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CHARTER OF THE INTER AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION

I

Honest, free and independent journalism is the best contribution toward peace in a world of free nations peopled by free men.

II

Without freedom of the press there is no democracy. Freedom of thought and its expression, spoken or written, are inseparable, essential rights. Together, they constitute the guarantee and defense of the other liberties on which democracy is based.

III

Freedom of information is a right inherent in freedom of opinion. Information, whether national or international, should be received, transmitted and disseminated without any restriction. Printed matter should circulate within a country or between countries with the same freedom. Any administrative measures that under any pretext restrain such freedom are anti-democratic.

IV

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.

V

Political regimes that do not respect fully freedom of the press, or do not cause it to be respected fully, are not democratic.

VI

Whatever may be expressed verbally may be expressed by means of the printed word. To close any printing press or make it unusable is harmful to culture and to democracy.

VII

The free press is basic in forming and expressing public opinion. America, by reason of its tradition and its destiny, must be a continent of public opinion.

VIII

It is contrary to the existence of a free and independent press and to the principles of the IAPA for newspapers to accept subsidies or any other form of economic help from governments.

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J. Federico Steuernagel
Grafiska Maskin, Buenos Aires
Karl-Ingvar Nyrén
Alfredo Vavassori
Harris Intertype Corp., Buenos Aires
Ricardo Gentile
Intergráfica, Buenos Aires
Boris Orentschuk
Diethart Schmidt Liermann
ITT Latin America, Buenos Aires
Hal Hendrix
Francisco Lera S. A. F. y C.
Buenos Aires
Héctor Osvaldo Lera

EL LITORAL, Santa Fe
Ranwel Caputto
Telam S.A., Buenos Aires
Roberto Simonovich

CANADA

Canadian International Paper Co., Montreal
James Pirtte
A. van Bavel
Consolidated-Bathurst Newsprint Limited, Montreal
Harald S. Barfod
Domtar Newsprint Ltd., Montreal
M. A. Campbell
Curt J. Weiss
Kruger Pulp & Paper Ltd., Montreal
Otto Fernández Hermo
R. E. Robinson
MacMillan Bloedel Limited, Vancouver, B.C.
Knut Gordon-Firing
Pierre A. Benoit

CHILE

Industrias Forestales S.A., Santiago
Luis Marty Dufeu
Roberto Furhmann

PANAMA

THE PANAMA TRIBUNE, Panama
Edward Bernsee
U.S. Southern Command, Canal Zone
Lt. Col. Robert G. Fleet

PERU

ITT - Peru, Lima
Ray L. Muschell

PUERTO RICO

EL MUNDO, San Juan
William Drake

UNITED STATES

The Associated Press, New York
Wes Gallagher
Stanley M. Swinton
Louis Uchitelle
Claude E. Erbsen
Atec Corporation, Philadelphia, Pa.
Luis Fernández Villalba
Bohmer International, New York
Bengt Wingvist
Bowater Paper Co., New York
William J. Schechter
Braniff International, New York
Louis Garcia
Central National Corp., New York
Enrique Llaca
Pedro Auspitz
Jayme F. do Nascimento Brito
Charleston Gazette, Charleston, W. Va.
Jim Abbot
Comtar Newsprint Sales Ltd.
Carl Fellows
Flint Ink Corp., Detroit, Mich.
Ray C. Lopez
Great Northern Paper Co., New York
John J. Cortissoz
Inland Newspaper Machinery Corp. Kansas City, Missouri
Clark Murray
Inter-American Development Bank Washington, D.C.
Joseph U. Hinshaw
International Paper Co., New York
J. Pirtle
Intertype Co., New York
Joseph Maceda
Mrs. Bernard Kilgore
Princeton, New Jersey
The Ludington (Mich.) Daily News
Dr. Charles L. MacCallum
Mergenthaler Linotype Co. Plainview, New York
George R. Hall
Robert D. Pinto
Mario P. De Costa
Simon A. Palo

UNITED STATES (Cont.)

Miehle-Goss-Dexter Americas Co., Chicago, Illinois
- Walter Ditsch
- R. T. Schneider
- R. A. Neville
- C. Echols

Pan American World Airways, Inc. New York, N. Y.
- Willis Player
- Sergio Betancourt

The Pontiac Press, Pontiac, Mich.
- Jack U. Klarr

Press Wireless-ITT, New York
- Donald K. DeNeuf

Price Paper Corporation, New York
- T. R. Kenny
- George R. Arellano
- Jorge Santelli
- Rodolfo Wachsman

Tropex Graphic, Inc., New York
- Henry Lopez-Oña

Wayne Graphic Products Ltd. Long Island City, N. Y.
- José Ferrer

GUESTS-INVITADOS

Harlan Anderson

Robert Sorensen
- TIME INC., New York, N. Y.

Carlos J Biedma
- Asociación Interamericana de Educación, Buenos Aires, Arg.

Juan Carlos Blanco
- Radio El Mundo, Buenos Aires

Norman Bonner, U.S.A.
- Fulbright Commission, Santiago, Chile

Jorge Bravo
- World Bank, Washington, D.C.

Paul Cowan, New York, N. Y.

Herbert E. Evans
- Inter American Ass'n of Broadcasters, Columbus, Ohio

José Froimovich
- La Nación, Santiago, Chile

Mario A. Grú

Gerardo Hauser
- Asociación Interamericana de la Prensa Extranjera, Buenos Aires

Bali Guimaraes
- Río de Janeiro, Brasil

Affonso H. Correa
- National Press Club, Washington, D.C.

María E. L. Lobo
- Universidad Federal, Río de Janeiro

Staley McBrayer
- Sigma Delta Chi, Ft. Worth, Texas

Robert S. McNamara
- World Bank, Washington, D.C.

Jorge Navarrete, Santiago, Chile

Gerald J. Rock
- Int'l. Newspaper Promotion Ass'n. New York, N. Y.

Carlos Sanz de Santamaría
- Inter American Com. on the Alliance for Progress, Washington, D.C.

Harris Wofford
- State University of N. Y. Old Westbury, Long Island, N. Y.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

FIRST MEETING

Tuesday, October 15, 1968

The first meeting of the Board of Directors of the XXIV General Assembly of the Inter American Press Association convened at 3:30 PM, Tuesday, October 14, 1969 in the Salón de Fiestas of the Plaza Hotel in Buenos Aires, Argentina, with Mr. Lee Hills, President, as Chairman.

MR. LEE HILLS (Knight Newspapers, U.S.A.): The meeting of the Board of Directors of the Inter American Press Association will now come to order.

I will ask our secretary, Mr. Luis Feldman Josin, to call the roll.

SR. LUIS FELDMAN JOSIN (Jornada, Trelew, Argentina) called the roll and the following directors were present: Lee Hills, Agustín E. Edwards, Luis Feldman Josin, James S. Copley, John C. A. Watkins, Manoel F. do Nascimento Brito, Manuel Cisneros, Raymond E. Dix, José Dutriz, Jr., S. G. Fletcher, T. C. Harris, E. W. Scripps, Pedro G. Beltrán, William H. Cowles, Alberto Gainza Paz, Andrew Heiskell, John R. Herbert, Jack R. Howard, Guillermo Martínez Márquez, Julio de Mesquita Filho, John R. Reitemeyer, Diana J. de Massot, Julio de Mesquita Neto, Rev. Albert J. Nevins, Enrique Nores Martínez, Germán Ornes, Amadeo Barletta, Jr., George Beebe, Brady Black, Pedro J. Chamorro, Edward H. Harte, Marian S. Heiskell, Joseph B. Ridder, William P. Williamson, Horacio Aguirre-Baca, H. Earle Braisted, Carlos Canelas, Riobó Caputto, Alberto R. Cellario, Howard H. Fitzgerald, Ignacio E. Lozano, Jr., Juan Valmaggia, George W. Westerman.

MR. HILLS: We have more than a quorum, so this meeting of the Board of Directors is formally in session.

I want to extend a warm welcome to our directors, to our members, to observers and guests for this meeting. And on behalf of all of you I would like to thank the Host Committee, whose chairman, Dr. Bartolomé Mitre, editor of La Nación, will address the delegates at the Inaugural Dinner tonight.

As we start this meeting, just a few reminders:

When you want the floor and wish to speak, please identify yourself and your paper for the record.

Also, keep in mind the interpreters and try to speak so it will be helpful to them.

And third, a general reminder, please try to wear your badges at all times, and especially at all social functions, because that amounts to a recognition for admission to all extra social functions.

As part of the streamlining of the meetings, which we started a few years ago, we again this year will follow the custom of recent years, which means that only the President's report to the General Assembly, which will be tomorrow, will be read in full. All other IAPA reports will be distributed in printed form and orally summarized by their authors.

Now we are ready for the minutes of the last meeting. These have been distributed to the members of the Board. Do I hear a motion to dispense with the reading of these minutes?

It has been moved and seconded. Approved.

I will now ask the Secretary, Mr. Feldman, to summarize any messages that we have received.

SR. FELDMAN JOSIN: Hay un mensaje de Monseñor Pellín de Venezuela que dice: "Lamento no poder asistir asamblea debido elecciones y absorbedor trabajo. Estoy con ustedes todo corazón y de acuerdo con cuanto resuelvan respecto libertad de prensa."

Seguidamente el Sr. Jiménez va a leer los mensajes en inglés.

MR. CARLOS A. JIMENEZ, manager of the IAPA: A message from Charles E. Scripps says: "Deeply regret my inability to be with you and to join old and new friends in IAPA. Best wishes to all. I wish you a successful and productive Assembly and a pleasant time in Buenos Aires."

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

MR. HILLS: I have another message from our Associate Member, Mr. Edward W. Barrett, who, as you know, resigned a few weeks ago as Dean of the Graduate School of Journalism at Columbia University. Dean Barrett says: "It is with deep sorrow that I must record my inability to attend the next meeting of IAPA in Buenos Aires. Mason and I shall miss you and all of our friends there. I hope you will communicate to our friends on the Board our deep regret."

Since Chairman Robert U. Brown of the Executive Committee has been unable to come to this meeting, copies of his report have been distributed to you so that the Directors can read it and vote on it. The report will be submitted to the Resolutions Committee, to be appointed tomorrow, for any action that may be called for.

REPORT BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, MR. ROBERT U. BROWN

This meeting will see several new records established by our membership list.

At this meeting our total membership will go over 650 and the number of active members will exceed 540.

These active members represent more than 900 individual publications in this hemisphere and with the inclusion of our associate membership and life members our total affiliated membership will exceed 1,000 for the first time.

This is not only a great tribute to our hard working Membership Committees in both North and Central and South America but also to the vitality and worthiness of the IAPA. To be considered at this meeting are at least 27 new membership applications with 15 of them representing 22 affiliates from the United States and 12 of them representing 30 affiliates from Latin America.

Our increasing membership strength is but one indication of our increasing financial stability.

Our financial report, which you will hear in detail later, reveals that our income from membership dues is at a new high as is our total income and although our total expenses are also at a new high we have managed to live within our income and add a little to surplus.

It was necessary for the Executive Committee to hold only one meeting on April 26th, after the mid-year meeting of the Board of Directors at Montego Bay in March.

A proposal was made to the Executive Committee "to create a special committee to follow and study the situation and developments in Cuba and to report to every annual and semi-annual meeting of the Association or to the Executive Committee on the results of such an inquiry. This special committee shall be appointed by the President of the Association."

This proposal was presented by a committee of five that consulted in Montego Bay following the Board meeting there.

After proper consideration the Executive Committee approved the proposal and President Hills appointed the following Special Committee on Cuba: Dr. Gainza Paz, Chairman, Mr. Aguirre-Baca, George Beebe, Mr. Martínez Márquez and Mr. John Reitemeyer.

This Committee is scheduled to report to this General Assembly.

The Executive Committee approved the Mergenthaler and Tom Wallace Awards which have already been announced and also voted to grant the Jules Dubois Award for the best article on "Freedom of the Press as a right of the peoples" to be published in a newspaper between January 1, 1969, and August 16, 1969, the third anniversary of Mr. Dubois' death. The Jules Dubois award was proposed and will be financed by our member Agencia de Informaciones Periodísticas. Rules governing the entries and the judging of the Jules Dubois Award will be revealed later on this year.

At that time the Executive Committee approved the preliminary program for this General Assembly and also reviewed preliminary plans for the Assemblies in Washington in October, 1969, and in Rio de Janeiro in October of 1970.

Shortly after the Executive Committee meeting in April a delegation of three consisting of your Chairman, President Hills, and Mr. Jiménez went to Washington to examine the accommodations that had been reserved at the Statler Hilton Hotel and also to call upon Mrs. Kay Graham, the President of the Washington Post, who graciously consented to be Chairman of the organizing committee for the Washington Assembly.

Mrs. Graham is in Buenos Aires this week attending her first IAPA meeting and if she is present today I would ask this Board to extend its welcome and its thanks to her.

During that same trip to Washington Mr. Hills, Mr. Jiménez and I completed an assignment that had been given to us by the General Assembly in Lima, Peru, two years ago. At that time it was voted unanimously by the General Assembly that a plaque should be placed on the tombstone of the late Jules Dubois in Arlington Cemetery honoring him in the name of the IAPA. It was a long involved process to obtain the necessary permissions but the plaque was installed on July 31 and dedicated by us in a brief ceremony at that time.

The plaque reads: "In memory of Jules Dubois for his heroic struggle in behalf of all free journalists in the Americas. 22nd. General Assembly of the Inter American Press Association - Lima, Peru - October 26, 1966."

A new survey on Freedom of Information Around the World released at mid-year by the Freedom of Information Center at the University of Missouri stated specifically that the Western Hemisphere continues to have more press freedom than many other region in the world. For this we can be grateful. However, the state of the controlled press in Cuba and in Haiti, the existence of moderate controls in may other countries, and several threats to freedom of the press during the year, should convince us once again, if we needed convincing, that eternal vigilance is the price of freedom and that the IAPA can never close its eyes in the belief that the fight has been won.

There were threats in Argentina during the year when government authorities closed down two newspapers. However, they were allowed to reopen later following a Supreme Court decision.

A bill requiring registration of newspapers and magazines in the Virgin Islands was passed by the legislature and received the pocket veto of the governor after vigorous protest by the IAPA.

Uruguayan newspapers were temporarily closed and Argentine papers were temporarily banned in Uruguay.

The IAPA is currently protesting a "seditious and undesirable publications act" adopted on the small island of Dominica, British West Indies.

These are all incidents that you will hear about in detail from the Committee on Freedom of the Press, but I wish to point out that they are symptomatic of the threats to freedom which are constantly in our midst.

I regret that circumstances beyond my control have forced me to cancel my planned attendance at the Buenos Aires General Assembly and it is a great disappointment to me.

I extend my most sincere best wishes to all of you in the knowledge that you will have an interesting and profitable meeting and stimulating fellowship.

MR. HILLS: I will now ask Mr. Raymond E. Dix to read his report as Chairman of the Membership Committee and of the Applications Review Committee.

REPORT BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE, MR. RAYMOND E. DIX

The IAPA membership is on as solid a base as it has ever been.

When we take in the applicants now pending our membership will represent substantially more than 1,000 affiliates and individuals.

We now have 646 corporate and individual members representing 979 affiliates. Some corporate memberships represent as many as 40 individual newspapers. We have 30 applicants now, representing 50 affiliates. If and when these are approved the magical figure of 1,000 will be passed, and our affiliates will total 1,034.

This year, in San Juan and Montego Bay, and by mail, we have taken in 103 new members, representing 224 affiliates.

The rapid growth in our membership represents work and cooperation among the members of our committee.

While we have had a substantial expansion in the United States this year, we have also had a large growth in Latin America. This is due to the leadership of our Latin American chairman, Julio de Mesquita Neto, and his capable committee.

Our membership expansion, in my opinion, imposes a responsibility on all of us to make the Inter American Press Association effective.

Our goals, as you know, are the maintenance of a free press in the Western Hemisphere and the improvement of inter-American understanding. To fail to achieve these objectives is unthinkable. Therefore, we have attached ourselves to an organization which we must make successful. The list of applicants for the IAPA membership to be considered at this meeting is attached to this report.

Unfortunately we have had 41 membership cancellations. In each case the person cancelling has been contacted. In a number of instances the membership has been saved.

I wish to thank everyone who has given us a hand this year, including President Lee Hills and Manager Carlos Jimenez. Every time, without exception, that I have asked for help I have received it. George Beebe is the author of the form letter we used in so many places. John Watkins not only carried New England for us; his eagle eye has kept our delinquent list from growing.

Our committee is as follows:

UNITED STATES

John C. A. Watkins, Providence Journal-Bulletin, Providence, R. I.
Joseph B. Ridder, San Jose News-Mercury, San Jose, California
Howard H. Fitzgerald, Pontiac Press, Pontiac, Mich.
Ignacio Lozano, Jr., La Opinión, Los Angeles, Calif.
Charles L. Dancey, Peoria Journal-Star, Peoria, Ill.
Edward H. Harte, Corpus Christi Caller-Times, Corpus Christi, Texas
JS Gray, Monroe Evening News, Monroe, Michigan
H. Galt Braxton, Kinston Free Press, Kinston, North Carolina
Brady Black, Cincinnati Enquirer, Cincinnati, Ohio
James Copley, Copley Press Inc., La Jolla, California
Mrs. Andrew Heiskell, The New York Times, New York, New York
Ian H. Macdonald, Thomson Newspapers, Ltd., Toronto, Ontario
Father Albert J. Nevins, Maryknoll Magazine, Maryknoll, New York
Albert V. Dix, The Times-Leader, Martins Ferry, Ohio
George Beebe, The Miami Herald, Miami, Florida
Robert B. Atwood, Anchorage Times, Anchorage, Alaska
G. Nicholas Ifft, Idaho State Journal, Pocatello, Idaho
Raymond E. Dix, The Daily Record, Wooster, Ohio, Chairman

APPLICANTS FROM THE UNITED STATES

CORPORATE MEMBERS

FEDERATED PUBLICATIONS, INC., Battle Creek, Michigan;
FIELD ENTERPRISES, INC., Chicago, Illinois.

ACTIVE MEMBERS

THE BRAZOSPORT FACTS, Freeport, Texas; DAILY DISPATCH, New Kensington, Pa.; THE DAILY REVIEW, Edinburg, Texas; GAZETTE-NEWS, Texarkana, Texas; U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, Washington, D.C.; WAPAKONETA DAILY NEWS, Wapakoneta, Ohio.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

ARTEMIO CARRANDI, Dayco Corporation, Dayton, Ohio; DEAN EARL ENGLISH, School of Journalism, University of Missouri; CLAYTON FRITCHEY, Newsday Sindicate, Washington, D.C.; R. H. GATHMANN, R. H. Gathmann Ltd., New York, N. Y.; THOMAS B. NENDICK, Miehle-Goss-Dexter Americas Co., Chicago, Illinois; JOHN M. REED, The Furrow, Deere and Company, Moline, Ill.; HENRY F. SCHULTE, School of Journalism, Pennsylvania State University; JAN VAN DER PLOEG, The Cottrell Co., Westerly, Rhode Island.

The report was approved.

MR. DIX: Now I turn the microphone over to Julio de Mesquita Neto, who will read the Latin American Committee's report, the Latin American Committee members and the names of the applicants.

INFORME DEL PRESIDENTE DE LA COMISION DE NUEVOS SOCIOS PARA LA AMERICA LATINA, SR. JULIO DE MESQUITA NETO

Al completar un año como presidente de la Comisión de Nuevos Socios para la América Latina, cumplo el grato deber de presentar rápido relato de mis actividades, agregando nuevos datos a los que tuve ocasión de ofrecer en la reunión de Montego Bay, en abril del corriente año.

Después de haber recibido la comunicación de mi elección para este cargo, escribí a los siguientes compañeros pidiéndoles colaboración y sugestiones para mi trabajo:

Agustín Edwards, El Mercurio, Santiago, Chile; Alberto Gainza Paz, La Prensa, Buenos Aires; Alejandro Miró Quesada, El Comercio, Lima; Eduardo Carrión Puertas, Suceso, Guayaquil; Luis Feldman Josin, Jornada, Trelew, Argentina; Manuel Cisneros, La Gaceta, Trujillo, Perú; Pedro G. Beltrán, La Prensa, Lima; Pedro J. Chamorro, La Prensa, Managua, Nicaragua; Riobó Caputto, El Litoral, Santa Fe, Argentina.

Por sugestión de Raymond Dix, escribí a los siguientes miembros de la SIP, nombrándolos representantes de nuestra Comisión en sus respectivos países y pidiéndoles que escribiesen a los candidatos a socios:

Andrés Borrasé, La Prensa Libre, San José, Costa Rica; Carlos A. Ricart, Listín Diario, Santo Domingo, República Dominicana; Carlos Canelas, Los Tiempos, Cochabamba, Bolivia; Carlos Manini Ríos, La Mañana, Montevideo; Carlos Mantilla Ortega, El Comercio, Quito; Mons. Jesús María Pellín, La Religión, Caracas; José Dutriz, La Prensa Gráfica, San Salvador; Juan B. Fernández, El Heraldo, Barranquilla, Colombia; Ramón Blanco, El Imparcial, Guatemala; Rodolfo Junco de la Vega, Jr., El Norte, Monterrey, México.

Aceptando el encargo, me contestaron los siguientes:

Andrés Borrasé, Costa Rica; Carlos A. Ricart, República Dominicana; Carlos Canelas, Bolivia; José Dutriz, El Salvador; Mons. Jesús María Pellín, Venezuela; Rodolfo Junco de la Vega, Jr., México.

Como resultado del trabajo de esos y otros dedicados compañeros, en la reunión de Montego Bay pudieron ser admitidos como socios los siguientes periódicos latino-americanos, que no son de Brasil: ANALISIS, Buenos Aires, Argentina; APUNTES ECONOMICOS, Bogotá, Colombia; CASTELLANOS, Rafaela, Santa Fe, Argentina; EL COMERCIO, San Rafael, Mendoza, Argentina; GENTE, México, D.F.; LA HORA, Guatemala; MOMENTO ACTUAL, Ensenada, Argentina; EL NACIONAL, Machala, El Oro, Ecuador; LA REFORMA, General Pico, La Pampa, Argentina; LA REPUBLICA, Bogotá; EL TIEMPO, Azul, Argentina; VINO, Rosario, Santa Fe, Argentina.

Por votación por carta fue admitida LA REPUBLICA, San José, Costa Rica.

Según comunicación que se me envió, deberán ser votados en Buenos Aires las siguientes empresas y periódicos latinoamericanos: DIARIO DEL CARIBE, de Barranquilla, Colombia; ECOS DE QUEVEDO, Quevedo, Ecuador; EDITORIAL CODEX S.A., Buenos Aires; ENFOQUE, de Chetumal, México; ABC COLOR, de Asunción, Paraguay; EL DIARIO DE NUEVO LAREDO, de México; TRIBUNA, de Olavarría, Argentina; revista ALAMAR, de Montevideo; PRESENCIA, de La Paz, Bolivia; y LA TRIBUNA, de San Juan, Argentina.

Hoy recibimos tres solicitudes más de EDITORIAL LORD COCHRANE, Santiago, Chile; PRENSA CONFIDENCIAL, Buenos Aires; y LA VOZ DE LAPRIDA, Laprida, Argentina.

PERIODICOS BRASILEÑOS

Paralelamente al trabajo realizado en los otros países latinoamericanos, escribí a numerosos directores de periódicos brasileños, in-

vitándolos a ingresar en la SIP.

Varias publicaciones atendieron a esta invitación y fueron aceptadas en la reunión de Montego Bay, o poco después, y otras serán consideradas ahora, en la reunión de Buenos Aires.

En la reunión de Montego Bay fueron aprobados los siguientes periódicos brasileños: EDIÇÃO DE ESPORTES, São Paulo; JORNAL DA TARDE, São Paulo; ENGENHARIA, São Paulo; EDITORA ABRIL, 16 publicaciones, São Paulo.

Después de aquella reunión, fue aprobado, por votación, el ingreso de O JORNAL, de Río de Janeiro, órgano líder de los Diarios Asociados, cadena que reúne numerosos periódicos distribuidos en los principales Estados brasileños.

Ya remitieron sus contribuciones y serán votados, ahora, en Buenos Aires, BLOCH EDITORES S.A. (seis publicaciones en Río de Janeiro: Manchete, Fatos e Fotos, Joia, Enciclopédia Bloch, Sétimo Ceu, Pais e Filhos), DIARIO DA NOITE y JORNAL DO COMERCIO (Recife).

Con estas inscripciones, el Brasil, que al comienzo del corriente año tenía en la SIP 13 miembros activos (12 diarios y 1 revista), pasó a contar con otras 28 publicaciones, totalizando 41 periódicos socios de la entidad.

Ahora quiero agradecer a los miembros de la Comisión para la América Latina, que fueron los responsables por el éxito de nuestro grupo este año. Los miembros son:

Manoel do Nascimento Brito, Brasil; Luis Feldman Josin, Argentina; Riobó Caputto, Argentina; Carlos Canelas, Bolivia; Agustín Edwards, Chile; Juan Fernández, Colombia; Andrés Borrasé, Costa Rica; Carlos Ricart, Santo Domingo; Carlos Mantilla Ortega, Ecuador; Ramón Blanco, Guatemala; Rodolfo Junco de la Vega, Jr., México; Pedro Chamorro, Nicaragua; Manuel Cisneros, Perú; José Dutriz, El Salvador; Carlos Manini Ríos, Uruguay; Jesús María Pellín, Venezuela; Wharton Shober, Filadelfia; y Jack Fendell, Costa Rica.

Muchas gracias.

La moción para aceptar a los nuevos socios debería ser votada ahora.

MR. HILLS: It has been moved, seconded and passed that these new members of Latin America be accepted.

This is an unprecendented increase in membership in one year, and I think we all should give a round of applause to Raymond Dix and Julio

de Mesquita Neto for the really wonderful work which they and their Committees have done. (Applause)

At this time I am asking Mr. Jack Fendell to form a special committee to welcome new members and those who, although not new, are attending an IAPA Assembly for the first time. Jack has been doing this job for us for the last few years.

As you know, the new members and those attending for the first time have red dots on their badges so that they can be identified. I hope all of you will cooperate with Jack and make the new members and the others attending for the first time feel at home.

All of this group will be formally recognized and presented at the Inaugural Dinner tonight.

I would now like to ask Mr. John R. Reitemeyer, Chairman of the Future Sites Committee, if he has any recommendation for the 1970 mid-year Board Meeting.

MR. JOHN R. REITEMEYER (The Hartford Courant, Hartford, Conn.): Mr. Chairman, at one of our recent meetings in Montego Bay it was suggested that we hold a mid-year meeting in Barbados. One of our members was going to provide me with detailed information on Barbados by June 1st, but I regret to say I have not yet received it. I have, however, checked on Barbados. I find that there are three hotels with a capacity to accommodate our members. I must say, however, that we have at the present time no members in Barbados.

I have just been handed a cablegram addressed to Lee Hills, President, Inter American Press Association: "Freeport News, Bahamas, invites March 1970 Directors meeting. Sorry Marina and I can't be with you now. Signed, John Perry."

However, to continue, Mr. Ornes spoke about the possibility of having a meeting in the Dominican Republic in 1970, but I had a letter from him in which he suggested that he would rather have us some time after 1970, and he would prefer firstly the year 1973, since in that year "we plan to open and install a new plant".

I must admit that neither Mr. Heiskell nor I approach this subject of the mid-year meeting with an entirely open mind. And I daresay there are some other people sitting around this table who, to some extent, share our viewpoint.

I have written to Mr. Morrow, who is the Manager of the Montego Beach Hotel, and in a letter he says: "Easter Sunday in 1970 is March 27, and we would, therefore, be pleased to offer space to the Inter American

Press Association for any dates between April 2 and 15. Naturally, we would be pleased to have you all back again once more.

"If it turns out that you have any interest in returning, we can go over the details later...."

Of course, neither Mr. Heiskell nor I would like to impose our views on any unwilling members of this Association, but it is our considered opinion that Montego Bay would be the most convenient, the most pleasant, the most suitable place for us in 1970.

MR. HILLS: You have heard the recommendation of the Committee. Is there any discussion?

MR. S. G. FLETCHER (The Daily Gleaner, Kingston, Jamaica): Mr. President, I need hardly say what I have said many times before, and hope to say many times again: You will be very welcome in Jamaica in April of 1970 or any other time. Very welcome, indeed.

MR. HILLS: Is there any further discussion?

Is that in the form of a motion, Mr. Chairman?

SR. GERMAN E ORNES (El Caribe, Santo Domingo, República Dominicana): I want to ask Mr. Reitemeyer if the Dominican Republic could be considered for 1971.

When I answered his letter about 1970, the reason I gave was that it is election year. The meeting will be held in March and elections will be in May, and I don't think that so close to a Latin American election will be any fun.

MR. HILLS: The chair moves that since there is a motion and a second that we approve Montego Bay for the Board meeting in the Spring of 1970. Unless there is some further discussion on that we will vote on that motion.

Approved.

Mr. Reitemeyer, do you care to comment further on 1971?

MR. REITEMEYER: Mr. Heiskell and I had not considered the Dominican Republic for 1971 because of Mr. Ornes' letter, which suggested 1973. We were prepared to suggest 1973, but if Mr. Ornes does not mind, Mr. Heiskell and I would like to consider this and will be happy to report to you at a future meeting.

SR. IGNACIO E. LOZANO, JR. (La Opinión, Los Angeles, California): Mr. Chairman, we have been to Santo Domingo before. I move that the Board of Directors meeting in 1971 be held there.

MR. HILLS: It has been moved and seconded. Is there any further comment from the Committee?

If I understand, the motion is that we hold the 1971 meeting in Santo Domingo.

Does the Committee want to meet on this?

MR. REITEMEYER: There is no objection to meeting there in 1971. If the membership wishes to go there it is perfectly allright with me.

MR. HILLS: We have a motion which is supported before the Board. Is there any further discussion?

The motion is carried.

Now, as to the sites for our Annual Assemblies, these have been selected through 1973, as you all know.

Next year we meet in Washington, D.C. In 1970 we meet in Rio de Janeiro; in 1971 in Chicago; in 1972 in Santiago, Chile; and in 1973 in Boston.

We have the great pleasure here in Buenos Aires of having with us for the first time a member who has supported the organization for a long time and who has consented to be the Chairman of the Host Committee in Washington next year. I am referring to Mrs. Katharine Graham, who is the President of The Washington Post and of Newsweek. With her on this trip to Buenos Aires is her associate, Mr. Gerald Siegel, who is Vice-President and counsel for The Washington Post and who will actively join with Kay Graham in organizing the meeting for next year.

At this time I would like to ask Mrs. Graham if she would tell us something about the plans for next year. Although I know it is very early, we would appreciate hearing from you, Kay.

MRS. KATHARINE GRAHAM (The Washington Post, Washington, D.C.): Thank you, Lee.

The publishers of Washington look forward to welcoming all of you back to Washington next year after an absence of 11 years. Though the convention is more than a year away, your Host Committee is moving ahead with the details of your visit.

We are terribly pleased that you have chosen Washington for the next convention, although we realize it probably isn't equal to Montego Bay.

Ours is a dynamic and exciting city, we think, struggling with many of the same desperate problems and hopes that weigh upon other major cities across the United States today. If you understand Washington, you will understand much of what is wrong and right with our country.

I wouldn't dare contend that our capital could outdo this beautiful city we are in today, in architecture, but we are smaller and perhaps more intimate and we do have our share of beauty.

Like most capitals, out town was built by an alliance of bureaucrats and politicians, a very rare alliance, indeed. And you know how skilled such groups are in building eye-catching monuments; monuments particularly to themselves.

As many of you know from your past visits to the United States, our fall is very much like your own, with beautiful brisk winds and falling leaves, except, of course, that it comes during your spring. Next autumn will be a particularly exciting time to be in Washington. We will have a new administration and a new cast of characters.

Your Host Committee apologizes sincerely that it cannot reveal at this time which party in cast will meet you. Naturally, your Committee has worked out this detail along with all the rest, but it does not feel that it would be fair to the American people to reveal the outcome right now.

Whatever the cast next year, we will make sure you are able to talk informally to as many of the new administration as possible. This new administration will just be getting its feet on the ground, so you will be getting to know Washington together. If past experience is any guide, they may know less than you do now.

I hope you will let the Host Committee know if you have any suggestions for activities or any particular interest for the XXV General Assembly. We will be working with our able and energetic manager, Carlos Jiménez, and you can communicate your ideas to him or directly to us, and particularly to Mr. Siegel.

This occasion will be a great honor for the Washington publishers and, indeed, for all of Washington, and we want to do it justice. (Applause)

MR. HILLS: Thank you very much, Mrs. Graham. I am sure it is going to be a great meeting.

I will now appoint two committees and then we will go into brief summaries of the reports.

First the Committee on Credentials: Julio de Mesquita Neto, Chairman; Germán Ornes, Father Nevins, Ray Dix.

Committee on Nominations: Pedro Beltrán, Chairman; Andrew Heiskell, Dr. Alberto Gainza Paz, and Jack R. Howard.

I'd like to ask the Chairmen of these Committees to arrange for a time and place for their meetings after this session today.

The Nominations Committee just appointed will prepare the slate of IAPA officers and chairmen and members of the Executive Committee for 1968-69.

This Committee will submit the slate to the Board at its afternoon meeting on this coming Friday, October 18.

A point that Mr. Reitemeyer has made is a good one, and I think it is provided for. That is that the Nominations Committee will have to take into consideration the 15 new directors who are elected at this Assembly and whose names will not be known until the morning of October 18. But I think this is the proper procedure.

I want to ask the Chairman and members of the Credentials Committee to keep in close touch with the Registration Desk to check on registrations. The Chairman will be asked to report to the General Assembly in the morning of Wednesday, October 16, on the number of members and individuals registered and whether or not all credentials are in order.

I will now ask Mr. Andrew Heiskell, the Chairman of the Committee on the Future of the IAPA, to give his report.

REPORT BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE FUTURE OF IAPA, MR. ANDREW HEISKELL

This committee was created at the Puerto Rico meeting and charged by President Lee Hills with examining the activities, programs and future of the Inter American Press Association. Its purpose is to help map the course that IAPA will take in the years ahead.

All members of IAPA were invited to participate through a questionnaire sent out early this year by Committee Chairman Andrew Heiskell and President Hills. A large number of replies was received.

Recommendations in this report are based on these replies, on personal letters and conversations, and the committee's own studies.

They cover all facets of IAPA activities: Freedom of the Press, Technical Center, Scholarship and Awards programs, etc.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

The poll of the membership showed a clear mandate for IAPA to continue the fight for freedom of the press as its N° 1 goal.

To strengthen this effort, your committee proposed the following steps, with the full approval of Freedom of the Press Chairman, Tom C. Harris:

1. To appoint a vice chairman for each nation, eliminating regional chairmen. The society is now large enough to do this. In nations without IAPA members, the vice chairman of an adjoining country still would provide the evaluation. Vice chairmen should appoint committeemen in all major centers of their nations so that no freedom of press problems will be overlooked.

2. To name a committee to propose any necessary additions to the IAPA Freedom of the Press Guidelines. This group also would be expected to alert the membership to new and insidious methods used to hamper or undermine a free press.

3. In a crisis, where an FOP vice chairman is not in a position to deal with his government, or to speak out for fear of official reprisal, the IAPA president will send the chairman of the Freedom of the Press Committee or a delegate to that country to seek a settlement of the problem.

4. Appoint a special committee to study the press laws of all Hemispheric countries and use the force of IAPA to attempt to get bad laws changed or repealed. The only such compilation we know of was made by the Pan American Union back in 1961.

5. Bring more of our newer members into the Freedom of the Press program.

6. The Freedom of the Press Committee, working with general assembly program committee, would arrange a full morning or afternoon segment devoted to such subjects as:

Newspaper ethics, dangers of government subsidization through newsprint credits and advertising; upgrading the editorial product, etc.

These sessions would meet the many requests that IAPA work for the betterment and independence of newspapers.

TECHNICAL CENTER

A major goal of IAPA the next two years should be to make the Technical Center self-sustaining.

Now in its 6th year of operation, the Center is faced with a cutback in Foundation support at a time when it is proving invaluable in improving the performance of the free press in the Americas. We are confident that a new financing program can be successful.

The Technical Center has demonstrated that it can help newspapermen increase their professional competence, improve editorial content and public service, and bolster the editorial independence of newspapers by helping to make them financially independent. Other ideas to consider:

1. Seminars on good business office practices, efficient mechanical department arrangements, and magazines.

2. Conduct at least one seminar a year for English language newspapermen. This would be of value to our Canadian and Caribbean members.

3. Organize a team of experts to help newspapers in need of modernization, particularly those in small cities.

An advance member of the team would evaluate the problems and then call on as many experts he feels are needed to solve them.

A team might consist of an editorial writer or newsman; a business office manager or chief accountant; a composing room foreman or a mechanical superintendent; an engraver, a pressman, a circulation director or a personnel manager.

Often a week's visit by an expert or two could provide sufficient training to correct faults and generally improve a newspaper operation.

Some travel and expenses might be financed, when necessary, by the Technical Center, but the newspaper being assisted would be expected to defray expenses if possible.

It would be hoped that some of the larger papers belonging to IAPA could make at least one man available for one trip a year of a week or 10 days.

As an example of what might be accomplished, one member of IAPA spent one hour in a newspaper plant and made one suggestion that saved the publisher thousands of dollars and enabled him to get his paper out on time -- something he had not been able to do consistently for five years.

In another case, an editor spent two days at a Latin American newspaper and made a suggestion that reduced the overset by 40 columns and enabled the publisher to save thousands of dollars in overtime and in setting type that eventually went into the hell box.

The team idea, we believe, would be a great boost to IAPA's value, because it often is better to have a knowledgeable man on the scene, rather than to send a representative to a seminar.

The expert on the scene can teach more than one man at a time.

4. To distribute to IAPA members and prospective members reprints in English and Spanish of significant articles and talks about the newspaper business.

There have been some valuable comments made at U.S. journalistic conventions in the last year which probably never reached editors and publishers of Latin America and the Caribbean.

Some of this information could be distributed with "Press of the Americas" to save extra mailings.

5. Help to formulate a program to introduce newspapers into Latin American classrooms. This is greatly needed, and because of the educational aspects, might even get foundation support. It would have to be a simplified program in areas where the educational level is low.

6. To help Latin American and Caribbean newspapers and magazines inaugurate modest training courses for high school graduates and college students that would generate a source of future employees.

A model program could be outlined by the Technical Center patterned after some now used by U.S. newspapers. (At San Juan's El Mundo there were far more applicants in the first year than could be handled.)

7. To have the Technical Center compile a list of retired newspaper editors and journalism teachers who might be interested in providing instructions to Latin American newspapermen as a means of keeping active. As one member suggested, many retirees are still fit and eager to pass on their knowledge to a newsman or backshop employees.

8. We will survey and catalog recent and current changes in the technical production field. The Technical Center can conduct a study and make it available to all members, U. S. as well as Latin American. The following areas might be included:

(a) Automated and labor-saving machinery and equipment now being used in newspapers of 50.000 circulation or less, for both newspaper production and accounting.

(b) The same for newspapers of more than 50.000 circulation.

(c) Availability of moderately priced, and cheaper, typesetting computters, with necessary auxiliary equipment.

(d) Availability of moderately priced, and cheaper, data processing (accounting) facilities.

SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM

We recommend a study to see if the effectiveness of the Scholarship Program can be improved. A magnificent job has been done in raising scholarship funds. The evidence is less clear about the results of the scholarships themselves. Perhaps Ed Barrett could furnish or recommend an expert on the changing needs and goals of scholarship programs to help with the study.

Meantime, your committee submits these ideas for consideration:

1. Limit full term scholarships to only outstanding students and insist that they make commitments to:

a. Continue in journalism for at least two years after completing their study.

b. Return to their own country for at least one to two years to practice journalism. Too many IAPA scholars are going to other fields of employment.

2. Continue to update the file on what IAPA "graduates" are doing, and also set up a placement service, sending each former scholar and present scholar a frequent bulletin on what IAPA member newspapers' requirements are in terms of writers, reporters, editors, etc. This would be a service to both member and student.

3. Provide funds to pay expenses of employees of the provincial and smaller Latin American newspapers to seminars, especially those conducted in Latin America. The paper would be expected to pay a share of the expenses, if possible.

IAPA AWARDS

Here are some suggestions in the awards program:

1. Make a concerted effort to stimulate more entries. Too many of the worthwhile accomplishments of Hemispheric journalism are being overlooked because of the failure to make them knownto the Awards Committee.

2. Send copies of the nomination letters to all Awards Committee members well in advance of the judging, so that time may be saved in screening the entries. Judges then can turn to the exhibits when they gather at the Spring meeting. This also would permit an early investigation of any entry challenged.

3. Find a way of better dramatizing the awards so that others will be inspired to enter the contests of the future. Perhaps the awards could be presented in the winner's home community with an officer or IAPA representative present to talk and pay tribute to the winner.

4. Make awards only for outstanding work or accomplishment. If there are no good entries in a category, no award will be made.

5. Adopt the suggestions of the Awards screening subcommittee.

6. Should rules of the contests be changed so that the small, provincial papers are not competing with the large newspapers? Entries would be placed in circulation divisions, such as under 30.000 and over 30.000 circulation. This is done in most U.S. state contests.

MEMBERSHIP

1. Continue full solicitation. We want to have as members every newspaper and magazine in the Western Hemisphere that lives up to IAPA ideals.

2. Come up with a plan to make new members feel welcome and a part of the organization, both at business meetings and particularly at social events. Perhaps a long-time member could be assigned to welcome and watch out for a new member, so that the newcomer isn't left behind while others go off to dinner, plays and other social events.

FUTURE PROGRAMS

1. Always permit adequate time for Committee on Freedom of the Press discussions.

2. Conduct seminars on newspaper ethics, business practices, etc., as mentioned previously.

3. Have seminar-type programs for both small and large newspapers, to discuss such problems as newsprint, reducing costs, recruiting and training help, new production methods and techniques.

4. A segment devoted to problems of editors and publishers. One publisher would state his problem, and others present would provide

answers -- if there are answers. Two or three topics would have to be submitted beforehand to get the program under way.

5. A session to discuss Hemispheric problems, such as tourism, threat of communism, common market, etc. (55 respondents would like this type of a program.)

6. A short segment devoted to magazines.

7. An opening address on the historical and cultural background of the city and country in which the meeting is held. This should not be lengthy.

8. A press conference in reverse, where business and government leaders interview the publishers and editors, always is good.

If some of the long winded reports that have used up so much time of previous meetings could be eliminated, there would be a possibility of using a number of these suggested program segments.

9. Less planned social entertainment, giving more free time to delegates and their wives to sight-see and visit some of the unique restaurants of the city.

10. Meet and break on time.

IAPA PRESS OF AMERICAS BULLETIN

While the consensus was 4 to 1 that the Bulletin was satisfactory, some good suggestions were made for the IAPA publication:

1. Consider giving the Bulletin a newspaper format.

2. Include more items about members and what they are doing -- speaking, getting awards, building new plants, etc.

3. Use a feature such as the weekly page in Editor and Publisher, showing page one of the same paper before and after a change of format.

4. Provide more items about innovations and new ideas being accepted by newspapers.

OTHER GOALS

1. Produce an IAPA booklet explaining fully but briefly our definition and concept of a free press and its reponsibility. This would

provide a general understanding of our purpose among members, but also would be effective to send to leaders of government.

2. Launch a Hemispheric promotion campaign to make the people partners with the press in preserving the basic right of free speech and free press which actually belongs to and is for the benefit of free people.

3. Inaugurate a strong campaign for more Canadian members.

MR. HILLS: Thank you, Mr. Heiskell.

Are there any comments on the report at this time?

SR. HORACIO AGUIRRE (Diario Las Américas, Miami, Florida): Sr. Presidente, me parece sumamente interesante el informe que ha leído el Sr. Heiskell sobre los resultados de la encuesta que se hizo.

Yo tengo una proposición con respecto a un aspecto de este informe, y me refiero al Centro Técnico de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa. Sobre eso quisiera preguntarle al Sr. Presidente si considera oportuno que hable en este momento o después de que se trate sobre el informe del Centro Técnico.

La proposición que yo quiero presentar a la consideración vuestra, y que quisiera que tuviera todas las formalidades técnicas para que pueda ser sometida debidamente a la votación, se relaciona con el funcionamiento económico del Centro Técnico. Es decir, acerca de lo que debe hacer cada miembro de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa para contribuir cual corresponde y dentro de las respectivas posibilidades a la vida económica del Centro Técnico.

Quizás sería preferible hacer esta proposición después de que se oiga el informe correspondiente al funcionamiento del Centro Técnico.

MR. HILLS: I think it would. We will be getting into that.

MR. DIX: I just want to say that I think that is an excellent report.

Of course, I think in terms of getting people interested in this organization and in keeping them interested in it. The reason people take an interest in it is because they have a concern about this Hemisphere and our cooperation in it, and they want to be a little part of it.

I think this report is a splendid thing, and if we can cooperate to keep these programs vital, and make these people feel welcome, I think we can be an effective force in this area.

MR. HILLS: Thank you, Mr. Dix. Any other comment?

I would simply like to add that I think this is one of the most constructive pieces of work that we have done in some time. I would urge you all to read this report in detail and follow up on Andrew Heiskell's suggestions in that you continue injecting your own new ideas.

I think this report can serve as a guideline to further improvements in our organization.

Rómulo O'Farrill, Jr., who is the Chairman of our Host Committee in Acapulco for the Board meeting next Spring, is unable to be here today, but I understand that Mr. Andrés García Lavin is here to represent him and may have something to say about the Acapulco meeting.

SR. ANDRES GARCIA LAVIN (Novedades de Yucatán, Mérida, México): El Sr. Rómulo O'Farrill, Jr., me encargó que informara a ustedes que todos los preparativos para recibirles en la próxima reunión de Acapulco están ya en marcha, y que será para todos nosotros un gran placer tenerles con nosotros en esa reunión. Muchas gracias.

MR. HILLS: The directors of the IAPA will now meet as members of the Board of Directors of the IAPA Scholarship Fund.

In the absence of Mr. Rodolfo Junco de la Vega, Jr., President of the Scholarship Fund, its Vice-President Mr. William Cowles and the Secretary, Mr. Carlos Jiménez, will conduct the meeting.

MR. WILLIAM H. COWLES (The Spokesman-Review, Spokane, Washington): The Board is meeting now as the membership and Board of the Scholarship Fund. A quorum has already been established. A motion is in order to dispense with the roll call.

Moved, seconded and approved.

In view of Mr. Junco's absence, the Treasurer of the IAPA Scholarship Fund, Mr. Howard H. Fitzgerald, will submit a combined report.

REPORT BY PRESIDENT RODOLFO JUNCO DE LA VEGA, JR. AND TREASURER HOWARD H. FITZGERALD OF THE SCHOLARSHIP FUND

Because of President Rodolfo Junco de la Vega's inability to be here, my report as Treasurer of the IAPA Scholarship Fund will cover both offices.

Fellow Associates:

My first financial report as your new Treasurer definitely falls under the category of "Happy Things".

Interest alone on our two endowed scholarships, plus the balance on other funds totals $11,292.77. Our cash balance on September 30th was approximately $234,000. Of course, $160,000 of this represents The McCormick Foundation Endowment, plus our own. Then we had $36,000 in trust on current scholars.

We spent $37,122.60 on scholarships and I shall be happy to recommend to our Scholarship Committee at the next meeting that we allocate around $8,000 toward the Technical Center.

We have already voted to assist them wherever and whenever possible, after reviewing the results of our first contributions. Not all funds in the Scholarship Committee are available, as some have been specifically designated for scholarships, plus current expenses and a reasonable reserve for "cash on hand".

The Committee is definitely mindful of the purpose for which we came into existence and for which the current funds in large part were specifically donated. But all of us are sympathetic with the Technical Center's work and the new financial problems that lie ahead.

Obviously, our own requirements must be faced primarily, but we would like to think that $10,000 could be assigned to the Technical Center in 1969. However, this forecast is based upon equal funds accruing next year.

Our total number of students financed in the current fiscal year will total 14. This constitutes a record, and our total expenditure will run approximately $45,000. This shows great progress since our formative years. It is through the interest and generosity of you members that this is possible.

We seem to have been favored with an unusually good group of scholars in our interchange between the three Americas this year. Because of constant inflation throughout the hemisphere, costs per scholarship have been advancing steadily, as you all can appreciate. This means that some students cannot be assigned to their first choice universities in the interests of practical economy. We gratefully acknowledge a grant of $3,000 from The Tinker Foundation, covering a student at Columbia, as specified by the late Edward Larocque Tinker. This came with assistance of Miss Martha Muse. We also

received a first donation of a full scholarship, in the amount of $3,000, from Thomson Newspapers, Inc., of the United States.

