give this action a dynamism which will be capable of accomplishing, visibly, the demands that called it into being: action that owes little to the rhetorical protest; action which is as comprehensive as it is particular.

The political, social and economic transformations that we witness in our continent have coincided with the extraordinary advances in communications. The world of today seems virtually inundated by masses of information. In their wake, arise two kinds of conditions of men: those liberated by the general and normal evolution of civilization and those who are caught in the preconceptions of minorities.

There remains for many, particularly the young, the burden of decision from which they try to escape, either in "dropping out" thus avoiding responsibility or by falling for the attractions of the cut-and-dried, facile answers of extremist ideologies and slogans which, too, amount to a forfeit of individual responsibility. The intelligence of the average man has its limitations and from the masses of information, so often contradictory, he has to make decisions affecting his conduct - the

result is a constant disequilibrium between the amount of facts he is offered and the range of thought necessary for their judicious selection.

We are involved, then, in a gigantic battle for the spirits and minds of men. The war of intelligence hangs like a shadow over the principles and institutions we hold most dear. And we are all involved, whether we like it or not.

If we are to safeguard our ideals and the institutions on which they are based, we have to understand fully the extent of this war and the variety of methods being used. No ploy, be it that of pseudo-nationalism, be it that of chronic political instability, be it that even of elections democratically perfect, is beyond those minority and extremist groups who would undermine law and order, respect and liberty for the individual; laying the doors open for the assault of ideologies that owe their inspiration to internationally militant communism.

Journalists of the Americas, men of liberty and of free enterprise, we have a terrible responsibility; we must profoundly indentify ourselves with that realistic and noble task of winning by word and deed the battle of intelligence. Conscious as we are, of our role in the field of social behaviour, in the propagation of culture and political awareness, we must individually and as an Association re-affirm our beliefs in terms and in deeds which are compatible with the realities of our times.

And one of these realities is that it would be suicidal to continue considering the nations of Latin America as one indistinct block with uniform and identical anxieties. Each requires a particular understanding; each a particular response.

Let us unite in our determination to re-interpret our thinking; to revitalize our action in this part of the world. We will not stand back and see the dream of a continental community, defined in equality; sustained in the amplitude of opportunity; evolved in the exercise of common responsibilities, slip through our fingers.

We will, rather, use well, all means of mass communication at our disposal to re-affirm creatively and positively our belief in the traditional options of liberty which history has bequeathed us.

We will, too, rise to meet with new vigor, each new challenge, sure in the knowledge that we act from a base of common purpose and unity of thinking.

We will see in the widest perspective, where our actions must suit particular needs, even to the point of entering into direct contact with antagonistic forces, that, without compromising our principles and our

mission, we may best find a way to turn the tide, where and when, it most threatens the intelligence and the freedom of men.

I see, then, in our organization, here gathered, a kind of plasmic energy; an informal nucleus of thought, action and vigilance, that will temporarily move to any place where our greatest interests converge for the moment.

We will not, ladies and gentlemen of IAPA, sit safely at a comfortable distance while the tempest rages and chaos sets in. We will be there, our voice will be heard. (Applause)

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