Many new donors came in for the first time and in view of the significant number of new members, we are hopeful that this will increase again in 1969.

Please remember: This is one of the few times in the entire year when you make a financial donation that goes directly into the betterment of your own profession. Invariably we help others and this is surely commendable. But there is an added satisfaction when the funds accrue solely to the advancement of your own businesses.

Our financial statement reads substantially as follows:

INTER AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION SCHOLARSHIP FUND
STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
OCTOBER 1, 1967 TO SEPTEMBER 30, 1968

RECEIPTS			
Full scholarships of $2,500 or more (10)		28,000.00	
Contributions under $2,500		11,753.00	
Interest on Savings Accounts	3,275.24		
Savings Cert. (McCormick)	4,008.76		
" " (IAPA)	4,008.77		
		11,292.77	
			51,045.77
DISBURSEMENTS			
Scholarships		37,122.60	
Rent		1,500.00	
Administrative expenses		500.00	
Printing and Stationery		803.76	
Postage		515.51	
Insurance		174.50	
Office expense		26.16	
Telephone and Telegraph		44.41	
Miscellaneous		142.50	
			40,829.44
Excess of receipts over disbursements			10,216.33
Cash balance September 30, 1967			223,839.74
Cash balance September 30, 1968			234,056.07
Savings Certificate		160,000.00	
Balance on scholarships awarded		35,790.00	
Full scholarships available (4)		11,000.00	
Uncommitted funds (contributions under $2,500 and interest)		27,266.07	
			234,056.07

Chase Manhattan Bank-Savings Certificate	160,000.00	
" " " -Savings Account	4,684.19	
Bowery Savings Bank	11,498.33	
Dry Dock Savings Bank	11,715.09	
Knickerbocker Federal Savings & Loan Ass'n.	11,454.88	
First National City Bank of N.Y. (Savings Acct.)	11,949.48	
" " " " " " " (Checking ")	478.27	
Greenwich Savings Bank	10,654.98	
Union Dime Savings Bank	11,570.85	
Petty cash	50.00	
		$234,056.07

MR. COWLES: Thank you, Mr. Fitzgerald.

The Nominating Committee of the Inter American Press Association Scholarship Fund will comprise the following: Chairman, John R. Herbert; Germán Ornes, Marian S. Heiskell, Pedro Chamorro.

This Committee will report to the new Board on Friday, October 18.

If there are no other matters pending, the meeting of the Scholarship Fund will be adjourned, and I turn the meeting over to Mr. Herbert, Chairman of the Board of the IAPA Technical Center.

MR. JOHN R. HERBERT (Boston Herald Traveler, Boston, Mass.): We are now meeting as the Board of Directors of the IAPA Technical Center, and since the membership of this Board is the same as the IAPA's and a quorum has been established, would someone move to dispense with the calling of the roll?

Moved, seconded and approved.

I will now call on President Edward W. Scripps to read his annual report.

REPORT BY MR. E.W. SCRIPPS, PRESIDENT OF THE IAPA TECHNICAL CENTER

Ladies and Gentlemen:

As is customary, the detailed annual report on the Technical Center will be presented by our Vice-President and Manager, Guillermo Gutiérrez. At this moment, I would like to give you some of my thoughts on the future of the press, with special emphasis on, and concern for, the Latin American newspapers.

We who are directing and participating in the present-day explosion of creativity in the news media of our Western Hemisphere are enjoying an experience unequaled in any other period of history.

The day is nearly upon us when the creative journalist will no longer find himself restricted by the numerous mechanical and technological limitations of yesterday's world.

It was not long ago that the world began to face the inspiring prospect of the human mind made free. Our great Western culture moved forward by leaps and bounds; and the printed words of free minds have increased to the point where today the availability of knowledge old and new is nearly limitless.

At last year's Assembly, I spoke briefly of new processes which have greatly increased the productive capacity of the press. Direct personal experience with the men and women who have had the opportunity to properly use these new tools convinces me firmly that this course is the right one.

I have said before that, in speaking of one major area of new technology -- the offset process -- I can only refer to the situation in the United States, where among other critical distinguishing factors, wage rates are high; and I can only speak for the smaller newspapers, where honest appraisal of operations convinces me that this process is the proper one for us. Others who are representing larger journalistic enterprises here should speak and tell you of their criteria and methods. You should choose carefully the method best suited to your own publications.

Thanks to the enthusiastic cooperation of the men and women who produced Scripps League newspapers in the year 1968, all but three of our 36 publications are printed by new processes -- including offset -- in new buildings especially designed for this method of production. The presses to convert our remaining hot metal plants to offset have been on order for some time, and by 1969, all of our newspapers will be cold-type and offset.

I might say, regarding offset, that we are really just starting to learn. If we thought we had all the answers, we would have a uniform production plan within our own organization. This is definitely not the case.

In some plants, we use strike-on text, and large-size photo composition machines for heads and ads. In other plants we use photo

composition equipment which produces text and medium-size type, falling back on hand composition for the larger type sizes. We are experimenting with strike-on equipment using magnetic tape rather than punched tape. We are using various procedures for composing classified ads, including tape-blending machines.

The new technology brings many challenges to those who seek to master it. It also can bring definite and direct economic reward, once properly mastered.

All of these amazing new technical advances, however, are relevant, in the end, only in regard to the quality of the thinking and writing which they communicate. There is magic in freedom of expression, whether it be in our familiar daily use of the printed word, or whether it is manifested as highly as it was in a period like the Renaissance, when literature, painting, music and architecture reached heights never before achieved by mankind.

There is also a sort of magic when men who have been bound by repetitious tasks gradually find new freedom through a technology that not only provides greatly increased productivity -- and consequent economic and social improvement -- but also the means of reproducing a beautiful and artistic world of form, on all levels of understanding.

Now we truly have the potential for a new age in journalism. The new tools lay before us ready for use. They are the means -- only the means -- by which free journalistic minds, working creatively, will continue to advance our civilization in accordance with its rightful destiny. And let all of us realize that we are and must be leaders of the great cause of keeping the minds of men free.

MR. HERBERT: Thank you very much, Mr. Scripps.

I will now call upon Mr. Gutiérrez to give his annual report.

INFORME DEL VICEPRESIDENTE Y DIRECTOR-GERENTE DEL CENTRO TECNICO DE LA SIP, SR. GUILLERMO GUTIERREZ V-M

INTRODUCCION

En su sexto año de trabajo, el Centro Técnico ha confrontado el difícil problema de asegurar, sobre bases permanentes, los ingresos indispensables para sus futuras operaciones. Como todos ustedes saben, la actual donación de la Ford Foundation, fuente principal de ingresos del Centro Técnico, terminará a fines de 1969. Conviene recordar que,

actualmente, las contribuciones al Fondo de Contrapartida constituyen solamente una pequeña proporción de lo que necesitamos para nuestro presupuesto. Frente a estas realidades, nuestra reacción inicial ha sido tomar contacto con la Ford Foundation para inquirir sobre la posibilidad de obtener una nueva donación.

Después de tres reuniones preliminares, realizamos nuestra visita oficial en abril, conjuntamente con los señores Herbert, Hills, Heiskell, Copley y Howard. Todos recibimos en aquella oportunidad la impresión de que la Ford Foundation continuaría brindando su asistencia financiera al Centro Técnico y que el estudio de la cuestión se limitaría, probablemente, al monto de la misma.

Manejamos con el más grande cuidado estas negociaciones con la Ford Foundation. Presentamos informes en diversas oportunidades, apoyados en documentación verídica. Y, en verdad, nos sentimos muy alentados por la amistosa recepción que nos dispensaron sus representantes en estas discusiones preliminares.

Infelizmente, desde entonces sólo hemos recibido una respuesta, extraoficial, pero lo suficientemente explícita, que nos permite asegurar que recibiremos una nueva donación para el cuatrienio 1970-1973, inclusive, pero que será mucho más baja que el máximum que habíamos pedido ($850,000), y menor aún que el mínimo que considerábamos indispensable para un programa menos ambicioso. El representante de la Fundación, con quien estuvimos tratando este problema, nos dijo que esto se debía a que en altos niveles de la institución se había decidido, como política general, destinar sus mayores contribuciones a programas a desarrollar en Estados Unidos. No obstante las grandes limitaciones de la próxima donación, podemos considerarnos afortunados, pues la Ford Foundation piensa que nuestros objetivos se han cumplido en forma tan destacada que realmente merecen su aliento y apoyo, a pesar de la forma en que están redistribuyendo su ayuda a las más diversas entidades. Hemos podido colegir, también, de las informaciones obtenidas, que en esta forma dan muestra de su reconocimiento del éxito de nuestras operaciones, sin perjuicio de la confianza que parecen poner en que los miembros de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa van a mantener y ayudar a su Centro.

Debemos dejar claramente establecido que nuestros programas básicos están prácticamente financiados hasta fines de 1969 mediante la donación de la Ford Foundation, que para entonces expirará, y los recursos adicionales que hemos logrado acumular. Si continuamos operando con grandes economías y vigilancia constante para nuestros gastos, dispondremos también de fondos suficientes para todo el año 1970. Nuestros ingresos para este año incluirán $75.000 correspondientes a la primera y mayor contribución bajo la nueva donación de la Ford Foundation.

En otras palabras, efectuando esas economías radicales, con un programa hasta cierto punto limitado, podemos afrontar un período durante el cual trataremos de autofinanciar nuestra organización. Esto, por supuesto, solamente será viable con la cooperación íntegra e irrestricta y las contribuciones de los miembros de Norteamérica e Iberoamérica. Estas contribuciones al Fondo de Contrapartida, tendrán que ser la base de un presupuesto satisfactorio para los años 1971-1972-1973, a los cuales se sumarán las pequeñas sumas provenientes de la tercera donación de la Ford Foundation.

He considerado que este es el aspecto más importante de mi informe, y que se justifica ampliamente por lo tanto haberlo expuesto a manera de introducción. En otras secciones me referiré con más detalles a los problemas de finanzas, reducciones de gastos y otras fuentes de recursos.

Antes de informar de nuestras actividades en la forma en que lo hemos venido haciendo en anteriores oportunidades, quisiera señalar muy claramente, a fin de que esto quede registrado en nuestras actas, que desde 1964, esto es, en los últimos cuatro años, he insistido con mucho énfasis, en forma casi impertinente, sobre la necesidad de encontrar una solución para el futuro del Centro Técnico. Presenté este mismo problema en términos concluyentes en marzo de 1967, señalando que para finales de 1968 tendríamos que confrontar uno de los momentos más difíciles en la existencia del Centro. La directiva, conjuntamente con otros miembros prominentes de la entidad, ha tenido la misma preocupación y ha brindado la valiosa contribución de sus luces y de su cooperación práctica para encontrar una solución. Creo interpretar el sentir de la directiva y de muchos amigos al solicitar el apoyo moral y material de todos los socios para la difícil labor en que nos hallamos empeñados y que a más de su extrema importancia para garantizar la supervivencia, tanto representa en orden al prestigio y al futuro de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa.

I. SEMINARIOS

Durante el año 1968 hemos limitado las actividades de seminarios al mínimo posible, por razones de economía, y porque tuvimos mucho trabajo en la atención de las negociaciones con la Ford Foundation y las gestiones para encontrar una solución satisfactoria a nuestros problemas financieros del futuro. Sin embargo, hemos realizado una buena tarea con respecto a la revisión de los resultados de los pasados seminarios. Ahora consignaremos, complacidos, las actividades desenvueltas en este campo desde octubre de 1967.

A. Mesa Redonda de Información sobre Conservación de Recursos Naturales en Río de Janeiro

El Centro Técnico completó su programa de seminarios de 1967 con la segunda Mesa Redonda de Información sobre Conservación, que, auspiciada también conjuntamente por el Departamento de Asuntos Científicos de la Unión Panamericana y la Fundación Brasileña de Conservación de los Recursos Naturales, tuvo lugar en el Museo Nacional de Río de Janeiro entre el 30 de noviembre y el 7 de diciembre de 1967. Participaron en ella 65 científicos, conservacionistas y periodistas del Brasil, de los Estados Unidos y de quince países de Iberoamérica, y como observador, un representante de España.

Todas las reuniones de esta Mesa Redonda tuvieron gran éxito, y los periodistas demostraron entusiasmo y sentido de responsabilidad extraordinarios con respecto a la defensa de los recursos naturales. Además de proponerse temas específicos, este tipo de reuniones persigue el objetivo de buscar un acuerdo sobre un lenguaje común a periodistas y conservacionistas, para mutuo entendimiento y para poder transmitir las informaciones al público lector en términos que sean de fácil y universal comprensión. Fue interesante comprobar que los científicos del Brasil, cuyos parques nacionales y reservas fiscales han convertido el problema de la conservación en algo muy serio, durante la semana de la mesa redonda lograron más publicidad para su trabajo, y más atención de parte del Gobierno acerca de la conservación, que en los últimos cinco años de esfuerzos continuados.

B. Mesa Redonda de Información sobre Conservación de Recursos Naturales en Costa Rica

El 26 de febrero del presente año se realizó la Tercera Mesa de Conservación en San José de Costa Rica, con la participación de 50 personas, entre ellos 10 directores de diarios y cerca de 40 periodistas, conservacionistas y hombres de ciencia de Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, México, Nicaragua, Panamá y Estados Unidos. Tuvimos el honor de que esta reunión fuera inaugurada, con gran solemnidad, por el propio Presidente de la República de Costa Rica, el Profesor José Joaquín Trejos Fernández. Posteriormente presidió la totalidad de las sesiones el Ministro de Agricultura y Ganadería.

Costa Rica resultó de particular interés como sede de la reunión, porque allí se han venido realizando esfuerzos extraordinarios de conservación de recursos naturales, especialmente después de la erupción del volcán Irazú. Este desastre afectó seriamente la producción en dicha república, destruyó muchas de sus defensas, acabó con grandes áreas de bosques, produjo inundaciones en campos de cultivo y muchos

otros daños. En los momentos en que preparamos este informe, cuatro años más tarde, existe un plan de prevención de este tipo de desastre, de restauración y recuperación de bienes lesionados o perdidos. Desgraciadamente el esfuerzo conservacionista ha sufrido un alto y, más que eso, un severo golpe con la terrible erupción de un volcán que estuvo apagado casi durante 500 años.

La Mesa Redonda de Costa Rica y sus participantes adoptaron un plan de cinco puntos con recomendaciones para la conservación, la educación del público y la acción que sería necesaria para poder llevar a cabo un programa mínimo de información y de divulgación en pro de la importancia de la conservación de los recursos naturales.

C. Mesa Redonda de Información sobre Conservación de Recursos Naturales en Lima

La última de esta serie de mesas redondas, auspiciada conjuntamente con el Departamento de Asuntos Científicos de la Unión Panamericana, se realizó en Lima entre el 12 y el 19 de agosto último. El Centro Técnico tuvo el honor y el placer de ser representado allí por su distinguido secretario, el Sr. Peter Manigault, presidente del "Charleston Evening Post" y del "News-Courier", de South Carolina, quien además está sincera y profundamente interesado en los problemas de conservación. Por razones de economía, a las que nos hemos referido antes, por la inoportunidad, además, de esta reunión y por exceso de trabajo en Nueva York, el Vicepresidente y Director-Gerente no pudo viajar a Lima. Es ésta la primera vez que dejamos de concurrir y de participar en la dirección de seminarios que se realizan con nuestro auspicio.

La reunión de Lima fue muy concurrida y participó en ella un gran número de periodistas y de conservacionistas procedentes en su mayor parte de los países limítrofes y del cono sur. Sus objetivos, a semejanza de los de las reuniones que la precedieron, fueron los de crear un interés cada vez mayor en el público y en los gobiernos de Iberoamérica sobre la necesidad de conservar los recursos naturales y la promoción de la integración regional de dichas actividades conservacionistas. Voy a rogar al Sr. Peter Manigault que, al final de mi informe, tenga la bondad de darnos una breve reseña sobre su interesante experiencia en Lima.

Presentamos a la Reunión de la Junta de Directores de la SIP de mitad de ejercicio, en abril, dos libros que contenían las actas de una reunión sobre periodismo científico celebrada en Buenos Aires en diciembre de 1966, y de la primera mesa redonda sobre conservación, celebrada en la Ciudad de México en junio de 1967. Estas publicaciones, que se distribuyen gratuitamente, están a disposición de

ustedes en nuestro pequeño quiosco a la entrada de esta sala. En el instante en que preparábamos este documento, se nos informó que muy pronto tendremos las actas y papeles correspondientes de las Mesas Redondas de Río de Janeiro y de Costa Rica.

D. Seminarios en Buenos Aires y México - Octubre y Noviembre de 1968.

Inmediatamente después de la Asamblea, culminaremos nuestro programa de seminarios con dos que se realizarán en Buenos Aires y México, el primero del 21 al 29 de octubre y el segundo del 4 al 12 de noviembre. Ambos tendrán como tema la Fotografía, el Jefe de Información Gráfica y los problemas de Fotograbado.

La experiencia de los pasados años nos demuestra que podemos mejorar nuestros sistemas, y pensamos que los seminarios, frecuentemente de corta duración, no tenían la característica indispensable de una participación intensa en las discusiones por parte de los representantes de las empresas. Hemos decidido introducir numerosos cambios, comenzando en estas conferencias-seminarios, mediante los cuales juzgamos que vamos a lograr esa participación en alto grado tanto antes de las reuniones como durante su desenvolvimiento y después de ellas.

Con una antelación de cuatro meses hemos enviado, por correo aéreo, a los participantes de los seminarios tres juegos de documentos y libros sobre fotografía, edición fotográfica y fotograbado. Les hemos pedido que los estudien cuidadosamente y los relacionen con los problemas que se les presentan dentro de sus propias organizaciones. Luego debían enviarnos sus observaciones y comentarios en una composición o en documento muy sencillo y breve. También les hemos pedido una lista de sugerencias relacionadas específicamente con los problemas que cada uno de ellos afronta en el Departamento de fotografía o de fotograbado de su periódico. Y, además, que nos digan hasta qué punto es posible aplicar los nuevos conocimientos que adquieran durante los seminarios. En otras palabras, deberán suministrarnos informaciones sobre los problemas de mayor interés para ellos y sus preguntas específicas a los directores de los seminarios.

Otra innovación de importancia es utilizar directivos de los diarios de Iberoamérica, entrenados en el Centro Técnico, en el Instituto Americano de Prensa o en otras organizaciones, para que nos ayuden a dirigir las sesiones de nuestras conferencias, mesas redondas y seminarios. Existen en Iberoamérica numerosos ejecutivos a quienes les brindaremos la oportunidad de participar en los seminarios como directores de discusiones, con grandes ventajas para su propio entrenamiento y para las empresas en las cuales desempeñan funciones. Un número

considerable de ejecutivos ha sido escogido para las sesiones en ciernes. Además, a fin de hacer estos seminarios menos formales, y para estimular una constante y mayor participación de todos los concurrentes, se harán arreglos para que los participantes se sienten en grupos de ocho o diez, de acuerdo a la circulación de su periódico y a otros factores que tendremos muy en cuenta. Pensamos que esta modalidad nos ofrecerá un ambiente mucho más informal que el que se genera en una gran mesa redonda, o de cualquier tipo, que ha sido la que hemos venido utilizando hasta el presente. Estos pequeños grupos van a tener sus propios moderadores y discutirán los asuntos del seminario entre ellos. También trabajarán conjuntamente en cuestionarios que les serán dados durante las discusiones de cada tema. Estas técnicas han sido comunicadas y descritas, en detalle, a todos los co-directores que participarán en el seminario.

Los tres o cuatro días de sesiones en cada ciudad, desenvolviendo cada seminario, representarán, en verdad, una oportunidad de revisar los conocimientos adquiridos en el largo período de preparación, sobre la base de la amplísima documentación suministrada a cada uno de ellos. Consecuentemente, las exposiciones de los directores y co-directores de seminarios serán mucho más breves.

Los directores principales en las conferencias-seminarios de Argentina y México serán Robert De Piante, Jefe de Información Gráfica en "The Miami Herald", y Phil Ordoño, Gerente de Fotograbado de "El Mundo" de San Juan, Puerto Rico. Estamos verdaderamente agradecidos al "Miami Herald" y a "El Mundo" por haber facilitado la presencia de estos expertos y directivos de tan excelente preparación y experiencia entre sus colegas de la prensa de Iberoamérica.

A partir de estas dos reuniones, el Centro Técnico cobrará un derecho de inscripción, por participante, de US$100 o su equivalente en la moneda nacional. Esta misma práctica, ya empleada una o dos veces en ocasiones anteriores, será una norma para el futuro. Además, está de perfecto acuerdo con la política aprobada por el Directorio de nuestra organización, ya oficialmente anunciada por el Director-Gerente en su informe a la Junta de Directores de abril último. Hasta ahora hemos tenido una reacción muy favorable de parte de los editores de empresas periodísticas de Iberoamérica y esperamos que estas sumas ayudarán a pagar una buena parte del costo de los seminarios. También utilizaremos efectivo del Fondo de Contrapartida en moneda local para ayudarnos a cubrir parte de los gastos de los seminarios (nos referimos especialmente al caso argentino).

E. Becas para los Seminarios

Uno de los hechos más alentadores durante el pasado año fue la decisión del Fondo de Becas de la SIP de facilitar recursos económicos

para la participación de algunos diarios en seminarios del Centro Técnico. La beca donada por la Fundación Knight y denominada Beca SIP-La Prensa, será utilizada para pagar los gastos de representantes de pequeños periódicos provinciales de varios países que antes no podían asistir a nuestros seminarios. Once periódicos, que han sido invitados, mandarán sus representantes a Buenos Aires y a México. Esta generosa acción del Fondo de Becas añade una nueva dimensión a las funciones de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa. Aquí tenemos un ejemplo de dos divisiones con constituciones y estatutos separados que trabajan conjuntamente para el bien común de los diarios de Iberoamérica.

F. Planes para futuros seminarios

Continuaremos en 1969 nuestro plan de realizar seminarios que se caractericen por la aplicación perfeccionada de los esquemas que hemos descrito en párrafos anteriores, incluyendo la cobranza de derechos de inscripción, las reuniones en ciudades de Iberoamérica relativamente centrales, para facilitar una mayor participación de diarios, tanto del país que brinde la hospitalidad como de los países vecinos. También esperamos, como acabamos de decir, un uso más efectivo y en mayor escala de recursos del Fondo de Becas. Siempre de acuerdo con nuestra nueva política de economizar cuanto sea posible y de facilitar la preparación de seminarios, pensamos realizarlos en áreas de fácil acceso, como el que estamos planeando celebrar para los diarios de Centroamérica en marzo o abril próximo y que probablemente tendrá como sede Costa Rica o Guatemala. Los diarios tendrán una participación muy activa en la organización y en la preparación de los detalles de estos seminarios y trataremos de que asuman la obligación de procurar facilidades que reduzcan el costo para el Centro Técnico.

II. PUBLICACIONES

A. Fotografía y Periodismo

En diciembre del pasado año iniciamos la distribución de Fotografía y Periodismo, libro publicado por el Centro Técnico. Lo presentamos oficialmente a la Junta de Directores de la SIP en Montego Bay, y hasta la fecha ha sido adquirido por muchos socios de los diarios de Iberoamérica, algunas universidades y grupos y personas que no tienen una relación directa con nuestra organización. Nos permitimos mencionar este acontecimiento a la Asamblea, y al mismo tiempo avisamos que tenemos en nuestro quiosco ejemplares para la venta, los cuales pueden ser examinados por los participantes en esta reunión.

Permítasenos explicar que el libro Fotografía y Periodismo, ideado y editado por el Centro Técnico sobre la base del texto original en

inglés y las ilustraciones de Robert De Piante, de "The Miami Herald", es algo más que un libro de fotografía y de orientación para la jefatura de información gráfica. En nuestro concepto puede considerarse como un manual, muy completo, que da ideas sobre la forma de mejorar todas las secciones y páginas de un periódico, así como normas y reglas que se refieren al diagramado y al uso de las fotografías.

B. Libros sobre ciencia y conservación de recursos naturales

Dos publicaciones, únicas en su tipo, han sido mencionadas con anterioridad en una sección de este informe. Son el resultado de mesas redondas sobre periodismo científico y conservación de recursos naturales auspiciadas conjuntamente por el Centro Técnico y el Departamento de Asuntos Científicos de la Unión Panamericana. Este programa comenzó en 1966 y fue descrito con todo detalle en la Junta de Directores de abril, donde también se presentaron ambas publicaciones, financiadas e impresas con el crédito correspondiente a nuestro Centro Técnico. Reiteramos que estos dos títulos constituyen una verdadera contribución en un campo de publicaciones que prácticamente no tiene paralelo en nuestra lengua. Rezan así: La Conservación de la Naturaleza y la Prensa en la América Latina (México D.F. 1967); El Periodismo Científico en Iberoamérica (Unión Panamericana, Washington, D.C. 1968).

C. Offset vs. Impresión Tipográfica

En el mes de agosto hemos publicado las charlas y los cambios de impresiones que tuvieron lugar durante la sesión del Centro Técnico en la Asamblea de Puerto Rico del pasado año. Esta publicación, que lleva el título de "Offset vs. Impresión Tipográfica", contiene material muy importante presentado por algunos directivos de nuestra organización y expertos en la técnica de la publicación de diarios, tales como los señores Ed Scripps, James S. Copley, Montgomery Curtis, William Rinehart, de la Asociación Norteamericana de Editores de Periódicos, y Lester Wolf, de "Scripps League Newspapers". Copias de esta publicación también están disponibles en nuestro pequeño quiosco a la entrada de la sala de la Asamblea.

D. La reproducción de grabados en blanco y negro en los diarios. Duplicación de originales.

Al referirnos a este otro nuevo título, aunque sólo se trata de un folleto, queremos, en primer lugar, agradecer muy sinceramente a la Asociación Norteamericana de Agencias de Publicidad por habernos dado autorización para traducir y reproducir este importante documento de carácter técnico. Se han editado suficientes copias como para poder

atender los pedidos de todos los diarios y creemos firmemente que este folleto tendrá gran éxito y será de extraordinario valor, en los departamentos de arte, en la sala de redacción, en el departamento de fotograbado, y, lo que es aún más atrayente, como forma de estimular mejores relaciones con las agencias de publicidad, a quienes interesa, en forma especial, el contenido de dicho folleto. Un periódico, de hecho, ha ordenado ya suficientes ejemplares para poder enviarlos a todas las agencias de publicidad con las que trabaja en su país. Esperamos que otros periódicos encontrarán esta iniciativa muy adecuada, pues ha sido siempre problema delicado aquel que se refiere a los contratos de las empresas periodísticas con las agencias de publicidad.

E. Boletín

En el número del boletín del Centro Técnico correspondiente a octubre y noviembre damos nuestra más cordial bienvenida a los socios de la SIP. Aprovechamos de esta oportunidad para explicar las razones de nuestra preocupación sobre el futuro del Centro. Rogamos a cada uno de ustedes que tenga la amabilidad de leer cuidadosamente dicho mensaje.

Estamos cobrando seis dólares por la suscripción del Boletín; empero, en virtud de los precios rebajados que rigen para las suscripciones adicionales, en realidad cuatro suscripciones cuestan $12 en lugar de US$24. Desgraciadamente, la mayoría de los miembros ha comprado solamente una suscripción y frecuentemente ese ejemplar no llega a manos de quienes están vitalmente interesados en lo que nosotros podemos ofrecer, como informaciones y comentarios para los dirigentes de todos los departamentos del diario. Tratamos de incluir, en ceñida síntesis, notas de gran interés para los que utilizan la impresión tipográfica y para aquellos que están evolucionando al "offset" o a sistemas y máquinas mucho más sofisticados. También llevamos al castellano y transcribimos una serie de importantes artículos y discursos que aparecen en revistas profesionales, y cartas noticiosas publicadas en los Estados Unidos, Europa y Asia.

Nos permitimos reiterar nuestra recomendación a los dueños de empresas periodísticas y a los miembros de la SIP de que tomen en cuenta que nuestro Boletín es muy útil para todos sus objetivos y para todos los jefes de sección y que por lo tanto es aconsejable que aumenten el número de ejemplares de suscripción ordenados para sus respectivos diarios.

F. Las publicaciones del Centro Técnico en general y las ventas

Las ventas de nuestras publicaciones han sido bastante satisfactorias en el último año. El total de ejemplares distribuidos es el

siguiente:

FOTOGRAFIA Y PERIODISMO	656
TIPOGRAFIA Y DIAGRAMADO PARA PERIODICOS	317
MANUAL DE ESTILO - en rústica	246
- en tela	104
FUNDAMENTOS DEL FOTOGRABADO	210
DICCIONARIO PEPPER	17

Hemos recibido hasta la fecha aproximadamente 150 órdenes para el Boletín que significan 230 ó 250 suscripciones, ya que algunas de dichas órdenes son múltiples.

III. PREMIO "JOHN R. REITEMEYER"

El Sr. Julio Roberto Bermúdez, jefe de la sección de asuntos científicos del periódico colombiano "El Tiempo", de Bogotá, ganó en 1968 el premio "John R. Reitemeyer" -- establecido por el distinguido expresidente de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa que así se nombra y creado con el objetivo de estimular en forma particular, la publicación y divulgación de informaciones sobre asuntos científicos y de conservación de recursos naturales, consecuentemente.

El extraordinario número de participantes en la competencia de 1968 por este premio, nos obligó a otorgar algunos premios especiales, ganados con grandes méritos por don David Vela, director de "El Imparcial", de Guatemala; el doctor José Froimovich, redactor de asuntos científicos de "La Nación", de Santiago de Chile, y el señor Jorge Ibarra, director de la revista "Historia Natural y Pro Natural", de Guatemala, y colaborador de los principales periódicos de su país. El señor Bermúdez y los mencionados ganadores de premios especiales recibirán el homenaje del Centro Técnico durante nuestra Asamblea.

IV. SITUACION FINANCIERA DEL CENTRO TECNICO DE LA SIP

A. Introducción

Los señores socios tendrán oportunidad de escuchar el informe presentado por nuestro Tesorero, Earle Braisted, y han oído ya los comentarios formulados por el Presidente del Centro, señor Ed Scripps, así como los que yo formulé al comienzo de este informe, especialmente cuando me refería a las donaciones de la Ford Foundation y a la urgente necesidad de que podamos autofinanciar el Centro Técnico. Me refiero ahora a otros aspectos de la financiación del Centro.

B. Inversiones en maquinaria en Iberoamérica

De acuerdo con cálculos muy conservadores, juzgamos que los editores de diarios de Iberoamérica han invertido, durante los dos últimos años, por lo menos US$20 millones en nuevas prensas y equipo auxiliar.

Este es un testimonio de la importancia del mercado potencial y real que es Iberoamérica para los fabricantes y del ferviente deseo de su prensa de modernizar los talleres y mejorar sustancialmente los diarios. Ambos factores son de igual trascendencia, porque comprometen sumas muy respetables y con valor están corriendo riesgos que pueden proyectarse sobre el futuro de los diarios sin que los mismos cuenten con la más indispensable protección en sus respectivos países.

A nuestro juicio, el Centro Técnico ha representado relevante papel en el estímulo a este gran impulso. Así nos lo dicen los propios diarios iberoamericanos y así lo comprobamos nosotros mismos en nuestro cotidiano contacto con una gran mayoría de los socios de la SIP.

Juzgamos, además, que es de nuestra responsabilidad ayudar a las empresas periodísticas en la protección de sus inversiones y aconsejar a los fabricantes para el mejor entrenamiento de las gentes en el manejo, mantenimiento y reparación del nuevo equipo. Subsecuentemente consideramos que sería inteligente que las unas y los otros pusiesen la mirada en un interés que en definitiva resulta común, para ampararlo. Ese amparo a las grandes sumas en juego, esto es, la protección a sus respectivos intereses, lo lograrían sin erogaciones mayores, pues bastaría a empresas y fabricantes invertir solamente el uno por ciento cada uno de ellos con tal finalidad.

C. Fondo de Contrapartida

El Fondo de Contrapartida, establecido hace ya tres años, ha servido para canalizar las contribuciones de algunas empresas periodísticas al mantenimiento del Centro Técnico y de sus programas. Desde el momento en que se inició el plan, y hasta el primero de agosto último, hemos recibido un total de $28,795.97. Esta suma representa contribuciones que en algunos casos corresponden a los años 1966-1967-1968, en otros solamente a dos años y en los menos al período de un año. Trece países están representados en nuestra lista de contribuyentes, y hemos considerado pertinente y oportuno publicar esa lista a la fecha. Esperamos que muchos otros editores y amigos seguirán este magnífico ejemplo de cooperación internacional: Argentina: "Crónicas", General Villegas; "El Cronista Comercial", Buenos Aires; "Diario de Cuyo", San Juan; Editorial "Abril", Buenos Aires; "El Heraldo", Concordia; "La Nación", Buenos Aires; "La Nueva Provincia", Bahía Blanca;

"La Prensa", Buenos Aires; "Síntesis de la Industria y la Producción", Buenos Aires. Bolivia: "El Diario", La Paz. Brasil: "O Estado de S. Paulo"; "Jornal do Brasil", Río de Janeiro. Colombia: "El Campesino", Bogotá; "El Espectador", Bogotá; "La Patria", Manizales; "El Tiempo", Bogotá; "Tribuna Médica", Bogotá. Chile: "El Mercurio", Santiago; "La Prensa", Curicó; "El Sur", Concepción; "La Unión", Valparaíso. México: "Diario de Yucatán", Mérida; "El Informador", Guadalajara. Nicaragua: "La Prensa", Managua. Perú: "La Prensa", Lima. República Dominicana: "Listín Diario", Santo Domingo. El Salvador: "El Diario de Hoy", San Salvador; "La Prensa Gráfica", San Salvador. Estados Unidos: "Diario Las Américas", Miami, Florida; Scripps League Newspapers, San Mateo, California. Commonwealth of Puerto Rico: Fundación Angel Ramos, San Juan.

D. La participación de los socios estadounidenses de la SIP

Coincidiendo con el anuncio de la reducción de las donaciones de la Ford Foundation, recibimos la grata información de que el señor Horacio Aguirre, de "Diario Las Américas", Miami, Florida, se comprometía a una contribución económica anual al Centro Técnico y que el Presidente de nuestro Centro doblaba su actual donación. También contamos con el apoyo continuado de la señora Tina Hills, Presidente del Directorio de "El Mundo", de Puerto Rico.

A las dudas expresadas por otros editores y propietarios de periódicos de los Estados Unidos con respecto a si les corresponde en verdad contribuir al sostenimiento financiero del Centro Técnico, podemos ofrecer una respuesta bastante satisfactoria. Lo hicimos antes personalmente y a través de nuestro boletín, pero debemos aprovechar esta ocasión para reiterar nuestro criterio: La razón fundamental que justifica ese apoyo es el respaldo ofrecido, en forma casi unánime, por los miembros de la SIP al Centro Técnico y sus frecuentes y múltiples expresiones de que lo consideran una de las mejores y más efectivas contribuciones a la nueva imagen de la SIP ante la opinión universal. Ellos, como nosotros, consideran que es también un medio práctico de fortalecer la prensa del Hemisferio y consolidar su libertad e independencia política sobre la base de una absoluta independencia económica. Estos objetivos han sido la inspiración constante de todo cuanto ha realizado, realiza y piensa realizar el Centro Técnico.

Basándonos en la opinión de numerosos e importantes miembros de la Sociedad, y con plena convicción propia, nos permitimos afirmar que el Centro Técnico, además de contribuir a la nueva imagen a que ya nos hemos referido, es una realidad tangible de la efectividad de la SIP, y por tanto cualquier cosa que se haga para ayudar al Centro Técnico, es también en verdad, una ayuda a la SIP. Nosotros nos

permitimos afirmar que no sólo la imagen y el prestigio, sino también la suerte de ambas organizaciones se confunden en su obra y en su destino.

A riesgo de ser demasiado insistentes, queremos aclarar a las empresas de Estados Unidos que no se trata de dar ayuda directa a los diarios de Iberoamérica, sino más bien de una parte de la campaña en defensa del bienestar y del prestigio de la SIP. Admitimos, al hacerlo, que prestan indirectamente una valiosa colaboración a sus colegas iberoamericanos.

También consideramos pertinente destacar que los grandes diarios de la Argentina, Brasil, México, Colombia, Perú, etc. que aportan sumas relativamente importantes al Fondo de Contrapartida, reciben un cierto grado de beneficios del Centro Técnico, pero que dichas contribuciones favorecen mucho más a sus propios competidores y a los diarios pequeños de sus respectivos países.

V. DIRECTORIO Y PERSONAL

El Directorio de este año ha estado integrado por las siguientes personas: Presidente del Directorio, John R. Herbert; Presidente, E. W. Scripps; Vicepresidentes, James S. Copley, J. Montgomery Curtis, Máximo Gainza Castro, Guillermo Gutiérrez V-M, William R. Hearst, Jr., Andrew Heiskell y Julio de Mesquita Neto; Tesorero, H. Earle Braisted; y Secretario, Peter Manigault. De todos ellos el Director-Gerente ha recibido especial colaboración, ahora más importante que nunca, a la luz de los acontecimientos que hemos tenido que afrontar.

Queremos hacer mención especial de la cooperación muy gentil y generosa ofrecida durante el pasado año a los socios de la SIP, a través del Centro Técnico, por los señores Scripps y Copley, y por el señor Otis Chandler, editor de "Los Angeles Times". Sus finas atenciones con altos ejecutivos de diarios iberoamericanos, y con miembros del directorio del Centro Técnico, han sido excepcionales. A ellos, como a sus respectivas organizaciones, va nuestro profundo agradecimiento por su valiosa colaboración.

La señorita Nora Larke, por decisión del Directorio, fue ascendida al cargo de Asistente del Gerente y han continuado prestando sus servicios, con gran dedicación, la secretaria señorita Marcela Ortega, la señora Vera Escudero y los señores César García-Pons y Jorge Asín.

VI. CONCLUSIONES

A lo largo de todo este informe nos hemos referido a las posibilidades de continuar un programa similar al actual, durante los años 1969 y 1970, siempre con la decisión de mejorarlo y de procurar que los socios cubran gradualmente la mayor parte de los gastos directos de los proyectos que los benefician, tal como lo han recomendado la Ford Foundation y muchos de los directores.

También nos han recomendado miembros del Directorio de la SIP que suministremos a los diarios de Iberoamérica discursos y artículos técnicos publicados en los Estados Unidos y en Europa. Otros nos sugieren que cobremos derechos de inscripción en los seminarios y que también recibamos compensación económica por los libros, boletines, etc. Deseamos que esos buenos amigos del Centro Técnico, pilares que sostienen a la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, tomen nota de que hemos estado haciendo todo eso, en algunos casos durante bastante tiempo y en otros durante los últimos seis meses.

También tenemos que admitir que numerosos miembros de Iberoamérica han percibido una ligera presión económica de parte de nuestra organización, que, en forma casi simultánea, les ha pedido contribución para el Fondo de Contrapartida, pago de derechos de inscripción, pago por las publicaciones, etc. La totalidad de estos gastos resulta de cierta importancia aún para los periódicos grandes, con mayor razón para los medianos y más aún para los pequeños. Sin lugar a error, podemos decir que los miembros de Iberoamérica, en términos generales, están contribuyendo al mantenimiento del Centro Técnico de acuerdo a sus medios.

Estábamos perfectamente conscientes, al establecer el Centro Técnico, de que el apoyo económico de la Ford Foundation terminaría tarde o temprano, y que tendríamos que afrontar la necesidad de convertirnos en una institución autofinanciada. Lo que sí no esperábamos era que esto se produjera tan pronto. Pensamos que la disminución gradual nos permitiría un cambio paulatino de la financiación casi absoluta por medio de la Fundación a una financiación proveniente totalmente de los miembros de la SIP. Sin embargo, un cambio inesperado en la política de la Ford Foundation, que ahora destina su dinero a Estados Unidos principalmente, nos obliga a enfrentarnos con la realidad.

Dicho en términos muy simples, la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa debe decidir ahora si realmente vale la pena continuar el trabajo del Centro Técnico. Y si la respuesta fuere afirmativa, ¿los socios de la

SIP estarían dispuestos a suministrar el apoyo financiero necesario para mantener el Centro Técnico como parte del esfuerzo general de la SIP?

MR. HERBERT: Thank you, Mr. Gutiérrez. I will now call on Mr. H. Earle Braisted, our Treasurer, to read his report.

INFORME DEL SR. H. EARLE BRAISTED, TESORERO DEL CENTRO TECNICO DE LA SIP

En vista de que otros directivos del Centro Técnico han hablado en detalle sobre nuestra situación financiera, he tratado de abreviar en lo posible este informe.

Como se darán cuenta por la copia que tienen del informe de Ingresos y Egresos, el total de nuestros ingresos llegó a US$132.894,53 incluyendo US$112.500,00 de la Fundación Ford; US$14.356,89 de contribuciones de los socios, sin incluir donaciones en moneda local; US$4.137,64 en intereses; y US$1.900,00 en cuotas de inscripción en seminarios.

El total de egresos llegó a US$199.708,14, incluyendo US$67.053,24 gastados en seminarios; US$36.520,45 en publicaciones, menos ventas; y US$96.134,45 en salarios y gastos generales de administración.

Hemos gastado unos 66.000 dólares de nuestra reserva acumulada, quedando un saldo en los bancos, al 30 de septiembre de 1968, de US$92.238,25. Ese déficit del ejercicio fue el resultado del programa de expansión de servicios, que tantos elogios ha provocado entre los socios beneficiados.

Como hemos sido notificados que las donaciones de la Fundación Ford para los años 1970 al 1973 serán solamente US$150.000, tendremos que reducir drásticamente los egresos futuros si no recibimos inmediatamente un aumento en las contribuciones de los socios. Aunque muchos ya han efectuado donaciones importantes, debemos lograr que el total pase de los US$100.000 por año para sufragar los costos del servicio actual, y ofrecer asesoramiento técnico especialmente en lo que se refiere al campo de los nuevos equipos y maquinarias.

Para resolver el problema de la necesidad de mayores contribuciones de los socios en el futuro, el Sr. Agustín Edwards hará una recomendación sumamente constructiva más adelante.

Me pregunto si todos nos damos cuenta del extraordinario desarrollo en este campo. El año pasado un solo fabricante embarcó prensas offset por un valor de US$7.000,000 a Iberoamérica, lo cual representa

una inversión de varias veces esa cantidad si se incluyen los equipos adicionales de composición y las ampliaciones de las plantas. Esas inversiones pueden exceder de los US$100.000 anuales.

Por lo tanto, si los socios que efectuán esas inversiones en nuevos equipos y ampliaciones, invirtiesen de 1/2 al 1% anualmente para lograr el mejor rendimiento de los mismos, no sólo le permitiría al Centro Técnico continuar con los servicios actuales, sino también agregar otros más importantes.

Recomiendo a todos ustedes la consideración urgente y seria de este pedido. Es probable que sea una de las oportunidades comerciales más lógicas que han escuchado en muchos años.

Desde luego, tendré un placer en contestar cualquier pregunta sobre este informe, ya sea ahora o en cualquier momento.

CENTRO TECNICO DE LA SIP
ESTADO DE CUENTAS DE INGRESOS Y EGRESOS
1 DE OCTUBRE DE 1967 AL 30 DE SEPTIEMBRE DE 1968

INGRESOS		
Donación de la Fundación Ford	112.500,00	
Contribuciones: Fondo de Contrapartida	12.608,04	
Premio John R. Reitemeyer	250,00	
Premio Ismael Pérez Castro	1.498,85	
Cuotas de inscripción adelantadas, de los seminarios de Buenos Aires y México	1.900,00	
Interés de Cuentas de Ahorro	4.137,64	
		132.894,53
EGRESOS		
Salarios	71.623,09	
Seminarios: Miami, Noviembre de 1967	19.234,01	
B.A. & México, Oct. y Nov. de 1968 (gastos anticipados)	14.006,95	
Mesa Redonda de Cons. de Recursos Naturales, y Actas (Río, Costa Rica, Lima)	13.302,00	
Viajes y gastos de representación	12.209,35	
Traducciones y Boletín, menos ventas	8.981,05	
Alquiler y Luz	4.662,72	
Publicaciones, menos ventas	27.539,40	
Gastos generales de imprenta	3.516,36	
Franqueo	1.634,21	
Equipo de Oficina	293,20	
Gastos de Oficina	3.346,42	
Libros y Revistas	322,42	
Teléfono y Cablegramas	2.561,82	

Gastos legales y de auditoría		1.200,00	
Impuestos sobre los sueldos		2.273,33	
Seguros		1.399,07	
Premios John R. Reitemeyer		605,00	
Oficinas de Miami: Alquiler	6.499,80		
Teléfono	1.478,29		
Equipo de Ofic.	300,00		
Gastos de Ofic.	12,36		
Varios	10,48		
		8.300,93	
Otros gastos generales		2.696,81	
			199.708,14
Exceso de egresos sobre ingresos			66.813,61
Saldo en caja al 30 de septiembre, 1967			159.051,86
Saldo en caja al 30 de septiembre, 1968			92.238,25

First National City Bank of New York	
Estado de cuenta	24.959,29
Menos cheques pendientes	4.216,32
Saldo en cuenta corriente	20.742,97
Saldo en cuenta de seminarios	2.849,70
First National Bank of Miami	2.335,75
Cuenta de ahorros	61.283,12
Cuenta de ahorros especiales:	
Cuenta de Boletín	444,92
Premio John R. Reitemeyer	2.297,83
Fondo para Equipo	2.254,19
Premio Ismael Pérez Castro	1.552,53
	6.549,47
Caja chica, oficina de New York	100,00
Caja chica, oficina de Miami	100,00
	93.961,01
Retención de impuestos sobre salarios	1.722,76
	$ 92.238,25

MR. HERBERT: Thank you Mr. Treasurer. Will someone move that the report be accepted?

Moved, seconded and approved.

We have one other piece of business today. I call upon President Scripps to announce the Nominating Committee to bring in the slate of officers on October 18.

MR. SCRIPPS: I hereby appoint the Nominating Committee: Mrs. Diana de Massot, Chairman; Horacio Aguirre, S. G. Fletcher and Andrés García Lavin.

MR. HERBERT: If there are no other matters pending, I will now declare the meeting of the membership and the Board of Directors of the IAPA Technical Center adjourned and relinquish the chair to Mr. Hills.

SR. AGUIRRE: Sr. Presidente, yo quisiera hacer un comentario sobre lo expresado por el Presidente del Centro Técnico, el Vice-Presidente y Director y el Tesorero, si me lo permite.

MR. HERBERT: I would say that it would depend upon the President of the IAPA as to how much time we have before we must adjourn.

MR. HILLS: I'd say if you have a short comment, go ahead.

The hotel has reminded me three or four times that we should be leaving here shortly so that they can prepare the room for the banquet.

SR. AGUIRRE: El tiempo lo voy a usar solamente para pedirle al Sr. Presidente que me dé el uso de la palabra en la próxima reunión, porque quiero hacer un llamado a todos los miembros de nuestra Sociedad y de la Junta Directiva sobre lo hecho por el Centro, lo que representa la Sociedad y la absoluta necesidad de darle todo el soporte económico necesario. Y parece que requiere más de un minuto.

MR. HILLS: I think we are all very much in agreement with you on that, Horacio, and I think we should find some time this week on the program to do this. I think Mr. Heiskell and some others want to speak on the same subject.

MR. HERBERT: Mr. Aguirre, I wanto to thank you very much for your interest and we will see if we can find that time. Now I will turn this meeting back to Mr. Hills.

MR. HILLS: Thank you very much, Mr. Herbert and Mr. Aguirre.

We ran into this problem we did not anticipate this afternoon, with the consecutive translation instead of the simultaneous because of the hotel's problem. But with the fine cooperation of all the speakers in condensing their reports, we are going to finish on time even if we didn't start on time.

I now have just two or three important announcements before we adjourn.

1. All IAPA members, guests, ladies and observers are invited to cocktails offered by The Associated Press at 7:30 in this hotel, in the Salones Retiro, Galería and Florida. These are the three rooms on this same floor, on the other side of the lobby.

Following that, at 9 PM, in this same meeting room will be the Inaugural Dinner offered by the Argentine newspaper members of the IAPA.

Again let me remind all of you to wear your badges.

We will have three outstanding speakers this evening: Dr. Bartolomé Mitre, Editor of La Nación of Buenos Aires and Chairman of the Host Committee; the Mayor of Buenos Aires, General Manuel Irícibar; and last, but not least, Dr. Carlos Sanz Santamaría, Chairman of the Interamerican Committee on the Alliance for Progress, who will speak on the subject "Economic and Social Development of Latin American Countries and the Participation of the Information Media".

At the dinner, also, we will have the presentation of new IAPA members and those who, although not new, are attending an Assembly for the first time. They all have red dots on their badges so that you can identify them.

Now, before we adjourn, does anyone wish to speak on any other subject?

I want to remind you that the General Assembly will open in this room at 9:30 tomorrow morning, and that the President of the Republic of Argentina will be here tomorrow morning to speak to us.

The meeting of the Board of Directors is now adjourned until Friday, October 18, at 4:30 PM.

(The meeting adjourned at 6:00 PM.)

INAUGURAL DINNER OF THE XXIV ANNUAL ASSEMBLY

Tuesday, October 15, 1968

The Inaugural Dinner of the XXIV Annual Assembly of the Inter American Press Association, offered by the Argentine newspaper members, was served Tuesday, October 15, 1968 at 9:00 PM in the Salón de Fiestas of the Plaza Hotel, Buenos Aires.

There were speeches by the Chairman of the Host Committee, Dr. Bartolomé Mitre, editor and publisher of La Nación, Buenos Aires; the Mayor of Buenos Aires, General Manuel Iricíbar; and the Chairman of the Inter American Committee on the Alliance for Progress, Dr. Carlos Sanz de Santamaría.

DISCURSO DEL PRESIDENTE DE LA COMISION ORGANIZADORA DE LA ASAMBLEA, DR. BARTOLOME MITRE, DIRECTOR DE LA NACION DE BUENOS AIRES

Las circunstancias me deparan el alto honor de pronunciar las palabras preliminares de una asamblea de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa y la satisfacción de dar la bienvenida a los colegas de todo el continente llegados para asistir a la memorable reunión.

Han transcurrido diez años desde que se celebró en Buenos Aires, en 1958, la décimocuarta asamblea general de nuestra organización. Entonces habíamos cerrado un primer período posterior a la reconstrucción de la SIP en Nueva York, ocho años antes. Fue un lapso que no nos ahorró inquietudes y sinsabores, una época de ardua lucha en favor del principio básico que nos anima - la afirmación de la libertad de prensa - pero también de acusados triunfos que mostraron a nuestra entidad en su cabal proyección continental, enérgica en la defensa del más fundamental de los derechos y, anotando como sucesivos partes de victoria, los avances logrados en combates con frecuencia desiguales por la soberbia de nuestros eventuales adversarios, en cuanto lo eran de la libertad de prensa, y por los medios de que disponían para silenciarla.

Pero aquel tiempo pasó y la década siguiente nos vio menos activos, aun cuando los ataques directos se hicieron menos frecuentes o se circunscribieron a determinado número de países y a más solapadas formas de acción.

De todos modos, hubo que mantener la guardia y a menudo sutilizar el estudio de los casos ante la sinuosidad de los procedimientos puestos en juego, mientras no dejamos de señalar con firmeza cada actitud adversa al ejercicio de nuestra misión.

Los trabajos de estos días, los ya iniciados por la Comisión de la Libertad de Prensa, en particular, definirán situaciones y precisarán conceptos en un esfuerzo que ya ha atraído a su práctica sistemática y vigilante a un millar de asociados, con una verdadera duplicación de los que integraban la Sociedad hace diez años.

Con esto seguimos fieles al concepto básico de la Carta que la institución se dio en 1950 y cuya cláusula IIa., luego desarrollada en las que le siguen, es terminante: "Sin libertad de prensa no hay democracia. La libertad de pensamiento y su expresión hablada o escrita son derechos inseparables esenciales. Constituyen a la vez garantía y defensa de las otras libertades en que se funda la democracia".

Bajo la inspiración y con la guía de tales enunciados la SIP ha venido desarrollando su acción y prosigue su labor, mas sin descuidar otras tareas ni dejar de afrontar otras inquietudes, como lo demuestran su Fondo de Becas, el Centro Técnico y los premios que anualmente recompensan las faenas excepcionales de la profesión. Por otra parte, no ha querido en estas asambleas encerrarse en un terreno limitado, por lo mismo que el periodismo es una ventana abierta a todas las aspiraciones progresistas y la expresión de constantes anhelos de desarrollo en la libertad y el orden. De ahí que a los temas específicamente vinculados con la propia tarea, se hayan ido agregando los que en cada reunión se ofrecían como el reflejo de preocupaciones o problemas de naturaleza más general. Así han desfilado figuras eminentes de la vida americana para traernos - en sesiones informativas que no excluyeron el diálogo y aun el debate - el eco de sus propias indagaciones y análisis. De ese espíritu han de ser traducción algunas de las actividades de la presente asamblea, tal como el examen de la posición de las juventudes americanas y la presencia en algunos actos de destacados especialistas, como los señores Sanz de Santamaría y McNamara.

Si, como dice nuestra Carta, "un periodismo honesto, libre e independiente es la mejor contribución para la paz de un mundo de pueblos libres con hombres libres", ese periodismo ha de estar atento a las cuestiones que plantea la necesidad de un desarrollo armónico de los países del Continente. A ello habrá de referirse, después que escuchemos la palabra del Intendente de la ciudad de Buenos Aires, general Manuel Iricíbar, el presidente del Comité Interamericano de la Alianza para el Progreso, D. Carlos Sanz de Santamaría.

Porque se ha querido reunir en este acto preliminar a dos calificadas representaciones: la de esta Capital, cuya máxima autoridad ha deseado asociarse íntimamente a nuestra celebración anual con todos los recursos que revelan las manifestaciones elocuentes que de su cordial presencia habéis recibido desde el momento de vuestra llegada, y la de un organismo destinado a cumplir una eficiente labor orientadora del progreso americano, bajo la dirección de una personalidad formada en el cultivo de arduas disciplinas y a quien el ejercicio de altas funciones de Gobierno en Colombia, su patria, le han otorgado el sólido prestigio de que goza.

Señores, la Comisión organizadora - y mediante ella los miembros argentinos de la SIP - reitera a sus colegas de toda América la más amistosa bienvenida. Por el éxito de las deliberaciones que váis a afrontar, por el futuro de nuestra institución y por el progreso de todos sus miembros formulamos hoy sinceros votos.

Estáis en una ciudad que se enorgullece de su espíritu americanista y en un país en el cual pasajeros y muy limitados eclipses no han sabido acallar el amor por las libertades esenciales y, sobre todo, por la que hemos declarado básica, la de expresión, que los fundadores de la patria proclamaron en días memorables. La opinión pública seguirá, pues, con interés vuestra renovada afirmación de esos postulados y os acompañará, emocionada, en la defensa que de ellos hagáis frente a cuanto sea capaz de afectarlos. Estáis en vuestra casa y junto a un pueblo, la medida de cuya comprensión está dada por el coraje que supo en su hora poner para la recuperación de las libertades perdidas. Que fortalecida por el caudal de sus adhesiones de hoy, la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa vea en esta segunda asamblea de Buenos Aires una etapa decisiva de su historia.

DISCURSO DEL INTENDENTE DE LA CIUDAD DE BUENOS AIRES, GENERAL MANUEL IRICIBAR

Es para mí motivo de viva satisfacción recibir en nuestra ciudad de Buenos Aires y transmitir en su nombre el saludo de bienvenida, a los señores periodistas representantes de la Prensa Libre de América.

Apreciamos el insigne honor que se nos dispensa al señalar a nuestra ciudad como sede de este congreso, como reconocimiento de que la vida de nuestra comunidad es ámbito propicio para que la SIP avance en la noble empresa de lograr sus fines, haciendo del periodismo americano "Honesto, Libre e Independiente", el medio eficiente para que los pueblos vivan los beneficios de la democracia.

El pueblo de Buenos Aires aprecia la trascendencia del acto, porque en toda empresa de paz y libertad identifica el derrotero de sus aspiraciones, de su lucha por merecerlas, de su felicidad presente y el sentimiento fundamental de sus destinos.

Feliz iniciativa fue la de la Conferencia Panamericana de 1923 que se materializó en la primer Conferencia de Prensa Interamericana, al interpretar la aspiración de los pueblos a la libre expresión del pensamiento como una "Empresa Común" de América; más significativa aún y precursora de nuevos tiempos de solidaridad humana universal es la evolución de los congresos posteriores hasta lograr que por sobre las divisiones y barreras geográficas, se congregue la voluntad del periodismo americano para defender un derecho o una facultad inalienable del hombre libre, que no es incompatible con el ejercicio de la soberanía de las naciones.

Prestigia a este Congreso la actualidad y trascendencia de los temas que se ha propuesto debatir; ellos han creado en la ciudad una gran expectativa en la medida en que decisiones anteriores fueron trascendentes para mantener la "libertad" de expresión, alcanzar o recuperar la "independencia" perdida por los órganos periodísticos y estimular a los periodistas con sus distinciones y premios. A superarse en la "honestidad" de su tarea, que por gravitación en la opinión pública es hoy indispensable.

Es que Buenos Aires, expresión natural de la prodigación de la pampa que la circunda, mentora de la organización nacional y cuna de la libertad de naciones americanas, sigue siendo centro de proyección cultural del continente. Buenos Aires sigue cumpliendo el mandato histórico de ser el centro de acontecimientos trascendentes, de ideas nuevas, de actitudes que se imitan, de hechos que se difunden.

Desde su origen recibió el impulso de las provincias que le dio poder y fue la puerta obligada de comunicación de aquéllas con el mundo exterior.

En su evolución fue el receptáculo y crisol de todas las corrientes culturales que incorporó con libertad y erudición a su patrimonio colonial hispánico y difundió después con prodigalidad a todos los confines de América.

La libre expresión de las ideas nace en 1810 en los albores de la lucha por la independencia, con el "Correo de Comercio" de Belgrano y "La Gaceta de Buenos Aires" de Moreno, bajo la inspiración de los creadores de la patria nueva y ante la vocación popular "de saber de qué se trata".

Figuras preclaras de nuestra organización como el General Mitre le infundieron sano espíritu democrático al expresar:

"La prensa es el primer instrumento de civilización de nuestros días y ha dejado de ser un derecho político para convertirse en una facultad, en un nuevo sentido, en una nueva fuerza orgánica del género humano, su única palanca para obrar sobre sí mismo..."

Enriquecida en el correr del tiempo, Buenos Aires disfruta hoy, a través de sus órganos periodísticos, de un sistema informativo de privilegio en el mundo, que ha sabido mantener su jerarquía en una existencia centenaria como el diario "La Capital" de Rosario y "La Prensa" de Buenos Aires.

Quienes transiten nuestras calles podrán observar el espectáculo excepcional de encontrar a cada paso pintorescos quioscos con abigarrados ejemplares de diarios, revistas y publicaciones en un alarde desusado de caudal informativo y de jerarquía editorial que se entremezclan con la masa ciudadana para satisfacer su afán de noticia y promover el más alto nivel de ilustración pública.

Los señores congresales que convivirán estos días con nosotros podrán disfrutar la visión de una ciudad digna y moral que refleja un estilo propio de vida, afianzado en las más sólidas tradiciones nacionales, donde la preservación de la familia, el desarrollo de las más elevadas facultades del hombre y un sentido trascendente de la existencia, constituyen los pilares en que se asienta la estructura social.

El hombre de Buenos Aires es inquieto y progresista, aspira a una democracia justa en orden y sin contradicciones, desea participar y comunicarse; de ahí la necesidad de información y libre expresión.

En densa concentración producto del urbanismo Buenos Aires absorbe una proporción tan abrumadora de la vitalidad de la nación que "la formulación de un plan que tienda a regular su desenvolvimiento y a corregir sus gruesos errores, se confunde en alguna medida con un plan de ordenamiento nacional en lo económico, en lo técnico y en lo social".

En los últimos años, la ciudad mantuvo su vieja estructura, algo ajena a las urgencias de transformación que exige el ritmo acelerado de la evolución en todos los hechos humanos. Hechos aislados de moderna factura destacan el contraste entre la ciudad tradicional y las nuevas tendencias.

Sorprendida por los avances de la sociedad industrial, la población ve perturbada su vida por las agresiones del ambiente de la gran ciudad.

Buenos Aires se suma hoy a los esfuerzos de la nación por superar una época y enfrentar el desarrollo sin perder su personalidad histórica. Ya ha iniciado su transformación en paz y libertad.

En medio de una actividad cultural desbordante, Buenos Aires se integra al resto del país; coordina su acción de modernización en la región metropolitana planificando su desarrollo futuro y en acción dinámica aúna esfuerzos para realizar lo de ayer y lo de hoy, solidaria con el movimiento comunal del continente.

Deseamos a los señores representantes de la prensa libre de América, que la afectiva acogida que la ciudad les dispensa haga provechosa su labor y grata su estadía, para que en su recuerdo perdure la imagen de una comunidad hospitalaria donde la vida transcurre segura, sana, confortable y armoniosa.

EXPOSICION DEL PRESIDENTE DEL COMITE INTERAMERICANO DE LA ALIANZA PARA EL PROGRESO, INGENIERO CARLOS SANZ DE SANTAMARIA

Señor Presidente:

Agradezco a usted y a todos los miembros de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa la cordial invitación que me hicieran para asistir a la reunión de su Asamblea Anual y a conversar con ustedes sobre algunos aspectos del desarrollo económico y el progreso social de los países de América Latina en sus relaciones con la tarea que en él cumplen, y pueden cumplir cada día en forma más completa, los órganos de difusión.

La prensa es esencialmente comunicativa e informativa, pero no debe dejar de ser una "Tribuna de Doctrina", según la definición de don Bartolomé Mitre, notable militar e historiador, estadista y poeta.

Deseo saludar afectuosamente al doctor Bartolomé Mitre, eminente escritor que continúa la tradición de su ilustre estirpe, y en él a la prensa argentina que ha sabido formar, en todos los tiempos, elevada cátedra de doctrina -- sobre todo en momentos decisivos de la vida de esta gran Nación. Este homenaje se extiende a los hombres de hoy y de ayer, que con inteligencia y patriotismo supieron, desde las columnas escritas, iluminar épocas y circunstancias de la historia argentina y americana.

La Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa ha mantenido siempre una vigilante actitud para que las posibilidades de información se ensanchen en dos direcciones principales: en la de la fuente de la noticia y en la de los sectores de opinión pública a que debe llegar, para explicar, orientar y enterar a las gentes de lo que acontece en el mundo.

A la prensa informativa y crítica que prevaleció en el siglo XIX la ha sucedido un periodismo más especializado y técnico, cuya influencia en el ámbito social es cada día más profunda. Tiene, por lo tanto, mayores responsabilidades. Gracias a esa influencia el hombre medio de la sociedad se forma opiniones sugeridas por los sistemas de comunicación -- y a menudo las hace suyas -- por un proceso de convencimiento técnicamente presentado y persistentemente mantenido.

Con frecuencia, la complejidad de muchos problemas ecónomicos y sociales y de las circunstancias internacionales excede la capacidad de comprensión de la opinión pública media y, por esa razón, a una buena mayoría de las gentes de un país le resulta difícil formarse una acertada opinión sobre tales problemas sin el auxilio del análisis de los periodistas y escritores; y de los instrumentos que el periodismo moderno ha creado para comunicarse, momento a momento, con los pueblos.

La prensa cumple pues -- y ésa quizás sea su principal misión en la vida moderna -- una tarea didáctica, una compleja función de enseñanza que influye sobre la sociedad en que vivimos.

Por esta razón, el periodismo continental no ha querido ser ajeno al proceso de desarrollo económico y social que hoy agita a los pueblos latinoamericanos. Nadie podría dudar de que el éxito de ese proceso es indispensable para lograr en este Continente mejores niveles de vida, una mayor difusión de los conocimientos y la formación de una opinión pública, cada vez más consciente de sus derechos y de sus deberes, que participe activa e integralmente en ese proceso de desenvolvimiento, con el objetivo fundamental de alcanzar y consolidar la paz.

De allí, sin duda, que la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa haya señalado entre sus objetivos principales el de "trabajar colectivamente por la solución de los problemas comunes y por la conservación de la paz y la tranquilidad del Nuevo Mundo", y que en los últimos tiempos haya organizado seminarios y reuniones para que la prensa lleve al conocimiento de las grandes masas de la opinión pública, los notables adelantos de la ciencia y de la tecnología modernas.

Interpreto como una manifestación más de esos propósitos, la cordial invitación que ustedes me han extendido y que me trae aquí, en mi condición de Presidente del Comité Interamericano de la Alianza para el Progreso, a exponer algunos aspectos del desarrollo económico y del progreso social de los países de América Latina, y a solicitar de la prensa la más generosa cooperación, porque las finalidades de la Alianza se identifican con los ideales de los periodistas que procuran estimular y consolidar el bienestar, la cultura, la libertad y la democracia en los países americanos.

Con frecuencia se escuchan las preguntas:

¿Qué es la Alianza para el Progreso? ¿Cuándo y cómo nació? ¿Es un programa o iniciativa de los Estados Unidos, o es una empresa conjunta de todos los países de América? ¿Qué ha hecho hasta ahora esta Alianza? ¿Qué se propone hacer en el futuro?

Podría resumirse una respuesta así:

La Alianza es una empresa cooperativa, en que la asistencia financiera externa complementa el esfuerzo propio de cada uno de los países latinoamericanos, para promover su desenvolvimiento económico y su progreso social.

Los programas nacionales de desarrollo elaborados por los países latinoamericanos deben contemplar los objetivos señalados en la Carta de Punta del Este, que tienden todos a mejorar la condición de salud, educación y cultura del hombre americano y a obtener una distribución más equitativa del ingreso nacional, a diversificar las exportaciones para que los países tengan un mayor poder de compra internacional y, en suma, a promover aceleradamente el desarrollo económico y el bienestar social.

La Carta de Punta del Este, al crear la Alianza para el Progreso, estableció que esos programas de desarrollo tendrían un respaldo, proveniente de todas las fuentes exteriores, de por lo menos veinte mil millones de dólares durante la primera década, y que esa suma, en su mayor parte, estaría constituida por fondos públicos.

La Alianza es, pues, como su nombre lo indica, una asociación entre partes. Los países latinoamericanos se han comprometido a adelantar rápidamente la transformación de sus estructuras económicas y sociales por su propio esfuerzo y decisión, y a alcanzar su desarrollo con el aporte de ahorros internos; y los Estados Unidos a proporcionar el financiamiento externo complementario en condiciones flexibles.

Todos ustedes conocen, y por ello no es menester repetirlos ahora, los antecedentes que precedieron la decisión del Presidente John F. Kennedy de promover la Alianza para el Progreso. Sus ideas estaban precisamente basadas en cuanto los latinoamericanos habían venido reiteradamente solicitando durante más de tres décadas. El Presidente Kennedy fue, pues, el vocero de una política nueva de entendimiento y de asociación de los Estados Unidos con sus vecinos del sur para crear un auténtico nuevo mundo en todo el Hemisferio.

En 1933, sin éxito, insistieron los latinoamericanos en la creación de una empresa cooperativa que fuera una expresión tangible de la solidaridad interamericana ya asentada por entonces en el ambiente político.

Más tarde, esos gobiernos buscaron la concertación de un convenio de cooperación económica, que resultó inoperante.

Y en 1958, el Gobierno del Brasil instó a todos los países a participar en la llamada Operación Panamericana, en la cual establecían los fundamentos de una acción política colectiva.

Permítaseme recordar ahora que, con ocasión de cumplirse el primer año de escrita la carta que dirigiera el Presidente del Brasil al Presidente de los Estados Unidos, carta que forma parte del patrimonio histórico del panamericanismo, señalé que América había dado pleno apoyo a la idea de la Operación Panamericana no sólo en sus proyectos prácticos y en el escogimiento de soluciones concretas cuyos resultados comenzaban ya a ser percibidos, sino también como un impulso político que debía continuar a través de los organismos interamericanos con las modificaciones y fortalecimiento que requirieran, como una rebelión constructiva, actuante, permanente y sólidamente dirigida, contra la miseria de nuestros pueblos, hasta obtener el desarrollo económico a que tienen derecho las naciones de América Latina. Tales palabras son válidas todavía diez años después.

En 1959, se suscribe el Convenio Constitutivo del Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo, idea originalmente propuesta por los países latinoamericanos en la Primera Conferencia Interamericana efectuada en Washington setenta años antes....

El "Acta de Bogotá", suscrita en 1960, inicia la modificación de la estructura del Consejo Interamericano Económico y Social para adaptarlo a nuevas y más intensas actividades y establece un fondo especial interamericano para el desarrollo social, al cual el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos entrega, por primera vez, una contribución determinada.

El 17 de agosto de 1961, la Carta de Punta del Este institucionalizó la Alianza para el Progreso.

La Alianza es, pues, un programa cooperativo, establecido dentro del marco de la Operación Panamericana, que recoge, a su vez, las aspiraciones de los países latinoamericanos. Es un movimiento extraordinario en el cual participan los países del Hemisferio, fundado en una disciplina interna de trabajo nacional, e internacionalmente colectiva, con metas y objetivos precisos que son justos en sus proyecciones y en su definición.

A través de esta breve reseña sobre su origen y sus objetivos puede observarse que la Alianza no es, ni podría serlo, una política unilateral estratégica de los Estados Unidos hacia América Latina. La asistencia financiera externa, que representa la contribución de los Estados Unidos en este esfuerzo cooperativo, no constituye una dádiva --que así no podría aceptarse por los países latinoamericanos-- ni es una prestación graciosa de servicios. La Alianza para el Progreso, como así también los acuerdos que conforman el Sistema Interamericano, sólo pueden concebirse y realizarse plenamente en la existencia de deberes, derechos, ventajas y obligaciones recíprocas entre naciones soberanas.

Todo esto significa una modificación sustancial de las bases de las relaciones económicas que existían con anterioridad al Acta de Bogotá y a la Carta de Punta del Este.

Permítaseme expresar con franqueza que los gobiernos y pueblos de América Latina han realizado, y continúan realizando, esfuerzos de gran magnitud dentro de las limitaciones de sus recursos humanos y económicos para alcanzar --si no todas-- algunas de las metas del progreso; que es hoy un propósito nacional, en cada uno de ellos, el impulsar el desarrollo económico y el mejoramiento social; que las inversiones públicas han aumentado para los fines del desarrollo en forma creciente; que se ha avanzado y se avanza en las reformas fiscales y agrarias, acaso en menor grado en estas últimas y en buena proporción en la modernización de la administración, de los métodos educacionales, del fomento de la cultura, de la higiene, de la ciencia y de la tecnología.

No siempre las estadísticas presentan un panorama acertado del esfuerzo propio de un país. Las tasas de crecimiento, los saldos positivos en cuenta corriente, ya sean en las balanzas de pagos o en los presupuestos nacionales, no constituyen índices exclusivos para la comprobación del esfuerzo realizado. El cambio institucional

que se está operando en todas las ramas de la administración pública y en el comportamiento de las economías para obtener una redistribución de los ingresos nacionales tiene una importancia mayor que las cifras estadísticas porque se proyecta, además, hacia el futuro.

Ese esfuerzo interno de los países se refleja en el hecho de que ellos hayan superado los cálculos y expectativas iniciales y se aproximen, en términos de inversión de sus ahorros domésticos, al equivalente de ciento quince mil millones de dólares en menos de siete años, en lugar de los 80 mil millones previstos para la primera década de la Alianza.

La contribución financiera de los Estados Unidos llegó en este mismo período al 6,7 por ciento del total de la inversión en los programas de desarrollo económico y social de América Latina, mientras las inversiones privadas extranjeras y otros aportes representan un 5,3 por ciento. El esfuerzo propio latinoamericano se aproxima, pues, al 90 por ciento del costo de los programas de desarrollo.

He aquí una demostración del esfuerzo realizado, no obstante la existencia de muchas circunstancias desfavorables, entre las cuales debe señalarse la situación del comercio internacional.

Pues bien, durante la vigencia de la Alianza, es decir desde 1961 hasta el 31 de diciembre de 1967, el total de los desembolsos provenientes de créditos de los Estados Unidos llegó a la suma de 5.853 millones de dólares. Como en el mismo período los países latinoamericanos amortizaron 2.141 millones de dólares y pagaron 734 millones de dólares de intereses, resulta claro que el crédito neto otorgado por los Estados Unidos durante los siete años sólo alcanzó la cifra de 2.978 millones de dólares. Y aún no han comenzado a vencer años de gracia en los créditos otorgados al principio.

Para ustedes será interesante conocer estos datos y probablemente les causará sorpresa que haya gentes que crean que la llamada "ayuda" se otorga en condiciones gratuitas y en tal magnitud que ocasiona perjuicios a los contribuyentes estadounidenses.

El error consiste, principalmente, en que el término "ayuda" continúa empleándose según la connotación que adquiriera durante la vigencia del Plan Marshall, en el que los recursos transferidos por las naciones ricas a las más necesitadas lo fueron, en gran proporción, a título de donaciones. En la Alianza para el Progreso ocurre, precisamente, lo contrario, como lo demuestran las cifras que me he permitido señalar.

Si hemos de emplear el vocablo adecuado y evitar perturbaciones que contribuyen a deformar el criterio con que la opinión pública debe juzgar nuestros esfuerzos, deberemos referirnos a los "préstamos", o a la "cooperación financiera externa".

Las sumas de esa cooperación financiera externa no son extravagantes, como bien lo señalara el señor McNamara, Presidente del Banco Internacional de Reconstrucción y Fomento, en la Reunión Anual de Gobernadores efectuada hace pocos días. Indicó el señor McNamara que para duplicar el precario ingreso per cápita actual de la América Latina se necesitarían más de cuarenta años y que incluso en las zonas más progresistas de esas regiones, la mejora resultaría imperceptible, de año en año, para el hombre de la calle, y reiteró, por ello, la urgencia de que se intensifiquen los esfuerzos de los países prósperos para ayudar al crecimiento de las naciones en vías de desarrollo. El señor McNamara demostró que esos países prósperos están en condiciones financieras de poder hacerlo. "Hasta ahora --dijo-- durante el Decenio para el Desarrollo, han aumentado sus ingresos anuales reales en unos 400.000 millones de dólares, aumento que en sí mismo es mucho mayor que el total de los ingresos anuales de los países subdesarrollados de Asia, Africa y América Latina."

En consecuencia, no es extraño que haya declarado que el Banco que dirige, por ser un organismo consagrado a la obra del desarrollo, debería incrementar al doble, en el próximo quinquenio, los créditos que otorgó en los cinco años anteriores.

Hay, pues, un deterioro temporal y serio en la colaboración financiera externa, equivalente al diez por ciento del esfuerzo que realizan los países de la América Latina para promover su desarrollo. Pero esa crisis deberá ser superada si han de asentarse en bases firmes los compromisos suscritos en Punta del Este y ratificados en otros documentos de valor contractual. Tengo confianza en que así ocurrirá, porque el Congreso de los Estados Unidos comprende que aquí se halla envuelto un aspecto que atañe a la responsabilidad mutua y al interés de todos los pueblos de América.

En cambio, no puede disminuir la intensidad del propósito que reunió a los países latinoamericanos para lograr los beneficios de una sociedad más justa, de una distribución más equitativa del ingreso, de una proporción cada día más creciente de la población en las escuelas, en los centros de adiestramiento y en las universidades.

El financiamiento complementario externo sería cada vez menos necesario si mejoraran las condiciones del intercambio comercial para los países latinoamericanos.

Este es, a mi juicio, el problema fundamental que ellos deben enfrentar, diseñando una política más activa y firme, que les permita presentar una posición coherente a la comunidad internacional. Los países latinoamericanos no habrán de desempeñar el papel que les corresponde si no actúan unidos por la solidaridad regional.

Las condiciones del comercio exterior están directamente vinculadas al desarrollo.

En 1967, los ingresos provenientes de las exportaciones latinoamericanas declinaron en un uno por ciento en relación con los de 1966, en circunstancias de que para continuar un desarrollo acelerado se requiere un aumento mínimo del 5 ó 6 por ciento anual.

Insisto en que el proceso del desarrollo podría acelerarse notablemente si pudiéramos remover las barreras que impiden a la América Latina aumentar los ingresos producidos por sus exportaciones. Estos son, y continuarán siéndolo en el futuro, la fuente principal de sus entradas en divisas extranjeras, y, por ende, para la adquisición de bienes de capital destinados al desarrollo.

Los programas de desarrollo que conforman los objetivos de la Alianza para el Progreso siguen siendo la respuesta adecuada para los problemas económicos, sociales y políticos que surgen en la vida de relación de los países de este Continente.

Ellos procuran el avance coordinado y paralelo del desarrollo económico y del progreso social y están, en consecuencia, beneficiando sectores humanos que nunca en el pasado recibieron un provecho directo de las relaciones interamericanas.

Pero es preciso conservar y fortalecer el carácter multilateral de la Alianza. Porque si ésta no fuera, como se concibió, un compromiso solemne en el campo regional para complementar el esfuerzo propio de los países latinoamericanos, con la cooperación financiera y técnica de los Estados Unidos, y con el mejoramiento de las condiciones del comercio internacional, hasta eliminar los vestigios del subdesarrollo, el programa sería simplemente una política de "ayuda externa" de los Estados Unidos, reglamentada por éstos y desprovista del apoyo y del interés de los pueblos latinoamericanos.

¿Por qué la indiferencia de muchos sectores dentro de los países latinoamericanos, siendo que sólo los esfuerzos y programas para el desarrollo harán posible que se alcance la finalidad de elevar el nivel de vida de la población latinoamericana?

¿Por qué las demandas del Gobierno de los Estados Unidos al Congreso Federal, para poder dar cumplimiento adecuado a la parte que le corresponde en esta Alianza, tropiezan año a año con tan fuertes resistencias?

¿Se olvida acaso que los esfuerzos que efectúa la Alianza están regidos por acuerdos recíprocos de carácter multilateral?

¿No están los pueblos latinoamericanos en el derecho a esperar y recibir, en las condiciones de dignidad que surgen de obligaciones recíprocas, una cooperación financiera externa complementaria y suficiente en apoyo de programas bien concebidos?

Estoy convencido de que una tarea de la magnitud y complejidad de la que debe realizarse para dar respuesta satisfactoria a esos interrogantes, requiere la concertación de todos los sectores en su consecución y significa, por tanto, la movilización de los grupos de empresarios y de trabajadores, de los sectores estatal y privado, de los partidos políticos y de los poderes públicos, de los educadores y de los periodistas, de los dirigentes y del ciudadano común, tanto del Sur como del Centro y el Norte de este Hemisferio.

Señores: Por todo lo expuesto, atribuyo una importancia fundamental a la participación de los medios de difusión en la movilización de la opinión pública para alcanzar el progreso económico y la estabilidad social.

Ya en 1961 se sugirió la celebración de una conferencia hemisférica de medios informativos, basada en la opinión de siete expertos que ocupan lugares de vanguardia en las filas del periodismo continental.

Yo quisiera reiterar ante ustedes la necesidad de que se examine nuevamente esa posibilidad bajo los auspicios de la propia Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, para que se consideren allí las dificultades que están entrabando el cabal conocimiento de problemas vitales por la opinión pública de las Américas.

Recientemente, una Mesa Redonda patrocinada por CEPAL consideró que el periodismo, por su labor informativa y orientadora de la opinión pública, constituye un factor sustancial del crecimiento económico y del progreso social, que lo convierte en infraestructura indispensable para el mejor logro de los objetivos de los países en desarrollo.

Es, pues, necesaria esta colaboración, para la que acaso se requieran periodistas especializados en el conocimiento de los problemas del desarrollo.

En suma, quiero expresar a ustedes el deseo de mantener con la SIP las relaciones más estrechas, y contar con la participación de personeros suyos en nuestras reuniones, de manera de entablar así un diálogo franco y constructivo que nos ayude en la solución de problemas comunes.

No son pocas las dificultades que se han sobrepasado y grandes, muy grandes, las que aún tendremos que superar en el futuro. Pero la tarea será menos ardua si contamos con la cooperación de la prensa del Continente y ésta comparte la responsabilidad de informar, de ilustrar a la opinión pública y nos hace llegar, a su vez, la crítica razonada o su estímulo, cuando sea de justicia otorgarlo.

En los momentos de escribir estas observaciones, el Senado de los Estados Unidos decidió no aceptar la reducción adicional -- introducida por la Cámara -- en las partidas para la Alianza.

Además, la actitud permanente de la Rama Ejecutiva del Gobierno de los Estados Unidos, primero en la Administración del Presidente Kennedy y más tarde en la del Presidente Johnson, demuestran que los Estados Unidos continúan decididos a seguir prestando su cooperación a los países en vías de desarrollo del Continente, sus socios en la Alianza, a pesar de sus graves responsabilidades en el mundo y de las dificultades que ahora se presentan en el país en un año electoral.

Por su parte, América Latina, en conjunto, ha madurado ya lo suficiente para que sus decisiones de desarrollo, con el incremento constante del esfuerzo propio y la vinculación económica y social de todos los países, determine un rápido avance hacia las metas de la Carta de Punta del Este.

Será el comercio internacional -- las exportaciones latinoamericanas -- y no la colaboración financiera del exterior por sí sola, el factor decisivo en el desenvolvimiento económico de la región.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY
FIRST MEETING

Wednesday, October 16, 1968

The first meeting of the XXIV Annual General Assembly of the Inter American Press Association convened at 9:30 AM., Wednesday, October 16, 1968, in the Salón de Fiestas of the Plaza Hotel in Buenos Aires, Argentina, with Mr. Lee Hills, President, as Chairman.

MR. HILLS: I would like to ask the Secretary, Mr. Feldman, if he has any messages to read or summarize.

SR. FELDMAN JOSIN: Tenemos un mensaje del Sr. Carlos José Biedma, Presidente de la Asociación Interamericana de Educación, adhiriendo a la Asamblea de la SIP.

El Presidente del Círculo de Periodistas de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, Sr. Francisco Antonio Ramírez, adhiere con otro mensaje.

La Unión Mundial de la Juventud Croata se dirige a la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa expresándole que es una fuenta de verdadera inspiración democrática para la juventud del mundo entero.

El Círculo de la Prensa de Buenos Aires, con la firma del Presidente Raúl Fernández y del Secretario General, Gerardo Mendizábal, saludan a la XXIV Asamblea de la SIP.

El Círculo de la Prensa de Avellaneda, con las firmas del Sr. Humberto Carlos Cuchetti y Armando Tulio Casenave, envían otro cordial saludo a la XXIV Asamblea.

SR. JIMENEZ: También tenemos algunos mensajes en inglés que resumiré.

From Per Monsen, Director of the International Press Institute in Zurich: "Greetings and best wishes for a most successful Assembly dedicated to press freedom and international understanding."

IAPA Directors Ian Macdonald and Rómulo O'Farrill, Jr. regret that they are unable, because of very important circumstances, to attend our Buenos Aires Assembly.

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

MR. HILLS: Thank you very much.

We have with us at this opening meeting of our XXIV General Assembly a large number of representatives of some of the more important international, national and regional press organizations. I am now going to call on them to stand and be recognized, but in the beginning I would like to recognize Dr. Juan Valmaggia, President of ADEPA, or Argentine Press Enterprises Association.

DR. JUAN S. VALMAGGIA (La Nación, Buenos Aires, Presidente de la Asocación de Empresas Periodísticas Argentinas): Hablo no sólo en representación de la entidad que presido sino también de dos instituciones hermanas, la Asociación de Editores de Revistas y la Asociación de Publicaciones Técnicas Argentinas, APTA. Esas tres entidades, que agrupan publicaciones con un sentido fraternal y de defensa de las libertades esenciales muy vecino al de la SIP, tiene la satisfacción de saludar por mi intermedio a los señores delegados venidos del resto del continente, y decirles que hacen los mejores votos por el éxito de sus deliberaciones y por la franca y cordial amistad que, gracias a la SIP, se ha establecido entre todos los hombres de prensa del hemisferio americano. Hacemos también votos por la ventura personal de todos ustedes y sus respectivas esposas.

Nos sentimos muy gratamente favorecidos con la visita de ustedes y deseamos que los días de Buenos Aires sean gratos para todos.

Nada más, señores. (Aplausos)

MR. HILLS: We have, representing the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Mr. John Herbert.

We are not going to ask most of these groups for any talk or presentation, but John, if you have anything to say, go ahead.

MR. HERBERT: Mr. President, I bring you greetings today from the American Society of Newspaper Editors and from our President, Vincent S. Jones.

I can assure you of our Society's concern for the well-being of the free press and we are concerned, too, with the problems of adequate reporting of the international scene. And so we salute the IAPA for its distinguished and corageous leadership in hemispheric journalism.

MR. HILLS: Thank you, Mr. Herbert.

Mr. Tom C. Harris, representing the International Press Institute.

MR. TOM C. HARRIS (St. Petersburg, Florida, Times): Thank you, Lee. I am delighted to bring you greetings from the International Press Institute. In the name of IPI and Mr. Hugh Boyd, I bring compliments and congratulations from our organization on the fine work IAPA is doing in the area of freedom of the press, scholarships and Technical Center.

All of this fits in well with the aims and objectives of IPI, to bring better understanding among the nations of the world through a free press. Thank you.

MR. HILLS: Thank you, Mr. Harris.

Mr. Irwin Maier, representing the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers.

MR. IRWIN MAIER (The Milwaukee, Wis., Journal): I am glad to be here in a dual capacity, representing FIEJ and also the ANPA.

I bring from the President of ANPA, William F. Schmick, Jr., his cordial greetings to you and wish for the success of these deliberations.

From Claude Bellanger of FIEJ, I also bring personal greetings, and from Mr. Gene Robb, Vice President of the same organization.

I am particularly delighted to see the strong positions taken in the Committee on Freedom of the Press under the leadership of Mr. Harris, and I would say that these problems that you have faced so courageously are not going to diminish, but continue to grow. Thank you.

MR. HILLS: Thank you, Mr. Maier.

Mr. Mario A. Grú, Secretary, and Mr. Gerardo Hauser, Assistant Secretary, of the Inter-American Foreign Press Association, with headquarters in Buenos Aires.

Mr. Gerald Rock, Manager of the International Newspaper Promotion Association.

MR. ROCK: It is a pleasure for me to be here to represent the International Newspaper Promotion Association and to compliment the IAPA on its behalf.

MR. HILLS: Thank you very much.

Mr. Staley McBrayer, President of Sigma Delta Chi, professional journalistic society of the United States.

MR. McBRAYER: Mr. Chairman, I deem it a privilege and a pleasure to be here to meet with this distinguished group and bring you greetings from Sigma Delta Chi, the society of journalists.

There are over 18,500 Sigma Delta Chi members and we include both the print and electronic media. Our motto is: "He serves best who serves truth", and we are encouraging professionalism in journalism and we realize that there is a service that journalism must make to mankind and it depends on quality and on the integrity with which it is performed.

I want to express the appreciation of our group for the fine work that this organization is doing and say that we have a number of members who are in this organization. A good example of these outstanding journalists is your President, Lee Hills, who is a past national president of Delta Sigma Chi. Thank you.

MR. HILLS: Thank you, Staley.

Dr. Carlos J. Biedma, President of the Inter American Education Association.

DR. BIEDMA: Es para los educadores de América una gran satisfacción poder saludar a todos ustedes en esta nueva jornada.

Los educadores creemos todos que debemos colaborar con los periodistas en bien del desarrollo de la libertad en América y la paz del continente, y hacer factible aquí en toda esta parte enorme del mundo el bien para la juventud y la infancia.

Por eso es que hoy es un honor para el que habla, en nombre de todos los educadores de la América, saludar a los periodistas americanos y desearles éxito en esta nueva reunión. Muchas gracias.

MR. HILLS: Thank you, sir.

Dr. Affonso Henríquez Correa, representing the National Press Club of Washington.

DR. HENRIQUEZ CORREA: El National Press Club de Washington, esa gran institución, por mi intermedio saluda a los presentes.

Desde mi punto de vista personal deseo manifestar mi admiración por la magnífica organización que el Comité argentino ha dado a esta asamblea.

En nombre del National Press Club de Washington saludo a los presentes, saludo al pueblo argentino y a toda la América Latina. Muchísimas gracias. (Aplausos)

MR. HILLS: Thank you, sir.

The next item on the agenda is the establishment of a quorum (50 members are required) and I know that we have far more than the necessary number. Nevertheless I want to ask the Chairman of the Credentials Committee, Mr. Julio de Mesquita Neto, to report on the number of members registered.

SR. JULIO DE MESQUITA NETO (O Estado de S. Paulo, São Paulo, Brasil): El quórum necesario para abrir las sesiones de la Asamblea es 50 socios. Hasta hoy en la mañana se han inscrito 149 socios, que es casi tres veces el número necesario para las deliberaciones.

Es posible que para mañana se inscriban nuevos socios. Tenemos ahora registrados 89 de la América Latina; 56 de los Estados Unidos y cuatro de otros países; un total de 149.

Estos 149 socios tienen derecho a voto para elegir a los nuevos miembros de la Junta de Directores.

Se han registrado: representantes de socios activos 211; cooperadores 28; observadores 76; damas 196; vitalicios 2; invitados 15. Un total de 528 personas. Eso representa un número record en una reunión de la SIP.

MR. HILLS: Thank you, Julio.

As part of the streamlining of the meetings the Executive Committee decided two or three years ago that only the President's Report would be read in full. All other reports will be summarized by their authors and the texts will be distributed in printed form, as we did yesterday at the Board meeting.

I would like to explain the balloting which will take place tomorrow. This will be the balloting for the election of 15 new directors for 1968-71. It will take place tomorrow, Thursday, October 17, from 12 noon to 6:00 pm in the Salón Colonial of the Plaza, near the registration desk. Members will find on the documents

table printed ballots with the names of the candidates submitted by the Nominating Committee. Ballots provide space for write-in candidates who may be nominated from the floor before this morning meeting ends. There will be no roll-call for voting. Each member representative must go by himself to the balloting place, identify himself and cast his ballot. Results of the election will be announced during the meeting of the Assembly in the morning of October 18.

According to the IAPA rules: The balloting will be supervised by a six-member Committee of Judges, and I will appoint that Committee this morning. The ballots will be counted by this Committee or authorized representatives, and the results will be certified and reported to the membership the following morning by the Chairman of the Judges Committee.

The counting of ballots shall be strictly governed by Art. 7, Sections 2, 3 and 4 of the By-laws. The Committee of Judges will ensure compliance with Art. 3, Section 3, of the By-laws by declaring elected those candidates with the greatest number of votes in each of the categories mentioned in that article, to guarantee election of the minimum number required.

Article 7 of the By-laws, in its Sections 2, 3 and 4, says:

"Members shall be limited to one vote on each ballot for any candidate at any election, and a plurality of the votes shall constitute an election.

"No individual shall cast a ballot or ballots as the representative of more than one member.

"Each ballot should show votes for no more and no less than 15 candidates to the Board of Directors and any ballot with a lesser or greater number shall be invalid."

Article 3, Section 3 of the By-laws says:

"Not less than one third of the elected directors at any one time shall be representatives of publications which are printed in the Spanish, Portuguese or French languages outside the United States of America and circulated outside the United States, and not less than one third of the elected directors at any one time shall be identified with publications which are either printed in the English, Spanish or Portuguese languages in the United States of America and circulated in the United States of America, or printed in the English language and circulated outside of the United States of America."

I want to remind you, also, that only representatives of Active and Corporate members, and not the Associate members, are entitled to vote.

I will now make my annual report, as your President.

REPORT BY MR. LEE HILLS, PRESIDENT OF IAPA

I would like at the outset to express what I'm sure is the feeling of all of us -- our deep pleasure and satisfaction in being in Buenos Aires and our gratitude for the wonderful hospitality of our friends and collegues from Argentina.

Today, with the Inter American Press Association in its second quarter-century, IAPA is strong, influential and forward-looking. I want to discuss these three points today -- our vigor, our influence for freedom, our opportunities in the future.

When I attended that early meeting in Havana in 1943, I was encouraged by the high interest but dismayed by the infighting that seemed to threaten our very existence. But as the years went by, we united behind common goals. The reorganization in 1950 was the turning point.

From that moment IAPA began to emerge as a potent inter-American professional group, independent and self-sufficient, acting on its own initiative and paying its own way.

When I became president last year in Puerto Rico, our roster stood at an all-time high of more than 800. Optimistically, I predicted that we would reach a goal of 1,000 "in the next few years". Today I am happy to tell you that that goal has already been passed -- a tribute to the untiring work of Raymond Dix, Julio de Mesquita Neto and the others on the Membership Committee. When I left home last week, we had 979 affiliated publications and individuals. With new members approved this week, the total now stands at over 1,030.

That, my friends, is strength. We have gained some 200 members in one year, and 400 in five years.

At this time, while we are counting those new members among us, let us pay our respects to the members who have passed away during the year. We lost Bernard Kilgore of the Wall Street Journal, whose widow is with us today; Humberto Pérez, editor and publisher of El Territorio, Misiones, Argentina, and associate member William I. Markrich. A former IAPA scholarship winner, Ignacio Ezcurra, was killed in Vietnam while there as a correspondent for La Nación of Buenos Aires.

Will you please rise for a moment of silence in their memory.

One reason for our present strength, I believe, is that we have streamlined and improved our meetings. We have condensed routine business to make time for interesting speakers and programs. We are taking the biggest step here in Buenos Aires by conducting all the work of the Committee on Freedom of the Press, the Board of Directors, the Scholarship Fund and the Technical Center, and the General Assembly itself within five days. Perhaps this is why more people traveled farther than ever before to attend, making this a record-breaking attendance.

But vigor and size are not enough. What has the IAPA done, and what does it hope and plan to do in the future?

Partly due to our efforts, the Western Hemisphere enjoys by far the highest degree of press freedom of any region in the world. This reflects the influence of IAPA that is widely recognized.

Yet, around the world, freedom of the press showed more losses than gains last year. Only in the Western Hemisphere did an overwhelming majority of the people -- 96 per cent of the population -- live under conditions of a free press, and these in widely varying degrees.

The University of Missouri Freedom of Information Center reported in June that only 43.3 per cent of the world population had access to a free press, compared with 45.2 per cent the year before. The percentage loss is small, perhaps -- less than two per cent -- but in human terms it means that 70 million people lost their right to know.

A free press is an anathema to non-democratic regimes of both left and right, and it cannot be taken for granted even in a free country. In the United States, which has always prided itself on the First Amendment's guarantees, the press was threatened as rarely before.

The Russian takeover in Czechoslovakia -- which came after the Freedom of Information Center report -- make all of us in the Americas prayerfully aware that our cherished liberties can be crushed in a few hours by forces of oppression and darkness.

But the Czechoslovakian tragedy of this year, and the tragedy of Greece the year before, are, in another sense, portents of a brighter future.

Not too many years ago suppression of the right to know was accepted as inevitable in Eastern Europe. Today man's age-old yearning for freedom is stirring there again. After more than two decades of strict communist control, which followed seven years of Nazi control, Czechoslovakia restored freedom of the press last March. It was a dramatic example of that little nation's drive for independence of the mind as well as the body.

For a short six months, the courageous Czech press carried its fight for freedom to extraordinary lengths. It exposed conditions under communism, helped cause the downfall of the puppet government and strongly supported the liberalizing moves of the new government.

All of this was too much for the freedom-fearing masters in the Kremlin. By September, under the iron heel of Russian military might, it was all over. Yet it is not all over, and it will not ever be all over, because the Russians are playing a losing game against a winning idea. It is the idea expressed by Thomas Jefferson when he swore "eternal vigilance against any form of tyranny over the minds of men".

IAPA is a major factor in the reality of press freedom in this hemisphere. But as you all know, and as we have seen in Cuba and Haiti long before Czechoslovakia, it is a constant struggle. We must work for a stronger and more vigilant IAPA than ever before, against opponents who are more subtle and sophisticated than ever before.

The news in the Western hemisphere was certainly not all good. Your president and other officers were obliged to issue nearly 20 protests and statements in the past year. But overall, the press of the Americans probably has enjoyed more freedom this year than ever.

Tom C. Harris, the latest in the tradition of able fighters heading our Committee on Freedom of the Press, will give you the details in his report.

Cuba and Haiti are still blacked out. Uruguay and Honduras in recent weeks took actions which raise questions about their dedication to press freedom. Uruguay temporarily suspended newspapers and threatened the same fate to others if they printed other than government-issued strike news. Honduras closed two newspapers, jailed one newspaperman and issued a warrant for another. And the island of Dominica in the West Indies enacted a seditious and undesirable publications act. In all cases we protested vigorously.

Despite student rioting in Brazil, that country did not invoke its stern press or security laws. Let us hope it showed not only Brazil but other nations that such harsh acts are not necessary or helpful in a state of siege or riot.

This is the loss side of the ledger. On the other side we scored some notable victories. These cases will be covered by Mr. Harris in his report. A special committee keeps watch on Cuba.

IAPA will never forget those Cuban journalists whose newspapers were confiscated and who have either been kept in prison or driven into exile. The day of retribution must come for them. We will continue to expose and denounce the Castro communist regime as the No. 1 enemy of press freedom in the Americas.

This year I felt we should do something more than meeting and passing resolutions condemning a few countries for denying or restricting a free press. We have great influence for good in the Western hemisphere, and it should be a continuing job for us to find new ways to use that influence.

As one way, I asked small groups of IAPA members this year to visit with the heads of governments in Guatemala and Honduras, in Haiti and in Paraguay, to talk face to face about problems of freedom of the press.

Our surveys were thorough and objective and, as a result, two of the four nations visited won places on the honor roll of countries with a free press. They are Paraguay and Guatemala.

In Paraguay, President Alfredo Stroessner has been showing a more liberal attitude toward the press in recent years, and leading newspapermen there confirm that they can publish with a freedom not possible a few years ago. This is a notable gain. IAPA will watch further developments with interest.

Guatemala restricts news considered aggravating to the present state of siege, but there is no censorship and the press is free to criticize the government on matters not involving public security. President Méndez Montenegro indicated the state of siege may be lifted October 28, and assured the IAPA delegation there will then be no restrictions.

The commission to Honduras was very critical of the government's closing of two newspapers Sept. 28. It checked back issues and found no basis for the charge that the newspapers were inciting

disorders. IAPA was promised that the newspapers would be free to print again, and we are awaiting further word.

President Francisco Duvalier is the only president who ignored an IAPA invitation, but we will continue our efforts with that island dictatorship.

I believe these missions have been helpful and constructive. I hope they will be continued in the future because I think these direct conversations are one of the best ways to win acceptance of our ideals. Certainly they will foster better understanding.

While these visits were under way, we saw military coups change the governments in Peru and Panama. We do not yet know what the final results will be so far as freedom of the press is concerned, but we strongly urge those new governments to respect this and other freedoms of the people.

Some important changes have been taking place before our eyes.

Not long ago, a military coup almost automatically meant loss of personal liberties, suppression or restriction of a free press, censorship, often the jailing of editors, and the closing or confiscation of newspapers.

Today, the approach is different but we should be no less concerned. I wish I could be as optimistic as our colleagues from Peru, but they assure us there has been no attack on the press there. In Panama there has been, and we protest vigorously.

Latin America has enjoyed one of its longest periods without an unconstitutional change -- more than three years. Even so, much of Latin America is ruled by military men or groups at a time, as I said earlier, when these countries are enjoying a greater degree of press freedom than usual. It is a paradox, but it is a fact.

This is not true, of course, and could never be true in a Communist dictatorship like Castro's Cuba. Any country that falls under Communism -- even if it chooses that path in an open election -- is likely to remain in darkness.

We will always be apprehensive when a military junta takes over from a constitutionally elected government. Even though most of them in recent times have shown restraint in not infringing on freedom of the press, there is always the danger of infringement. I believe IAPA is largely responsible for this new liberal attitude.

Every member has reason to be proud of IAPA's work for freedom of the press over the years, despite our setbacks and failures. To realize how far we have come, let me remind you that in 1954 there was no freedom of the press in Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Paraguay and Venezuela, and there were restrictions in Peru.

But we cannot relax. The enemies of freedom are many, and they work constantly to undermine their most effective opponent. They gain on our weaknesses. They fail on our strengths. The price of press freedom is constant vigilance -- and constant diligence.

Despite our troubles, and new kinds of revolutions all over the earth, the New World is still the hope and beacon of people everywhere. Above all, it is the bulwark of democratic freedoms -- our freedom to worship, our liberty to speak and to write, our security and our ability to gather together to discuss mutual ideas.

The press has a special responsibility in these unusual times for two reasons: First, the better we do our jobs the more we accelerate the rising expectations of the people. And second, the press, particularly in Latin America, is the most powerful single force for good or bad. Ideas shape the future, and the press is the forum for ideas.

In many ways, you are the key to the future.

This is, to be sure, self-evident, but it should not be forgotten. And it was because of this that we this year invited every member to inject new ideas, to help determine our future goals, and to suggest how to reach them. The fact that so many members responded is evidence that the IAPA is forward-looking.

To collect and weigh these ideas, I appointed last year a Committee on the Future of IAPA, headed by Andrew Heiskell.

Our members voted overwhelmingly that our chief and continuing task must be the promotion of a free press in the Americas, because without a free and independent press we can accomplish none of the other goals which we have set out for ourselves.

The Committee came up with a large number of specific suggestions covering every phase of IAPA activities. These were reported to the Board of Directors yesterday, and may serve as a guide to the new Board and new officers.

A major contribution to press freedom is now being made by the technical and educational programs of IAPA. The Technical Center, under John Herbert, Ed Scripps and Guillermo Gutierrez, has helped dozens of newspapers to improve. Because they are better and more financially sound, they are freer and more independent.

The challenge now is to find ways to make the Technical Center self-sustaining, and to develop ways to help small, provincial newspapers to improve in every way possible so that they can be strong forces for the intelligent and progressive leadership which the Americans of the future need.

I would also like to praise the fine educational work of the Scholarship Fund under Rodolfo Junco de la Vega, the dedicated efforts of the Executive Committee under Robert U. Brown and the headquarters staff led by Carlos Jimenez.

In just 12 years, IAPA has awarded 142 scholarships -- 76 to Latin Americans, 57 to U.S. students and nine to students from Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados and Guyana -- for a total of $380,000. It is a record of which we can be proud, and which we will exceed in the future.

For me, this has been a busy year, and one which has passed quickly. I deeply appreciate the efforts of the many who have done so much to make it a productive period. Mainly, we have tried to build on the foundation erected by those who made IAPA pre-eminent in fostering freedom in the hemisphere.

Over the years I have tried to contribute to our combined efforts toward understanding and solidarity in the Western hemisphere, and to our fight for freedom of the press. And I am grateful to you for the privilege of serving actively in this organization for this past quarter-century, and especially grateful for the privilege of serving this past year as your president. It is a high honor which I cherish.

Finally, I want to thank the Host Committee for the hospitality and excellent arrangements made for this General Assembly.

Thank you all.

I will now ask our Treasurer, Mr. John C. A. Watkins to submit the Treasurer's report.

REPORT BY THE TREASURER OF THE IAPA, MR. JOHN C. A. WATKINS

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

As of September 24, 1968, which marks the end of the current fiscal year, our total cash balance was $84,942 in round figures, compared with $75,688 on September 30, 1967. For comparison purposes, five years ago we had a cash balance of $37,894 and ten years ago, $11,038.

Our cash balance applicable to 1967-68 was $76,883 on September 24, compared with $62,931 applicable to 1966-67 last year. The cash balance applicable to 1968-69 was $8,059, as against $12,757 applicable to 1967-68. The cash balance applicable to the following fiscal year was higher on September 30, 1967 than in 1968 because dues statements to members this year were mailed out after we closed our books, and, as a result, with a few exceptions, dues have not yet started coming in.

$73,335 is currently deposited in Savings Banks; $4,878 for the Mergenthaler and Tom Wallace Awards also is deposited in Savings Banks; $1,875 provided under the IAPA-C.A.J. Severance Compensation Agreement is partly in stock and partly in a savings account; and $5,456 is in our checking account. Included in the foregoing are taxes of $602 which have been withheld from salaries.

Total receipts applicable to 1967-68 were $101,099, compared with $92,271 for 1966-67. The 1967-68 figure included $16,092 in surplus from the San Juan Host Committee. Dues totalled $64,208, and other receipts consisted of registration fees, contributions and interest on savings accounts. Dues were up $2,071 in the fiscal year.

Disbursements during 1967-68 also were higher -- a total of $87,147 against $80,221 for the previous year. Mainly responsible for the increase in expenditures were the high cost of the Puerto Rico meeting, salary increases for certain permanent personnel of the association, a new agreement between the association and the manager which will provide for severance compensation for Mr. Jiménez, additional promotion expenses, an increase in dues to the International Press Telecommunications Committee, and a larger disbursement for the Mergenthaler Awards, since seven $500 prizes were awarded in 1967-1968 compared with only one during the previous period.

As far as the higher costs attributable to the Puerto Rico meeting are concerned, I would like to point out that these increased expenses were more than compensated for by the surplus turned over to the Association by the Puerto Rico Host Committee. As I told the Board of Directors at its spring meeting in Jamaica, "The San Juan surplus was the largest ever received from a host committee, and when we consider the lavish and tasteful hospitality we enjoyed in Puerto Rico last October, it is a remarkable record for which our gratitude to Tina Hills and her associates is unbounded".

The following summary shows the total picture for the 1968 fiscal year and the previous fiscal year. Figures are applicable to 1967-68 and 1966-67.

		1967-68		1966-67	Change
Cash balance Sept. 30	(1967)	62,931.03		50,880.32	+12,050.71
Receipts		101,099.35		92,271.30	+ 8,828.05
Total available		164,030.38		143,151.62	+20,878.76
Disbursements		87,147.09		80,220.59	+ 6,926.50
Cash balance Sept. 30	(1968)	76,883.29	(1967)	62,931.03	+13,952.26

We closed 1967-68 with a total of 979 affiliate members counting as such each publication of a Corporate member. This compares with 779 a year ago, 640 five years ago and 621 ten years ago. If we consider each Corporate as one member, we had a total membership of 646.

Since the close of the 1966-67 fiscal year, we have eliminated 21 delinquent members whose dues totalled $610. Because of other reasons (closings, resignations, retirement, death) we have lost 20 members, their dues totalling $2,183. Therefore, the total of affiliates we lost for different causes in 1967-68 was 41, whose dues totalled $2,793 compared with 48 affiliates and $4,054 in dues in 1966-67.

On the other hand, 103 new members representing a total of 224 affiliates were admitted by the Board during the 1967-68 fiscal year, and their dues totalled $9,227.

As of September 27, 1968, we had a total of 38 delinquents with dues totalling $2,857. Some of these are expected to pay their dues in the next few weeks.

A breakdown follows:

	Active	Associate	Corporate	Total	
	Number	Number	Number	Number	Dues
Latin America	26	2	0	28	$1,480.00
United States	7	2	1	10	1,377.00
Total	33	4	1	38	$2,857.00

Each delinquent member has received a letter from your treasurer and further efforts to collect will be made before they must be dropped from membership.

Attached to this report is a detailed statement of receipts and disbursements applicable to the fiscal year October 1, 1967-September 30, 1968; also a comparative statement for fiscal 1967-68 and fiscal 1966-67.

INTER AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION
STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
APPLICABLE TO FISCAL YEAR OCT. 1, 1967 - SEPT. 30, 1968

RECEIPTS		
Membership dues (1965-66 and 1966-67)	1,065.00	
Membership dues (1967-68)	63,142.76	
Contributions: Mergenthaler Linotype Co.	2,500.00	
Tom Wallace Awards	449.00	
The Associated Press	500.00	
Registration fees San Juan Meeting	10,591.64	
Registration fees Montego Bay Meeting	3,400.00	
Surplus San Juan Meeting	16,092.11	
Interest on Savings Accounts	3,358.84	
		101.099.35
DISBURSEMENTS		
Payroll	32,110.00	
Printing and Stationery	5,027.02	
Convention expense (San Juan & Montego Bay)	24,110.81	
Travel and Entertainment	310.80	
Telephone and Telegraph	3,253.44	
Rent and Electricity (4,328.52-1,500 Scholar. Fd.)	2,828.52	
Mergenthaler Awards & exp. less interest (194.67)	3,533.70	
Tom Wallace Awards & exp. less interest (54.59)	781.46	
Postage	3,734.40	
Legal and Accounting	1,200.00	
Office expense	2,261.57	
Office equipment	436.60	
Payroll taxes	1,177.97	
Insurance (incl. Group Medical Ins.)	769.00	

Promotion	1,244.95	
Minutes of Annual Meetings (transcription of tapes and printing, less sales)	1,351.55	
Membership dues Int'l. Tele. Committee	2,520.00	
Other (Breakdown on separate page)	995.30	
	87,647.09	
Less contribution from Scholarship Fund for Adm.	500.00	
		87,147.09
Excess of receipts over disbursements		13,952.26
Cash balance September 30, 1967		62,931.03
Cash balance September 30, 1968		76,883.29
Cash balance applicable to 1968-69 (see attached)		8,058.56
Total cash balance September 30, 1968		$84,941.85
The First National City Bank of New York		
Bank Statement	6,067.22	
Foreign check entered for collection	60.00	
	6,127.22	
Less outstanding checks	670.74	
Balance Regular Checking Account		5,456.48
Savings Accounts		
Bowery Savings Bank	15,502.34	
Dry Dock Savings Bank	12,934.43	
East River Savings Bank	15,577.63	
Seamen's Bank for Savings	15,585.29	
Union Dime Savings Bank	13,734.89	
		73,334.58
IAPA-C.A.J. Severance Contract Agreement		1,874.99
Balance IAPA Funds		80,666.05
Bowery Savings Bank for Mergenthaler Awards	3,661.21	
Bowery Savings Bank for Tom Wallace Awards	1,216.43	
		4,877.64
Total cash balance		85,543.69
Less taxes withheld from salaries		601.84
		$84,941.85

BREAKDOWN OF "OTHER EXPENSES"

Jules Dubois Plaque	187.50
IAPA-C.A.J. Severance Agreement Contract (legal fees)	125.00
Membership dues, C.A.J.-OPC and Diner's Club	159.00
Ads for typist	103.27
Statutory fee	75.00
Occupancy tax	66.00
Books and Magazines	61.00

Clerical help	54.43
Flowers	43.75
Xmas tips for building employees & postmen	37.00
Cable address	29.00
C.A.J. Photos	31.50
Translation	10.00
Frame for President's photo	8.40
Express charges	6.45
	$995.30

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS APPLICABLE TO 1968-69

Membership dues	4,679.00	
Registration fees, Buenos Aires Meeting	11,440.00	
		16,119.00
Convention expenses		8,060.44
Cash balance September 30, 1968		$8,058.56

INTER AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION
COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
(Figures rounded to the next dollar)

RECEIPTS		1966-67	1967-68	
Membership dues		62,137.	64,208.	
Contributions: Mergenthaler Linotype Co.		2,500.	2,500.	
The Associated Press		500.	500.	
Tom Wallace Awards		825.	449.	
Registration fees	(Lima)	11,760.	10,591.	(San Juan)
" "	(Montego)	1,865.	3,400.	(Montego)
Surplus from meetings	(Lima)	9,714.	16,092.	(San Juan)
Interest on Savings Accounts		2,970.	3,359.	
		92,271.	101,099	

DISBURSEMENTS

	1966-67	1967-68
Payroll	30,922.	32,110.
Printing and Stationery	6,093.	5,027.
Convention expense	15,831.	24,111.
Travel and Entertainment	5,646.	311.
Telephone & Telegraph	3,351.	3,253.
Rent & Electricity	2,826.	2,829.
Merg. Awards & exp.	500.	3,534.
T. Wallace Awards & exp.	708.	781.
Postage	4,465.	3,734.

Legal & Accounting	1,300.	1,200.			
Office expense	2,705.	2,262.			
Office equipment	573.	437.			
Promotion	105.	1,245.			
Payroll taxes	1,104.	1,178.			
Insurance	905.	769.			
Minutes of Annual Meetings	1,424.	1,351.			
Dues Int'l. Tele. Comm.	1,674.	2,520.			
Other	588.	995.			
	80,720.	87,647.			
Scholarship Fund. Contrib.	500.	500.			
			80,220.	87,147.	
Excess of receipts over disbursements			12,051.	13,952.	
Cash balance September 30		(1966)	50,880.	62,931.	(1967)
Cash balance September 30		(1967)	62,931.	76,883.	(1968)
Cash balance applicable to		(1967-68)	12,757.	8,059.	(1968-69)
		(1967)	75,688.	84,942.	(1968)

MR. WATKINS: I would like to take advantage of the microphone, if the President doesn't mind, to tell you all that the Directory of Directors, which the Providence Journal-Bulletin has been producing for the Association for the past couple of years, has finally arrived and is through customs. I would appreciate it very much on behalf of my organization if you would keep these directories because from here on we intend to supply new sheets to be inserted in them as the complexion of the Board changes.

I am told by our people that these sheets can be inserted very easily. I haven't tried it myself, and it looks pretty tough, but it can be done, so please keep your directories and we will keep them up to date for you.

Thank you, Mr. President. (Applause)

MR. HILLS: Thank you, Mr. Watkins.

Our manager, Mr. Jiménez, has a few announcements.

SR. JIMENEZ: Recomendamos a todos los señores delegados que procedan a retirar de la mesa de inscripción las tarjetas para asistir a la recepción del Intendente Municipal mañana a las 7 de la tarde; a la comida del día sábado en la Sociedad Rural (el asado o "barbecue" ofrecido por la Ford Motor); y para las señoras al desfile de modelos y té de mañana, jueves.

También recordamos a los delegados y las señoras que esta tarde se realiza un nuevo recorrido en ómnibus por la ciudad. En los autobuses habrá intérpretes para traducir a quienes no saben español.

Las entradas para la función de esta noche en el Teatro Colón pueden ser retiradas asimismo en la mesa de inscripción. Lo que se dará en el Teatro Colón es el ballet "El Lago de los Cisnes" y empezará a las 9 de la noche.

Una advertencia muy importante: las funciones en el Teatro Colón empiezan con toda puntualidad. Las cortinas se cierran y no se deja entrar a nadie que llegue después de esa hora.

That is all, Mr. Chairman. Thank you very much.

MR. HILLS: I will now announce the members of two additional committees. One is the Committee of Judges -- I described their functions earlier this morning; the co-chairmen of this committee will be William Cowles and José Dutriz, Jr. The other members will be Amadeo Barletta, Jr., S. G. Fletcher, Brady Black and Carlos Canelas.

If the members of that Committee have any further questions about how they should proceed, please see our manager after the meeting.

I will now appoint the Committee on Resolutions. It will be headed by Dr. Alberto Gainza Paz, as Chairman. The other members will be John Watkins, Manuel Cisneros, John R. Reitemeyer and Ignacio Lozano.

The Chairmen of the Committees will please arrange with the members for a meeting place and time.

The Committee of Judges will report to the General Assembly during the meeting of Friday, October 18, in the morning, about the results of the election of new directors.

The Resolutions Committee must report to the General Assembly on Friday, October 18, in the afternoon.

All members who wish to introduce recommended resolutions or other recommendations must deliver them to the Chairman of the Committee or to the manager before noon tomorrow.

I would like to ask the Chairman of the Committee on Freedom of the Press to deliver to the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee the recommendations and resolutions prepared by his group.

So that you may know the rest of the program today -- the most important thing, of course, is the speech by the President and the other important thing is the presentation of awards -- I will read a few final announcements.

I think we will probably have time for the presentation of the awards before the President arrives, but I would like to tell you all that immediately after the session there will be a press conference. You are all invited to remain. We will invite the members of the press, who are in the rear, to come up forward and interview the award winners.

One announcement is that United Press International will offer the delegates a cocktail and buffet-dinner at the American Club, a few blocks from the Plaza, this evening at 7 o'clock. All should wear their badges. And, as I mentioned earlier, of course, ladies are invited.

At 9 o'clock this evening the delegates are invited to attend a performance of the ballet Swan Lake at the world-famous Teatro Colón, courtesy of the Mayor of Buenos Aires. The Colón is across the street from the American Club.

The Assembly will convene tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock for a panel discussion on the viewpoints of youth about the society of today. I will tell you a little more about that later.

Mr. Riobó Caputto is Chairman of the IAPA Awards Committee and I will ask him now to submit his report and present the awards.

Please let me make one thing clear about the procedure on the Awards.

The presentations will be made but we will not ask the recipients to speak at this moment. That will take place at the end of the session in our press conference, where we can get maximum attention for each of the recipients.

INFORME DEL PRESIDENTE DE LA COMISION DE PREMIOS, SR. RIOBO CAPUTTO

De acuerdo con las prescripciones correspondientes en la institución de los Premios SIP-Mergenthaler y SIP-Tom Wallace y con las prácticas establecidas a su respecto, vamos a proceder en este acto a la entrega de los mismos a sus ganadores de 1968.

Es evidente la significativa importancia que reviste el hecho de que la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa haya instituido los Premios SIP-Mergenthaler y SIP-Tom Wallace, que importan todo un galardón trascendental para aquellos que por vocación y cometido profesional han tomado la palestra del periodismo como medio apto para la expansión de sus inquietudes de proyección pública. Por otra parte, a la vez, los premios ponen asimismo de relieve espíritu que espolea a la SIP, peraltando con ellos las labores periodísticas de mérito singular.

Esta preocupación de carácter superior ha ido requiriendo continuados esfuerzos formales y entusiasmos anímicos para proseguirla y perfeccionarla y puede considerarse asimismo que a lo que en este sentido se refiere perfeccionamiento del mecanismo que instituye los premios se halla todavía en obra. Aprovechando la posibilidad ventajosa que nos ofrece esta tribuna, consideramos oportuno expresarles que como integrantes de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa deben ustedes contribuir a enaltecer y a sostener los Premios anuales que nuestra entidad, creada para la defensa de la libertad de opinión del hombre, ha instituido. Esta disposición lleva en sí un ahincado deseo a la realización de trabajos periodísticos requeridos por los tiempos inquietantes que corren, de giros incesantes, frecuentemente tan halagadores, y a veces tan amenazantes y crueles.

La ilustrada contribución de todos los miembros de la Comisión de Premios, ha permitido que ella cumpliera de modo eficiente su cometido.

A continuación vamos a hacer entrega de los premios, rogándoles a ustedes que rubriquen con sus aplausos los méritos aquilatados por cada uno de los galardonados por la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa en 1968. He aquí ellos:

EN RECONOCIMIENTO DE LA LABOR DE UN PERIODISTA POR LA LIBERTAD DE PRENSA. Diploma y 500 dólares a F. Genaro Greco, secretario de redacción y editorialista de "La Voz del Pueblo de Tres Arroyos", provincia de Buenos Aires, Argentina, por sus frecuentes y excelentes artículos de fondo, escritos en los que atacó toda restricción de esta libertad fundamental, no sólo en Argentina sino también en

otros países de América. Nacido en 1901, el señor Greco es periodista desde su adolescencia e hijo y hermano de periodistas. Trabaja en La Voz del Pueblo, con sólo un año de interrupción, desde 1934.

EN RECONOCIMIENTO DE SERVICIOS PUBLICOS MERITORIOS A LA COMUNIDAD POR MEDIO DE EDITORIALES, ARTICULOS O SECCIONES. Diploma y 500 dólares a Rafael Herrera Cabral, director de "Listín Diario" de Santo Domingo, República Dominicana, por su prédica constante en favor de la normalidad democrática y sus exhortaciones a observar el orden constitucional e institucional y a las autoridades a no abusar del poder. Los artículos del señor Herrera y la obra del periódico "El Caribe", también de Santo Domingo, ganador este año del premio para publicaciones, fueron dos factores que tuvieron suma importancia para estabilizar la vida política dominicana.

EN RECONOCIMIENTO DE SERVICIOS PUBLICOS MERITORIOS A LA COMUNIDAD POR MEDIO DE INFORMACIONES O REPORTAJES. Diploma y 500 dólares a Narciso Kalili, por sus crónicas de gran interés y muy bien escritas sobre diversos problemas de importancia, publicadas en 1967 por la revista Realidade de la Editora Abril de São Paulo. Se destacaron en particular sus reportajes acerca del racismo en Brasil comparado con el de los Estados Unidos; los estupefacientes; y la juventud brasileña. El señor Kalili, que sólo tiene 32 años de edad, estudió historia en la Universidad de São Paulo e inició su carrera periodística en 1961.

EN RECONOCIMIENTO DE LA LABOR MERITORIA DE UN CARICATURISTA. Diploma y 500 dólares a Luis Elcíades Mosquera de "El País", Cali, Colombia, que bajo el seudónimo de "Elcíades" comenta gráficamente, con agudeza y excelente trazo, temas de la política colombiana e internacional. El señor Mosquera, nacido en 1927, es uno de los caricaturistas más populares de Colombia y ha trabajado en varios periódicos de su país; desde hace dos años es dibujante exclusivo de "El País".

EN RECONOCIMIENTO DE LA LABOR MERITORIA DE UN FOTOGRAFO. Diploma y 500 dólares a Pedro Luis Raota, de "El Heraldo" de Concordia, provincia de Entre Ríos, Argentina, por sus notables fotografías, entre las cuales sobresale con relieves netos la de una madre que salva a su hijo de su humilde casa en llamas. A pesar de su juventud -- tiene 34 años -- el señor Raota ha ganado ya numerosos premios de gran importancia en la esfera internacional, como el primer premio de la I Bienal Mundial de Arte Fotográfico de Monza, Italia, por el que compitieron 6.400 fotografías de 43 países.

EN RECONOCIMIENTO DE SERVICIOS DESTACADOS DE UN PERIODICO EN BENEFICIO DE LA COMUNIDAD. Placa de bronce a "El Caribe" de Santo Domingo, República Dominicana. Como señalamos en la mención del premio otorgado al señor Herrera, "El Caribe" fue un factor de suma importancia para la estabilización política de su país. Este periódico realizó durante 1967 varias campañas de gran trascendencia y eficacia, entre las cuales se distinguieron las relacionadas con el juego y la corrupción causada por él; el control de la natalidad; y la presa de Tavares, para cuya construcción organizó una suscripción pública. También publicó numerosos editoriales e informaciones en defensa de las libertades ciudadanas y las instituciones democráticas, y en especial de la libertad de prensa.

EN RECONOCIMIENTO DE LA LABOR REALIZADA POR UN PERIODISTA DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS O CANADA EN BIEN DE LA AMISTAD Y LA COMPRENSION INTERAMERICANAS. Diploma y 500 dólares a James Nelson Goodsell, corresponsal en la América Latina del periódico "Christian Science Monitor" de Boston, por una excelente serie de 10 artículos, escritos durante una visita de cinco semanas a Cuba, sobre los cambios producidos por la revolución y la situación que sufre ese país. El señor Goodsell, que había estado con anterioridad en Cuba varias veces, arribó en sus artículos a la conclusión de que el país tendrá que enfrentar graves y serias dificultades para normalizarse.

EN RECONOCIMIENTO DE LA LABOR REALIZADA POR UNA PUBLICACION O GRUPO DE PUBLICACIONES DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS O CANADA EN BIEN DE LA AMISTAD Y LA COMPRENSION INTERAMERICANAS. Placa de bronce a "Los Angeles Times - The Washington Post News Service" por la excelencia de su información de la América Latina, de la cual pueden citarse como ejemplos las crónicas de John Goshko y Francis B. Kent. Ambos corresponsales presentaron artículos sobresalientes: el señor Goshko, destacado en Lima, sobre el peligro de que la compra de aviones supersónicos por países latinoamericanos desencadenase una carrera armamentista; y el señor Kent, con asiento en Río de Janeiro, sobre la situación política y otras cuestiones de interés en diversas repúblicas latinoamericanas.

MR. HILLS: These two correspondents themselves could not be here, so the award is being accepted on behalf of the publications and the writers by Mrs. Katharine Graham. (Applause)

That completes the actual presentation. I would like to ask the award winners to be sure to remain for the press conference, which will take place after the President finishes his speech. At that time we will ask the winners to come up and take their places at this head table.

Let me remind you that as soon as the President arrives -- which will be in just a few minutes -- the doors will be closed and kept closed until after he completes his speech and after he is gone. So, as a matter of courtesy, please remain where you are.

MR. HILLS: The President will arrive in just a moment or so, so we would appreciate it if you would take your places. Thank you very much.

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LOCUTOR DE RADIO: Transmite LRA Radio Nacional, Buenos Aires, República Argentina, juntamente con todas las emisoras que forman la Cadena Oficial de Radiodifusión: LS-1 Radio Municipal; LR-3 Radio Belgrano; LR-4 Radio Splendid; LS-10 Radio Libertad y LS-5 Radio Rivadavia de Buenos Aires; LP-17 Radio Provincia de Misiones y LU-14 Radio Provincia de Santa Cruz.

Se realiza en estos momentos la ceremonia con que se inaugura oficialmente la XXIV Asamblea Anual de la SIP - Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa - en el Salón de Fiestas del Plaza Hotel, centro de las deliberaciones del más destacado organismo colegiado que reúne al periodismo del continente.

Hará uso de la palabra a continuación el Presidente de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, Sr. Lee Hills.

MR. HILLS: Thank you.

We are especially honored today at this opening meeting of the General Assembly of the Inter American Press Association to welcome the President of this great nation of Argentina, His Excellency Juan Carlos Onganía, and to have him address us.

In these troubled times all over the world he has the responsibility of guiding one of the most important countries of the Hemisphere through a period of economic difficulty.

We are all very pleased to be here for this important occasion.

Ladies and gentlemen, His Excellency, the President of the Republic of Argentina. (Applause)

DISCURSO DEL PRESIDENTE DE LA REPUBLICA ARGENTINA, TENIENTE GENERAL JUAN CARLOS ONGANIA

Señores:

La Asamblea Anual de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa es una oportunidad para brindar a los periodistas del continente la hospitalidad argentina.

Los oradores invitados ante esta Asamblea suelen discurrir sobre la prensa en la sociedad moderna, o sobre su libre ejercicio. Vosotros conocéis esos temas mejor que quien os habla. Podemos, entonces, con ventaja para todos, abordar otras cuestiones.

Habrá constituído hasta cierto punto una sorpresa comprobar que en la Argentina existe libertad de prensa. El periodismo, permítaseme decir como hombre de gobierno, así como ha reflejado algunos de nuestros aciertos, no ha perdonado ninguno de nuestros errores.

Los restantes derechos y libertades del hombre también rigen. Ello es así porque están asegurados la paz, la ley y el orden. No la paz y el orden que conceden una ciudadanía agotada, sino los de un pueblo que se despoja de décadas de escepticismo, supera años de conflictos y desentendimientos y camina con madurez hacia sus objetivos.

La libertad sólo existe en el marco de la ley y el orden. En la Argentina, aunque hayamos sacrificado transitoriamente las formas externas de una democracia, se viven sus esencias. La ley existe para todos, para ricos y para pobres, para los poderosos y para los que nada tienen, y sobre todo para el gobierno. Esta circunstancia nos permite fijar las bases de una comunidad solidaria de hombres libres.

Nuestro sistema de vida occidental es potencialmente mejor que el de los países comunistas porque permite una producción más acelerada de bienes, una multiplicación superior de riqueza y su mejor distribución, y, además, porque su objetivo es asegurar a cada ciudadano una participación en la decisión de su destino en la comunidad. Si alejamos al gobierno de la comunidad, si dejamos de gobernar con ella, perdemos de vista el fin esencial de nuestra sociedad, que es servir al hombre en la tierra para que cumpla su destino.

Paradójicamente, después de décadas o siglos de ejercicio de la democracia, los ciudadanos de cualquier país del mundo, inmensamente mejor educados y mejor informados que sus padres y sus

abuelos, y en mejores condiciones por lo tanto para una participación decisiva en los negocios públicos, participan cada vez más de los beneficios de la vida societaria, pero menos de su conducción.

Nuestra misión es devolver a la comunidad su capacidad de decisión en beneficio del hombre a quien sirve. Dar a la democracia su contenido real. Impedir que sea la fórmula mecánica mediante la cual el ciudadano vota para elegir a sus representantes cada tanto, mientras permanece ausente y marginado de las determinaciones.

Las raíces de nuestra civilización se encuentran en la familia y en la comunidad. Pero nuestra sociedad ha desarrollado mecanismos que centralizan las resoluciones, y al limitar la autonomía de la comunidad, afectan la libertad del hombre. ¿De qué sirve la libertad sino para disfrutarla en la comunidad en que se vive? ¿Qué grado de libertad le queda al hombre si anulamos la capacidad de decisión de la comunidad? ¿Qué función le queda a la comunidad si la acción comunitaria no puede traducirse en las decisiones, transferidas a un poder lejano y no pocas veces insensible al ruego del ciudadano aislado?

Las decisiones vitales sobre educación, salud, bienestar y justicia, impuestos, trabajo y vivienda, deben ser adoptadas en el seno de la comunidad. Cuando se dejan simplemente supeditadas a un complejo mecanismo gubernamental, podrán ser más técnicas y quizás más acertadas, pero la ausencia de la comunidad quita al hombre libre la oportunidad de guardar el control de su destino y lo invita a acatar por costumbre o comodidad. Ha perdido su libertad aunque conserve la facultad de informarse y de elegir a sus representantes.

La comunidad debe participar en la gestión pública y vivir la democracia, por compleja y difícil que sea la maquinaria moderna de gobierno. Nuestra tecnología occidental, nuestra inventiva, deben ser puestas una vez más al servicio de la libertad del hombre para resolver el problema. Hace pocas décadas, algunas de las naciones más civilizadas de la tierra sacrificaron sus democracias a la pretendida eficiencia de las dictaduras. Que nuestro mundo no cometa el mismo y trágico error. Pongamos la eficiencia al servicio del hombre y de la comunidad, pero no sacrifiquemos al hombre y a la comunidad por la eficiencia.

Hace treinta años odios raciales e ideológicos, religiosos y de clase, dividieron las naciones y alimentaron las hogueras de un mundo en llamas. Hemos creído que con la mayor riqueza y más bienestar, educación y salud, lograríamos la paz interna y la paz

entre los pueblos, pero la violencia estalla allí donde hay mayor riqueza y donde está mejor distribuída, allí donde la educación tiene una tradición milenaria, donde el bienestar y la salud existen para casi todos.

Medimos el éxito de los gobernantes por el aumento del producto bruto de las naciones. Hemos olvidado que no sólo de pan vive el hombre.

La paz no es la consecuencia automática de un desarrollo material aceptable. La paz demanda, en última instancia, la fuerza espiritual de los que quieren vivirla al servicio de la libertad humana.

Hemos aprendido que la paz no puede reinar entre pueblos armados y pueblos desarmados, entre pueblos ricos y pueblos pobres, entre los que cultivan las artes, la ciencia, la tecnología y aquéllos que de la nada no pueden hacer nada.

Para que exista la paz entre las naciones hemos creado una constelación de organismos internacionales sin precedentes en la historia. Abarcan todas las actividades del hombre sobre la tierra y aún las del hombre más allá de la tierra, en el espacio. Hay organismos para consolidar la paz y organismos para prevenir la guerra. Organismos para transmitir la ciencia y la cultura, y organismos para fomentar la producción y subvenir al arte, promover el intercambio comercial, hacer conocer la tecnología y también para aumentar la productividad.

No obstante, Corea, Argel, Palestina, Chipre, Suez, Berlín y Vietnam han jalonado nuestros días en la tierra, y hoy, como hace exactamente treinta años, Checoeslovaquia ocupa nuestros pensamientos.

Algunos han pensado que la paz llegaría con el ocaso de las nacionalidades y la transferencia del poder efectivo a organismos internacionales o supranacionales. Pero las grandes estructuras internacionales carecen de una presencia real y sustentadora. Reflejarán el pensamiento de los gobiernos, pero no el sentimiento de los pueblos.

Las naciones continuarán existiendo. La nacionalidad no podría morir en este siglo en que hemos visto a una nación reclamar y afirmar su heredad después de dos mil años de ausencia, en que llegamos al ocaso del coloniaje político en el mundo nuevo.

El hombre aún rinde su vida con alegría por la libertad, por su fé, por su ideal y por su patria.

Nuestra tierra es sagrada para nosotros. Sus pampas, sus montañas, sus ríos y ciudades hablan un idioma que entiende el hijo de la tierra. Sus paisajes modelan costumbres, tipos de vida, formas de pensar y de sentir; sus ritos son ocultos para el que no conoce su canto ni sabe interpretar su lenguaje.

La violencia que interrumpe la avidez con que perseguimos los objetivos del desarrollo, aún en los países más avanzados, señala que nuestros pueblos tienen aspiraciones más profundas que hemos desoído; que nuestra sociedad, si atiende bien las necesidades materiales del hombre, atiende mal sus requerimientos espirituales.

De igual manera que internacionalmente o en el continente, nosotros, como nación, experimentamos la carencia de instituciones adecuadas para expresar nuestra posición y nuestras aspiraciones, con estructuras jurídicas vacías o grandes burocracias que no pocas veces actúan totalmente alejadas de las realidades nacionales, en lo interno los ciudadanos se ven confrontados con órganos de decisión no suficientemente representativos de sus necesidades.

El primer objetivo de un país es integrarse verdaderamente para vivir su realidad.

Los gobiernos deben tener los pies en la tierra y echar raíces en la comunidad. Cuando ésta no logra expresarse ni se siente representada por el mecanismo formal que ha creado, los gobiernos tambalean y caen. No todas las revoluciones son cuartelazos; las hay que responden a una realidad más profunda, más sentida y más compleja que la aparente, cuando los gobiernos pierden contacto con los pueblos.

Las mejores intenciones acompañan el proceso de transferencia de los poderes nacionales a entidades internacionales. Cuando se le da curso, los gobiernos son cada vez menos gobiernos del pueblo, por el pueblo y para el pueblo. La comunidad participa cada vez menos de las decisiones y queda cada vez más comprometida la posibilidad de arraigar con estabilidad las instituciones democráticas.

No podemos seguir políticas contradictorias: internamente, buscando acercar el gobierno a la comunidad para que exista una efectiva democracia y, externamente, transfiriendo el poder de decisión a centros cada vez más alejados de la comunidad.

Una visión macroeconómica, macrosocial y macropolítica, está en inevitable conflicto con cada una de las situaciones particulares de la cual es pretendidamente representativa. Hace perder de vista

nuestros verdaderos problemas mientras movilizamos energías en la solución de otros cuya realidad es harto discutible.

Los grandes lemas pueden servir para mover las voluntades y entusiasmar los espíritus, pero una cosa son los ideales y las metas claras, y otra las utopías que generan los fracasos, fomentan los engaños y conducen fatalmente a las frustraciones colectivas. Así, la integración de América por países carentes hasta de comunicaciones y de transporte interno, con desigualdades en sus niveles de vida, educación, cultura, salud, producción, crecimiento y comercio, magnificadas y compendiadas por la falta de estructuras de gobierno y conducción, sería una invitación al caos que ningún gobernante responsable puede aceptar.

La acción internacional debe ejercerse para lograr objetivos comunes, concretos y productivos que los países, aisladamente, no puedan obtener. Cuando rebasa estos límites, pierde fuerza, se desprestigia y encuentra su derrota en la indiferencia de los pueblos cuyos resortes vitales ignora, cuyas energías y entusiasmos le son negados.

Debemos concentrar primero nuestros esfuerzos en lograr la comunidad nacional compacta y equilibrada, solidaria y libre que el mundo de hoy exige, mientras vencemos las distancias que nos separan físicamente y acortamos los desniveles sociales y económicos que son factores de agitación y desequilibrio. La paz interna y externa sólo puede mantenerse a través del cambio por el cual claman los pueblos, y el cambio sólo se podrá lograr por la propia decisión de las naciones.

América Latina constituye una inmensa región con unidad de ideales; no es una aspiración utópica que responda a una ideología circunstancial. Nuestros ideales están encarnados en todos los habitantes de este suelo: fe en Dios, libertad individual, vocación de paz, comprensión humana. Estos estandartes han hecho del nuestro el continente de la fe y de la esperanza.

La importancia de la prensa nunca ha sido más grande que hoy. La velocidad de las comunicaciones, la eliminación del anafalbetismo y la modernización de estructuras, han aumentado su ámbito, su poder y su influencia de manera insospechada.

Su responsabilidad ha crecido en forma paralela. La prensa se encuentra sometida a las mismas presiones, a las mismas tensiones que los gobiernos y las comunidades en las cuales se desenvuelve. Ha creado sus propios sistemas internacionales, entre los cuales

esta Sociedad Interamericana es un buen ejemplo de un mecanismo que funciona en pro de la prensa misma; refleja sus intereses y sus preocupaciones. Se ve enfrentada a cada instante con el problema de ser auténticamente representativa de la comunidad a la que sirve y es hoy un engranaje indispensable e insustituible hasta para su misma existencia.

La libertad de prensa, en consecuencia y paradójicamente, no ha sido instituida en beneficio de la prensa, que, como industria, hasta podría desenvolverse en condiciones económicas más ventajosas cuando falta. Existe en beneficio de la comunidad, en beneficio de la libertad misma del hombre, de la cual es inseparable.

Hoy no sólo los gobiernos pueden restringir al periodismo libre. Las condiciones económicas han llevado a una concentración de estructuras de información que en ocasiones pueden afectar la libertad del hombre para informarse. La complejidad del gobierno de la comunidad, de las relaciones internacionales, de la malla de intereses y presiones que nuestra sociedad moderna ha tejido, pueden incidir en la libertad de prensa. Si ello ocurriera y el periodismo se convirtiera en el mero vehículo de grupos de presión o de interés, nuestra libertad estaría amenazada, porque el mundo en que vivimos dejaría de ser libre.

Los hombres de prensa del continente deben permanecer en constante guardia y mantener bien en alto las banderas de independencia de opinión, servicio a la comunidad y patriotismo, que el más antiguo de los miembros de esta Sociedad enarboló hace más de doscientos años.

La tentación de la conveniencia, las buenas cosas de la vida y una actitud complaciente ante las imperfecciones de nuestra sociedad pueden más contra la libertad que las amenazas, las clausuras y las persecuciones de épocas pasadas.

Así como habéis triunfado contra otras circunstancias en otros tiempos, juntad vuestras fuerzas y perseverad en la lucha constante del hombre por su libertad. Es una lucha en la cual cada generación debe forjar sus propias armas y librar sus propios combates.

LOCUTOR DE RADIO: Ha hecho uso de la palabra el Excelentísimo Señor Presidente de la Nación Argentina, Teniente General Juan Carlos Onganía.

Para agradecer la presencia del Excelentísimo Señor Presidente de la Nación, en breves conceptos, se escuchará nuevamente al Sr. Lee Hills, en su carácter de Presidente de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa.

MR. HILLS: Thank you very much, Mr. President, for that fine address, and especially for your pledge of continued freedom of the press in Argentina.

We know that you have preserved freedom of the press, and we hope the day never comes when Argentina is deprived of it again. Because -- as you said -- freedom does exist, not for the benefit of the press, but for the benefit of the community and all freedoms.

I was touched by your eloquent and warm statement of affection for your country and this great city.

We have found out again that Spring always brings out the best in Buenos Aires. The hospitality is warm, the weather is excellent and this city is just as advertised. It is a glory of the globe. Thank you very much. (Applause)

And now, I want to remind the delegates that we shall meet again at 9:00 tomorrow morning in this room. This meeting is adjourned.

(The meeting adjourned at 12:30 PM.)

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

SECOND MEETING

Thursday, October 17, 1968

The second meeting of the XXIV General Assembly of the Inter American Press Association convened at 9:00 AM, Thursday, October 17, 1968, in the Salón de Fiestas of the Plaza Hotel in Buenos Aires, Argentina, with Mr. Lee Hills, President, as Chairman.

MR. HILLS: This meeting of the General Assembly of the Inter American Press Association is now in session.

I would like to ask the Secretary, Mr. Feldman, if he has any messages to read, or if the Manager, Carlos Jimenez, has any.

SR. JIMENEZ: Un telegrama de Rómulo O'Farrill, Jr., de México, en contestación al cable enviado por Tom Harris acerca del problema de los periodistas cubanos encarcelados:

"Con respecto al asunto de los periodistas cubanos, me consta que se han realizado constantes esfuerzos oficiales. No obstante, hasta ahora lamentablemente no se ha logrado resolver el asunto. Mantendré las gestiones, esperando que se logre algo en el futuro. Saludos afectuosos."

Del Círculo Argentino de Profesionales de Relaciones Públicas:

"En nombre del Círculo Argentino de Profesionales de Relaciones Públicas", dice su Presidente el señor Tibor Teleki, "me es muy grato dirigirme a usted para hacerle llegar en nombre de los profesionales que nuclea nuestro Círculo, nuestra adhesión a la XXIV Asamblea Anual de la SIP, al par que nuestros votos por el éxito de su constante empeño en mantener indeclinablemente los postulados de la libertad de expresión en el continente americano."

De Jaime Rosenthal, miembro de la Junta de Directores del diario La Prensa de San Pedro Sula, que fue encarcelado cuando se cerró el diario por orden del Gobierno, al Sr. Lee Hills:

"Agradezco las gestiones efectuadas por la SIP, que lograron mi libertad. Les deseo éxitos en la presente Asamblea. Dios permita un futuro con irrestricta libertad de prensa en América."

Eso es todo, Sr. Presidente.

MR. HILLS: Thank you, Mr. Jiménez.

I would like to remind you now about the voting for directors this afternoon.

The Active and Corporate members are the ones who are eligible to vote, and the balloting will be for the election of 15 directors. This will be conducted in the Salón Colonial of the Plaza, near the registration desk. It will start at 12:00 o'clock noon and the balloting will be open until 6 PM today.

The ballots are on the documents table.

The results of the election will be announced during the morning session tomorrow, Friday.

Again, only Active and Corporate members are entitled to vote. There will be no roll call and each member representative must go by himself to the balloting place, identify himself, and cash his ballot. No individual shall cast a ballot or ballots as the representative of more than one member. Each ballot should show votes for no more and no less than 15 candidates, and any ballot with a lesser or larger number shall be invalid.

We have a very interesting Youth Program this morning, which was arranged by Mr. Heiskell, who is the Chairman of the Board of Time Inc. and a former President of this organization. Mr. Heiskell will preside at this meeting.

MR. HEISKELL: Good morning. I must say that the requirements of conducting a meeting in two languages tie you down to machinery, but we will do our best.

I suppose that in the last years the group that has made the most news is the group generally referred to as "youth", so we thought maybe it would be a good idea for us to talk with a sampling of youth.

They certainly have made a lot of news and yet they don't feel that we have been doing any listening. I think we, the older generation, have certainly done a lot of listening, but I don't think we have done very much understanding. So this meeting this morning is open-ended; it is one in which all of you are invited to participate. You can send in questions on a piece of paper or you can come up to the mike and ask them, whichever you want. Our success will depend upon your participation, not upon the speeches from this row.

There are an awful lot of clichés in this field about generation gap. We hope to get through the clichés to some of the real issues.

Being a problem of understanding, it struck me that maybe I was too old to talk directly to the young, or too ignorant, so I asked two people of, should we say, the middle generation, who are experts in this area, to come and assist us as mediators, or interlocutors.

One is Mrs. Eulalia Lobo, a professor of History at the Federal University in Rio de Janeiro. She has also been a visiting professor at the University of Texas, Occidental College and the University of South Carolina.

From the U.S., as mediator, we have Harris Wofford, who is a former professor of Law at Notre Dame University; was a special assistant to President Kennedy and associate director of the Peace Corps. He is now president of a new experimental State University in New York, where from the very beginning, students have been partners in planning and directing the college.

I shall now turn it over to Harris Wofford to start the proceedings.

MR. HARRIS WOFFORD: Mr. Heiskell, I gather that my trip here comes from that rather intense dialogue that we had in planning a new college with student colleagues, who comprised half of our planning staff.

I have been asked often: "How much did you find that you were in agreement with the student half of your planning staff?" The best answer I've come to is Pope John's answer when on the first day he was Pope he was asked: "How many people work at the Vatican?" And he answered; "About half."

I found that I was in about half agreement with them and they were in about half agreement with me, and it turned out to be a good ratio for a dialogue.

It is said that youth is the new specter haunting the world, and I do have to confess that I have two visions: one you might say is a dream and other is a nightmare.

The bright vision is that this new generation has come to us like a giant Socrates, beard, sandals and all sometimes; come to question us about almost everything; to sting the conscience of society, gadflies stirring us up to do what we ought to have

done without the sting. I think you may find today that this new generation has some common questions that it is asking all over the world.

You name the questions your young people are thinking about -- racial integration, urbanization, education, bureaucracy -- and Yevtushenko in Moscow has probably been writing poetry about it.

The darker vision is that this new generation is flashing towards us somewhat like the poet Yeats' "Rough Beat", with anger, impatience and arrogance, letting loose a blood-dimmed tide of violence and anarchy.

So those are my questions -- those two visions -- to the younger members of our panel.

I hope you will share your dreams or nightmares in your statements and questions that we will shortly invite. I hope you will do this because the men and women of the press should know how to handle specters, by throwing light on them. And what we are suggesting to you is that there is a big news story here.

Let me put it this way: Youth is another country, larger than China. Like China, we don't generally recognize it. Most of us over 40 have no diplomatic relations with it. This other country, however, breaks out; it breaks loose in hot and cold wars that force us to try to understand and negotiate with it, whether it is in the streets of Paris or Mexico City, at Berkeley or Columbia University.

It is a specter that is haunting, not just university presidents, but presidents of the United States and of France, and perhaps some of the other countries represented here.

If this is at all true, then the challenge to you is to get behind this story, to report what is happening, try to deal with the views of this other country, while the ideas are still ideas and not uprisings; while communication with words and peaceful change is still possible. So perhaps you should consider this session as a press conference -- a kind of press conference.

We are going to begin now with four summary statements by four of the younger makers of news here -- would-be makers of a new society, I think -- who have been asked to present their viewpoints about today's society; what they are against; what they are for and how they think they might move toward what they are for.

Then you will question them, as they may question themselves and each other.

Our first woman of news is Bali Pinheiro Guimaraes, a Brazilian student of law at the Catholic University in Rio. You might be interested to know, in view of what she wants to say, that she is also a daughter of high society. She studied three years in Europe, and she is the organizer of a youth newspaper at Diarios Associados.

MISS BALI PINHEIRO GUIMARAES: I think that our main problem now is that youth in South America has a lack of communication with the rest of the world. Our press has sort of created leaders for our movements --student movements and youth movements-- that are not our real leaders. They have just been created by the press.

Most of our students are being arrested now with political movements. This opportunity which has been given to me to represent the Brazilian youth in such a drastic moment could be a wonderful one if the press would open its eyes to the struggle we are having now and try to construct a bridge between our problems, youth problems in South America and the rest of the world.

MRS. EULALIA LOBO (Federal University, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil): Our next student will be Mr. Paul Cowan from New York. He went to Harvard College and he worked for the Civil Rights Movement in Mississippi in 1963-65. He was a volunteer of the Peace Corps in Guayaquil, Ecuador in 1966-67. He is also a free-lance writer for Esquire and The Village Voice and is now working on a book about his experiences, Peace Corps problems and many other aspects.

MR. PAUL COWAN: I think we would use the same words to describe what we are for and what we are against. Like you, I am very strongly opposed to nihilism, to want and violence, to irresponsibility. Like many of you, I think that men are put on earth to help their fellow men, to create generously. But we might disagree about which groups are nihilists today; which are irresponsible and which, by contrast, are dedicated to creating.

I am proud of my generation -- today's youth -- and particularly proud of the part of it that is usually called "radical", for I know that the anger that we feel at society, the rage that seems to threaten so many of the people in this room, is deeply rooted in our desire to make the world more just, to make men more equal.

The desire to make the world more just is not an abstraction. Thousands -- even hundreds of thousands of us -- have given months

and years of our lives to realizing these goals. We have acted with the knowledge that you cannot change everything immediately, but also we have acted with the profound belief that reason, that courage, that discipline will bring the goals we seek somewhat closer.

I would like to give four examples of this: The first is the recent McCarthy campaign in the United States; the second is the Teach-in Movement that occurred in the United States some years ago; the third is the Peace Corps; and the fourth is the Civil Rights Movement.

I think what ties all of these things together -- the McCarthy campaign, the Civil Rights Movement, the Peace Corps and the Teach-in Movement -- is that in each of these four cases large groups of American young people decided through their own self-discipline to try to approach older people with reason and through the kind of courage it takes to get involved in a social movement, they would bring their goals closer.

The Civil Rights Movement -- as some of you will remember -- took great numbers of students from the North of the United States to the South of the United States, where they literally risked their lives in order to help black people gain the right to vote and gain better lives for themselves.

The Teach-in Movement -- as some of you will remember -- involved students on college campuses, who persisted in organizing large meetings where older people and younger people got together to try to reason about the war in Vietnam. In that case it was Mr. Wofford's large generation of mini-Socrateses, gathered in assembly halls, trying to listen to professors; trying to listen to representatives of the Johnson administration; trying to listen to other experts on South Vietnam explain to them why the United States was involved in a war that seemed so many of us so ghastly and so wanton.

The third case -- the McCarthy Movement, which was called the Children's Crusade -- involved as you will remember, literally hundreds of thousands of young people, canvassing in neighborhoods throughout the country, trying to persuade people to vote for the one candidate who had spoken out against the war in Vietnam.

And, in fact, the McCarthy campaign was a success in that there were triumphs in most of the primaries in which he was involved.

The fourth thing I would like to mention briefly is the Peace Corps, which, once again, involved tens of thousands of people in countries throughout the world, trying to bring some of the advantages that young Americans happen to be born to.

I want to say briefly how three of these four efforts were pretty much destroyed by people who I would call "the establishment". You remember that during the Civil Rights Movement, Senator Strom Thurmond and others spent a great deal of time trying to prove the involvement of communists in the Movement. You remember that there was a great deal of talk about hippies in the Civil Rights Movement. You remember the terrific amount of name-calling that was directed at so many of the people who went South to work.

I wonder if you remember, too, that in 1968 it was Senator Thurmond who accompanied Richard Nixon to the platform right after he had won the Republican Party Nomination.

And in 1968 it is also literally true that most of the young people who were involved in the Civil Rights Movement had been routed from the South where they were working. Senator Thurmond and the establishment had triumphed. His name-calling had triumphed and the young people who had been involved in the Civil Rights Movement were defeated.

Now let me talk for a second about the Teach-in Movement. The Teach-in Movement was called by many older people -- newspaper correspondents and the like -- one of the great successes of American education. It was a fantastic effort on the part of young people to use the tools that they had been given in their universities to try to understand what was going on in Vietnam and why were we involved in the war. Once again the Teach-in Movement was redbaited; once again there was a tremendous amount of name-calling, directed at the people who were involved. I think that some of you remember that President Johnson used the words "nervous Nellies" to describe the professors, the Senators and the other experts who were against the war in Vietnam.

Young people like myself persisted in questioning "Why are we in Vietnam?" And the only answer that we received from the people who were making the war was: "You are nervous Nellies; you are unpatriotic; don't talk so much or you will defy our Constitution".

And the war persisted and our questions were muted.

The McCarthy campaign: After the victories in the Primaries, after the assassination of Robert Kennedy, still thousands of people came to Chicago to try to make democracy work in Chicago. That was the story of those days that you saw on television. And what happened at the end of the convention in Chicago? Policemen, governed by Richard Daley, the Mayor of Chicago, went to the 15th floor of the Hilton Hotel, where so many of the McCarthy workers were working that night, and literally beat them up, wantonly beat them up, on the pretext that they were throwing things out the window. The last act of the great McCarthy campaign -- the Children's Crusade of the United States -- was a police force controlled by the Mayor of the third greatest city of our country, beating up the children whom McCarthy had tried to bring back into the system.

And you ask why we are angry. Gentlemen, I will tell you why we are angry. We are angry at nihilism and we are angry at irresponsibility. And let me say a word about irresponsibility on the part of people who call themselves "the establishment".

I think all North Americans and some Latin Americans as well are aware that Spiro Agnew is the candidate for Vice President of the United States, and some of you may be aware of the nearly total incapacity of this man to govern the country. I recently did a story about Spiro Agnew for The Village Voice, the newspaper I work for, and people in Baltimore (Agnew had been Governor of the State of Maryland) were saying that after four tries at the Vice-Presidency perhaps he would be equipped to govern Maryland.

Agnew has gained almost total contempt of most of the Negro community in the State of Maryland, a community that supported him more overwhelmingly than they had supported any other candidate for governor in the state's history.

Agnew has gained the almost total contempt of young people in the State of Maryland. It is clear that he knows very little about governing the United States, and yet Richard Nixon, who will probably be our next President, chose him as the Vice-Presidential candidate, a position which, as all of you realize, might vault him into the Presidency any day.

And John Lindsay, who was supposed to be the great hope of the Republican Party, the great hope of liberals in the country, seconded the nomination of this man Agnew.

Now I call the act of nominating Agnew for Vice-President an act of almost sheer irresponsibility.

And let me close with one other thing. Here on this panel we are missing two of our members; we are missing a Peruvian who was arrested recently and we are missing a Brazilian who was arrested recently. We are also missing a third member. When I was first invited to speak here I was told that a Czech might be with us. He is now in hiding in Czechoslovakia.

While we are in this room, young people who share the ideals that we are talking about here are in jail. That fills me with guilt. In a sense that makes me feel like a traitor, because I am free and here, while my brothers are in jail in their countries. And it makes me wonder about reporters who don't tell their story, who support the status quo that arrests them.

I want to finish by telling you about two things: One, a very dear friend of mine in the United States, who stands to get arrested this week; and the second about our two right-wing candidates for President of the United States.

My friend is named John McAuliffe. He worked in Mississippi in the Civil Rights Movement, as I did; he worked in the Peace Corps in Peru at the same time that I was working in Ecuador. He came home a year earlier than I did and his opposition to the war in Vietnam led him to apply to become a conscientious objector, not to fight in the war. He was granted his application and he decided that he could not even serve his country as a conscientious objector. The war was so horrible in the eyes of this man, who had worked to help people in the rest of the world, that he couldn't even serve his government in a peaceful form. He decided, instead, that he would go to jail, to be a personal witness against the war that troubled him so much.

At the same time that John McAuliffe is being arrested in New York City, George Wallace and Curtis LeMay will be gaining hundreds of thousands of new votes on the strength of their criticism of people precisely like John McAuliffe; precisely like me; precisely like those of us here.

At the same time that people who believe in creativity will be being arrested by their government, the presidential candidates, who themselves are irresponsible and nihilistic, will be gaining votes from a society for whom the press has not made these issues one bit clear. Thank you.

MR. WOFFORD: Speed may be one of the qualities of the new generation.

We thought we might put three vacant chairs here on the platform for our three colleagues who are not able to get here, but we hope we can get passports, today at least, to this other country we are looking into.

We had no trouble getting the President of the Chilean Students' Federation here, who will speak next.

Jorge Navarrete Martínez is a graduate of the School of Economics of the University of Chile. He is a militant, which in English, we concluded, meant that he is an active party worker of the Christian Democratic Party. When asked for sex appeal, he said he was 22 and single. I also found out that he has been to jail several times and at least one of these times it was in a demonstration against the press. Sr. Navarrete.

SR. JORGE NAVARRETE MARTINEZ: Yo quisiera comenzar diciendo que para mí es extremadamente claro que el problema de la juventud en la América Latina, que es el que conozco, y más directamente el problema de la juventud chilena, no es, a mi juicio, el tradicional problema de diferencia entre las distintas generaciones. Creo que es muy fácil esconder la gravedad del problema de la juventud sobre la base de pensar que éste es el viejo y tradicional problema que se presenta entre padres e hijos, solamente que ahora llevado a un nivel de complicidad y de violencia quizás mayor que, diría, algunas particulares situaciones transitorias en América Latina y en el mundo.

Me parece que el problema generacional es interesante, pero que no es la tónica de lo que, al menos en la América Latina, está sucediendo, y creo, a la luz de las palabras del compañero norteamericano que me precedió, que es cada vez menos también la lucha generacional la tónica del problema en los Estados Unidos.

Creo que más importante que esta diferencia -- que por lo demás otros pudieran analizar con mayor conocimiento y preparación que nosotros -- más importante que esta diferencia de edades es la diferencia de posiciones que, frente a los problemas de la juventud, la universidad y el país en general, tienen, no jóvenes y viejos, sino grupos de jóvenes y viejos que difieren de otros grupos de distintas y variadas edades.

Creo que la línea divisoria que interesa destacar no pasa por ninguna frontera cronológica, salvo que queramos hablar en términos románticos de lo que se llama la edad del corazón. Pero sin duda que lo que es más importante establecer es que en América Latina

las personas, los movimientos, los grupos sociales se están polarizando en torno a posiciones a favor o en contra del mantenimiento del actual estado de cosas; a favor o en contra del cambio social; a favor o en contra de la revolución social.

Es cierto que el movimiento de quienes están a favor de los cambios cuenta con el apoyo inmensamente mayoritario de la juventud en general y de la juventud universitaria, a la que nosotros hemos pretendido representar en este panel. Pero no es éste -- y es bueno insistir sobre ello -- un conflicto de edades o de mentalidad, sino un conflicto de posiciones ideológicas que deriva fundamentalmente -- aunque no exclusivamente -- de la situación que cada uno de nosotros tiene dentro de la sociedad.

Cabría preguntarse por qué la mayoría de los jóvenes universitarios latinoamericanos -- que, como señalaba con mucha honradez nuestra compañera brasileña, son jóvenes de familias acomodadas de la pequeña y gran burguesía de nuestros países -- por qué estos jóvenes asumen posiciones que normalmente se califican de extremistas, de extrema izquierda, revolucionarias, pro-comunistas, o como la prensa acostumbra calificarlos, subversivas. Porque no es casual este hecho, y se repite en toda la América Latina. Yo creo que la explicación está en que la juventud en general no se halla plenamente incorporada a los beneficios, a las cargas, al sistema social mismo, que es -- para utilizar una palabra muy de moda en el debate en nuestro país -- marginal dentro de su propia sociedad; vale decir que no está incorporada de lleno al ejercicio de lo que los adultos llaman las responsabilidades y lo que los jóvenes llamamos el abuso y el uso de los privilegios.

Vale decir que los jóvenes no son miembros activos cuyos intereses fundamentales estén concentrados en la defensa del "establishment". Sin embargo, al mismo tiempo, esta juventud, en especial la juventud universitaria, ha tenido un privilegio extraño: que en América Latina -- y es importante que lo tengan presente los señores periodistas norteamericanos -- la educación universitaria es un privilegio, no sólo extremadamente caro, sino extremadamente selectivo, y no selectivo por el talento. No llegan a la universidad los estudiantes más capaces, sino que llegan a la universidad aquellos estudiantes cuyas familias son económicamente más capaces.

¿Por qué, entonces, con esta extracción social los estudiantes adoptan posiciones de cambio? Las adoptan porque el acceso a la educación implica también la ampliación de los puntos de vista, y permite el análisis de los problemas de la universidad y de la misma forma el análisis de los problemas sociales con una perspectiva

nueva, distinta, científica, crítica, que es la esencia del conocimiento moderno del hombre y de la sociedad.

En ese sentido, un estudiante universitario que se enfrenta a la situación de su universidad comprende que se le está preparando para ser un leal servidor de un sistema que no comparte; que se le está entregando una educación profesional destinada, más que nada, a formar buenos técnicos que puedan hacer operar con eficacia un sistema capitalista, pero que no se cuestionan la esencia misma del sistema y sus bases.

Cuando contempla la situación dentro de su propio país en la América Latina y a través de las actividades de los grupos estudiantiles -- y no pocas veces a través de lo que la prensa misma enseña y muestra -- empieza a ver las profundas injusticias que existen dentro del sistema mismo. Este joven, desligado del sistema por un lado y por otro lado con una cultura suficiente como para comprender la complejidad del problema, comienza a adoptar, desde los primeros años de la universidad, posiciones más radicales, posiciones de cambio. Y estas posiciones comienzan, primero, a cuestionar la universidad, pero no se quedan en ello y me gustaría recoger la más corriente de las disculpas de los señores editores de diarios para restar importancia al movimiento estudiantil o distorsionar sus reales objetivos. Se dice que los movimientos estudiantiles debieran estar fundamentalmente preocupados de los problemas de la universidad, de los problemas del bienestar material o moral de los estudiantes universitarios, y que toda intromisión en el campo de la política nacional o internacional es una intromisión indebida, motivada por la infiltración de elementos extraños politizados, subversivos, agentes del Castrocomunismo y una serie de cosas más, que constantemente se repiten y que a los estudiantes ya no nos provocan ira, sino a veces risa.

Yo creo que es importante que se tenga confianza, que lo que ha ido sucediendo es que la preocupación por los problemas de la universidad y la profundización en el estudio de los problemas de la universidad, nos han ido enseñando que es imposible, absolutamente imposible, cambiar realmente y a fondo el espíritu y la estructura, la forma misma de trabajo, de nuestra universidad y de nuestro sistema general de educación sin alterar profundamente las bases del sistema de convivencia social.

Es cierto que hay estudiantes que han arribado a esta convicción por la otra vía -- a través de la crítica a la realidad social; a través de la crítica a la injusticia social -- y llegan a plantear el cambio de la universidad como un instrumento para ponerlo al servicio del cambio social.

En Chile, quizás, ésta es la polémica que más divide a los estudiantes, aunque sea la que menos titulares recibe: entre los que creen que es imposible hacer ningún cambio en la universidad sin que antes exista una drástica revolución social y quienes creemos que hay un campo de trabajo propio en la universidad que no significa desligarnos del contexto social, sino que, sin hacer perder a la universidad sus características y su identidad propia, debemos ponerla al servicio de un cambio en nuestro país.

Y al hablar de cambio -- y con esto quisiera terminar -- no estamos refiriéndonos a algunos ajustes, a algunos problemas de desarrollo. Es también otra diferencia substancial, aquella a la cual yo me refería cuando decía que la línea divisoria pasa entre lo que están a favor o en contra del cambio social.

La verdad es que si yo les preguntara individualmente, no sólo a los editores que aquí están presentes, sino a cada latinoamericano -- obrero, estudiante, terrateniente, oligarca o político -- si él está a favor o en contra de los cambios, creo que serían muy pocos, contados con los dedos de una mano, aquellos grupos sociales que con claridad se manifestasen como contrarios a los cambios.

Todos quieren cambios, al parecer, en la América Latina. Hace veinte años en mi país era un escándalo hablar de reforma agraria, y todo el que lo hiciera era absolutamente tildado de comunista.

Hoy día todos hablan de reforma agraria, porque pareciera que la reforma agraria fuera la nueva moda de los políticos latinoamericanos. El problema no está en hablar de las cosas, sino también en fijarse qué cambios se están proponiendo y si los mecanismos de transformación que la vieja generación le está proponiendo a la nueva para hacer un mundo distinto al que ellos nos están entregando, son realmente eficaces para llegar a este objetivo.

Nosotros creemos que no toda alteración, que no todo cambio, que no todo desarrollo es efectivamente un cambio social. Hay cambios de ajustes. Claro que disminuir la tasa de desocupación es algo bueno. Por cierto que redistribuir el ingreso, en cierta medida, es también una cosa positiva. Aumentar las oportunidades de educación también lo es. Esto es lo que los estudiantes llaman el "desarrollismo", la doctrina de la CEPAL, la doctrina de la Alianza para el Progreso; y esto es aquello con lo cual los estudiantes latinoamericanos más conscientes no están de acuerdo.

No porque lo creamos indeseable, sino porque creemos que no ataca la raíz del problema. Nosotros creemos que lo que en la

América Latina debe ser cambiado son las bases misma del orden social. Vale decir, no es un cambio para ajustarnos a una estructura que se supone que es buena pero a la que nosotros no hemos llegado. No es un cambio para que América Latina en su conjunto llegue a ser en su futuro algo así como Estados Unidos. Es un cambio para que llegue a ser algo fundamentalmente distinto de lo que son ahora las sociedades capitalistas desarrolladas.

Es importante, entonces, en primer término, la naturaleza del cambio que se nos propone, y los estudiantes estamos optando en forma creciente en la América Latina por el cambio de la base de la estructura social, que es lo que se llama -- y no otra cosa -- el cambio revolucionario.

En segundo lugar, el problema de los métodos de la lucha y la violencia. Yo creo que la inmensa mayoría de la juventud no desea la violencia en sus países, y no la desea porque la violencia no le es propia, sino que la ha heredado de aquella generación que critica a los jóvenes el uso de la violencia.

Nosotros no buscamos la violencia como método normal de cambio en nuestro país. Pero la violencia no la han inventado los jóvenes en el mundo. La están viendo y la están conociendo a través de ustedes, los editores de la prensa de la América Latina y América del Norte.

Y están conociendo la violencia que existe en Vietnam; la violencia que existe en la lucha por los derechos civiles en los Estados Unidos; la violencia que existe en Biafra; la violencia que existe en el Medio Oriente; el apaleo de los estudiantes en México, en Argentina, en Uruguay, y ahora en el golpe militar en Perú.

Nosotros no hemos inventado la violencia. La recibimos cada día como una respuesta a las inquietudes de los estudiantes. Y ninguno de ellos la desea. Pero, por desgracia, en muchos países de la América Latina nuestros compañeros estudiantes sí están adquiriendo la creciente convicción de que la violencia de los que están a favor de los cambios va a ser la única respuesta posible aun en la estructura social cuyas clases dominantes están decididas a utilizar, hasta las últimas consecuencias, la violencia para mantener una situación y una estructura que los jóvenes repudiamos, no porque seamos comunistas -- yo no lo soy --, no porque seamos subversivos -- no sé si lo sea o no --, sino incluso desde el punto de vista de la que ha sido la doctrina inspiradora teóricamente de la sociedad cristiana.

Esta sociedad occidental y cristiana, desde el punto de vista más simple de aceptar en su integridad que el mensaje evangélico no es para gozarlo en el cielo sino para aplicarlo en la tierra, esta sociedad -- a nuestro juicio -- es antihumanitaria y es anticristiana, y ese es el sentido que tiene la lucha de los estudiantes para cambiarla. (Aplausos)

MRS. LOBO: Now we will have Norman Bonner, Jr., who was born in Ft. Worth -- a city that I have a sympathy for, as I have taught there also -- and he is a graduate of the University of Texas, of whose staff I feel a sort of sentimental member also. He is a Fullbright grantee and is presently studying political science in Santiago de Chile. So, he is close to Latin America too.

MR. NORMAN BONNER, JR.: I wonder about this idea of a nation of youth. You have here speaking to you four American youths from five American cultures: Jorge is a Chilean, Bali is a Brazilian and Paul and I are North Americans. Not only that, we can each claim a separate culture within the general North American culture: Paul's culture being Jewish, mine being black American.

What do we have in common with each other, or what do we have in common with our Peruvian and Brazilian counterparts and our Czech counterpart who were not allowed to participate today? You might ask yourself this.

You may have also asked yourself, what is this phenomenon of youth? What is it? What is going on in Mexico, or in Paris, or at Columbia in New York, or in Peru, or wherever? What do all of these young people have in common?

I am going to try to answer that. I have a notion that there is a mood which is shared by all of us; perhaps not a mood of nationalism or even identification by age, but rather an identification of common ideals, the basis of which I will briefly try to outline for you. This will be a very general scheme and I hope we can elaborate more in your question and answer session.

In fact, I am going to be a bit deliberately vague so as to provoke questions from you. I prefer a dialogue rather than a monologue. We are here to share ideas -- at least I hope we are.

The moods of youth, such as they are, I have divided into three arbitrary categories. The first is a mood of optimism; that is, I think you will find that young people everywhere --

particularly those who are active, even the most radical or revolutionary -- are this way because they think that things can be changed for the better, and that life can be rewarding and meaningful. They think that it is possible to live a decent life; that change can be made, whether that cange be reformist or revolutionary; whether it be peaceful or violent. They are constantly motivated by a sense that again things can be better; that a meaningful existence can be achieved.

The second general category is one of humanism. I think all youth shares this, or again, especially the most active and revolutionary. All of the revolutionary movements I know of have -- at some point -- a humanistic principle in their base. They are made in the name of the people, or the pueblo, or whatever, again, toward the goal of improving the life. It is also belief in the goodness and essential perfectability of man; the belief that man's noblest aspects, his most brilliant potential, could be fully realized and exploited in human institutions here on earth. It is sort of a belief that paradise can be achieved or closely approximated in this life, rather than waiting for the next.

The third outstanding feature, I think, of the youth movements -- or youthful philosophy -- is a sort of frustration, or combination of frustration, anger and impatience. Again, the vision is largely shared that the present system -- the status quo -- is exploitative; that is, it sees man as an instrument of production, or as another tool toward the production of material goods. It is sort of an inverted value scale in which man is nothing but another tool or tractor, rather than the goal toward which all social activity should be directed. Youth thinks man should be the aim of social activity; that all social activity should be directed toward the realization of his fullest potential, rather than exploitation of his energies toward the end of producing another product, or a better mousetrap.

The reaction one has to this inverted value scale is one of anger. It's exploitative, as I said, and again I think it's obvious that young people who may decry the system of the status quo as being purely pluralistic or exploitative or whatever, have this in mind.

Another reaction to this is a great passion for change, again because of the humanism that underlies our thought and the confidence that ideals can be achieved through human activity and that the status quo is exploitative. There is a tremendous anxiety, or desire for change, which in turn leads to anger and/or

frustration at their inability to make profound changes and at the status quo's persistence and continuing exploitation.

These are very general remarks, as I said, and I am going to stop here. I hope that you will have some reaction; I hope I've been able to present a general scheme of things, which hopefully can be elaborated in the discussion that follows. Thank you.

MR. HEISKELL: We will now open the meeting to all of you. Do you have some questions?

SR. JOSE CASTIGLIONE (El Liberal, Santiago del Estero, Argentina): Es agradable escuchar a la juventud. Yo estoy interesado, como cualquier ciudadano, en los problemas de la juventud desde hace muchos años, y como legislador formulé un proyecto relacionado con cómo resolver la suerte del mundo o cómo ir a ese mundo mejor.

Aquí, los jóvenes estudiantes han estudiado los efectos de una causa que no han señalado. Están en la copa de los árboles. Además, hay una falla en la juventud: ha perdido el hábito de escuchar a los adultos.

Sostengo, éste es un mundo herido. No es la crisis de la juventud; es la crisis del mundo, y la juventud está metida adentro del mundo. Mientras el niño -- que está en la raíz; es el cimiento humano, y no podemos edificar una humanidad mejor sin tener buenos cimientos -- mientras el niño no disfrute de sus legítimos derechos, no habrá paz en el mundo.

En algunos casos esporádicos que se presentan de gente pudiente que tiene un buey corneta -- es decir, un hijo que se ha extraviado -- haciendo un examen retrospectivo diríamos que quizás los padres no se encargaron de la educación y la dejaron en manos de una institutriz.

Yo una vez dije a una señora que en ese caso yo me casaría con la institutriz.

El problema del niño es lo fundamental. Esa es la crisis; no es la crisis de la juventud. Si el niño es educado, y es educado con buena salud, tiene un cimiento poderoso para que la juventud se oriente. Es decir, debemos contar con la base para que el joven tenga un porvenir mejor, y nosotros los adultos debemos procurar, por supuesto, orientarlo para que tenga un porvenir mejor.

Pero con una juventud que ha tomado la revolución social, los cambios estructurales, como un deporte, me parece, señores....

SRA. LOBO: ¿Usted va a formular una pregunta concreta? Una síntesis de eso ¿no? Porque no hay tanto tiempo.

SR. CASTIGLIONE: Muy bien. Voy a abreviar.

Evidentemente es un problema grave. Entiendo que no habrá juventud sana, bien orientada, mientras el niño en todo el mundo no disfrute de sus legítimos derechos. El primero es a nacer sano; a ser criado y educado y bien alimentado para hacer una sociedad, más o menos -- doy un ejemplo -- como la de Suiza, donde no hay analfabetos; no hay delincuencia infantil; no hay clases sociales; hay buen standard de vida; y no hay caldo, tampoco, para esa revolución social.

Lo que hay que cambiar no son las estructuras, señores -- lo cual no quiere decir que no se cambien -- sino la mentalidad; la gente joven que piensa con una mentalidad o demasiado adelantada o demasiado atrasada.

MR. HEISKELL: I should have stated the rules of the meeting, and that is that the audience is to ask questions rather than make statements.

SRA. LOBO: The panel will comment. Who would like to comment?

SR. NAVARRETE: Yo he escuchado con mucha atención la intervención del señor director y quisiera decir que es muy claro en qué forma yo pudiera vincular lo que él nos planteaba recién, con lo que traté malamente de explicar antes.

Quizás mi diferencia fundamental con él está en que yo podría aceptar absolutamente todo lo que él nos ha planteado en este momento, salvo que creo que los supuestos que están detrás del planteamiento no existen en la realidad, y voy a tratar de explicar por qué. A veces es tan difícil este diálogo entre las generaciones.

El nos dice que ésta es una generación que ha perdido la costumbre de escuchar a los adultos. Yo no estoy tan seguro de que haya perdido la costumbre de escuchar a los adultos; quizás lo que sucede es que está escuchando a algunos adultos que a otros adultos no les gustan que nosotros escuchemos.

Esta generación ha escuchado a muchos adultos, pero probablemente a ustedes no les gusten los adultos que nosotros estamos escuchando. No me cabe la menor duda que al menos un 30% de la juventud latinoamericana ha escuchado a un adulto que se llama Fidel Castro. Y hay otros que están leyendo a un adulto que se llamaba Carlos Marx. Bueno, estos son adultos. Lo que sucede es que no son los adultos que a ustedes les gustaría que nosotros escucháramos.

Y más bien cabría preguntarse si es la juventud la que ha perdido la costumbre de escuchar a los adultos, o son los adultos que tienen pocas cosas que decir a la juventud que realmente la motiven en este momento.

La juventud es, quizás, una de las edades más dispuestas a escuchar, porque por su corta edad tiene todavía pocas cosas propias que decir. Y el problema, yo creo, más bien es un poco al revés.

El nos dice que buena parte del problema de la juventud está en el problema de la educación. También lo creo correcto. Pero yo no sé si entendemos las palabras en el mismo sentido. Yo creo que una excelente educación en América Latina debiera llevar a los jóvenes exactamente a lo contrario de lo que nos plantea. Vale decir que un joven bien educado en la América Latina, no puede ser un conformista. Estar bien educado y tener 22 años en América Latina es ser revolucionario; y ser conformista es estar mal educado en América Latina porque es desconocer realmente la situación que existe en nuestro continente.

Esa es mi discrepancia. Yo creo que los jóvenes estudiantes que están tirando piedras en las calles son a veces mejor educados, desde el punto de vista de una formación integral del hombre, que aquellos jóvenes que están modositamente sentados en su casa, recibiendo las doctas enseñanzas de generaciones anteriores que realmente aportan poco a lo que él va a tener que hacer en 30 años más, cuando tenga una responsabilidad efectiva que cumplir.

Y por último, respecto al problema más inmediato. ¡Cómo quisiéramos los jóvenes que cada niño tuviera efectivamente sus derechos a nacer, a vivir, a desarrollarse, a tener educación! Ese es el sentido mismo de la lucha. Yo creo que es lo que está pidiendo el resto de los compañeros aquí presentes. Nuestra única inquietud es el cómo.

Para nosotros no es un problema transformar a Argentina o Chile en Suiza. El problema es que ese deseo de que los jóvenes estén bien educados, nazcan bien, sean saludables, se está cumpliendo en la América Latina sólo para un 5% de la población.

Pero mi país tiene una de las tasas más altas de mortalidad infantil. Y la mortalidad de los niños de menos de un año no se debe a enfermedades que la ciencia médica no puede resolver, sino que es un simple reflejo de una situación social que no da para más.

En ese sentido estaríamos encantados de que esta situación se pudiera dar a todos los jóvenes; de que todos los niños pudieran nacer. Pero en la actual sociedad latinoamericana no sólo el volumen total de recursos es pequeño, sino que su distribución es extremadamente injusta. Ese sueño que él plantea yo lo comparto absolutamente, y porque lo comparto creo que soy un estudiante revolucionario.

SR. VICTOR GUTIERREZ SALMADOR (El Día, Montevideo, Uruguay): Creo que con excepción del Sr. Navarrete de Chile, los demás representantes de la juventud lamentablemente se van por las ramas de la cuestión.

He escuchado a los señores norteamericanos y a ellos es expresamente a los que quiero hacer la pregunta, porque sé que el Sr. Navarrete está en la línea de la juventud que interesa oir, y que nos interesaría oir también en el sector norteamericano; veo que no centran el problema donde debe estar. Y es si, realmente, la juventud en los Estados Unidos -- que ellos representan acá, como jóvenes de ese país -- piensa que lo que hay es un conflicto, no de generaciones, no de maneras de pensar basadas en la edad, sino un conflicto con la civilización actual y el sistema actual, y la contradicción que ellos ven al integrarse en ese sistema. Es decir, si ellos piensan que en los Estados Unidos la invitación que se hace a los jóvenes para que participen en los cambios es a condición de que se integren en el sistema, o si ellos creen que la juventud en los Estados Unidos, y también en el mundo, lo que pretende es destruir el sistema.

A mí me sorprende que no se haya pronunciado entre los jóvenes la palabra "marxismo", por ejemplo, cuando estoy convencido de que es el marxismo el que actúa, el que utiliza a los jóvenes como el detonador, el elemento detonante y explosivo para algo que va mucho más lejos y que excede a las pretensiones de la propia juventud y de la propia generación, que es destruir la civilización. Y que por eso observamos que en los jóvenes no hay una ideología concreta, sino el afán de destruir el sistema existente.

¿Querrían contestar a esta pregunta concretamente y me reservaría el hacer otras después?

MR. COWAN: I think there are two answers to your question. The first answer is that it seems to me that people who are now over 40 or 50 have, almost in a sense of Greek mythology, created a world which is destroying itself. In other words, they have created a technology, a form of communication, a means of travel, a system of weapons, that exists throughout the world and that are literally destroying the people who created them.

And what I would say about myself as a young person, sir, and about many young people, is that rather than tearing down systems, we are trying to build a system in which we can live. I find a world in which virtually every government spends far more money for arms, arms which have been produced and invented by the older generation, than they do for education, for the education of precisely the young people the gentleman from Chile was describing before, I find that kind of world intolerable. I find a world in which my daughter has to grow up with a constant fear of nuclear weapons, and not the constant hope that children throughout the world will receive the kind of education that we hope she will receive, I find that kind of world also intolerable.

I think that many people who are over 40 or over 50 are living as if they are stone-age men in a world of automobiles. People who have invented the car don't know how to drive the car. People who have invented the nuclear bomb have no sense of how to use the nuclear bomb. People who have invented systems of communication which whiz them back and forth across time zones, across continents, have no sense of how to live within those new time zones, of how to live within those new continents. People who have produced sophisticated systems of technology have no sense of how to use those systems of technology for man. And so what we are saying is that the system that you have made is not only destroying you, but destroying us. So let us rebuild that system with your help, in order that we can live within it.

DR. WOFFORD: Will you say something about rebuilding for a minute? Because the question suggested that you are just experts in demolition, in destruction. What about the building?

MR. BONNER: Yes, I got the impression that again we are being accused of nihilism. The point is that if people only listened again, a number of concrete proposals have come from young people in the United States, a certain percentage of whom are committed to social change, be that again reformist or revolutionary.

In general these proposals have been on the order of the notion that people should have a profound hand in determining their own lives. We see in our country -- as you see in yours, as is perceived in the countries of Latin America by a number of people -- that a small number of people control the wealth and resources of the nation; a small number of people make the decisions that determine whether large masses of other people have the right to live or die; whether they have the right to participate in the political processes of the country.

A small number of people determines or decides upon the distribution of wealth in the country; the distribution of information; the parcelling out of educational benefits.

The notion that those of us who are committed to reform or revolution in the United States have is that these people make decisions, not for the benefit of the vast majority, but for their own and personal benefit. Therefore, the notion of a participatory democracy, or one in which -- this, I am afraid, may be a cliché for some of the North American journalists -- people have a right to determine their own lives is a basic cornerstone of the dissident, youthful thought in the United States.

Some concrete proposals have been made regarding the educational crisis in the United States, for example. In a number of cities, a number of groups -- especially a number of ethnic groups, minority groups, blacks and Puerto Ricans -- feel that the school systems are not educating their children in the proper manner. That is, they are not being given enough attention; they are not being given the right type of books; they are not being given the right type of instruction. So proposals have come forth -- and again youth has played a substantial part in this -- for burocratic descentralization; that is, for community control, or community influence on school curricula.

Other efforts have been to organize neighborhoods of traditionally politically inactive people into groups, with counselling -- but not leadership -- from youth people who are politically aware, to encourage these traditionally politically inactive people to approach the local authorities in order to get action upon their just demands.

Those are just two small examples. There could be others -- I am not very well prepared on specifics or homework on this point -- but I think that to say that the theories of social change, or the demands for social change that have been put forth by youth are

destructive, is really to take a rather superficial point of view. It shows that one really hasn't gone into it.

As far as I know, and I think the case is true with practically every student movement, there are concrete proposals being put forth by young people which are being largely ignored by people in authority, or the establishment, such as it is.

MR. COWAN: I just want to refer for a second to the demolition that Harris talked about, and I want to talk about it in terms of two very specific programs: One is AID and the Peace Corps, and the other is the War on Poverty.

I would say certainly, in the case of the War on Poverty in the United States, that it is a nihilistic, older generation which has demolished the War on Poverty, which originally had some promise. You have programs like Project Head Start, which is designed for an extremely innocent purpose that the gentleman from Chile would, I am sure, applaud: training deprived young people in how to receive better educations in the future. Even funds for Project Head Start in the United States have been cut, have been demolished, at the same time as the military budget has reached an unprecedented high.

Now you in Latin America are also going to feel decreases in the AID budget, which has been cut again at the same time that the military budget has been increasing.

I would say that in both of those cases, programs largely inspired and largely manned by young people to help, have been torpedoed, have been demolished by older people, and have been replaced by programs largely staffed by older people, which are designed to destroy.

In that situation it is very hard to describe specific programs and specific models for change, when any little, tiny program which is designed for small change is demolished.

MRS. LOBO: I want to answer just a little bit your question. I will be very quick, especially because I am not young and I am not a student. I will take as little time as possible.

I am not speaking really of my own opinion, because there would be no point in that, but I am reflecting, as well as I try to do, what I have observed of the student opinion in Brazil, at least.

I think we shouldn't by-pass one thing that was said in the comment on the question that was made: the problem of Marxism, because it might give the idea that we are trying here not to talk about it, or to avoid it. So, I think we should make an answer to that specifically, so it wouldn't sound as though we are sort of by-passing this specific issue.

I think that there is a tremendous disillusionment among the students with the Russian model, if you are thinking of Marxism in those terms. And furthermore, as we all know, recently and for some time already, the Soviet Union foreign policy of co-existence, etc., has promoted a policy of the Communist Party that is very conservative, truly conservative now. Of course, this can have no appeal to youth -- this conservative approach of the Communist Party. So I think that Marxism is something on the decline if it is identified with Russia and the Russian model and the distortions that occurred in Russia, with the new bureaucracy enjoying privileges and positions in society.

The students are very aware of all these distortions and they are very much against it, and they think that the Communist Party is something of an old, traditional, conservative party.

SR. LUIS ALBERTO PEREZ (El Territorio, Misiones, Argentina): Dos cosas: una es una pregunta al amigo chileno; primero porque me ha impactado mucho con su aparente acusación al periodismo. Habló de que la violencia que se registra hoy en todo el mundo es registrada también por la prensa, y yo me pregunto hasta dónde la prensa no ha cumplido exactamente con su misión, y hasta dónde no ha advertido a los estudiantes de los problemas del mundo y las necesidades de cambio. Por eso yo quisiera pedirle que aclare su manifestación con respecto a que la prensa se hace eco de toda la violencia que existe en el mundo si precisamente está mostrando a los estudiantes la necesidad de cambios profundos, y especialmente cambios de mentalidad. Esa sería una primera pregunta que se la formulo concretamente, y luego quisiera hacer una interrogación sobre manifestaciones de la Sra. de Lobo.

SR. NAVARRETE: Bueno, la verdad es que no sé si se captó precisamente lo que quise decir. Yo no culpo a la prensa porque da a conocer las noticias sobre la violencia que está ocurriendo en el mundo. Simplemente señalaba que la prensa, junto con otros medios de comunicación, ha permitido y permite -- naturalmente, no es una culpa -- que la violencia, como hecho que existe en el mundo, llegue a ser también conciencia interna dentro de los estudiantes.

Mis críticas a la prensa son extremadamente más concretas, y se orientan en dos líneas fundamentales. En primer término, para tomar un tema específico, respecto al movimiento estudiantil. La prensa se preocupa del movimiento estudiantil cuando nosotros apedreamos una embajada norteamericana, o cuando hacemos una manifestación pública que termina con incidentes con la fuerza policial.

Pero rara vez se preocupa -- realmente a fondo y en serio -- de tratar, antes de que estas manifestaciones violentas lleguen a ser noticia, de ofrecer un canal normal y orgánico para que se exprese el pensamiento de la juventud de modo más positivo. Actualmente, después de cada incidente juvenil nuestros editores sacan sesudos editoriales en que aducen que éste no es un método para que la juventud plantee sus problemas, sino que debiera hacerlo en forma ordenada, pausada, orgánica. La verdad es que para poder hacer eso que ustedes nos solicitan necesitaríamos tener formas reales de expresión que no sea el ser noticia cada vez que cada uno de nosotros termina con la cabeza rota por algún policía en las calles.

La segunda cosa es respecto a la libertad de prensa. La verdad es que tengo algunas ganas de hacer una acotación en esta reunión de la Sociedad. Ustedes se preocupan intensamente por los problemas de la libertad de prensa. Yo tengo una gran duda que me surgió en Santiago, el día que yo venía partiendo. En el avión me puse a leer unos diarios chilenos. Leyendo las noticias de esta conferencia sabía que ustedes se regocijaban porque en América Latina había tenido notables progresos la libertad de prensa. Si lo dicen ustedes, que son los entendidos, no me cabe duda que así será, pero yo creo que al menos cabría hacer una clarificación.

Es posible que en este momento tengan más libertad las empresas periodísticas para opinar sobre distintos tópicos sin interferencia de los gobiernos de los países, y ése sin duda es un paso adelante. Pero yo siempre he tenido una duda acerca de si ustedes juzgarían con igual beneplácito la actual libertad de prensa si ésta no fuera una reunión de editores de diarios, sino una reunión de periodistas que trabajan en los diarios, porque tengo la impresión -- y perdónenme la crítica muy franca -- de que existe libertad para que un dueño de periódico, a través de él, exprese sus opiniones, pero dudo mucho que exista libertad -- al menos ésta es la experiencia que hemos podido palpar en nuestro país -- para que un periodista exprese sus opiniones cuando ellas están en discrepancia con la opinión del dueño del diario.

SR. PEREZ: La segunda pregunta se relaciona con lo que manifestó la Sra. Lobo, que el otro lado del mundo, la otra vereda para nuestro sistema occidental y cristiano, había empleado apelaciones más efectivas, como la coexistencia.

Ahora, yo me pregunto si es posible hablar en estos términos de coexistencia cuando tropas soviéticas invaden a Checoslovaquia, pero eso estaría un poquito fuera del tema. La pregunta es si nosotros, en nuestro mundo occidental, no nos estamos dando cuenta de que tenemos las armas, los medios y los métodos para hacer escuchar nuestros planteos. Yo me siento joven, tengo 31 años, y participo de esta gran preocupación del amigo chileno, pero creo que hay una pequeña diferencia en el enfoque, porque me parece que no nos estamos dando cuenta de que tenemos los canales para hacer conocer nuestras aspiraciones. No se nos han negado esos canales, y no solamente tenemos los canales, sino que estamos produciendo una sociedad mucho más móvil que del otro lado de la vereda, como lo llamo yo.

Yo pregunto si ustedes no conciben que nosotros estamos en una sociedad mucho más dinámica y mucho más movilizada que nos permite las formas -- diríamos fisiocráticas, si se puede hablar así -- de cambios profundos. Esa es la pregunta concreta y se la hago a la Sra. Lobo.

SRA. LOBO: Yo creo que estamos en una sociedad que tiene una rigidez terrible, que no tiene canales.

I will continue in English because my Spanish is very bad.

I believe that our society is completely without institutional channels for change. This is the drama of the youth now, and of other people who are with them. Why the church and youth have become so important in the foreground of politics? Exactly because there is a political vacuum. The political parties are unrepresentative; the governments are illegitimate. And that is why other channels that were relatively unimportant became so important. They are placed in a political vacuum.

The student from Brazil wants to comment on your question.

MISS GUIMARAES: I would like to say that we students believed in Marxism for a while, while we thought that in the Socialist world there would be an answer for our demands, but now we are all disappointed with the other world as well as this one. That is why Marxism is not as much used now.

SR. PEDRO J. CHAMORRO: (La Prensa, Managua, Nicaragua): Antes de hacer mi pregunta, una pequeñísima aclaración para el joven chileno.

Esta es una sociedad de periódicos y 99,99% de quienes asisten trabajan en los periódicos. El pareció decir que era una sociedad de dueños de periódicos en donde había otra gente que trabajaba, y también está mal informado. Aquí todos trabajamos efectivamente, y quizás más de lo que mucha gente piensa.

Ahora, la pregunta. El joven norteamericano refiere todo el problema a la otra generación, y la otra generación -- que somos los de 40 a 50 años -- es la culpable de la bomba atómica, de los armamentos, de la miseria, de esto y el otro. Yo le pregunto si no es más lógico, más correcto, culpar no a la otra generación, sino a los sistemas materialistas: el materialismo norteamericano, capitalista, y el materialismo marxista. Esa es mi pregunta.

MR. COWAN: I agree entirely with what you just said. I think there is a certain problem in talking as a North American -- from my culture -- to a Latin American audience. Some of the words that you just used are pretty much forbidden inside of our country. For example, a person who criticizes materialistic society, who criticizes the system from a theoretical point of view, is called a Marxist and, therefore, is frequently denied a hearing.

But to your question I would say yes. I think I would say, after having lived in Latin America for about a year and a half to two years, it seems to me that on certain levels there is somewhat more freedom to express ideas like the one you just expressed here than there is in the United States. And now I am not really talking about a free press -- I am talking about open-mindedness.

In the United States -- as most of you, I am sure, know -- the word Marxism is practically synonymous with sin, and to criticize the system is to be a heretic, to be the kind of infidel who was ritually burned at the stake in earlier centuries.

And now I would like to finish this brief answer by commenting that the only questions I have heard are from Latin Americans. Surely Norman, Harris and I have said some things that some of you North Americans disagree with, and I would like to challenge you to ask us questions about them.

MRS. KATHARINE GRAHAM (The Washington Post, Washington, D.C.): Your main theory is that you, as protesters, have not been heard; that you have not been covered by the press, and that somehow your right to protest has been questioned.

As you well know, you have just succeeded in bringing about the resignation of President Johnson in our country; you have succeeded in opening up the Democratic Party to more democratic methods. Our reporters got beaten up covering your dissent, and I think the press has over-covered the dissent of the youth as anything, and perhaps not covered enough the side that people are now hearing from in the right wing.

I just want to finish by asking you a question about your friend Mr. McAuliffe, who was given the right of being a conscientious objector and -- I gather from you -- is demanding the right to be a conscientious objector against conscientious objection. Now you are worried because he is going to jail, but obviously he wants to go to jail to protest, and so if he wants it that badly, what is wrong with it? (Applause)

MR. COWAN: I don't disagree with you, Mrs. Graham, as much as your question seemed to imply. I don't think I was saying the protesters don't get covered. I agree with you, and like you I think that sometimes they get covered too much. And I would also like to add, as a personal matter, that some of the reporters from Mrs. Graham's newspaper are some of the best in the country; I refer particularly, Mrs. Graham, to Nick von Hoffman and to Bob Maynard, both of whom I think have done excellent jobs in this field.

But I think the kind of disagreement that I would have with Mrs. Graham comes when she says that our generation, or all the people who are against the war, opened up the Democratic Party. I think the lesson of Chicago is that the Democratic Party insisted upon closing itself to the legitimate criticisms of young people and of people like Senator McCarthy. The young people, and the older people, too, who were beaten up on the streets, were not beaten up because they were provocative, although in cases they did provoke; they were beaten up because the Democratic Party, controlled by Lyndon Johnson with the assistance of Richard Daley, was frightened -- not to hear, but to respond to the kinds of things that we were saying.

Now, second, I agree absolutely with Mrs. Graham when she says that the silent people should be listened to. I think one of the most horrifying things in the United States right now is the invisible, sudden growth of the Wallace movement.

I share her question: Why does the press spend so much time attacking organizations like the Students for Democratic Society; attacking organizations like the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and other black militant groups, when there has been no exposé that I can remember of the real leadership of the John Birch Society; of the real leadership of the Ku Klux Klan? There hasn't been much description of the connections between those organizations and George Wallace's movement. And there certainly has been no attempt -- and here, Mrs. Graham, I am changing my theme a little bit -- to describe sympathetically the sentiments of lower middle-class white people.

SR. CARLOS CAPPAGLI (Síntesis, Buenos Aires, Argentina): Es lamentable que el joven chileno haya puesto en duda la eficiencia y el significado de la libertad de prensa. La libertad de prensa existe en su totalidad en la medida en que una persona puede divulgar sus ideas. Eso no significa que necesariamente tenga que divulgar sus ideas con el dinero, con el esfuerzo, o con la capacidad de los demás.

Los diarios ofrecemos libertad a nuestros periodistas, una libertad que encuadra en una línea orgánica que ha permitido formar una industria que genera cada 24 horas una publicación dentro de medidas de tiempo específicas. Por lo tanto, no es posible que cada periodista, de por sí, quiera expresar ni torcer la línea que identifica a esa publicación con el público adquirente.

Los periodistas nos beneficiamos del clima de libertad de prensa. Ello permite que muchos periodistas profesionales surgidos de las últimas líneas se hayan iniciado como pequeños empresarios.

Mi pregunta va concretamente a esto: Pruébese que la libertad de expresión, la libertad de prensa no es ejercida por los hombres que trabajan en la prensa, en tanto mantengan la línea fundamental que enforja la idea central que es un diario que comunica una expresión.

SR. NAVARRETE: Bueno, éste es un tema un poco difícil para tratar, pero yo creo que si ustedes, como directores de periódicos, pueden confiar en un estudiante para opinar, no les molestará que yo critique entre otros a los directores de periódicos. Bueno, si les molesta, ya estoy aquí, y ya tengo el micrófono en la mano en este momento.

Voy a tratar de tomar un símil que pueda reflejar lo que quise plantear. En Chile hay una sociedad que se llama la Sociedad

Nacional de Agricultura. La Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura reúne a todos los grandes empresarios agrícolas, o incluso teóricamente a todos los empresarios agrícolas. Si esta Asociación tiene una reunión para discutir la reforma agraria, yo estoy casi 100% seguro de que sus conclusiones van a ser muy distintas de las que, si en vez de reunirse los propietarios de tierras, se reunieran los campesinos que trabajan la tierra bajo el mando de esos propietarios.

Es un hecho de la vida diaria: en mi país nunca está de acuerdo la Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura con la Federación de Sindicatos Agrícolas. Ahora voy a tratar de volver al tema.

¿Qué es lo que se ha tratado de decir? En primer término, aclarando una aclaración anterior, yo no he dicho que los propietarios de periódicos no trabajen; también la mayoría de los propietarios agrícolas trabajan en sus predios. Pero es muy distinta la situación en la cual trabaja la persona que tiene -- por el hecho de tener el capital -- el poder y la autoridad interna dentro de una empresa para determinar la forma en que otros trabajan, de la situación del que trabaja bajo contrato por un salario o sueldo y que pone su intelecto al servicio de los fines de una empresa periodística determinada.

A ese respecto, a mí me parece altamente positivo que exista libertad de prensa en el sentido en que ustedes lo han entendido, porque si no hay libertad para las empresas periodísticas, menos podría haber efectivamente libertad para que los periodistas pudieran ejercitar su derecho. Sin embargo, mi duda fundamental subsiste a pesar de eso, y es la siguiente:

Resulta que usted ha planteado que un periodista puede expresar lo que quiere, siempre que se mantenga dentro de las líneas fundamentales de la persona que le da vida a esa institución, que le da sus líneas, y que, en palabras muy desnudas, es el que aporta el dinero suficiente como para que esa empresa se mueva. Allí está la raíz de mi crítica vinculada a lo anterior. Yo creo que en una sociedad justa, en una empresa en que se reúnen capital y trabajo, no es el capital el dueño de la empresa, que contrata el trabajo. Yo creo que es el trabajador el dueño de la empresa, que contratará el sistema necesario y el capital, y es el capital el remunerado, y por lo tanto la fuente de la autoridad no surge de allí.

Ahora, esto provoca espanto. Esto no es necesariamente propiedad colectiva; no es necesariamente marxismo; podríamos conversarlo más extensamente. Pero sí hay un punto fundamental, y es que su consulta no resuelve la duda.

¿Puede un periodista en un diario discrepar de la opinión de quien tiene la responsabilidad de conducir la línea del periódico?

¿Puede discrepar cuando dependen económicamente él y su familia de poder tener esa oportunidad de trabajo en ese mismo periódico?

Me parece que sucede más o menos el mismo problema que en cualquier tipo de empresa.

MR. HEISKELL: The rules of the game are very simple. We are not here to try to convince these four young people of anything. We are here to ask them questions and find out what is on their minds. You don't have to agree with it. You don't have to make speeches about how they are wrong. We make speeches to each other -- we all know what we think anyhow. The point is to listen to them.

Now, would you please just ask questions and get the answers? You can disagree entirely with them, but you can argue with them later if you want to. Not here.

MR. WOFFORD: I will sharpen one question on freedom of the press. I was not satisfied with what I heard Mr. Cowan say. I don't understand it. He said he agreed with Mrs. Graham that the 25% of the American people, perhaps, who support Mr. Wallace in his views should be represented in the press, but then he said the press's role should be to expose and attack them. I wonder if his model of freedom of the press -- for the future society -- is a press that reflects a strong opinion with which he would disagree, such as Mr. Wallace's.

MR. COWAN: I think I used the wrong word when I said "expose". My primary sentiment is that a lot of people for whom George Wallace speaks have not been listened to over the past eight years. I think, as far as they are concerned, it is absolutely correct that there are people -- as Wallace says -- who have been sitting in ivory towers writing guidelines for the way that they should live.

I think one of the great crimes of the past eight years in America is that upper middle-class white people have demanded of lower middle-class white people changes that they -- the upper middle-class white people -- are not willing to accept themselves. For example, the white voices that speak most loudly about integrated education frequently belong to people who themselves send their children to private schools.

The white voices that speak most loudly for open houses frequently belong to white suburbanites, who refuse zoning laws in their own suburbs.

I think that is a scandal, and I think that is the kind of thing that should be reported in the newspapers. I also think that organizations like the John Birch Society, the Ki Klux Klan and others of that ilk, don't exactly express that kind of interest of lower middle-class white people.

Now, I don't want to say that they are bad per se, although I feel very strongly that they are, but I do wish that their inner workings would be exposed, that I would be introduced to their leaders in magazines like Time and newspapers like The Washington Post in the same way that I am introduced to the leaders of SDS and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

I would like to be told of the background of their leaders, the ideas of their leaders and their hopes for America. That is all that I have to say about that.

SR. RICARDO HUGHES (Licenciado en Administración de Empresas de la Universidad Católica Argentina): Antes de formular mi pregunta quisiera hacer una pequeña acotación a lo que se ha dicho con respecto a las universidades y a la gente que estudia en las universidades en América Latina.

Creo que en la Argentina, en particular, las universidades son muy populares, o sea, todo el mundo tiene acceso a estudios superiores, en primer término por el hecho de ser gratuitos y por las facilidades que se dan.

Eso no quiere decir que estoy de acuerdo con que sean gratuitos; me parece que sería una forma de hacer selección el hecho de que no fuesen gratuitos y con una gran disponibilidad de becas para la gente con talento que va a llegar después a las posiciones superiores.

La pregunta concreta que yo quisiera hacer al panel es la siguiente, enfocándola de un punto más bien positivo, y no como una crítica sobre las situaciones actuales: Se ha hablado de la brecha que existe entre la juventud y la generación de los cuarenta. ¿Cuál sería la forma de construir -- digamos -- el puente que pudiera unir a esas dos generaciones y permitir a la juventud universitaria ponerse en contacto e integrarse con esa generación?

Después de estudiar profundamente la empresa, yo creo que en ella tenemos un punto donde podemos hacer esa amalgama, esa unión entre las dos generaciones, permitiendo a los jóvenes universitarios talentosos que una vez egresados se integren en la empresa en posiciones de responsabilidad y autoridad y bien pagadas. De tal forma, muy fácilmente esa generación de 24 a 25 años se va a integrar totalmente con la generación de los 40, haciendo algo en común y dirigiéndose hacia el mismo objetivo, que es esa empresa y que es producir, el objeto de la empresa.

Con respecto a lo que dijo el compañero chileno sobre el capital, en cierta forma eso es cierto. Según la tendencia moderna, por lo menos lo que se ve en Estados Unidos, el capital no es más el dueño de la empresa; el dueño de la empresa son los representantes del capital, los "professional managers", que no son -- de ninguna manera -- representantes únicamente del capital, sino también de todo el elenco, de todo el grupo humano que está ayudando a la gestión de la empresa.

MISS GUIMARAES: The first thing I would like to say is about the bridge between generations. We students are not used to have the chance to speak to the press as we are doing now. Lots of students are under arrest right now for expressing their opinions in public. So the liberty of the press is not so much liberty, because if we could say what we thought, we wouldn't be arrested for it.

Now, as to the second question that you asked, about capital and owners of newspapers. I think that the owners of newspapers have economical and political interests in what they are doing and that, therefore, they couldn't allow everybody that is working on their newspapers to say something against their enterprises or their interests.

SR. HUGHES: La pregunta mía, o la inquietud que yo he planteado, no es con respecto a una empresa en particular como puede ser la empresa periodística, sino con respecto a la empresa en general. O sea, lo que yo pregunto es lo siguiente: si la brecha que existe entre la juventud y la generación de los 40 no podría ser muy bien llenada -- no en un cien por cien, porque nada llega a un cien por cien, pero sí en un alto porcentaje -- por la empresa, dándole autoridad y responsabilidad a la gente talentosa egresada de las universidades.

MISS GUIMARAES: Sí, esto es lo que esperamos, que nos den oportunidad desde que salimos, o antes de salir de la universidad, para entrar en las empresas.

SR. NAVARRETE: Me temo que voy a estar en desacuerdo, esta vez por lo menos, con mi compañera brasileña. Yo creo que el sistema sería extraordinariamente eficiente para lo siguiente: para lograr que los jóvenes estudiantes universitarios, una vez egresados, no continuaran siendo subversivos, revoltosos, etc. Es un excelente método incorporarlos a las responsabilidades que da el sistema, al status que da la empresa, otorgarles una buena remuneración, una situación social aceptable, una situación de influencia, y todas las ventajas que el régimen da.

El asunto me toca muy a lo vivo porque yo acabo de egresar de una escuela en donde también se enseña administración de empresas, y probablemente mi problema es ahora dilucidar -- y ésta es la decisión que tendríamos que tomar yo y muchos compañeros -- si nos introducimos de frentón al "establishment" a recibir una buena remuneración, prestigio social, poderío económico, o bien si continuamos manteniendo una cierta independencia de este sistema para realmente no vernos absorbidos por él, ya que no compartimos sus fundamentos esenciales. En este sentido el método que usted plantea es muy eficiente, pero es muy eficiente para los objetivos de un sistema con el cual nosotros no estamos de acuerdo.

Para terminar, yo recordaría que es tan eficiente que la utilización de este método ha permitido que sea realidad un viejo "slogan" que dice que en todo viejo reaccionario, hubo alguna vez un joven revolucionario que con el tiempo entró en alguna empresa, ganó buena plata y por lo tanto se hizo reaccionario.

SRA. LOBO: Yo también quisiera decir algo con respecto a su pregunta.

Los estudiantes en Brasil están de acuerdo con esto que ha dicho el colega de Chile. Lo que está en debate es exactamente la sociedad democrática, burócrata, de consumo en masa. Yo creo que los estudiantes no quieren eso. Entonces, el problema no es encajar a las personas en esa sociedad, sino cambiarla.

Yo no estoy expresando mis opiniones, sino el consenso, creo, de las opiniones de la juventud contra la sociedad de consumo en masa, democrática, burócrata y todo eso. Lo que usted sugiere no es hacer un puente, sino encajar a la juventud en la sociedad contra la que ella combate.

SR. ROQUE VALLEJOS (ABC Color, Asunción, Paraguay): Le quiero hacer una pregunta al compañero chileno, y deseo aclarar que yo soy dirigente universitario en la Facultad de Medicina de mi país,

Paraguay, y aparte de eso soy periodista, pero soy obrero periodista. No soy empresario y por lo tanto le exonero de la cautela que pueda tener.

A mí me interesa que se me conteste específicamente sobre cuál es la posición ideológica que ha tomado la juventud revolucionaria latinoamericana frente al problema de Checoslovaquia. Como nosotros sabemos, el problema de Checoslovaquia no es simplemente una actitud emocional. Significa la quiebra del marxismo-leninismo dentro de sus estructuras tradicionales.

Esto ha sido perfectamente planteado por Dubcek, ha sido planteado en el campo económico por Ota Sik, ha sido planteado por Cernik. Ellos plantearon que una vez destruida la diferencia de clases, la única alternativa que tienen las sociedades para que el hombre se desarrolle es la plena libertad del individuo. Es decir que nuevamente se ha vuelto al concepto de la individualidad que se ha defendido en biología y que jamás ha podido ser destruido por ningún sistema totalitario, capitalista o no capitalista.

A mí me parece muy importante fijar este concepto porque en este momento las palabras se están prostituyendo de un modo muy rápido. El concepto de revolución, para mí, honestamente, ya es un concepto que prácticamente es un shock.

Es revolucionario un gobierno de facto, crónico o agudo o inmediato, etc. El concepto de revolución ha sido utilizado y ha sido desvirtuado por su uso actualmente. Por eso me parece que la juventud ha de tener un concepto perfectamente definido de lo que quiere decir revolución.

Y cuando dice que la juventud está en la izquierda, debe tener también un concepto perfectamente definido de lo que se entiende por izquierda, porque nosotros tenemos que saber que antes la izquierda solamente era Rusia. Pero cuando apareció Mao Tse Tung la izquierda se vino un poco más para acá. Cuando apareció el movimiento rumano la izquierda se vino un poco más para acá. Cuando apareció el movimiento cubano con Fidel Castro, la izquierda se vino un poquitito más para acá. Y ahora aparece en la plena izquierda otra izquierda, que es la revolución de Checoslovaquia.

¿Qué actitud ideológica toma la juventud en este momento?

SRTA. GUIMARAES: This already has been answered when we said that the students are disappointed with the Socialist world as well; that youth does not believe in this action that they have done there. There is a group that says that the revolution in the Socialist countries has never got to this point; they never let it have the real social revolution.

The revolution -- the term that you have just asked about -- is a revolution in the social structure, in its bases. And even in the Socialist countries -- in Russia, for instance -- where they said they did have a social revolution, we think that this revolution never got to be, never got to its end, never was what it should have been. The revolution was not complete and now it is falling to pieces.

Czechoslovakia begins with this and there are other countries, and the whole youth in the Socialist countries is against it as well as we are in our countries.

The whole social structure in the Socialist countries is going back to the bourgeois sort of life. They didn't get what they should. Our theory of which sort of revolution should be done is very clear and very simple. We believe in the change of the bases of the social structure entirely. Everything that has been said until today we don't believe in any more, and the proof is that it is not working the way we thought it would.

SR. AFFONSO HENRIQUES CORREA (National Press Club, Washington, D.C.): Vivo desde hace 25 años en los Estados Unidos. Soy ciudadano brasileño. He viajado por toda la América Latina y la América sajona, desde Canadá hasta Argentina, y he observado cuidadosamente lo que ocurre en esta parte del mundo. En la gran nación del norte -- los Estados Unidos -- he visto su extraordinario desarrollo industrial, técnico y científico. Se transformó en un modelo y es imitado por la juventud de todos los países de la América Latina.

De los Estados Unidos han venido buenas cosas, y también malas. Allí está el swing, la danza, la distorsión del arte, de la música.

Lo que ocurre ahora es esto: debido al desarrollo extraordinario de los medios de comunicación -- la radio, la televisión, el cine y la prensa -- todo lo que se hace en los Estados Unidos se imita.

Toda esta agitación estudiantil partió de los Estados Unidos, y había sus razones. La juventud norteamericana no quería la guerra. Es una guerra no declarada, no es una guerra corriente, y la juventud norteamericana siente que esta guerra no tiene fin. Porque si fuera una guerra común, los Estados Unidos vencerían en Viet Nam en un mes.

Mi pregunta es ésta: ¿No será este movimiento estudiantil una consecuencia del desarrollo de los medios de comunicación, un espíritu de imitación?

¿No será este espíritu de imitación algo que están aprovechando hábilmente los veteranos del arte de la subversión, los comunistas?

SR. NAVARRETE: Yo creo que el movimiento estudiantil latinoamericano actual en ningún caso es un reflejo de imitación de movimientos estudiantiles ni de Estados Unidos ni de Europa.

En primer lugar por una razón simplemente cronológica. El movimiento estudiantil latinoamericano ha estado fundamentalmente centrado en el problema de la reforma de la universidad, problema que ha agitado a la América Latina mucho antes de que los jóvenes norteamericanos comenzaran siquiera a preocuparse de la guerra en Viet Nam, mucho antes de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, y recién terminada la Primera. Fue en este grato país que hoy día nos cobija, en la ciudad de Córdoba, donde en 1918 comenzó el movimiento estudiantil latinoamericano a plantear con fuerza las reivindicaciones de reforma de la universidad.

La inquietud estudiantil latinoamericana es muy anterior a los sucesos recientes en Estados Unidos. Yo creo que en este aspecto, al menos, la copia no ha sido en ese sentido, aunque tampoco creo que los compañeros norteamericanos estén actuando por reflejo de la situación en América Latina. Simplemente creo que cada movimiento estudiantil está persiguiendo sus propios objetivos. Y la mejor demostración de esto es que los objetivos son muy distintos en los distintos países.

Los compañeros norteamericanos hacen mucho énfasis en el problema de Viet Nam, en el problema de los derechos civiles, en el problema de las minorías raciales, en el problema de la pobreza en el Sur de Estados Unidos, que no son problemas que a nosotros nos preocupan fundamentalmente. Porque, como señalo, nuestra diferencia es radical con los compañeros norteamericanos, en que ellos buscan un mejor funcionamiento del sistema en el

cual están viviendo, salvo muy pocas y contadas minorías más radicales, buscan solucionar los problemas para que el sistema en el cual viven pueda funcionar normalmente.

El problema de la inmensa mayoría de la juventud latinoamericana es el contrario. No es un problema de resolver la tasa de desocupación, la cantidad de gente que entra a la universidad para que el sistema ande mejor, sino que hay que cambiar el sistema mismo.

Con respecto al problema de los comunistas, la verdad es que los comunistas tienen un "slogan" muy gracioso. Generalmente, cuando ellos hablan en sus discursos estudiantiles, plantean unas confabulaciones tenebrosas en que el imperialismo se reúne con los capitalistas para sojuzgar a los pueblos, y prácticamente uno se imagina el cuadro: en algún obscuro sótano de alguna capital latinoamericana se juntan militares, capitalistas, imperialistas y embajadores norteamericanos para planear la destrucción de los pueblos. Porque los comunistas tratan de utilizar la caricatura.

Los anti-comunistas utilizan el mismo método. Y yo nunca he visto a alguien que haya logrado hacer más estudiantes comunistas que los anti-comunistas, porque todas las cosas positivas que los estudiantes plantean se las cargan a los comunistas. Y este problema lo hemos tenido en Chile a través de un caso muy concreto: el primer movimiento de reforma universitaria del año pasado, el de la Universidad Católica de Santiago.

Fue un movimiento de una universidad católica en la que simplemente casi no hay marxistas -- aunque ahora hay una creciente influencia de tipo ideológico fundamentalmente --, cuyos participantes eran todos cristianos, cristianos de izquierda, en desacuerdo con su universidad y en desacuerdo con su sociedad.

No hay forma mejor de combatir al movimiento estudiantil, para la jerarquía universitaria y los sectores más reaccionarios del país, que tildar a este movimiento de comunista, un movimiento que entre la juventud tenía un arraigo extraordinario porque respondía a factores de una gran justicia, y la prensa logró -- o casi -- convencer al país de que éste era un movimiento comunista.

La verdad es que cada vez que una acción estudiantil o una acción de los sindicatos obreros persigue una revindicación justa y es tildada de comunista, lo único que logran quienes así lo plantean es que los dirigentes de masas, obreros, campesinos o

estudiantes, que no son comunistas, no puedan trabajar tranquilos porque saben que todo el trabajo que ellos hagan, en lo malo, les será cargado a ellos, y en lo bueno a los comunistas.

MR. COWAN: The war in Viet Nam and the problem of civil rights are not the root causes of what is going on in the United States. I think we face a problem that Latin American students don't face, and I lay this problem very largely at the hands of the United States press.

Throughout the fifties there was literally an iron curtain placed over the kind of theoretical ideas that would have helped us to form a systematic appraisal of what was wrong with the United States.

To criticize what was going on from the point of view that you are describing right now -- as I said before -- was to be a traitor, an infidel, and very few people wanted to take that kind of risk. So, the men who would have been our great theorists in this decade trimmed. They rejected their ideas and they tried to say what would be acceptable to magazines like Mr. Heiskell's and newspapers like Mrs. Graham's. They tried to talk inside the context that the system allowed them.

Now, I want to say one thing about systems of communication. I don't think it is true that systems of mass communication are the cause of anything. I think they are part of what is going on right now. I think they are part of the student revolution; they are part of the revolution in the third world, and they are part of the black revolution inside the United States.

I think what we are facing is a world which is so gravely in flux, where everything is so chaotic, that there is no social theory, no political theory. Of course, there is no single man or group of men who can possibly understand what is going on.

I suppose I will be accused of being ahistorical when I say that the problems we face now are probably unprecedented -- at least to the degree that we face them.

And so, I think that the generation that Harris Wofford described as a Socratic generation started off that decade and still today continues asking questions, trying to find the same open-mindedness on the part of adults; the same willingness to solve the problems of this world in flux, that they themselves feel. And when that open-mindedness doesn't exist,

that is when the kinds of revolutionary sentiments that so many of you are afraid of -- the spectre that Harris described at the beginning of his speech -- that is when that kind of thing begins.

Now, once again, because I'm a North American, and because the people who run North American newspapers are so important to me, and their understanding of what we say seems to me so crucial literally to our survival, I would like to challenge them again to ask us questions. I have noticed that only Mrs. Graham, of all the North American newspaper editors in this room, has gotten up to that microphone and asked us questions.

Where are the rest of you? Don't characterize our ideas as nihilistic, ask us what we mean.

MR. HEISKELL: I have a lot of questions in writing here from North Americans, which we will get to, maybe today, or maybe tomorrow.

MRS. LOBO: I want to comment, because I think he said a very basic thing and very important. What I feel and have thought in the United States, is that there is a tremendous lack, and a tremendous need for the student movement in the United States to build a theory, a revolutionary theory. I think that the students in Latin America are already on the way of building a theory, but you need very urgently to build one. That is all.

SR. ALBERTO CELLARIO (Life en Español, New York): Teniendo más de 30 años, y sintiéndome con un complejo de culpa y en el banquillo de los acusados, no voy a hacer un discurso, pero quiero decir que yo odio el silencio de las sociedades perfectas de extrema izquierda y de derecha y amo el ruido de la democracia, por si acaso hay dudas.

Voy a hacer cuatro preguntas concretas. Con respecto a las dificultades de comunicación de que hablaba el representante chileno, le quiero preguntar concretamente ¿qué mente reformista lo invitó a esta reunión y le permitió expresar, con esa fecundidad oratoria que Dios le ha dado, sus ideas?

Segundo, si cuando habla él de esas dificultades de los periodistas para expresar sus ideas, quiere volver a la vieja solución de Castro con la coletilla a la noticia, que él también parece haber olvidado; es decir, quiero saber cómo va

a evitar el caos o si quiere que la sociedad actual ponga en sus manos los medios de sacar periódicos para expresar sus ideas.

Tercero, como parece haber cierta confusión en su propia mente, y la hay en la de todos, ¿cuál cambio de sistema él preconiza, es decir, cuál es esa sociedad que él cree que debe organizarse para que los estudiantes del futuro puedan vivir felices?

Y por último ¿cuáles son las soluciones que él preconiza, brevemente, para alcanzar ese idílico paraíso político? (Aplausos)

SR. NAVARRETE: Yo me alegro mucho de las preguntas porque constituyen un buen desafío.

De respuesta, me temo, sí, que la brevedad que impone el hecho de que esto es demasiada oratoria en comparación con el resto de los compañeros no va a permitir contestar en profundidas, pero vamos a tratar una por una.

Con respecto a la invitación que ustedes me han formulado para venir, me parece altamente positiva. No sé de quién provino; tengo entendido que de Mr. Heiskell, pero no estoy seguro. No lo conozco de antes, no leo habitualmente la revista que él edita, y estoy muy agradecido de que me haya convidado acá. Eso no cambia mi punto de vista acerca de la situación en general, de que hay un proceso que en psiquiatría se llama catarsis, en el cual, incluso, a determinados grupos sociales tiene que ser interesante escuchar puntos de vista tan extremadamente contradictorios a los suyos, y creo que el Sr. Heiskell ha sido muy franco al decir que el objetivo de esta conversación no es que lleguemos a estar de acuerdo. Simplemente es el de que ustedes sepan lo que nosotros opinamos acerca de la situación general y, en particular en esta pregunta, respecto a la prensa.

Ahora, respecto a las soluciones de tipo interno dentro de los medios periodísticos, yo debiera haber dicho que más fácil me es a mí venir a aprender y a escuchar. Sin embargo, a través de la experiencia -- y no por ningún mérito personal, sino por todo el ruido que los estudiantes hacen -- estamos habitualmente en contacto más con los periodistas que con los editores de periódicos.

Y la verdad es que cuando las entrevistas no son conferencias de prensa sino conversaciones personales, a veces hablan tanto los periodistas como los entrevistados, y en estas oportunidades

de conversar con ellos me he ido convenciendo de que para ellos es un hecho importante el de que no tienen efectivamente una amplia capacidad de expresar su punto de vista.

Hay aquí evidentemente una situación compleja, que es difícil de resolver en términos de en qué forma de organización de una empresa periodística podría darse el hecho de que primara más, como aspecto fundamental en la línea general de un periódico, la opinión del conjunto de periodistas que en él trabajan que la opinión de quienes aportan el capital a la empresa.

Creo que la única solución posible está absolutamente vedada en cuanto al cambio de las solas empresas periodísticas y que se requiere un cambio general de la estructura, y por lo tanto un cambio de lo que es la empresa misma, cualquiera que sea su naturaleza, inclusive las periodísticas.

Yo he expresado antes un punto de vista que provocó muchos movimientos de las sillas, en el sentido de que yo creo -- y lo afirmo muy rotundamente -- que la propiedad del capital no da derecho a la autoridad dentro de la empresa. Y más bien creo que una empresa periodística sería más factible; sería más fecunda; daría más oportunidad a la libertad de expresión; e incluso quizás nos llevaríamos la sorpresa de que pudiera vender más, si tuviera más discusión, si se permitiera que distintos puntos de vista se plantearan dentro de ella a través de periodistas que enfocaran los problemas desde distintas perspectivas ideológicas.

He visto casos recientes en mi país en que los periodistas que cubren las noticias saben que determinadas informaciones que ellos entreguen no saldrán en definitiva publicadas por este mismo hecho.

Ahora, las otras dos preguntas están en el marco de cuál es la sociedad que yo quiero y cómo pienso llegar a ella. Haré dos acotaciones previas. En primer lugar, si tuviera la respuesta completa, la verdad es que, siendo tan gentil la invitación, yo no estaría aquí, sino tratando de promover en forma más activa aun esa solución.

Tengo algunos conatos de respuesta que presentan vacíos y muchas dudas, y la pregunta sobre Checoslovaquia, que lamentablemente no pude enfocar, me habría dado muchos argumentos al respecto.

Yo creo que la sociedad capitalista, vale decir aquella que se funda en la propiedad invividual, por parte de un pequeño sector de privilegiados, de los medios de producción, no tiene posibilidades, cualesquiera que sean los ajustes internos dentro del sistema, de llegar realmente a constituir una solución para el problema de las grandes masas, especialmente en América Latina en esta época, en un contexto internacional extremadamente difícil para un desarrollo independiente de nuestros países.

Por eso es que si a mí se me preguntara si soy capitalista o socialista, les puedo decir que a mi juicio ésta es una falsa disyuntiva. Yo respondería que soy socialista; socialista en el sentido de que creo que las determinaciones fundamentales de la vida social deben ser tomadas por las grandes mayorías nacionales, pero la pregunta sobre Checoslovaquia apuntaba a lo que significa este hecho para nosotros los estudiantes en la América Latina.

Para nosotros no es sólo una decepción. Nosotros vimos con mucho agrado el camino que tomaba Checoslovaquia, porque resultaba una experiencia interesante observar si era compatible el socialismo económico con la libertad individual dentro de un sistema de democracia política.

Muchas personas en la América Latina, entre ellas muchos periódicos, se han alegrado en cierto modo -- y perdónenme la franqueza -- de lo que ha sucedido en Checoslovaquia. Y un poco han llorado lágrimas de cocodrilo porque creen que éste es el mejor argumento para demostrar que es imposible que exista democracia si no existe libre empresa, si no existe libertad individual, si Adam Smith no reina dentro de la economía de una sociedad.

Yo creo que no es así. Lo que esto ha demostrado es que en el mundo hay dos sistemas, antihumanitarios, materialistas, que no están dispuestos a aceptar que en sus respectivas órbitas se ensayen sistemas sociales distintos que no ponen amenazas sólo a su seguridad, sino también a las bases de su poderío económico.

Creo que lo que Rusia hizo en Checoslovaquia es un crimen semejante, en sus consecuencias, semejante en su capacidad de desilusionar a la juventud, al que Estados Unidos cometió en la República Dominicana. Creo que uno y otro prueban que estos grandes países del mundo se han reservado sus espacios traseros para mantenerlos como órbitas dentro de las cuales no sea factible ensayar otros sistemas sociales.

En ese sentido, si yo tuviera que resumir en muy breves palabras mi modelo de sociedad -- tan breves como pueden ser aquí -- yo diría que es el de un sistema que en lo económico es fundamentalmente socialista; no estadista; no con los medios de producción en manos del estado sino de las comunidades más pequeñas de trabajadores, de lo que los demócratas-cristianos llamamos los organismos intermedios; con un gran fortalecimiento del movimiento sindical, de las organizaciones corporativas; y un papel del estado, que es el de cumplir las gestiones supletorias y la ordenación general y planificación de la sociedad.

Con respecto al método para llegar a esto, la discusión sobre los métodos en América Latina está abierta. Algunos hemos creído -- nuestro partido en Chile -- que ello es posible hacerlo a través de las vías imperfectas, absolutamente imperfectas, que en este momento llamamos la democracia representativa en la América Latina; democracia que tiene mucho de nominal en numerosos países, incluso en aquellos que nos enorgullecemos de una cierta mayor tradición de continuidad política.

Sin embargo, recientes hechos están llevando -- y esto es trágico -- a sembrar la duda entre los jóvenes acerca de si este camino está realmente abierto. La experiencia es que cada vez que un gobierno electo en las urnas trata de vulnerar los intereses de la clase dominante en los respectivos países, se recurre al golpe de estado militar. Tenemos ya en América del Sur, de diez países, cinco con gobiernos militares, y la tragedia de esto no es sólo para sus propios pueblos; la tragedia de esto es que el día en que en Perú fue derrocado un gobierno civil para ser instalado un gobierno militar, probablemente cinco estudiantes más se hayan convencido de que el camino a la democracia no está abierto y que la vía para el cambio es la vía de la lucha armada.

Esta es una tragedia para quienes creemos que ésa es la mala vía, pero en esto -- como en lo que planteaba anteriormente -- la mejor ayuda que los comunistas están teniendo es que hay quienes creen que pueden extirpar el comunismo a través de la fuerza y a través de las armas, y no cerrando su caldo de cultivo, que es la miseria que este mismo sistema genera.

El verdadero anti-comunista no es el que grita contra el comunismo, sino el que es capaz de ofrecer una alternativa distinta y mejor que la que el comunismo tiene. Yo creo que la cultura latinoamericana puede ofrecer una alternativa mejor que la de la situación actual y mejor que el comunismo, pero si nos obligan

a elegir entre marxismo y capitalismo -- perdónenme -- yo creo que la inmensa mayoría de la juventud latinoamericana va a elegir el marxismo, no por ser bueno, sino porque es menos malo que la situación que América Latina tiene.

MR. WOFFORD: Could I ask one hard form of the last question? Yesterday you told us there was a joke among Latin American revolutionary students: "Viva Czechoslovakia", but with great emphasis on the "Che" - "Viva Che coslovakia". My question is, how much appeal does Che Guevara have, and can you explain its meaning? You said you do not want the model of America or Russia. Does he point to a model in terms of strategy that you or the North Americans make sense of?

MISS GUIMARAES: The appeal that Che has over the students and the youth all over the world is because he did what he believed in; he fought for what he believed in against everyone and all governments, and he went to the end going -- not inside the system, but out of it -- going to the mountains and talking to the working classes and going all through his mission with a vision of a small social and better society and structure. And it isn't that all students would agree with him in all his ideas, but will agree with him in the way he did it, because he didn't do it the easy, but the hard way.

MR. COWAN: I think that Che is very badly misunderstood by both the student left, say in the United States, and also by most people who write about him, and I would like to talk about that misunderstanding for a second before I go on to say why I think students are drawn to him.

For my part Che was a dedicated revolutionary, but he wasn't the kind of single-minded revolutionary that he so frequently painted. I wonder how many of you realize the importance of the fact that between the success of the Cuban revolution and Che's self-exile in Bolivia he used to work between 12 and 16 hours a day in the National Bank in Cuba. He was a disciplined man, disciplined to the works of peace, as well as to the making of guerrilla warfare. I wonder how many of you have read in his personal diary the importance that he attached to his own decision right at the beginning of the Cuban revolution -- you know he was a doctor -- to drop his medicine and pick up a rifle. I wonder how many of you have read his descriptions, when he was in the Cuban mountains, of the pleasure he took teaching literacy to a single campesino. When I read that description I was reminded of the pleasure the Peace Corps volunteers take in doing the

same kind of thing, with the same kinds of people. I think Che was fundamentally a man of good work, a man of progress, who was driven to revolution by the kinds of society in which he found himself.

I am not sure that I am in agreement with all of what he did as a revolutionary; I am not sure that he made the right decision to go to Bolivia; and I am not certain that in Bolivia the role that he played was the role that I would have liked to have seen him play. But I find it far more admirable that he was a man of peace and a man of good works, who was driven to be a revolutionary.

I don't think that is the reason he is so appealing, though. I think that there is a kind of person and a kind of action which are particularly appealing to North American students right now, and perhaps to the Latins as well. There is a phrase -- I can't say the last word of it, but most North Americans will know it -- that was frequently used in Chicago: "Up against the wall", and there was a word attached to the name of Richard Daley and Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey, and I think the people who said those things felt that they could find a kind of freedom in saying them, in the same way that they feel that they can find a kind of freedom in following the course that they attribute to Che. And it is not that they are nihilistic; it's that reason has failed, and reason hasn't failed on their part. Responsiveness, a willingness to listen has failed on the part of their elders, and that is why men like Che and apocalyptic actions are so appealing. When a society seems to be about to destroy itself, you follow the most immediate things you can do, the things that seem the most immediate effective, and Che represents that course.

SR. NAVARRETE: Me temo haber ocupado ya más tiempo del que corresponde, y contestaré en forma muy breve. Yo no comparto la euforia por el mito del Che, y no la comparto por un hecho; lo voy a exponer con toda franqueza, aunque parezca un poco duro.

Yo creo que el papel de líder revolucionario, de líder político, es, entre otras cosas, ser eficaz. Creo que al Che en la América Latina le sucedió un poco lo que a Dubcek en su relación con Checoslovaquia y la Unión Soviética. No aquilató en debida forma el poder, la real capacidad de respuesta, que su enemigo político estaba dispuesto a brindarle.

Yo no quiero aparecer extremadamente duro o sin el idealismo que caracteriza a la juventud. Creo que un hombre político debe tener ideales, ideales sólidos, pero también creo que ni la juventud, y menos la clase trabajadora de un pueblo, puede seguir a un hombre que, por muchos ideales que tenga y por muy sinceramente que los viva, no sea capaz, además de plantear ideales, de plantear un camino estratégico con posibilidades de solución.

En ese sentido, para mí el Che estaba equivocado, y no sólo ha muerto el Che. Algunos dice "murió el Che, pero sus ideas sobreviven". Yo creo que su método político en América Latina por los próximos diez años está muerto, porque no supo aquilatar con fuerza la capacidad de respuesta de la oligarquía de los países latinoamericanos y del gobierno de los Estados Unidos. En ese sentido creo que se lo debe evaluar.

Ahora, si la pregunta versa sobre el método de las guerrillas, creo que no se puede ni aplaudirlas ni condenarlas en abstracto.

Si a mí me preguntan si yo haría guerrillas en Chile, diría que no, que tendría que estar loco para plantear el método de las guerrillas en Chile.

Si a mí me preguntaran si yo sería guerrillero en otra parte, yo creo que mi respuesta tendría que ser distinta, según la situación concreta.

Perdónenme si simplifico con el ejemplo de un país latinoamericano, y pido disculpas de antemano si a alguien molesto. Si yo, en vez de ser presidente de la Federación de Estudiantes de la Universidad de Chile, fuera presidente de la Federación de Estudiantes de la Universidad de Haití, no estaría aquí accediendo a esta gentil invitación, porque creo que efectivamente allá están cerrados todos los caminos para una lucha democrática de los estudiantes y de su pueblo, y que la única vía posible allí es la lucha armada. En ese sentido yo quisiera recordar que los principios por los cuales la lucha armada se guía, no han sido señalados por Guevara, por Mao, o por Fidel Castro. Hace ya 500 años uno que espero que ustedes no sindiquen de comunista, que se llamaba Santo Tomás de Aquino, dijo que la violencia es lícita cuando todo otro camino está cerrado y cuando positivamente se sabe que su empleo llevará a una situación mejor que la actual.

En tal sentido, aplicando esos simples principios, yo creo que uno puede darse cuenta de que la situación es distinta en los distintos países. En algunos países de la América Latina no tiene sentido una lucha armada: es injusta, es ilícita, es inmoral. En otras partes la misma lucha armada, los mismos métodos, en condiciones distintas puede ser lo más lícito y lo más bello que un hombre pueda emprender.

SRTA. ELSA ARANA FREIRE (Siete Días del Perú y del Mundo, Lima): Yo quisiera hacerles una pregunta por sí o por no. Hace un momento por allí surgió el nombre de Marcuse y todo el panel prestó mucha atención a este nombre y asintió.

Cuando en Francia se les preguntó a Daniel Cohn-Bendit y a sus compañeros, que fueron los que participaron en los acontecimientos de mayo, si habían leído a Herbert Marcuse, la respuesta fue casi unánime: casi ninguno de los estudiantes había leído a Marcuse. Yo quería preguntarles a ustedes si han leído "El Hombre Unidimensional" de Marcuse y en qué medida influye en el movimiento en que ustedes están empeñados.

SR. NAVARRETE: Yo no lo he leído, y la influencia de Marcuse en Chile, concretamente, es extremadamente pequeña, salvo -- y esto es lo curioso -- en determinados círculos cristianos de extrema izquierda que caminan rápidamente hacia el marxismo.

En otras posiciones ideológicas, en los marxistas propiamente tales, en el Partido Comunista, en los demócratas-cristianos, en el movimiento estudiantil independiente en general, la influencia de Marcuse no ha llegado en absoluto a Chile. En ese sentido Marcuse no tiene influencia sobre nuestro movimiento estudiantil desde el punto de vista ideológico.

MR. BONNER: I must confess I personally have not read Dr. Marcuse's works, although I have been very eager to do so.

In the United States the followers of Mr. Marcuse constitute a sort of perhaps self-enlightened vanguard of radical student thought. At this point their numbers aren't very large, since he has not been very well read in the States either.

SR. HORACIO AGUIRRE-BACA (Diario Las Américas, Miami, Florida): El joven chileno hizo una afirmación tajante, sin reservas de ninguna naturaleza, comparando el caso de la invasión de Checoslovaquia con el desembarco de fuerzas militares en Santo Domingo.

Yo voy a hacer tres breves preguntas, y les ruego a los señores del panel que me las contesten en forma categórica, si les es posible.

Mi primer pregunta, con respecto a esa comparación absoluta entre el caso de Checoslovaquia y el caso de Santo Domingo, es la siguiente: ¿Cree usted que existe la posibilidad de que la Unión Soviética estimule, patrocine y facilite elecciones libres, con observadores de todos los países del mundo para presenciarla, como ocurrió en Santo Domingo, país que en la actualidad tiene un gobierno producto de la voluntad popular, comprobada por veedores internacionales y particulares, inclusive de la extrema izquierda?

Esa es una de mis preguntas, para establecer si existe realmente la misma equivalencia entre el caso de Checoslovaquia y el caso de la República Dominicana, o sea el caso de Rusia y el caso de los Estados Unidos.

La otra pregunta se refiere a lo siguiente: Con algunas honrosas excepciones, y seguramente usted es una de ellas -- me acabo de enterar de que es presidente de la Federación de Estudiantes de la Universidad de Chile --, hay dirigentes estudiantiles que realmente no dan la medida correspondiente a las arrogancias que asumen dirigiendo los movimientos estudiantiles, y no dan la medida porque no son buenos estudiantes y porque en su vida general no observan la conducta adecuada para actuar a veces con actitudes que corresponden a próceres. ¿Cree usted que sería conveniente o no establecer un mínimo de condiciones académicas y morales entre los dirigentes estudiantiles, ya que ellos son los que, en muchas ocasiones, tratan de calificar a los profesores, decir quién debe ser el rector, rebelarse contra él y contra las autoridades universitarias? Yo pregunto si se debe escoger a los mejores, por sus clases académicas, o a los más demagogos, y quizás los más irresponsables. Insisto en que hay excepciones, y estoy seguro de que usted es una de ellas.

La otra pregunta es ésta: Si ustedes creen que en un país socialista se puede permitir un panel de esta naturaleza, donde se discutan con la amplitud que aquí se están discutiendo, temas de esta clase.

MR. BONNER: I'd like to try to answer the last question first.

The Czechoslovakian experience, abortive as it was. I think might have arrived at a point -- or perhaps in some instances did arrive at a point, Czechoslovakia being given as a socialist country -- in which free discussion was permitted. It was unfortunate that the experiment was so short-lived and that it didn't provide more empirical evidences as to whether or not there can be a liberal communist-socialist state, or whatever.

However, I do think that the Czechs -- if given the freedom, without the Soviet intervention that we all deplore -- might have arrived at a point in which they could have had forums like this, or in which such forums, which apparently did take place, could have continued.

With regard to the first question, as to whether or not the Soviet Union would permit free elections, the evidence seems to be no. That is, no free elections would be permitted in the Soviet Union.

The similarity, however, that I see, at least, between the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and the North American invasion of the Dominican Republic is that the principle of non-intervention -- a time-honored principle, especially in the Americas, or at least a principle to which all Americans give lip service to -- was rather flagrantly violated. As I recall, part of the Charter of the Organization of American States -- I think it is article 17 -- states unequivocally that no state has the right to intervene in the internal affairs of another state for any reason. This is the Charter of the American republics; this is a charter to which your governments and our government subscribe.

The second point, with regard to free elected governments in Santo Domingo, it is true that there is now a democratically elected government that did come out of the popular will, as the gentleman expressed it, of the Dominican people. However, I hasten to point out that there was another popularly elected government before that, which was overthrown by the military. The point is that, again, commitments to democracy or freely-elected governments, or whatever, are very easy to make, but are not easy to keep. I think both the United States and the Soviet Union have shown that commitments to principles or high ideals are easily cast aside when either power finds it convenient. This suggests something, that there is a certain arrogance on the part of the great powers of today -- that is, of the United States and the Soviet Union -- an arrogance which comes from the might of their arms, the power of their armed forces, which

allows them to move pretty much at will in smaller nations, theoretically independent but actually no, which they consider to be part of their domain. In the case of the United States the most recent example is the Dominican Republic and in the case of the Soviet Union, the most flagrant example is Czechoslovakia, which leads me to an interesting point of view that actually the cold war -- such as it is -- or the global conflict -- such as it is -- are not between the East and the West, or the capitalist states and the socialist states, but between the imperialistic powers -- that is, the rich nations, the Soviet Union and the United States -- and the poor nations, the developing nations, the underdeveloped nations, whatever you wish to call them, who have not the might of arms or the strength to resist the will of the great powers when the latter wish to enforce that will.

MR. COWAN: I would like to add just one short amplification to what Norman said, all of which I agree with. When the gentleman asked the question about Czechoslovakia and the Dominican Republic, I was trying to figure out why it didn't make any sense to me. I think the reason it doesn't make any sense to me is that it is so locked into the assumptions of the cold war that you have to compare evils. They are both evil. Why can't we fight two evils, rather than saying that their evil is worse than ours?

SR. MARIO GRU (Asociación Interamericana de la Prensa Extranjera, Buenos Aires): Yo quisiera hacer dos preguntas al panel, porque hasta ahora sus miembros se han ido por las ramas con respecto a dos preguntas del colega de Life en Español, que no se contestaron.

En primer lugar, hago la aclaración de que yo estoy en la generación del cuarenta, pero estoy tratando de llegar a la nueva generación para poder -- como se ha dicho -- colaborar en algo. Tomemos como una cosa hecha que la sociedad en la que vivimos no es perfecta, está en decadencia, etc. Pero cuando se habla de cambiar esa sociedad, se debería tener un plan ya establecido de qué es lo que quieren poner en su lugar. Hasta ahora, e incluso en este panel, no ha habido contestación a esa pregunta.

Y la segunda es: ¿Cómo pueden estar seguros los estudiantes, conociendo como muchos de nosotros conocemos las estructuras en las cuales actúan los dos partidos comunistas que mandan en el mundo, de que éstos, utilizando un medio sano como es el deseo

de rebelión de la juventud, no se han infiltrado entre ellos y los usan -- permítanme el término -- como idiotas útiles para provocar una situación de caos en general, que es el medio en el cual actúa el comunismo?

SR. NAVARRETE: Con respecto a Santo Domingo y Checoslovaquia la similitud debe estar basada en los siguientes términos y en ese sentido lo planteé, y en ese sentido es absoluta: Una gran gran potencia hegemónica no está dispuesta a permitir que una de sus naciones satélites abandone su campo para ingresar en otro o siquiera para tener modificaciones parciales dentro del sistema.

Yo creo que la comparación es la siguiente: La Unión Soviética no estaba dispuesta a que Checoslovaquia saliera del campo socialista, como no está dispuesto Estados Unidos a que ningún país latinoamericano salga del campo capitalista para entrar en el socialista. En ese sentido conocemos lo que se ha venido a llamar en América Latina la Doctrina Johnson: No permitiremos que ningún país pase al comunismo.

Entonces ¿en qué sentido plantear el símil con las elecciones? Las elecciones son el método político del sistema al cual Estados Unidos está defendiendo. Entonces, la comparación exacta que se debería hacer es la siguiente: Yo creo que la Unión Soviética jamás va a permitir elecciones en Checoslovaquia, tal como estoy convencido de que jamás Estados Unidos va a permitir que en Santo Domingo -- por ejemplo -- se nacionalicen los medios de producción, porque estos dos elementos atentan contra la esencia de los sistemas mismos que ellos están propugnando.

Por cierto que no me cabe duda que la Unión Soviética no permitirá elecciones libres -- nunca las ha permitido -- y el marxismo se destruye en base a eso, tal como se destruye un sistema capitalista si usted cambia los medios de producción, que están en su base.

Respecto a los líderes y buenos estudiantes, al mismo tiempo, yo no sé en realidad cual será la situación en otros países, entre ellos el suyo. Yo no calificaría a los colegas dirigentes de otras partes. Puedo hablar por la realidad en mi patria; la verdad es que allá no hay una limitación impuesta estatutariamente para que se exijan calificaciones académicas determinadas. Pero yo conozco a los diez presidentes de mi Federación anteriores a mí -- los conozco personalmente, he conversado mucho con ellos -- y todos ellos han sido excelentes estudiantes y desempeñan cargos de responsabilidad en estos momentos en la

conducción del movimiento estudiantil o del estado. En ese sentido yo no sé cuál es la situación general. Pero si usted me preguntara, yo no pondría una limitación de tipo estatutario, porque creo que debe ser el buen sentido de los estudiantes el que elija a quienes son más capaces de dirigirlos.

Obviamente, no podemos reemplazar la elección por el promedio de notas, pero obviamente debiéramos elegir entre quienes tienen realmente suficiente conocimiento de la vida académica de la universidad como para opinar con criterio.

Respecto a la posibilidad de este panel en un país socialista ¿en cúal país socialista, y en cuál país capitalista? Yo creo que en determinados países capitalistas esto no se puede hacer tampoco. Si usted me pregunta si podría hablar con la misma libertad en Portugal, le voy a decir que no. Y si usted me pregunta si podría hablar con la misma libertad -- por ejemplo -- en contra de Franco en España, no, y tampoco podría hablar en la Unión Soviética contra el Partido Comunista. Por eso es que yo no defiendo al marxismo, ni acepto el sistema político que ha establecido la Unión Soviética en su país y en sus satélites. Y buscamos una cosa distinta, porque nos ahogan ambos sistemas por igual.

Por último, respecto a la infiltración, ésta es una pregunta extremadamente interesante. La acusación tradicional es que el movimiento estudiantil está infiltrado. Si ustedes me preguntan ¿está usted absolutamente seguro de que dentro de su corriente ideológica, su movimiento estudiantil, no hay infiltrados comunistas? yo respondería dos cosas:

En mi Federación de Estudiantes no hay infiltrados, porque el Partido Comunista es un partido legal. Es la segunda fuerza de la Federación de Estudiantes, obtiene tres mil votos, y es probable que dentro de 15 días nos gane la elección. Así es que no necesitan infiltrarse; son un partido actual.

Incluso en la otra situación, si se infiltraran dentro de las fuerzas no comunistas, yo diría lo siguiente: es una posibilidad, pero de lo que sí existe seguridad, lo que ya se ha producido en América Latina y en Estados Unidos, es que la CIA sí se ha infiltrado, positivamente reconocido por ella, en el movimiento estudiantil. En el fondo vuelvo a insistir en lo mismo: son los métodos que utilizan dos sistemas deshumanizados para manejar al mundo. La CIA ha confesado haberse introducido dentro de la Unión Nacional de Estudiantes de los

Estados Unidos, que por tal motivo fue expulsada de las distintas organizaciones estudiantiles internacionales. Puede que esté haciendo lo mismo en la América Latina. Que los comunistas lo van a tratar de hacer, no me cabe la menor duda. Pero de ahí a pretender decir que los movimientos estudiantiles son dirigidos por comunistas, lo único que se va a lograr es que cuando los movimientos estudiantiles son justos, los laureles y el triunfo se los lleven los comunistas también.

MR. COWAN: I just want to say one thing about this question of infiltration. I agree with what Jorge said. It seems to me that the CIA has deeply infiltrated or the FBI is deeply as much a part of the organization that I belong to in the United States as anybody else.

I don't think that is really relevant, in the same way that I don't think that the infiltration of so-called subversives is relevant. I have enough faith in myself and I have enough faith in my friends, and I have enough faith in the ideas that we represent and the kinds of organizations that we try to create and the kinds of atmospheres that we try to establish, to believe very deeply that no group of infiltrators can pervert our ends.

I think that maybe what distinguishes the group of people of which I am a part from groups of people that went before, is that they were frightened, they were so frightened that their main aim in many of the organizations to which they belonged was to expel people, to worry about a communist here, a CIA agent there. Let them come in, let them come in covertly; let them come in overtly. I would rather run an open organization where we paid much more attention to our ideas and our actions than to our shadowy fears of figures that might or might not exist.

MR. HEISKELL: You realize, of course, that we are now infiltrating you.

SR. GRU: Mi pregunta base era: ¿Qué propone el panel para substituir al actual mundo, si hay planes establecidos antes de hablar de destruir lo que existe. Se ha ido a la parte política, que era la segunda pregunta y que no era tan importante como la primera.

SR. NAVARRETE: La pregunta que usted hizo fue planteada anteriormente por otro señor editor, y si no fue respondida satisfactoriamente, fue probablemente porque Marx se demoró nueve años en escribir El Capital, y es imposible realmente

plantear un sistema político en tan corto tiempo, salvo que yo le diga a usted tres o cuatro slogans, que le puedan dar una idea. Si quiere se los digo. Yo creo en un sistema económicamente socialista y políticamente democrático, al sentido occidental. Algunos creen que es imposible. Yo creo que es absolutamente posible, y muy deseable.

MR. BONNER: I would like to comment on that too. I think it is pretty obvious that no one on the panel has a precise blue-print for a model society. No one here is prepared -- I don't think any of you is prepared either -- to lay out step by step what the ideal society, what the utopia we want, is going to look like.

So I think there is an implicit accusation here that we are being -- again -- nihilistic, negative, unduly critical, without being prepared to propose anything. That is false. We have proposals, we have ideas, none of which -- again -- have been empirically tested, but we do have proposals to make.

What type of society do we want? What he wants -- a socialist economy in a democratic political system. That is the type of state he wants. The type of society we want, I suspect, would be very similar to the one that you say you want, or perhaps you really do want -- a moral society in which man is the most important, man is the aim of the society instead of the means of production or the means for the aggrandizement of the few. A society in which human dignity is recognized; in which opportunity for advancement based on individual effort is given; a society in which the citizens are free to participate in the decisions that affect their lives; and I could continue expressing ideas. Now, how do we achieve this sort of society, what is the blue-print for it? I am not sure, but there is a method for going about realizing a blue-print, and that method is the critical scrutiny and analysis of all the institutions of society, without exception, weighing their merits against their faults, analyzing their functions, their participation in the oppresive processes of dehumanization that we now observe, and proposing changes, specific changes.

Perhaps the socialist economy would be a better means for achieving the fair distribution of wealth in our country. A democratic political system seems to be the best means of insuring participation and freedom of expression.

These are very general things -- I will admit -- but I challenge you, those of you who say we have no plan, to produce your own plan; either to produce your own plan, or your own blue-print for an improved society, or to express openly your satisfaction, which I suspect you have, with the status quo.

MR. ANDREW HEISKELL: Lest you think that this may go on forever, I am pleased to tell you that it won't. We will adjourn in ten minutes, so you may get away safe. Your question?

SR. FEDERICO MASSOT (La Nueva Provincia, Bahía Blanca, Argentina): Soy estudiante de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad de Buenos Aires. Todos estamos escuchando acá a estos señores contestar como representantes de la juventud de América. Yo quisiera saber quién les dio ese derecho y quién los eligió, porque yo, como estudiante, no me siento representado, ya que veo que los cuatro tienen una misma ideología, y somos muchos los que no creemos en esa ideología. Eso es todo.

SR. NAVARRETE: Nos eligió Mr. Heiskell, creo. Y yo quisiera hacer de inmediato una contra-pregunta. ¿Cuál cree el compañero estudiante de Buenos Aires que es nuestra ideología común? Porque temo que está absolutamente equivocado. De la conversación que tuvimos ayer, resulta que realmente yo, por lo menos, no estoy en concordancia ideológica con ninguno de los otros.

Entonces, es muy interesante desde el punto de vista de una experiencia práctica y un experimento en comunicaciones sociales saber qué es lo que entendió el compañero que era nuestra ideología común.

MR. HEISKELL: May I answer that question, since I had something to do with choosing the people? It was totally undemocratic; we were trying to get a group that in a variety of ways expressed the views of the young people who feel there is need for change. And that is all it is.

MR. COWAN: I would like to repeat one thing that I said before. We now have only ten minutes left. I still haven't seen more than one North American asking questions. Do you have questions?

MR. REITEMEYER: I think this has been an extremely interesting discussion, and so far as I am concerned, it is a very, very familiar one.

I am a trustee of two private colleges in the United States; one is a college for boys and the other is a college for girls. During the last year I was a member of what was called a "Dialogue Committee". I, representing the trustees, the dean of the college, and a senior member of the faculty for four months, every Monday afternoon, met with representatives of the student body and talked, and talked, and talked.

Almost everything that has been said here today was said at those sessions, with one exception. I found that there was a great deal more discussion about parietal hours at our meetings, and while I've been here I've heard no mention of parietal hours. And for those who are not familiar with parietal hours, it means how long and how late may boys entertain women in their rooms. The boys with whom we met desired the abolition of all parietal hours, and if they wanted to spend the entire night with a woman in their rooms, they felt they should be permitted to do so. And that was quite a general opinion.

But I don't think any of these problems we have discussed here today are going to be solved by confrontations of any kind. What is required, it seems to me, is patience, tolerance and sympathetic understanding. Although one of our young speakers here said that anyone over 60 is living in the Stone Age, I am over 60 and I don't think I am yet in the Stone Age; perhaps I am wrong.

But while we were in the midst of those discussions we had an incident. It was begun by a group of Negro students, who sat down and imprisoned the trustees, and 150 white students joined with them. It was over in another day. It was really a reaction to the death of Martin Luther King. What they were asking was a course in Negro history, but at no time, in all our discussions, had any question ever been raised about a course in Negro history. So I am not sure that that was actually the reason.

The question I really want to ask is -- I don't really want to ask it, as far as I am concerned -- is whether (and I want to ask it particularly of this boy from the United States) there is any way to solve these problems, except for the college administration and the students to sit down together and in a spirit, as I said before, of patience and tolerance and understanding, trying to decide what is the best thing for the university, what is the best thing for the students.

MR. BONNER: Given the conditions you have laid out, a spirit of tolerance, understanding, patience -- on both parts, I might add, because I have found in my experience the university administrators and trustees are often the most impatient people in the world, when it comes to students -- given these conditions, I think you have an ideal situation and I think that most problems can be ironed out, providing there is good faith on both sides, etc.

That is the answer to your question, I guess.

MR. COWAN: You talk about patience. I am perfectly willing to be patient myself -- I have the kind of education that allows me to move into society rather easily, and I can wait for some time to get my freedom. I have had it for a long time.

But I don't like to talk about patience in the name of people who aren't free. If I were a citizen of North Vietnam, I would be very impatient with the American bombing. If I were a poor Negro living in Mississippi, I would be extremely impatient with poverty, and even more impatient with the two presidential candidates who have threatened to cut off what few funds exist.

If I were a citizen of Czechoslovakia or the Dominican Republic, I would be extremely impatient with the invading armies, and with the half-democratic election that did occur.

I don't think that I have a right, or that you have a right, or that any of us has a right to demand patience on the part of people who have been deprived for centuries. And perhaps that is the gulf that separates us. My sympathies are with them, although not necessarily my future, but I am willing to devote my life to people like that, and to take up their argument for action now.

MR. HEISKELL: This is the end of the questions. We just can't have any more. The panel will be here all day. You can ask them all the questions you want in private.

I would like to ask Mrs. Lobo if she has any general comments to make, and then I'd like to ask Harris Wofford to perform the impossible task of summarizing these three hours in three minutes.

MRS. LOBO: We have already used a lot of time, and Professor Wofford is going to make a summary, so I don't think there is any point for me to make any comment now.

MR. WOFFORD: Srta. Bali Guimaraes has proved a good prophet. She said that if we started on politics we would never get off politics, and the viewpoints of youth go to many other things that most people are interested in -- like love and work and sunsets and children --, and she had quite a list that have to do with life style that we have not touched. The radical slogan in Berkeley and other places in the United States -- let me note -- is "The street belongs to the people".

I don't know whether it was politics that got the two streets here -- Lavalle and Florida -- that belong to the people, where people walk on them and celebrate, but that is something that the students here noticed with some joy.

I think the myth that I proposed in the beginning, that this new generation is like a giant Socrates, has been punctured, because what I have heard is that they are not interested in being just gadflies, and in questioning us, but they are seeking fundamental change, and that goes beyond Socrates. In fact Sr. Navarrete took us all the way -- if you remember his opening statement -- to Christ. He said their demand was that the gospel of Christ be carried out now and in its entirety. In that context I think I understand why he says that the two systems -- the United States and the Soviet Union, and I guess all the others -- are equally irrelevant to him.

He gave us, however, a line of hope, which will be my closing line. He said the dividing line is not one of age or generation; it is between those who want to move in this direction and those who do not. And he said that he did not believe that there was an age of the human heart. I thought the age of the human heart was the question I would take away today.

MR. HEISKELL: Thank you, Harris.

Do not run off, because there are several important announcements to be made. But before they are made I think a round of applause for this excellent panel is in order. (Applause)

MR. HILLS: Ladies and gentlemen, please wait just a moment.

Most of you heard the announcement this morning about the balloting, which is now open near the registration desk. All the representatives of Active and Corporate members are eligible to vote.

Also, you are all invited to lunch today at one o'clock by France Presse, a buffet luncheon in the Salones Retiro, Galería, Florida and the other galleries on this floor. Please wear your badges.

This afternoon -- for ladies only -- there will be a tea fashion show at the Alvear Palace Hotel.

The IAPA Technical Center this afternoon at three o'clock has a most important meeting, and I think you will all appreciate being here and hearing it. There will be the presentation of the John Reitemeyer Award and special mentions, and a session on the magazine and newspaper of the future, some recent advances in editing and printing of newspapers and magazines.

(The meeting adjourned at 12:45 PM.)

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRD MEETING

MEETING OF THE IAPA TECHNICAL CENTER

Thursday, October 17, 1969

The meeting of the IAPA Technical Center at the XXIV General Assembly of the Inter American Press Association convened at 3:00 PM, Thursday, October 17, 1968, in the Salón de Fiestas of the Plaza Hotel in Buenos Aires, Argentina, with Mr. John R. Herbert, Chairman of the Board, as Chairman.

MR. JOHN R. HERBERT (Boston Herald Traveler): We will begin the program this afternoon with the presentation of the John R. Reitemeyer Award, and for this ceremony I call on Colonel Reitemeyer.

MR. REITEMEYER: It is certainly a great pleasure for me to be here to present this award for science writing in the city of Buenos Aires, Argentina. And I feel so particularly because this is the home of Dr. Bernardo Houssay, who 21 years ago received the Nobel Prize for his researches in pure science.

It has been my hope that this science writing award would interest more university students in the study of the sciences. I have said previously, I think, that there may be too many lawyers graduating from our universities, and not enough scientists. We need more physicists; we need more chemists; we need more people in all of the scientific fields.

Only a few years ago at the Institute of Scientific Investigations in Caracas, the director had five fellowships to award. He could find only three men he felt were qualified to accept these scientific fellowships.

As you know, the decision as to who wins these awards is made by the Vice-President of the Technical Center and by a group of distinguished scientists gathered by the Pan American Union.

So, as I say, I am very happy to be here in the home of Dr. Bernardo Houssay, and I hope that in subsequent years men who work and develop in the field of the pure sciences will

have their achievements better received than Dr. Houssay's was twenty-one years ago.

So, without further ado, I would like to present this scroll and this check for $500 to Julio Roberto Bermúdez, of that fine newspaper, El Tiempo, of Bogotá, Colombia. (Applause)

SR. JULIO ROBERTO BERMUDEZ (El Tiempo, Bogotá, Colombia): En nombre del periódico El Tiempo, de mis colegas colombianos y en el mío propio, agradezco a la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa el premio John R. Reitemeyer que he recibido. Lo considero un reconocimiento de las labores de divulgación científica del periodismo de mi país, y el más valioso estímulo a mi modesta contribución en esa tarea. Gracias. (Aplausos)

SR. GUTIERREZ: Señores y señoras, al reunirnos en Washington para otorgar el Premio Reitemeyer de 1968 nos encontramos en serias dificultades por el número de participantes y alta calidad de los mismos. Por esa razón establecimos este año tres premios especiales, uno de los cuales es para el Sr. Jorge Ibarra, un hombre de ciencia dedicado a la conservación de los recursos naturales y destacado periodista, quien, por amistad, ha encomendado al Excelentísimo Señor Embajador de Guatemala, Don Ernesto País Novales, que reciba en nombre de él el premio que le ha correspondido este año cuando se confirieron los premios Reitemeyer. (Aplausos)

SR. ERNESTO PAIS NOVALES (Embajador de Guatemala): Señores, muy buenas tardes. Hace apenas unos dos días he recibido una comunicación de un distinguido amigo de Guatemala, el Sr. Jorge Ibarra, quien me encomendó el honor de ser yo su representante en esta ocasión para recibir el premio científico de periodismo John R. Reitemeyer.

Sinceramente deseo hacerme fiel intérprete del sentir de él y expresarles mis más gratas felicitaciones y congratulaciones por este premio tan valioso, que es un estímulo para que todos los hombres de letras puedan seguir superándose para bien de la ciencia y el saber. Muchas gracias. (Aplausos)

SR. GUTIERREZ: Señores, otro premio especial fue conferido al Dr. Froimovich de Chile. El Dr. Froimovich ha hecho estudios profundos sobre un tema muy importante, la geriatría, y la comisión le otorgó este premio, no solamente por lo que ha presentado este año, sino por el trabajo constante que ha venido realizando en la divulgación de asuntos científicos de su especialidad durante los últimos diez años.

El Sr. John Herbert le hará entrega del diploma. (Aplausos)

DR. JOSE FROIMOVICH (La Nación, Santiago, Chile): Señor Presidente del Centro Técnico de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, agradezco profundamente emocionado este galardón para mi querida patria, Chile.

Señor Presidente del Centro Técnico de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, distinguidos señores. La Sociedad Chilena de Medicina Gerontológica, por la brillante labor desarrollada en la difusión del periodismo científico, ha nombrado miembro de honor al Vicepresidente del Centro Técnico de la SIP, Sr. Guillermo Gutiérrez, por servicios distinguidos a la humanidad. Y por este motivo hago entrega del documento que así lo acredita. (Aplausos)

Sr. Presidente, como hombre de ciencia felicito y agradezco a la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa por su lucha incansable y tenaz en defensa de la libertad material y espiritual de los hombres del mundo, y hago entrega para la biblioteca de la Sociedad de mis últimos tres libros, con una dedicatoria que dice: "En el deseo sincero de que la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, una institución creada por los hombres de buena voluntad, siga por su camino de esperanzas e ilusiones hacia una meta en que todos los seres humanos se extiendan una mano sincera, una palabra blanda, y un gesto sonriente y amigo. Santiago de Chile. (Aplausos)

MR. HERBERT: The second part of our program this afternoon is one that is of great significance to all newspapers and magazines, not only in this hemisphere, but in the entire world. And to open the program I call upon the Vice-President of the Technical Center, Mr. Gutiérrez.

SR. GUTIERREZ: Thank you very much, Mr. President.

Lo más importante de nuestro programa es comenzarlo cuanto antes sea posible, y por tanto me voy a limitar a hacer una breve presentación de los objetivos que hemos perseguido y de los disertantes, y anticipo un sincero agradecimiento al Sr. Andrew Heiskell, Presidente del Consejo de Administración de Time and Life, por la generosa cooperación que nos ha brindado para poder hacer una realidad este importante programa.

Los dos señores que están a cargo del programa son el Sr. Harlan Anderson, Director de Tecnología de Time and Life, y su asistente, el Sr. Robert Sorensen. En pocos minutos más ustedes

los van a escuchar y van a poder apreciar el magnífico trabajo que han realizado.

No quiero dejar de mencionar dos factores que tienen gran trascendencia en esta presentación. Estamos viviendo en una época de explosión tecnológica extraordinaria. Muchos de los diarios representados aquí, sean de los Estados Unidos o de Iberoamérica, ya han dado grandes pasos de adelanto hacia la automatización, hacia la realización de sus diarias labores de edición del periódico con la ayuda de elementos técnicos que son extraordinariamente avanzados.

Para algunos, todo cuanto se va a decir puede ser lugar común. Me refiero especialmente a las grandes cadenas y grandes diarios de los Estados Unidos. Para otros esto constituye una absoluta novedad. Pero sí puedo afirmar en forma contundente que tarde o temprano, a los distinguidos colegas de los Estados Unidos que todavía no han iniciado esta campaña de tecnificación, utilizando todos los elementos que he mencionado y que van a poder apreciar durante la presentación de Time and Life, les llegará la hora tarde o temprano.

En lo que se refiere a los diarios de Iberoamérica, grandes y pequeños, pueden juzgar que muchas de estas cosas están todavía en carácter de proyectos para el futuro; que su capacidad económica, que su capacidad técnica no les va a permitir usar todos estos equipos. Sin embargo, yo, que sigo muy de cerca el progreso del periodismo en Iberoamérica, puedo anunciarles que ya existen muchas empresas que están utilizando, no la totalidad de estos equipos, pero una parte de ellos.

Los señores han traído algunos ejemplos, como ser de la plancha plástica que se está utilizando para la impresión de Time. Esta es una cosa que está en el futuro de prácticamente todos los diarios del universo, especialmente aquellos que quieren todavía continuar con letterpress. Estoy convencido de que esta presentación será de extremo interés y que les va a abrir los ojos hacia un futuro del cual no vamos a poder zafarnos, porque la competencia no lo va a permitir y porque además vamos a poder dar así un servicio más eficiente a nuestros lectores, con periódicos bien hechos, bien impresos, puestos a la hora en la calle, y en esa forma también contribuir a ese servicio a la comunidad de que tanto se ha hablado durante estos últimos días en nuestra Asamblea.

Señores, tengo el agrado de presentarles al Sr. Anderson, que es el director tecnológico de Time and Life. (Aplausos)

MR. HARLAN E. ANDERSON (Time Inc., New York): Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen.

We, of Time Inc., are pleased to have been asked to speak at this meeting of the Inter American Press Association about the use of new technology in our publishing operation at Time and Life.

As we all know, technology is rapidly changing our world. To me the most significant changes are related to television, computers and communications. Television, with its ability to take one to the scene of news, has increased our awareness of events and has developed our appetite for still more news.

Computers have the potential for speeding up the handling of copy and satelites offer a communications system whose cost structure can be nearly independent of distance between sender and receiver.

Communication techniques are making it possible to do things that were impossible a few years ago, such as the satellite demonstration at the IAPA Meeting in San Juan last year. In other cases new technology is steadily lowering the cost of doing things that have been technically possible, but too expensive for regular use. All of these possibilities afford a confusing array of equipment to choose from.

Today we are going to talk about the choices that we at Time Incorporated have made to meet our particular needs for magazine and book publishing. Of course, you should not automatically conclude that the Time Inc. choices are the correct forms for every publisher's needs.

The products that we will be concerned with today are Time Magazine, Life Magazine, Fortune Magazine, Sports Illustrated and books from the Time-Life Book Division.

At this time I would like to describe the features of our publishing operation that have influenced the choices that we have made. Almost all of our news is gathered by our own field reporters, rather than by a shared wire service. We have one editorial location, where our final copy is prepared in New York. Here editors concern themselves with the visual impression

of the final product. Typography details and quality are very important to our products.

The standards we use are normally associated with book publishing, rather than with news reporting.

Lay-out flexibility is very important. For example, page lay-outs are not at all standard, particularly for Life magazine.

Our magazine articles are written to fit a particular space, with important information both at the beginning and the end of the article. High quality full color pictures are an important part of our product.

Printing is done at regional plants near the subscribers, for reason of speed of delivery and economy of distribution costs. Offset and letterpress both are used in printing.

For the immediate future, technology will have the greatest effect on the handling of news and information prior to the printing press. Accordingly, technical development efforts have been concentrated in this pre-press area. The systems approach, which is being used, means that before making a change in any of the steps involved in handling information, the effect of that change on the other parts of the system must be carefully considered. By this method some of the traditional steps are being eliminated, while others are being combined and still others will be carried out in ways that cost more money but provide a new feature or service.

Before doing this, however, we established systems objectives to guide us in making our choices.

The first of these was speed. Since we are primarily reporting and interpreting news, speed of handling information is of great importance.

Another objective was flexibility to allow an editor to express himself in more ways to the reader, through visual effects, variation in type style, and multiple uses of the same information.

Quality of graphics must be improved wherever possible. And our last objective was to use technology to combat rising costs of labor. In short, we hope to produce a better product without increasing our cost of getting the product ready for the printing presses.

The Time Inc. Pre-Press System has separate processing methods for pictures and words.

Throughout our talk we will be referring back to this slide, so you need not understand it all at this particular time. Pictures are selected, sized, cropped and positioned in a layout without any handling of the 35mm slides. They are then color separated using optical mechanical scanning with electronic color correction.

Words are inserted into the computer for hyphenation and other functions. The output of the computer feeds a cathode ray tube text composer which puts the copy on film in proper page position. The "text" film is combined with the color separation film. The resulting film is either flown or sent by television or communication lines to the regional printing plants where printing plates are made. These can be either letterpress or offset plates.

Before commenting on this system in detail, I would like to describe the status of it.

The pre-press system is evolutionary in that parts of it will become operational at different times.

The computerized copy processing, including a especially developed computer program, has been in full production status for about twelve months.

The video text composer has been under tests in our laboratory for about nine months and will be in limited production use by the end of the year.

The lay-out machine, which is being especially developed for Time Inc., is scheduled for shipment by the end of the year.

The color-scanning equipment manufactured by Printing Developments, Inc., a subsidiary of Time Inc., is currently in use.

The nylon letterpress plates, which you will hear about later, are in limited production use at the present time.

Telephone communication lines for typesetting have been in use for some time and only limited testing has been done with television band with communication lines suitable for high quality graphics.

As we gain operational experience and acquire cost information, undoubtedly there will be some changes made. Many of the functions that are being automated have long been manual functions, and there are certain to be some surprises here.

Copy Processing

Copy processing is basically a computer typesetting system which is operated by the Time Inc. Editorial Services Division. Because stories are written and rewritten many times before they are final, a key feature of Time Inc. copy processing is to put early versions of a story in the computer's memory. Changes to a story can then be made by merging the unchanged portion of a story from the computer's memory with the new material. This speeds up the processing of stories and reduces the amount of retyping that needs to be done. A story can be processed around this loop as often as is necessary.

Let's take an example of a recent story about archeology, which appeared in Life en Español.

The first step is to make a paper tape of the story. The information on this tape contains an index line which instructs the computer about type face, column width, type size and indenting standards for new paragraphs. As the operator types the story, he does not do any hyphenating but merely indicates the beginning of new paragraphs and changes of type style such as italics.

The computer processes this tape and produces a hyphenated version of the story ready for editorial review. Tightness of fit and line numbers are shown on the left margin of this copy. Corrections of typing errors, deletions to shorten the story and any editorial changes can be marked on the computer printout. Next a new paper tape containing only the corrections is made. This is normally much shorter than the original tape, of course. The computer automatically makes these changes in the original copy of the story, which was kept in the computer's memory all during this time. The result is a revised computer printout of the story.

This printout shows which lines have been changed so that the editor can conveniently find them. They are indicated by an "m".

The objective is to fit the copy to the space that has been allocated for it in the page layout.

The computer serves many functions in the handling of copy. The obvious one is hyphenation. Closely related to this is copy fitting. Lines can be set loose or tight intentionally to shorten or lengthen a story. Copy changes to shorten or lengthen a story can be handled conveniently. The style and size of type can be changed without requiring the story to be retyped. In a similar manner, the column width can be changed and copy can be made to "run around" a picture without retyping.

An example of this would be to change a layout from a two-column layout to a three-column layout, without retyping.

Recently a major article from Fortune Magazine, dealing with the urban crisis, was also published as part of a book, having a totally new page size and layout, without requiring any retyping of the copy.

When the final changes have been made, the computer prepares the story for transmission over telephone lines to the composition equipment.

At the present time this is done by making a new punched paper tape, suitable for the desired composing machine, which can be Linotype, Photon, Monotype or Videocomp.

This tape is transmitted over ordinary telephone lines from our editorial offices to our composing center. In the future this will be done by on-line computer-to-composing-machine connection over telephone wires.

Text Composition

An RCA Videocomp is used for text composition. Basically this is a cathode ray tube similar to a television picture tube. The big difference is that it is extremely precise. This machine will set type at a speed of 300 characters per second which means a page of TIME magazine every 40 seconds.

This compares with a maximum of ten characters per second for hot metal.

Functionally, it works from computer generated control signals that deflect the electron beam to trace out letters at a position on the tube which corresponds to the location of the letter on the page being composed. A lens focuses this image on a piece of film twelve inches wide where it is recorded. Actually, the

composing machine is controlled by a small computer whose memory contains electronic font information. Electronic font information is simply an x-y map of the outline of a character in the type style being used.

A greatly enlarged picture of the face of the cathode ray tube would show that a character is formed by 100 fine parallel lines or strokes of variable length. These are made in sequence, at very high speed of course.

An art director can conveniently make new fonts of type or alter old ones. For this purpose he can have what we call a "bar-map" of the character. This "bar-map" of a character has 100 horizontal positions and 120 vertical positions. From this he can add or subtract "bars" to achieve the visual form that he wishes. Since the electron beam is not square, the actual character does not have sharp staircase edges but has smooth rounded edges and, of course, is greatly reduced in size.

In addition to this esthetic adjustment, the computer in a more automatic way can make all letters taller without making them wider, or wider without making them taller or both to achieve unusual artistic effects. It can also make oblique letters automatically. This is referred to as "rubberized type".

The Time Inc. Videocomp has a special film mechanism which can move the film left or right up to eleven inches either side of center to facilitate full page composition with quality characters. This allows us to form characters using only the center area of the cathode ray tube where precision and resolution are best and distortion is minimum. With this camera movement the Videocomp becomes a high quality page composition machine.

The final result of this process is a piece of film the size of the page to be printed, with all type in its actual location with no picture information, of course.

Now I would like to introduce Mr. Robert L. Sorensen, the Assistant Technical Director of our Springdale Laboratories, who will explain our handling of pictures.

MR. ROBERT L. SORENSEN: Thank you, Harlan.

Let us now turn to the graphic side of this Pre-press system. First consider how we will more rapidly arrange pictures and words into meaningful page layouts.

Layout Machine

Today it takes hours to physically construct a layout. With the Editorial Layout Display System it can be done in minutes.

This is an artist's shot concept of the layout machine. This is a viewing screen. Behind the viewing screen are 16 slide-film projectors, each focussed on the screen. These can be controlled and manipulated by joy sticks and switches on the control panel. This does not contain cathode ray-tube equipments for projecting images; it uses projectors with film slides.

We think it is sort of like an aeroplane -- in a way -- because the editor can sit down and, with these controls, he can call up any picture from any of these 16 projectors, and arrange them in a pattern on his screen.

At the end he can receive from the machine black and white prints of the layout.

Let's take one step at a time. The pages we will be working with were in Life, and covered some unusual architecture at the Expo 67 World's Fair.

The photographers' colored slides are viewed on a light table and candidates for reproduction in Life were selected. These are loaded into a magazine capable of handling up to 100 slides. The magazine is now inserted into the layout machine for pre-viewing the slides on the screen one at a time, enlarged up to 20 times.

After a fixed interval of time, of one to 20 seconds, as determined by the operator, the next slide will be shown, and so on.

When we see a slide that we might want to use in the story -- for example, an interior view looking up through the roof of the man in the community building -- we can stop the picture. If we want to retain this picture for further study, we can transfer it and store it in the 14-position gallery which surrounds the screen.

Now keep in mind this is a schematic of the viewing screen of the layout machine. In the real machine these areas are not marked out, of course.

We call this our 14-picture gallery, where pictures can be stored to work with in the central viewing area.

The machine is designed to handle a double-page spread of Life.

After a few seconds the picture will appear in the first gallery position. When this is done, the slide review is automatically resumed on the viewing screen -- either forward or backward -- and we continue in this manner until up to the 14-gallery position are filled with pictures to be used in this particular story.

Now we can begin to build a page.

Of the photographs displayed in the gallery, the one which will be the largest photo on the page is normally manipulated first. And in this case, the West German Pavillion, with its unusual tint design. It is removed from the gallery and displayed on the screen. Now the picture can be reduced in size, cropped on all sides until the exact desired area has been selected. And finally, the picture can be moved to the exact place on the page where it is desired. This picture will remain here as the rest of the page is worked on.

We now remove another picture from the gallery in the photograph looking up through the roof, and we again repeat the cropping process -- on all sides, if necessary -- to center the image. And we can enlarge it, as needed, to the proper size for our layout, and move it to the desired place on the page.

The remaining photographs needed for this page may then be chosen from the gallery in the same way until a final picture layout has been constructed. A number of alternate layouts could have been made by using this same process, in an effort to allow the editor to have a choice.

During the layout making process, the spaces between pictures are filled with a white background to maintain the feel of working on a white page. This important and unique feature of this machine allows an art director to competently judge relative color values as they would actually appear on a white magazine page.

The generation of this white space actually was the most difficult technical job in designing this machine. If you think

about it a minute, normally, with a series of projectors, the spaces in between the pictures would be black. But this, of course, was unacceptable to our art director.

The last operation is to put in simulated type for headlines, captions and story material, which can be cropped, sized and positioned in the same manner as the pictures. One hundred and forty four different type-faces are available. Now we have produced a final magazine layout in minutes, complete with color pictures and simulated as it would appear in an issue of LIFE magazine. We can also push the "Print" button on the control panel and up to 10 black and white prints of our final layout are received.

We have included in our pre-press systems chart, under the title of "Color Scanning and Screening", all operations of color separation, sizing, cropping and half-toning of pictures. This includes mono and duo-tone.

We are developing a fast color system to reduce the time span between the editor and the press start-up from a day or so to a matter of several hours. But we must insure that the editor sees the reliable but quick color page-proof before the production presses start.

Color Scanning and Screening

The system uses no engravings. It is based on the idea that high quality printed color reproductions from artwork are an engineering achievement, not a handcrafted interpretation, assuming that the editor supplies adequate instructions before the action starts.

Let's take a moment here. This is a color transparency. The color scanner produces a set of half-tone separations; we screen these, we do local color correction through "dot" retouching, and we come out with a set of half-tone film for plate making and a four-color electrostatic color proof.

The color scanner can be programmed to accommodate hue changes and to detail enhancement. There are switches to enhance browns or make the broiled lobster more natural in color. If the scanner is properly instructed, the color separations can be half-toned without any interpretation by the cameraman.

To be sure, a small computer is attached to the half-toning camera that signals when certain operating mistakes have been made. The system accommodates local color changes -- for example, make the eyes more blue -- and provides fast color prints to the editors and plate-making films for offset and letter-press.

Enlargements up to 30 to 1 can be electronically made by the scanner computer circuits without the substantial loss of detail encountered in the process camera lens. The scanner operator must adjust the computer to obtain the picture-wide changes requested by the editor. Also he must program the computer for type of ink, type of paper and other printing press characteristics. These are rules set by experience.

The scanner film-holder oscillates up and down as the light spot travels horizontally across the transparency area selected. Four enlarged color separations are light-exposed on the output scanner drum, developed and checked.

These separations are now screened on the computer-controlled, automated camera, and are ready for combining with other page elements. If local color changes are requested, one can dot-retouch these areas and also insert or delete detail following pre-determined guides. In all cases they will provide the editor with a full color, electrostatic proof within an hour after processing.

Why don't you compare the quality of this image with the result that we got from the high-speed 32-page production press?

The editor can call for changes at any time, and the tone-scale of these separations is compatible for use with either offset or letter-press.

We now arrive at the point where the combination of the basic page element into a single piece of film -- the master-page positive -- is necessary. How to do this for a newspaper page is a debated subject. However, our publication page sizes are generally smaller, and with the page text setting capability of our Time Inc. Videocomp, one can consider alternative page composition methods over the usual cutting and sticking techniques. Consider the variety of items that may go into a magazine page: Videocomp text, half-tone pictures, large or special heads, and part-page ads. These are all derived from different machines: the Videocomp, the automated camera, the phototype positor, and the clarifier.

The clarifier is a recently developed machine and process that converts engravings into photographic film images. We use a serial exposure system where each element being incorporated into the page receives special attention. Speed, reliability and flexibility are additional considerations.

For this purpose we are constructing a system that precisely measures the text and picture areas of a page layout. Then through a small computer, instructions are sent to the camera and Videocomp so that when the page elements are formed they are pre-registered for page combining. We have yet to learn how to computerize the advertiser, so let's consider an all edit page.

This Time page contains a two-color bust of Martin Luther King, page text, and the Time logo with an example of a special head. It is a very easy page to compose, but it serves as an example.

From the Videocomp we get the basic page text -- here we illustrated this in green -- the picture is in yellow and the logo in a pink hue. The colors define the page elements only. To compose this page we photographically exposed the latent image of the logo and then the text, and after processing we had the complete black printing page composed. The second color for the picture has been registered for plate making.

The prototype page combining machine is now being designed and constructed. Hopefully it will compose an average six-element page in about six minutes, not including film processing. We will find out how well this technique works early in 1969.

In the area of communications, the pre-press system has three major communication requirements. The first is from the editorial center to the composition center. Today this is primarily narrow band telephone lines for text and small black and white photos plus layout information over a Xerox LDX facsimile ink. The bandwidth of this channel will be increased to handle high resolution facsimile with scanning pitches of 1500 lines per inch. A prime objective is rapid handling of color information. Text will continue to be handled on narrow band circuits.

The second communication requirement is from the composition center to the editorial center. This will be for page proofing and will require TV lines. We wish to provide our editors a facsimile reproduction of the page in full color for their approval before the production presses start. This cannot be

done today for fast, last minute color images. This communication link will also be used for control signals to request new copy to be transmitted from the copy processing system to the composing machine.

The third communication requirement is from the composition center to our regional printing plants where plates are made. This requirement involves wide bandwidth at many locations spread over great distances and is thought to be too expensive for complete implementation immediately. For those locations where the print order is small and the distance great, the page film will be flown as it is now. For the rest of the locations, TV type links and facsimile equipment will be installed.

Nylon Plate

The pre-press system is designed to directly employ photographic page images in the making of the press plates whether these are photo lithography or photo letterpress systems. A second advantage is that we can make a photographic press plate in 30 minutes, against the four to six hours we need to make today's laminated electrotype. This composite negative is ready for plate exposure. Time Inc. has developed a photosensitive nylon letterpress plate (TILON) which precisely reproduces the dots and characters in the page film.

The unexposed plate blank is ready for the page film. The blank consists of a sandwich of aluminum and light sensitive sheet nylon. All manufacturing operations of curving, beveling and registering are done before the page film arrives. The film is tightly held to the plate blank surface by vacuum during the one minute light exposure period. To wash out the unlightstruck areas and produce the non-printing relief areas, the exposed blanks are mounted on drums. Washout takes nine minutes and drying about ten minutes. Now the relief image is visible. In wide open plate areas, routing provides greater relief depths. These print directly on high speed web fed presses.

At the present time about 400 of these plate blanks are used each week to print the current form sections of TIME and SPORTS ILLUSTRATED in Chicago. A plant in Puerto Rico will manufacture thousands of these light sensitive TILON blanks weekly. These will be shipped to the regional printers where the image-making operations are performed.

Press performance has shown that the present plate material will reliably produce 750,000 high quality page prints on clay coated paper. Experience indicates that at least a 50% reduction of plate make-ready time is a realistic gain. Research currently underway with some new polymeric materials indicates that substantially longer running plates can be expected during the next several years.

I wish to thank you for this opportunity, and now Harlan has some thoughts about the future.

MR. ANDERSON: I would like to finish this presentation by talking about the more distant future in areas in which we do not have specific plans formulated yet.

Electronic handling of words is clearly easier and cheaper than pictures. Accordingly we hope to provide our reporters with more flexibility through portable typewriters that can be coupled to any ordinary telephone line without advance notice. This will free him from the restrictions of filing a cable from his office, or the possibility of errors associated with verbal reporting and transcribing. This method has the potential for greater speed, accuracy and flexibility, with less cost for the telephone lines used.

We long for the day when economical, simple devices will do the same thing for color pictures. This is much more difficult, however, and a suitable technique is not at hand.

Another objective is to eliminate all the graphic film from the composition system that we have talked about today. Replacing it would be an all-electronic form of handling pictures and words, with a final image appearing on a printing plate at a regional printing plant. The only film in such a system would be the original photographs. Screening and color separations would be done electronically, as well as transmission.

Communications satelites, although in operation internationally, are not in use within the United States yet. As the need for wide band width communication grows, we would hope that the U.S. Communications System will grow so that ideally we can rent -- for short time periods -- a circuit for transmitting quality graphic material from any metropolitan area to any other metropolitan area. Communication satellites should be well-suited for this purpose.

Other areas of technical investigacion include a computer controlled bindery, which could make every magazine being assembled different, an important requirement for flexible publishing of demographic editions, and with compression techniques, to allow more information to be sent on a telephone grade circuit. It will be tested between our Paris news bureau and New York in the near future.

Electrostatic printing techniques are under consideration also. Some day this may play a role in a network of many low-cost regional printing plants, or maybe even home facsimile.

In Canada Professor Marshall MacLuhan has made some suggestions that imply the printed word is dead and that electronic information has killed it. Judging from the number of newspapers that are outside my hotel room each day, I would say that the printed word is alive and well in Argentina. While I do not agree with Prof. MacLuhan, I believe it is important to know the strong features of each medium and in what ways they are changing. Here is my evaluation of this situation:

The advantages of printed information include high quality graphic capability. It provides a wide variety of material for the reader to collect from. It is convenient to browse in, and is very portable, so that people can carry it with them wherever they go. The disadvantages are that its distribution costs for paper and labor are high, and it does not convey action or motion.

Turning now to electronic information, its advantages include low distribution costs, since there is no physical product that must be delivered to each customer; also its speed for news events is ideal; and its ability to show motion and action are ideal. The disadvantages of electronic information are that the variety of material to choose from is very limited at any particular moment. It is not possible to browse through a television program like one would browse through a book. And the availability of information is determined by the schedule of the broadcast station. The graphic quality of television is inferior to that of print. However, the way in which technology is changing these functional characteristics is clearly in the direction of electronic information. For example, portability of electronics has been improved tremendously by the availability of small transistor radios. Equally small television sets are now being developed. Audio or video recording on magnetic tape or magnetic discs may solve the browsing problem. Cable television will provide a wider variety of materials for a customer to choose from than conventional broadcasting does.

These changes will, in my opinion, come slowly, but they are definitely occurring.

In concluding I want to point out that we at Time Inc. are aggresively applying the most modern techniques we can to our printed products of today. There is considerable improvement possible in meeting the systems objectives I mentioned in the beginning of this talk: speed, flexibility, quality and cost. Furthermore, we feel this is an excellent foundation for the more distant future, which may include information retrieval for individuals, electronic printed words in forms that are hard to imagine today. We are not at all reluctant to experiment with these new ways of gathering and distributing information. We view technology as a friend; in fact, along with excellent personnel and financial strength, we consider it to be one of the three most important factors that will determine the future of our company.

Thank you very much for your attention. When you leave there will be brochures that describe the system that we have been talking about this afternoon, and at the front of the room we have some samples of the various things that we have been talking about also. Thank you very much. (Applause)

MR. GUTIERREZ: Thank you, Mr. Anderson.

Señores, si desean hacer alguna pregunta de carácter técnico, pueden pasar aquí al podio.

SR. GUILLERMO KLAPPENBACH (La Nación, Buenos Aires, Argentina): Yo quería preguntar si estos sistemas son aplicables a los diarios. Esa es la primera pregunta.

MR. ANDERSON: I do not believe that most of the things would apply directly, but I think they would indirectly. Certainly communication of higher quality graphics I think go along with offset color printing equipment, that a lot of you are installing, and distribution problems that I talked about at the end of moving paper around are difficult problems, so I think it applies, although I would say not directly, but in a more general way.

SR. KLAPPENBACH: Quisiera preguntarle también si este sistema de planchas con plástico es el único que existe, si no hay otro sistema con otros plásticos que se puedan aplicar mejor para los diarios.

MR. ANDERSON: As you know, around the world there are a number of developments in the photo plastic printing plate. We have concentrated our efforts on the long-run plate because we do have printing runs that go up to four million impressions. However, there is the Dupont Dyco plate I am sure you are quite familiar with, and Grace has announced a new, supposedly inexpensive, relief type plate. This, I understand, won't be on the market until sometime next year. Over in Germany a nyloprint relief plate has been developed, and I am sure you are aware of Eastman Kodak's shallow-edge plate.

I think we are going to see in the next two years several new developments announced in this field, because the price of these plates is coming down, and it should be something that you people will want to consider.

SR. KLAPPENBACH: Habría una última pregunta: Si ese sistema -- esa máquina componedora -- es el único sistema electrónico que existe. Conocemos ya el sistema que usan en el diario de West Palm Beach. ¿Es este sistema mejor, o cuál de los dos es el más práctico para diarios?

MR. ANDERSON: I wish we could bring that slide out to show the difference between the West Palm Beach Videocomp and the one we have.

Their machine is a galley machine. It sets a single galley of type. Through programming you could set two galleys if the total width was only 5.3 inches. Now, LIFE magazine requires that we handle a page film that is 12 inches wide, and for this reason the camera at the end of the Videocomp is of a special design to move the film around so that we can cover all twelve inches of width and like length, and still set all the characters through the center of the optical axis of the system. This is just to keep quality up to its peak.

Now, there is no reason -- and we have been thinking about this ourselves -- why this camera couldn't be made larger. There is no technical reason at all. It's a matter of money, but it could be made larger so that this is one way you could set a full newspaper page on this. How you would handle advertising in the form of pictures or line-work, I don't know, but you could scan and digitalize these pictures, put them into the magnetic memory and set that material along with the text element. Does that answer the question?

FATHER ALBERT J. NEVINS (Maryknoll Magazine, Maryknoll, N. Y.): I have two questions. The first one is what are electrostatic proofs? You were speaking about that during your talk. And second, I understand Time-Life is setting type by computer now. I have the same computer that Time-Life has, but I don't know how to do this. Could you explain this to me?

MR. ANDERSON: The electrostatic proofing system is something similar to photographs except that it uses a technique similar to Xerography, like you make Xerox copies. It does it with great resolution and great detail, so that it is very realistic in every sense. It is a four-step process; one step for each of the colors.

The other question was about how the computer sets type. Well, it sets type by reading in the punched paper tape. The computer has a dictionary stored in it, which tells where the words need to be hyphenated. The dictionary is only used for difficult words which do not follow regular rules, so it does not have all the words that an ordinary dictionary has; it just has the difficult words. The computer reads the word in from the punched paper tape and looks it up in the dictionary or hyphenates the word by rules; it knows how wide each character is in each type font that we use in our publications. It measures all of those and adds them together to approach the column width. It drops the equivalent of space bands between the letters and, in general, does the hyphenating for us this way. If this isn't enough detail, I believe there is more information in the brochure that you might find helpful.

SR. GUTIERREZ: No habiendo más preguntas el Sr. John Herbert va a cerrar la sesión, pero antes de eso me ha pedido don Carlos Jiménez que les anuncie que la votación se cierra a las 6 en punto, para aquellos que todavía no han votado.

Además, que para la recepción del Intendente Municipal, los autobuses estarán afuera del Plaza Hotel a partir de las 18:30.

MR. HERBERT: I want to begin the end of the meeting by thanking Andrew Heiskell, Vice President of the Technical Center and Chairman of the Board of Time Inc., for this very excellent program today. The thing that fascinated me about it was the applicability of the various devices to newspaper work, and I was particularly interested to be reassured that at long last we have rubber type for the composing room. You will all recall that this was a standard joke for the headline writer who wrote

a headline that was too long and the composing room would send back a sarcastic comment that it did not have rubber type. Apparently that day is coming to an end. So, Andrew, we are all very grateful to you for this wonderful program and to your two representatives, who did such an excellent job.

I would tell you, too, that another Vice President of the Technical Center, Jim Copley, who is one of our great pioneers in the United States in photocomposition and offset, in the Sacramento Union, has brought along some copies of this newspaper and we have them up in the front of the room, if you would like to have a copy to see what Jim has done with that very interesting plant out in Sacramento.

We have also some new bulletins from the Mergenthaler Company with some of their new developments, and you might like to have those.

The President of the Technical Center, Mr. Ed Scripps -- who is, as you know, a pioneer in photocomposition and offset -- says that he would be very happy to answer any questions, or if any of you would like to visit his plant, he would extend that welcome to you.

So I think we have come to the end of a very interesting Technical Center program. Some of the folks who went over the material beforehand wondered if it would not be too technical and it is my feeling that if it was too technical we might be out of business in the next five years. We've got to learn to understand these new devices and these new processes in printing, whether we are publishers, whether we are editors, or whether we are running composing rooms.

Mr. Hills has asked me to close the meeting this afternoon. He would like to remind all of you about the invitation that the Mayor has given us for a reception tonight in the Gold Room of the Municipal Council Palace, and then I should remind you that we will meet here again tomorrow morning at 9:30. We are going to have the announcement of the election of the new directors; we will have the presentation and debate on the report of the Special Committee on Cuba, and the presentation and debate of the report of the Committee on Freedom of the Press. So we will have a very busy morning, and we hope to see you all at 9:30.

That concludes the program for this afternoon. (Applause)

(The meeting adjourned at 5:30 PM.)

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

FOURTH MEETING

Friday, October 18, 1968

The fourth meeting of the XXIV General Assembly of the Inter American Press Association convened at 9:30 AM, Friday, October 18, 1968, in the Salón de Fiestas of the Plaza Hotel in Buenos Aires, Argentina, with Mr. Lee Hills, President, as Chairman.

MR. HILLS: This session of the General Assembly of the Inter American Press Association is now in session.

The Chair will ask Dr. Gainza Paz, the Chairman of the Special Committee on Cuba, to submit its report. After the debate, if there is any, we will vote on it.

INFORME DEL COMITE ESPECIAL SOBRE CUBA

Hace más de nueve años que en Cuba no existe libertad de expresión. La primera protesta de la SIP fue hecha en abril de 1959. Desde entonces la situación ha venido empeorándose. En la actualidad, el control del Gobierno es absoluto: las antiguas empresas han sido confiscadas, los talleres han sido desmantelados en su mayoría y los que funcionan, lo hacen con personal adicto al régimen y para la publicidad oficial solamente. Para visitar la isla, los periodistas extranjeros necesitan un permiso especial de las autoridades cubanas, y para cumplir su misión informativa el Departamento de Publicidad les asigna un acompañante, que les muestra lo que el gobierno quiere mostrar y les dice lo que el gobierno quiere que se diga. Esta norma tiene sus excepciones en favor de los periodistas reconocidamente adictos a Fidel Castro, los cuales gozan de una relativa libertad de movimiento y ciertas franquicias para llegar a las fuentes informativas.

Lo anterior explica que la mayoría de los reportajes publicados en el exterior resulten favorables a la situación imperante en Cuba y que ninguno de los visitantes haya podido informar acerca de sus colegas presos.

En contraste con este control de los medios de expresión el gobierno de La Habana edita numerosos libros, folletos y revistas, y los distribuye profusamente, valiéndose de las franquicias diplomáticas que le otorgan los países con los cuales mantiene relaciones, de la "flota pesquera" que vigila las costas continentales y de los organismos internacionales e interamericanos a los que pertenece o tiene acceso. Aprovecha todas estas circunstancias, no sólo para distribuir su propaganda, sino también para dictar instrucciones a sus agentes.

En reciente reunión de la CEPAL, para no citar más de un ejemplo, el doctor Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, delegado del gobierno de La Habana al citado organismo, fue sorprendido cuando cambiaba impresiones con los jefes guerrilleros de Venezuela. Las frecuentes competencias deportivas, como las "Olimpíadas Mexicanas", sirven también a los fines de la publicidad del comunismo entronizado en Cuba.

El cable internacional sirve también a la propaganda de Castro. Además La Habana utiliza la poderosa estación "Radio Habana Cuba", para difundir sus consignas, en cinco frecuencias distintas, lo mismo en castellano que en inglés, portugués, francés, guaraní, quechua y creole. Es así como, mientras el eclipse de la verdad es casi total sobre lo que ocurre en Cuba, la propaganda mentirosa del régimen castrista se extiende por todas las Américas.

Esta situación anómala que le da a Castro indiscutible ventaja frente a la opinión pública extranjera le permitió en el pasado la construcción de bases secretas para proyectiles dirigidos, que dio origen a la crisis de octubre de 1962, y le permite en estos momentos la realización de aviesas maniobras destinadas a dislocar la economía del mundo libre.

Ahí están sus proyectos sobre los mercados del azúcar y el café.

El plan comenzó a ponerse en ejecución, en 1964, al regreso de Castro de la Unión Soviética. Fue entonces cuando se abandonaron los fracasados proyectos de desarrollo industrial, orientados por el "Che" Guevara como Ministro de Industria y Comercio Exterior, y se comenzó a dar impulso a la expansión agrícola en los rubros más importantes para la economía latinoamericana. Vale recordar la frase del propio Castro cuando dijo que estaba preparándose para lanzar su "bomba atómica azucarera", mediante la producción de diez millones de toneladas

métricas de azúcar. "Con nuestro azúcar y con la expansión cafetera" -- dijo el 30 de mayo de 1967 -- para 1970 habremos alcanzado una producción que nos permitirá arruinar a los países latinoamericanos que basan su economía en esos proudctos. Eso nos facilitará el desarrollo del socialismo. Entonces Cuba no estará sola en el continente."

Si el propósito no ha avanzado de acuerdo con los plazos señalados, que hasta el presente no han podido cumplirse en sus etapas primeras, ello se debe a las deficiencias del comunismo en lo relativo a la agricultura. Pero es indiscutible que el gobierno de Cuba persiste en su plan. La expansión cafetera se ha venido desarrollando en toda la isla. Ahora puede decirse que las siembras de café, tradicionalmente circunscritas a las zonas montañosas, se han extendido a las seis provincias. En mayo de este año se mostraron a los diplomáticos acreditados en Cuba las regiones dedicadas a este cultivo en el llamado "cordón de La Habana", que rodea a la capital de la república. En junio se anunció que este "cordón" se había sembrado con treinta y dos millones de matas de café. Algunas de las variedades de semillas plantadas en los inicios de esta campaña fueron llevadas a Cuba desde Brasil, por la delegación deportiva que concurrió a los Juegos Olímpicos en la mencionada nación. Y al igual que en lo relativo a la libertad de expresión, que se suprime en Cuba y se utiliza en el exterior, el café está racionado en Cuba, mientras se trata de volcar su producción en el mercado mundial. Por otra parte, los guerrilleros que Castro instruye en Cuba, contribuyen a arruinar en lo posible las cosechas de los otros países productores.

A Cuba no le interesa el costo de producción porque la tierra está en manos del gobierno y la mano de obra se recluta, gratuita y "voluntariamente", en todos los centros de trabajo y en las oficinas, al igual que en las universidades, y hasta entre las amas de casa. Todos tienen que cortar caña o recolectar café, porque en el supuesto de negarse a hacerlo, se les retira la "tarjeta de racionamiento" para los alimentos y artículos de primera necesidad, y en el futuro tendrán que vivir de la caridad pública, si es que no van a dar a la cárcel, de donde se les trasladará a una "granja colectiva", -- verdadero campo de concentración estilo nazi -- donde se verán obligados a trabajar de sol a sol.

En cuanto al azúcar el plan ha fracasado hasta el presente en virtud de la actitud de los países productores en general y de Estados Unidos, que es el país consumidor por excelencia.

Pero parece lógico deducir que uno de los mayores obstáculos a la renegociación del convenio se debe a la amenaza cubana. Si se acordara poner en vigencia el nivel de precios anterior a la crisis, o sea alrededor de tres centavos por libra, Castro recibiría una cantidad de divisas de alrededor de cien millones de dólares, lo que le serviría para fortalecer su maltrecha economía y aumentar su capacidad subversiva en los otros países productores. Si el convenio no se aprueba, los países productores seguirían recibiendo perjuicios por el bajo precio.

Por eso puede decirse que si los planes de Castro han fracasado, siguen constituyendo una amenaza. He ahí una explicación posible a la solicitud del gobierno de Washington de un plazo de seis a nueve meses para negociar el convenio azucarero. ¿Se espera un cambio de política o de Gobierno, o ambas cosas, en Cuba, antes de vencer ese término?

Volviendo a los periodistas cubanos que guardan prisión, vale decir que en la relación divulgada por la Comisión de la Libertad de Prensa de nuestra SIP se han producido algunos cambios.

Dos periodistas -- Juan de Dios Pérez y Nilo Santos Faría Rodríguez -- enfermaron gravemente y han sido trasladados a sus casas, tal vez para evitar su muerte en la cárcel. Un tercer colega -- José Sánchez Rubin -- perdió la razón a causa de las torturas morales a que se le sometiera y está en un hospital de dementes. Por otra parte, a la nómina de los encarcelados hay que sumarle otro nombre, Justo Calcerrada.

Sin embargo, podemos informar que la incomunicación establecida por el régimen comunista entre los presos y el exterior ha sido rota. Por lo menos, circunstancialmente. Desde la prisión militar de la Fortaleza de la Cabaña, en La Habana, uno de los miembros de esta Comisión, ha recibido un escrito de un colega preso.

Es un informe verídico, un reportaje sensacional, escrito por un compañero nuestro, que no implora misericordia, sino que se dirige a nosotros para que digamos a nuestros pueblos lo que los periodistas que visitan a Cuba no han podido averiguar.

DR. ALBERTO GAINZA PAZ (La Prensa, Buenos Aires): Voy a pedir a mi colega, don Guillermo Martínez Márquez, que lea ese documento, que es muy ilustrativo.

DR. GUILLERMO MARTINEZ MARQUEZ (El País, La Habana, en el exilio): Unos días antes de salir para Buenos Aires recibí en Nueva York una carta de un miembro de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa que guarda prisión en Cuba hace más de ocho años. Este es el facsímil del sobre, y en esta letra menuda, característica de los hombres que tienen mucho tiempo en las cárceles, está escrito su mensaje dirigido especialmente a sus colegas de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa.

La carta dice: "De nuevo salgo de una total incomunicación, no sé por cuanto tiempo, creo que muy poco, y estimo de importancia vital el divulgar nuestra problemática durante el pasado año y medio de lucha contra el tirano, por qué se llevó a cabo, cuál es la situación actual y la nueva mentira que posiblemente pretenda presentar al mundo el castro-comunismo.

"Te ruego des a las líneas que adjunto la mayor difusión posible dados los medios a tu alcance y recabo para ese fin por mediación tuya la cooperación de todos los compañeros. Estás autorizado a utilizar mi nombre para todo lo que te sea necesario, incluyendo su publicación general bajo mi firma. En mi opinión es imprescindible dar a conocer lo antes posible que el presidio político cubano continúa en franca rebeldía, que triunfamos ante el trabajo forzado, triunfamos ante la maniobra de la popa con todo su trasfondo y estamos listos para luchar y triunfar contra todas las maniobras que sabemos realizará Castro para intentar extinguir este reducto de la lucha anticomunista en Cuba que es el presidio político.

"Aprovecho la oportunidad para hacer llegar nuestro agradecimiento por las gestiones que sé has realizado en pro de los presos y pedirte lo hagas extensivo a todos los demás compañeros de la SIP-IAPA. Espero próximamente ser más extenso.

"Te abraza"

Firmado: X

LA LUCHA DEL PRESIDIO POLITICO CUBANO

Introducción

"La Isla Sangrienta.- El Presidio en rebeldía.- Trabajo forzado.- La Isla de la juventud.- Pretenden disgregar el Presidio.- Campos de Concentración.- Ultimo año y medio.- Situación actual.- La hiena con piel de cordero.-

"El motivo principal que me impulsa a redactar estas líneas es la firme convicción de que si en algo puedo contribuir a que el público de América conozca lo que ha sido, lo que es y lo que seguirá siendo el presidio político en Cuba, debo hacerlo por encima de todas las dificultades y riesgos. El tiempo apremia, nuestra situación no es fácil y no me puedo extender. El momento de escribir los libros vendrá; hay material para decenas. Personalmente he visto escribir con sangre páginas de un heroísmo y espíritu de sacrificio sin límites. Mi objetivo por el momento no es describir experiencias personales sino, en el poco tiempo y espacio de que dispongo para este trabajo, dar una idea al menos de nuestra problemática de conjunto durante los últimos años y hacer patente que Castro tiene y siempre tendrá en el presidio político el principal foco de resistencia dentro del país y que todas las maniobras que ha intentado hasta ahora han fracasado como fracasarán también las que seguirá tratando de llevar a cabo. Desde que Castro se dio cuenta que no podía fusilar a todos los que se le oponían, se vio en la necesidad de abarrotar las cárceles de Cuba con decenas de miles de hombres y mujeres. En 1964 tenía más de 75.000 presos políticos. Sólo admitía 15.000. A pesar de haber fusilado opositores por millares, mucho antes de esa fecha ya se le había presentado la necesidad de anular la resistencia en el presidio, pues los hombres que caían en prisión no se resignaban a cumplir pacíficamente sus condenas. El principal bastión de esta resistencia era el Presidio de Isla de Pinos, en el cual se hacinaban 7.000 hombres de las más altas condenas. Por allí han desfilado más de 25.000 hombres en los últimos 4 años. El resto del Presidio Político se encontraba diseminado en cárceles y campos de concentración a lo largo de las seis provincias de la isla de Cuba.

"Las presiones sobre el Presidio comenzaron tratando de obtener la abjuración de los presos y su ingreso en lo que vino a llamar el gobierno Plan de Reeducación o Rehabilitación, que brindaba a los hombres cansados de resistir, la oportunidad de un mejor trato, y mediante la aceptación de la doctrina marxista una lejana esperanza de libertad, así como daba al gobierno una mano de obra baratísima, pues igual que en China y Rusia se reeduca al individuo por medio del trabajo.

"Después de someter a todos los presos a un régimen carencial violentísimo en cuanto a alimentación, información, visitas, etc., que sólo obtuvo como resultado rebeliones y dos huelgas de hambre masivas en Isla de Pinos, que el ejército reprimió con tanques y bayoneta calada, se elaboró entonces por Castro el más cruel e inhumano plan de trabajo forzado que jamás se haya llevado a

efecto en ningún país de este continente. Pisoteando los más elementales derechos del ser humano, se instauró en Isla de Pinos el Régimen de Terror impuesto por la bayoneta, el machete y el fusil. Sangre de presos políticos fertilizó los campos de cítricos que Castro exporta hoy al Canadá y otros países. Sangre de presos políticos fertilizó las miles de hectáreas de tierra de Isla de Pinos a la que comenzamos a llamar los presos la Isla Sangrienta. Las listas de los que allí murieron han sido de sobra divulgadas, decenas de hombres se encuentran mutilados e inválidos, cientos presentan las cicatrices que aportan el bautismo de fuego y la diaria comunión con la bayoneta, y son millares los que en más de una oportunidad fueron brutalmente apaleados además de recibir su diaria ración de "tranqueo" como corrientemente le llamaban. Era difícil al mundo digerir nuestra verdad; Castro la ocultaba. Era difícil para hombres civilizados aceptar la idea de que a sólo unas millas de sus respectivos países, en su propio continente, hombres de su propia raza y ascendencia, de su propio idioma en la mayoría de los casos, hubiesen llegado a tal grado de barbarie y deshumanización.

"En los años 65-66-67, mientras la sangre corría en Isla de Pinos, Castro, como lo sigue haciendo hasta el momento, se burlaba de las comisiones de derechos humanos, de los organismos internacionales, negaba todos los cargos que se le hacían. Al fin, cuando nuestra verdad comenzó a golpear en la opinión pública del mundo, Castro se decidió a eliminar el Presidio en la Isla sangrienta. Para esto y viendo que había fracasado el plan de trabajo forzado en su objetivo principal, que era el agotar la resistencia del preso y llevarlo a abjurar de su causa, resolvió diseminar por toda la Isla de Cuba, en campos de concentración que fuesen a la vez de trabajo, a los miles de hombres que aún se le resistían. La Isla de Pinos, según su propaganda actual, es la Isla de la Juventud. Miles de jóvenes son llevados a ella a continuar "voluntariamente" el trabajo que comenzaron los presos. El inmenso presidio ha sido transformado en gigantísimo albergue para los miles de becados que el gobierno utiliza como mano de obra secundaria, pues hoy día en Cuba trabaja "voluntariamente" toda la población de menos de 60 años en los hombres y 50 en las mujeres. Así trata Castro de cerrar una negra etapa en su historia; lleva niños y jóvenes a donde tanta sangre derramó; lleva visitantes extranjeros; lleva periodistas. Les enseña las miles de hectáreas de cítricos, les enseña los inmensos albergues, les da a probar las frutas, les regala muestras de tierra, pero lo que no hace es enseñarles las tumbas de los que allí asesinó; les está dando a comer frutas fertilizadas con sangre y les regala muestras de tierra que en realidad son un "souvenir" sangriento.

Con esta trágica farsa pretenden ahogar el sacrificio de muchos. Los presos políticos cubanos estamos seguros de que la opinión pública continental no aceptará esta mentira.

"A la par de iniciar la farsa en la "Isla de la Juventud", comenzó en Cuba el plan de disgregación en campos de concentración de todos los reclusos que estaban siendo forzados a trabajar. Conjuntamente a esto comenzaron a ponerse de manifiesto las intenciones del gobierno de fomentar confusión entre los presos en base a un cambio de uniforme sólo en el color, pero que implicaba que los presos políticos serían vestidos igual que los presos comunes sin distinción de ningún tipo. Esto que acabo de exponer, unido al hecho de que Castro nunca nos ha reconocido el nombre de presos políticos y que se plantearon una serie de facilidades materiales como incentivo para aceptar el nuevo uniforme, nos hicieron recelar de la maniobra, que pareció en aquel momento tendiente a desprestigiar el presidio y colocar a los presos cubanos en una situación equívoca. Consecuentemente a esto, cientos de presos nos negamos a aceptar el nuevo uniforme. La contraofensiva del gobierno no se hizo esperar. Nos retiraron los uniformes que teníamos, comenzaron más golpeaduras y torturas, regaron en pequeños grupos por todas las cárceles de Cuba a los cientos de hombres desnudos, los mezclaron con comunes, azuzaron contra ellos a esos comunes, aislaron a los elementos dirigentes. Hubo una total incomunicación a través de este último año y medio.

"Las presiones sobre los hombres desnudos e inclusive sobre sus familiares eran innumerables, variando desde la burda tortura física hasta la más sutil tortura mental. He visto hombres que no se podían poner en pie por haber estado 40 y 50 días encerrados en bartolina en donde un hombre no puede estirarse, pues en ninguna dirección mide lo necesario. He visto un hombre con el cuello cortado por su propia mano con una cuchilla de afeitar, al no poder soportar la presión. Este último año y medio de este presidio político se ha caracterizado por una depuración de los métodos comunistas; hemos respondido a ello con las únicas armas del preso: firmeza, pues no hay tortura que impida ser firme, y huelga de hambre, pues cuando se lleva a los hombres contra la pared de tal forma que las condiciones de vida se hacen imposibles, esa misma vida se hace indeseable. En este último año y medio de presidio político cubano se han llevado a cabo más huelgas de hambre individuales y colectivas que en toda la historia de cualquier otro presidio político en el mundo. Nos ha costado caro; hemos pagado el precio; muchos compañeros ya no están con nosotros; a otros su salud mental

les ha fallado, pero nos cabe la satisfacción de que hemos hecho fracasar una vez más la maquinaria de torturar carne humana que es el régimen carcelario del Castro-comunismo. Actualmente nos han devuelto los uniformes que con anterioridad teníamos: caqui militar. A pesar que siempre hemos reivindicado la ropa de civil como conviene a presos políticos y nunca hasta ahora hemos logrado del gobierno se nos entregue, vemos que hemos ganado una pelea pero prevemos luchas próximas. Las condiciones en que nos encontramos siguen siendo precarias, hacinamiento, semi-aislamiento, pues sólo tenemos, según nos han dicho en estos días, derecho a cuatro visitas al año, sub-alimentación, el 50% de la masa penal está carente de proteínas y vitaminas, se nos niegan facilidades en cuanto a libros y revistas; en fin, continuamos sometidos a un régimen carencial inhumano.

"Los comunistas nos han maltratado tanto que cuando comienzan por razones de su política internacional a tratarnos un poco menos mal tratan de convencer al mundo de que nos tratan bien.

"Prevemos que Castro tratará de hacer campaña de opinión sobre su trato a los presos. Este sigue siendo inhumano, no se puede opacar con un mes de propaganda los años de Isla de Pinos, ni el último año y medio en el cual se ha mantenido a cientos de hombres desnudos en las condiciones más infrahumanas de vida posible. Se nos ha dado muy poco de lo que necesitan los seres humanos para vivir, se nos ha obligado a vivir durante mucho tiempo con menos de lo elemental.

"Retamos a Castro que permita que vengan a entrevistarnos periodistas del campo occidental, que no monte farsas con los presos rehabilitados, que permita que compañeros nuestros enseñen sus cicatrices, mostrar los recluídos en sanatorios mentales. Lo retamos a que nos permita enseñar la verdad al mundo y a mostrar lo bueno que es su régimen carcelario. Sabemos que Castro trata de derivar a una tercera posición y ha resultado ser el mejor agente de la CIA en América Latina. Este hombre con su megalomanía egocéntrica ha escindido todos los partidos comunistas de la América, ha lanzado a las montañas a las juventudes activistas de los partidos y los ha quemado en la estéril lucha guerrillera que trata de mantener a todo precio para tener una carta de chantaje internacional que jugar. Pero también sabemos que los pueblos de América Latina y sus gobiernos no permitirán se perpetúe en Cuba el bárbaro evangelio del odio que predica este apóstol de sangre que hoy se enseñorea en nuestra patria.

"Nosotros, que hoy estamos en una prisión pequeña dentro de esa inmensa prisión que es Cuba toda, seguiremos bregando en la medida de nuestras fuerzas para que algún día nuestros hijos sean libres en un país libre.

"La Cabaña, agosto 15/68."

MR. HILLS: Thank you Dr. Martínez Márquez. (Applause). Dr. Gainza Paz will now conclude his report.

DR. ALBERTO GAINZA PAZ: Los periodistas encarcelados por el comunismo nos han dicho, en la carta que acaba de leer don Guillermo Martínez Márquez, que seguirán bregando en la medida de sus fuerzas para que sus hijos sean libres en un país libre.

Seguir bregando en la medida de sus fuerzas, es la promesa de ellos.

Seguir bregando con los medios de expresión de que disponemos, tiene que ser nuestra respuesta. Es lo menos que podemos hacer los periodistas libres por los colegas que guardan prisión.

Finalmente, en cuanto a las gestiones que se han venido haciendo, por mediación del Sr. Presidente de México, por su libertad, no tenemos resultado alguno que ofrecer.

Este informe lo firman el que les habla, Horacio Aguirre, George Beebe y Guillermo Martínez Márquez. Muchas gracias. (Aplausos).

MR. HILLS: Thank you, Dr. Gainza Paz. Does anyone wish to discuss the report? I think Mr. Aguirre had asked for the floor.

Let me remind you that under our rules, any statement is limited to five minutes, and the speaker can only speak once on the subject.

SR. AGUIRRE: Señor Presidente, señores delegados, damas, caballeros: Prácticamente no tengo que agregar nada al informe leído por nuestro ilustre presidente de la Comisión Especial sobre Cuba, el Dr. Alberto Gainza Paz, y acerca de la carta dramática leída por el Dr. Guillermo Martínez Márquez, procedente de Cuba.

Lo único que quiero recordarles a los periodistas aquí presentes es que nosotros -- no sólo como hombres libres, sino como hombres de prensa -- no debemos estar ausentes un solo instante en la batalla por la restauración de la libertad y la independencia de Cuba. No debemos estar tampoco un solo instante ausentes en la lucha por la libertad de nuestros compañeros de profesión y de ideales que se encuentran sumidos en condiciones infrahumanas en las cárceles de Cuba.

El informe que preparó la Comisión -- a la cual me honro en pertenecer -- se ha referido específicamente a hechos absolutamente objetivos y comprobados. Yo quiero decirles que hay cosas que están latentes en el ambiente de Cuba que es difícil comprobar, pero por indicios y múltiples manifestaciones se sabe que algo grave está ocurriendo en Cuba y su desenlace es difícil de predecir. Pero el dictador de Cuba hace aproximadamente 15 días -- si mi memoria no es infiel -- habló en una de esas comparecencias suyas y manifestó que había síntomas de descomposición interna, y cuando él dice cosas de esa naturaleza es porque el fermento interior ha alcanzado proporciones graves.

Pocos días más tarde vino la noticia, por las agencias de prensa, de dos fusilamientos. Y al hablar de los fusilamientos me permito sugerirles respetuosamente a todos, sin ánimo de trazarle pautas a nadie, que cada vez que se sepa que hay un fusilamiento en Cuba, la noticia se debe publicar con todo sentido de responsabilidad en lo que respecta a informar al mundo de lo que representa el comunismo en Cuba.

Cada vez que un gobierno no comunista comete un abuso contra los derechos humanos, con sobrada razón se divulga la noticia; con sobrada razón se condena el hecho delictuoso.

Sin embargo, cuando Fidel Castro fusila cubanos -- y esto lo viene haciendo ya por diez años -- parece como que se va uno acostumbrando a la noticia trágica y no siempre se le concede la importancia que merece al hecho de un régimen de terror que fusila oficialmente, para no referirnos a los otros tipos de fusilamientos.

Señores, solamente les he querido decir que hay hechos que se están produciendo en Cuba, hechos graves contra la estabilidad del régimen; que no podemos saber si producirán todos los efectos que la causa de la democracia quiere. Eso es todo. (Aplausos).

MR. HILLS: Thank you, Mr. Aguirre.

DR. FERNANDO CARRANDI (Agencia de Noticias AIP, Miami, Florida): Sr. Presidente, al momento de comenzar sus palabras el Dr. Aguirre alguien en el idioma inglés dijo "Well, sit down" porque él había dicho que poco tenía que decir a las palabras de Martínez Márquez y Gainza Paz.

Yo pienso leer estos datos en menos de cinco minutos, pero me afecta esa expresión que escuché hace un momento.

La creación de este Comité sobre Cuba en el seno de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, integrado por tres ex presidentes de la SIP, Alberto Gainza Paz, John Reitemeyer y nuestro maestro Guillermo Martínez Márquez, además del gran periodista de América don Horacio Aguirre, evidencia la preocupación de la prensa americana en relación a la base de operaciones subversivas que el comunismo tiene en Cuba por la tradición de Fidel Castro.

Como periodista cubano y como miembro de esta institución, me siento orgulloso y complacido de que la SIP, como organismo, tenga presente en todo momento el caso de Cuba, mantenga constantemente la denuncia contra el régimen, y esté solidarizada con todas las acciones que se encaminen a lograr la libertad del pueblo cubano.

Alguien recientemente me dijo que los periodistas cubanos creíamos que el problema de Cuba, si no el único, es al menos el más importante de cuantos confrontan los miembros de la SIP, y que no comprendíamos que el caso de Cuba no podía tener ni tenía una prioridad especial, por existir otros casos importantísimos en otros países. Por eso, nos agregó nuestro interlocutor, debíamos conformarnos con usar de los breves minutos (cinco) que la SIP puede conceder a sus miembros dentro de las reuniones.

Claro que al hacer referencia a esto me mueve la seguridad que tengo de que la mayoría de los miembros de la SIP no piensan como esta persona, tanto por la demostración que ha venido dando la SIP desde que Castro traicionó a todos, como por las convicciones democráticas, humanas y de solidaridad periodística que siempre han existido en nuestra organización. Pero además porque todos han palpado la amenaza latente que el malvado dirigido hoy por Moscú o por Pekín ha estado llevando a la realidad, intentando subvertir al continente, llevando la muerte y la destrucción a los pueblos americanos, y teniendo como fin

primordial el establecimiento de un sistema comunista en el hemisferio, con la consiguiente abolición de todas las libertades.

Tantas pruebas han dado la SIP y sus directores en favor de la causa de Cuba, que numerarlas sería extenso, pero basta recordar la declaración contra Castro, llamándolo el Enemigo Público Número 1 de la Prensa de América, las gestiones realizadas a favor de los periodistas presos, la ayuda que han prestado para la divulgación de las informaciones sobre nuestra desesperada situación, y ahora la constitución de esta Comisión, que ofrece la oportunidad de que cada uno de ustedes conozca más directamente lo que ha sufrido un pueblo bajo el comunismo y la labor intensa que se realiza para liberarlo del régimen esclavizante de Fidel Castro.

Aun más, la SIP y los periódicos democráticos de América conocen, porque se la hemos demostrado con datos fehacientes, esta grave situación. Pero además porque el régimen comunista de Cuba no se ha ocultado para decir que la intención del régimen es destruir este organismo; es destruir toda esta prensa, desmantelándola o poniéndola al servicio de su propaganda. Para ello, desde los primeros momentos fue dando los pasos, a tal extremo que a fines del pasado año se celebró en Cuba un seminario latinoamericano de periodistas, cuyos fines, en su totalidad, estaban encaminados a la preparación de agentes dentro del periodismo para lograr la infiltración de la prensa, y dentro de ella evitar ataques al castrismo, omitir noticias que le perjudiquen, resaltar los errores de la democracia con los hechos de violencia que ellos propician, y en especial para que obtengan los conocimientos necesarios para el día -- que sé que no llegará nunca -- de ocupar los puestos de los periodistas democrátas, al apoderarse de los vehículos de publicidad al igual que han hecho en Cuba y dondequiera que la garra del comunismo se ha enseñorado.

MR. HILLS: Try to condense the rest of it because it is difficult to make exceptions for one person.

DR. CARRANDI: Tengo algunas de las palabras de varios periodistas en ese seminario en relación con la prensa libre de América, y sería muy interesante que la Asamblea las conociera. Dos minutos me llevaría eso.

MR. HILLS: I am sure it would. Could you please try to condense it instead of reading it off?

DR. CARRANDI: Esta Comisión sobre Cuba viene a ser un aparato defensivo para nosotros, una Comisión que tendrá al tanto al resto

del organismo de las actividades que se produzcan desde Cuba y que deben tener como respuesta una prensa unida y democrática, que evite que se produzca una nueva Cuba y simultáneamente apoye cuanto se haga por devolver la libertad a ese pueblo.

Frente a nosotros tenemos el aparato publicitario del mundo comunista en todas sus facetas, produciendo millones de libros, produciendo periódicos subversivos dentro de países democráticos, llegando por el aire con poderosas radioemisoras desde La Habana, Moscú o Pekín, divulgando su odio por las agencias de noticias como Prensa Latina, y sólo la SIP y sus mil miembros, si actúan de acuerdo con la disciplina, podrán detener el mensaje de destrucción anti-cristiano y violento de los que quieren apoderarse del mundo.

Saludamos a la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa por esta creación de la Comisión sobre Cuba, y apelamos a todos sus miembros a que le den su apoyo. Por mí, tanto por cubano como por editor de la Agencia de Noticias AIP, le abriré nuestras páginas noticiosas.

Discúlpennos la extensión de estas palabras nuestras, pero queríamos que el caso de Cuba tuviese algunos minutos más ante ustedes. (Aplausos).

MR. HILLS: Thank you, Dr. Carrandi. Is there any further discussion? If not, we will now vote on the Special Cuban Report.

Dr. Gainza, do you put that in the form of a motion?

It has been moved and seconded that we accept the Report of the Special Cuban Committee. All in favor signify by raising your right hand.

It is accepted.

We will now hear the Report of the Committee of Judges, given by Mr. William H. Cowles and José Dutriz, who are its co-chairmen.

MR. WILLIAM H. COWLES (The Spokesman-Review, Spokane, Washington): Fellow members of the Inter American Press Association: Your President, Lee Hills, appointed a committee of six judges to supervise the election of 15 of your directors at this XXIV Annual Meeting. This committee comprises the following:

Co-chairmen: José Dutriz, La Prensa Gráfica, San Salvador, El Salvador, and W. H. Cowles, The Spokesman-Review, Spokane, Washington, U.S.A.; members, Amadeo H. Barletta, Jr., El Mundo, Havana, Cuba (in exile), now living in the Dominican Republic; Brady Black, Cincinnati Enquirer, Cincinnati, Ohio, U.S.A.; Carlos Canelas, Los Tiempos, Cochabamba, Bolivia; S. G. Fletcher, The Gleaner, Kingston, Jamaica.

All 116 ballots cast were valid, and the 15 members who were elected for a three-year term are the following, in alphabetical order:

Manoel F. do Nascimento Brito, Jornal do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro; Manuel Cisneros, La Gaceta, Trujillo, Peru; Charles L. Dancey, The Peoria Journal-Star, Illinois; Raymond E. Dix, The Daily Record, Wooster, Ohio; William R. Hearst, Jr., The Hearst Corporation, U.S.A.; Lee Hills, Knight Newspapers, U.S.A.; Rodolfo Junco de la Vega, Jr., El Norte and El Sol, Monterrey, Mexico; Ian Macdonald, Thomson Newspapers, Canada; Diana Julio de Massot, La Nueva Provincia, Bahía Blanca, Argentina; Julio de Mesquita Neto, O Estado de S. Paulo, Brasil; Rev. Albert J. Nevins, Maryknoll magazine, Maryknoll, New York; Enrique Nores Martínez, Los Principios, Córdoba, Argentina; Germán E. Ornes, El Caribe, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic; Charles E. Scripps, Scripps-Howard Newspapers, U.S.A.; John C. A. Watkins, The Providence (R.I.) Journal-Bulletin. (Applause.)

MR. HILLS: Thank you very much.

The new Board of Directors will meet this afternoon, immediately following the three o'clock and final General Assembly meeting. The Board will then meet for the purpose of electing officers for the coming year, so any time after right now the Nominations Committee, headed by Mr. Beltrán, who is to nominate the new slate, will please meet and select nominations for the meeting this afternoon.

Next, I would like to take just a few moments to report further on the special situation in Panama and Peru. The idea of sending special commissions of IAPA members to certain countries to talk with the heads of government about freedom of the press has been greeted as an effective new way to use our influence. As you recall, the day before yesterday I suggested it would be appropriate to send such delegations to Panama and Peru to discuss freedom of the press with the new ruling military Juntas, which have recently seized power in

those countries. I have talked with our colleagues from both of those countries; they are enthusiastic about the idea. The most crucial situation, of course, is Panama, where the newspapers are closed down.

From all reports there seems to be no restriction on press freedom in Peru, or maybe we will have some further report this morning, but even there Mr. Beltrán and Mr. Cisneros and others think it would be useful to have such a call, if this were possible.

Tom Harris, working with George Westerman and others, has gotten up a fine group who will go to Panama and probably have this meeting on this coming Monday. I sent a telegram last night asking that the meeting be arranged. I have not had a reply, but the delegation as of this moment -- maybe Mr. Harris will have some additions or changes -- is made up of our Chairman of the Committee on Freedom of the Press, Mr. Harris; Mr. Charles Dancey, Germán Ornes, Raymond Dix, Brady Black and Carlos Ricart.

We do not yet have a formal designated group for the visit to Lima, although there has been some interest expressed by one or two persons.

Unfortunately, our colleagues from Lima are not returning there immediately from this meeting, but have offered to try to arrange a meeting if there is a group going.

If there is anyone in the room who plans to go home by way of the west coast, or go from here to Lima, and would be interested in doing this, would you please raise your hand?

Anyone who might be able to do this, please see Tom Harris after the meeting this morning and we will try to arrange it. As I said, this is not the crucial problem of Panama, but it is the general feeling that it could be helpful.

I will now turn the meeting over to Mr. Tom Harris, the Chairman of the Committee on Freedom of the Press, but just before we start I would like to read Article 4 with the specific instructions on the rules of the SIP about debate and discussion, so that no one gets offended and everyone knows what the ground rules are.

These are the rules to be observed at our meetings: (a) Except in the case of rectification or clarification of their remarks delegates shall not be entitled to speak more than once nor for 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 the case of a point of order the delegate shall be entitled to three minutes to make his statement.

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

(e) For the purpose of interrupting a discussion only the following will be considered in order: Application of the By-laws, a motion to adjourn, and a few other technical points.

MR. TOM C. HARRIS (St. Petersburg Times, St. Petersburg, Florida): Thank you.

Before starting our report this morning, I would like to give the good news from Honduras. As you know, we sent a special delegation to Honduras on the way to this meeting. They had a meeting with the President. Two newspapers there had been closed. We have a telegram stating that both of these papers have been reopened, and both in their first reopening issues came out with editorials critical of the government. I think this deserves a hand for the delegation that went there because it speeded this up. (Applause).

Another little piece of business. At the Freedom of the Press Committee meeting we discussed the fact that a girl journalist had been shadowed in Venezuela for two days and finally picked up by immigration authorities and put on a plane, declared persona non grata and expelled from the country. At that time we did not have a report from Mons. Pellín, Vice-Chairman there.

He informs that the government told him that the young lady reporter arrived without identifying herself as a journalist, that she came on a tourist card, that she was expelled after eight days when the tourist card had expired, and that she wasn't expelled for anything that had been printed in the country.

We are still investigating this case because she has had trouble in three different countries, and I will cover this in my report.

Before reading the report, I would like to thank all of our Vice Chairmen and members of the Committee on Freedom of the Press. Theirs was a year-long job which they performed with diligence and alertness in keeping us informed on events throughout the hemisphere. And I think it is essential to know that it is only through the work of these Vice-Chairmen and these members, who get in touch with our headquarters office immediately when something happens, that this Committee is able to succeed. This Committee cannot be a one-man job; it has to be the job of all of those who are appointed to work and who accept, and I want to express my heartfelt thanks to all of those who cooperated.

Our report today was put together by two special subcommittees. One was a subcommittee on Editing and Style, which included Horacio Aguirre, as Chairman, Enrique Nores Martínez, Alberto R. Cellario, Andrés García, Father Albert Nevins and Brady Black. They did an excellent job, as you will see when you get the report.

The subcommittee on Conclusions, which had a real tough job this year, was formed by William P. Williamson, Juan S. Valmaggia, Manuel Cisneros, George Westerman, Amadeo Barletta, Jr., Germán Ornes, Julio de Mesquita Neto, who is secretary of the full Committee, Luis Feldman Josin, William L. Giandoni, Edward Harte, Ignacio Lozano, S. G. Fletcher and José Dutriz. This subcommittee was one of the hardest working groups at this convention.

REPORT BY THE COMMITTEE ON FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

I- INTRODUCTION

The Committee on Freedom of the Press met in the Plaza Hotel in Buenos Aires, Argentina, on Monday, Oct. 14, and in one day completed its work of reviewing the state of the press in the Americas.

We found that there still is no free press in Cuba and Haiti, that Uruguay does not enjoy a fully free press, that newspapers, radio and television stations in Panama are closed or under censorship. Two newspapers in Honduras, closed

during a state of siege, reappeared Tuesday. A new so-called "Seditious and Undesirable Publications Act" has been enacted and signed by the Government in the island of Dominica.

On the bright side:

Paraguay, long on the black list, has moved into the free press column.

The Dominican Republic report for the first time has only four words in Spanish: Hay libertad de prensa; and only six words in English: There is Freedom of the Press. This is the first time in the history of that country that there has been no qualifications to the free press report.

A highlight of our session were reports from Guatemala, Honduras and Paraguay by special commissions appointed by President Lee Hills to make first-hand investigations and talk with government leaders about free press complaints. This was the first time this technique has been used and it is the consensus that it be continued in other countries when and where warranted. We are hopeful that such commissions of IAPA members will soon visit Panama and Peru where recently military coups took place. The meetings in the three countries this year were fruitful and we believe will greatly help the cause of press freedom.

Upon the unanimous vote of the committee, your chairman cabled a strong protest to Panama's provisional president, Colonel José M. Pinilla, for closing a number of newspapers, radio and television stations. This cable urged him to restore press freedom quickly and asked for a reply. At this writing it had not been received and latest information is that some newspapers are closed and others are being censored.

Our report is divided into three parts:

1. This introduction
2. The country-by-country reports
3. Conclusions

As Chairman, I will continue to read the Introduction and William P. Williamson, Chairman of the sub-committee on Conclusions will read the Conclusions.

We have made 15 recommendations to the Resolutions Committee, and we will hear from its Chairman, Dr. Gainza Paz, on these.

In debates before the Committee, these items developed:

1. The military takeover of more and more Latin American countries poses a real threat to freedom of the press because these juntas are not always bound by, nor do they always respect, the firm constitutional guarantees as do the civil and elected governments. Some, to be sure, have exempted the press from states of siege, decrees and fiats, but the danger is inherent. Our committee will watch closely each takeover because when the constitutional government goes, press and other freedoms are likely to follow.

2. In the wave of revolution, subversion and disorder plaguing the world today, some countries are turning to harsh press laws in the misguided belief that this is the way to stem the tide. Actually in these troubled times, a free press is more important than ever and our committee will try to convince governments of this fact.

3. A hidden hand may be working to bar some newspaper writers from various countries. We can cite one case in which a free lance writer who had been to Cuba was denied entry into one country because an unidentified agency had put her name on the blacklist. She was finally admitted after IAPA intervention. Later she was shadowed in a second country, and in a third, after being followed for two days, was picked up by immigration agents, put on a plane and expelled from the country. This is only one case, but it sends up a danger signal. We will continue to investigate because one of our beliefs is that an accredited journalist should have access to news wherever it is breaking and if some agency can put one name on a blacklist it can do the same in other cases.

Our committee has listed some unfinished business to which we will address ourselves in the weeks and months to come.

1. Restoration of a free press to Cuba and the release of more than 40 Cuban newspapermen held in Fidel Castro's jails.

2. An end to the free press blackout in Haiti.

3. An end to the press blackout and censorship in Panama.

4. Stand alert to see that the military junta in Perú respects the rights of a free press.

5. Restoration of a fully free press in Uruguay.

6. Repeal of so-called press laws in Nicaragua, Brazil and Dominica.

In our meeting we offered the floor to all, pro and con, who wanted to be heard and many spoke. We feel we had a healthy, lively and good session.

Before we get to the Conclusions I wish to thank Horacio Aguirre, chairman of the sub-committee on editing and style and his diligent members; Bill Williamson, chairman of the sub-committee on conclusions and recommendations, and his hard working team; Lee Hills, president of IAPA, for his help and counsel; Bob Brown, executive committee chairman, for his help and Carlos Jiménez, our manager, for his untiring work throughout the year.

II - THE STATE OF THE PRESS IN THE AMERICAS

ARGENTINA

There is freedom of the press.

From time to time, however, conflicting situations are created which affect the full effectiveness of this freedom. Evidence that there is freedom of the press can be found in the way the Argentine periodicals express their judgments on the economic, social and political realities of the country. But there still are extremely sensitive officials who consider as a personal attack what is only a critical view of their public acts, and the Police do not always respect newspapermen and news photographers when they are trying to do their professional work.

Since the last Assembly a very pleasing event has taken place. The Supreme Court of the Nation has reaffirmed resolutely the freedom of the press, declaring unconstitutional the acts of the Executive Power which closed the newspapers "Prensa Confidencial" and "Azul y Blanco". It must be admitted that the administration has respected the decision of the Court and

"Prensa Confidencial" and "Azul y Blanco" have reappeared without changing their character or style. Today both circulate freely.

Since a few weeks ago a serious threat is looming upon the Argentine press: a 30% tax ad valorem on imported newsprint, which is practically the newsprint consumed by all the country's newspapers. The suggestion was made by the Association of Newsprint Manufacturers to protect its interests. It seems that some government officials who do not know the real situation of the Argentine press or the foreseable consequences of the plan were persuaded by the newsprint manufacturers. The proposition was sent to the President of the Republic but it is still being studied and has been passed on to the consideration of the Minister of Economy. It has been attacked -- after strong statements of rejection-- by the Argentine Press Enterprises.

It is not necessary to stress what it would mean to the Argentine press and its economic independence, basis of its ideological freedom, to have an increase of 30% in the main newspaper item expense, the newsprint, because it would not be possible to pass it on to the newspaper's cost or the advertising rates without the serious risk of suffering a circulation decrease with its obvious injury to the people's culture.

The grave thing is that in an abnormal political situation in which the revolutionary Executive Power has reserved for itself the right to dictate and publish laws with no participation of the public opinion, anything can be feared.

The Chairman of the Committee on Freedom of the Press of IAPA has collected all material dealing with the background of this problem and it would be convenient to have the approval of a clear resolution by the Assembly following its own traditions as expressed during recent annual meetings and during the mid-year meetings of the Board of Directors.

The situation of the daily "El Día" of La Plata has not changed. The lawsuit on the ownership of a part of its stock follows its course in the courts. Meanwhile the court continues its intervention of the daily's business management, which "affects the freedom of the press", according to a decision taken by IAPA in San Juan of Puerto Rico.

ASSOCIATED STATES - LEEWARD AND WINDWARD ISLANDS

There is freedom of the press.

There is however, cause for deep concern at the terms of an Act passed by the Government of Dominica in July 1968 under the name of Seditious and Undesirable Publications Act (Act No. 16 of 1968). This Act not only provides drastic powers for the Court, but also gives certain arbitrary powers to the Minister of Home Affairs to prohibit the issue of publications in certain circumstances. Obviously this holds the element of serious danger to press freedom.

A cable to the Government of Dominica expressing the concern of IAPA's Freedom of the Press Committee has resulted in assurances from Dominica's Minister of Home Affairs that the law will be administrated in a democratic and responsible manner with appropriate appeals to the courts.

BAHAMAS

There is freedom of the press.

BARBADOS

There is freedom of the press.

BERMUDA

There is freedom of the press.

BOLIVIA

There is freedom of the press.

Nevertheless, there are claims against the government by two newspapers, "La Razón" and "Los Tiempos", which have not been satisfied.

BRAZIL

There is freedom of the press.

The Brazilian press has enjoyed six more months of complete freedom. No event of major significance has occurred to invalidate this conclusion.

Even in the most dramatic moments of the successive student demonstrations which have been upsetting the life of the country or in the days of great tension lived by all sectors of the people, there was no restriction on or outrage against freedom of information or against those of the press who voiced their critical opinions.

Although the threats already analized and known to the IAPA Freedom of the Press Committee still exist in the national security and press laws, in reality they never came to a head.

The Brazilian government has not revealed, in any event, any intention of resorting to these laws.

During the student riots -- and some of them were violently repressed by the state police -- the Brazilian press saw, recorded and made vehement objections to scenes of reporters and photographers being beaten while covering the events in the streets of Brazil's principal cities. The agressors were policemen flustered by incompetent commands and orders.

While there are reasons to consider these demonstrations of ill-wielded authority depressing and blameworthy, there are no grounds to consider them attacks on freedom of the press. We instead look upon them as lamentable, unfortunate, almost routine occurrences or hazards of the reporter's and photographer's job in these days of world violence.

Despite repeated sincere assertion of respect and appreciation for freedom of the press by President Costa e Silva, we must record the misunderstanding which some of the members of the administration show with regard to the role and importance of a free press. Erroneously some -- fortunately few of them -- insist on attributing their own error and omissions to the existence of a free press in Brazil. Of course, for these men it would be better to err in silence with a muzzled press.

Fortunately, however, the incomprehension of these authorities can only give us reason to feel depressed and apprehensive. The survival of this type of mentality among the public men of a country that is improving and consolidating its conviction in democracy cannot fail to be saddening and disquieting.

In a supplementary report, Julio de Mesquita Neto said, among other things:

1. In the months that have elapsed since the Freedom of the Press Committee met in Montego Bay, Jamaica, no violation of the freedom of the press was reported and verified in Brazil. On the contrary, Brazil presently enjoys broad freedom of the press, with no real restraint on the right to criticize Government actions.

2. However, the non-existence of concrete governmental initiatives to restrain the rights of the press does not mean that the atmosphere of worry, which we brought to the knowledge of IAPA in this Committee's last meeting, has been eliminated. The arguments we made against a series of laws which complement the 1967 Constitution are still fully valid. Although newspapers have not suffered any de facto punitive action, it is nevertheless true that laws like the Press Law and the National Security Law -- whose antidemocratic provisions we have already duly analized -- constitute, by their very existence, a serious de jure restriction to freedom of the press. The climate of fear which results from the possibility of a stringent application of these two Laws is reinforced by some evidences which do not tend to calm the spirits. Last April, for instance, when the Government acted to prohibit the activities of an illegal political movement -- the so-called Frente Ampla -- it (the Government) did not hesitate to stress and emphasize, through the Ministry of Justice, that all media that publicized in the future any news report on the mentioned organization, or on statements by its members, would be punished. Such limitation to freedom of information -- even though theoretical -- applies to statements of political character by people whose political rights were suspended after the March 1964 Revolution. It is true that as yet we have no report that any newspaper has been subjected to the Press Law or the National Security Law for having infringed these legal provisions, but nonetheless we cannot but judge unacceptable the de jure restrictions to full press freedom. Our position as journalists is , thus, exactly the same that we have already sustained before our Association. We will sum it up by recalling that, on one side, there is wide freedom of press in Brazil, but, on the other side, we note the existence of a legal apparatus which could be used at any moment. The application of this legislation would mean the end of freedom of the press. The approval of the new regulations last month by the National Security Council's Secretary General reminded us that, on the legal level, the Government intends to reinforce its intention of controlling information instead of renouncing it.

BRITISH HONDURAS

There is freedom of the press.

BRITISH VIRGIN ISLANDS

There is freedom of the press.

CANADA

There is freedom of the press.

But there is a restriction of freedom of the press (as defined by IAPA) in the application of the Income Tax Act.

The Income Tax Act, as amended,

> "disallows, as a business expense of a Canadian advertiser, the cost of advertising primarily directed to a Canadian market in a non-Canadian publication".

CENTRAL AMERICA

COSTA RICA

There is freedom of the press.

EL SALVADOR

There is freedom of the press.

GUATEMALA AND HONDURAS

This is the report of the special commission appointed by President Lee Hills to visit, investigate and report on the state of freedom of the press in Guatemala and Honduras.

The commission consisted of William Giandoni, The Copley Press, San Diego, California; Edward H. Harte, Harte-Hanks Newspapers, Corpus Christi, Texas; Ignacio E. Lozano, Jr., La Opinión, Los Angeles, California; and Donald Sherwood, The Union Bulletin, Walla Walla, Washington. Also appointed but unable to take part in the investigation were Robert B. Atwood, The Daily Times, Anchorage, Alaska; and Rodolfo Junco de la Vega, Jr., El Norte, Monterrey, N.L., Mexico.

GUATEMALA

The commission arrived in Guatemala on Sunday, October 6, and during the next three days had ample opportunity to meet with its colleagues of the Guatemalan press, with U. S. government representatives and with representatives of business, commerce, finance, agriculture, labour, and the armed forces. On the last day of its visit the commission, together with Guatemalan IAPA members Ramón Blanco, El Imparcial, and Roberto Carpio, El Gráfico, also met with President Julio César Méndez Montenegro.

Our observations brought us to conclusions generally in agreement with the views of the people we interviewed, that in light of the present condition of isolated urban terrorism by extremist elements within the country, and the necessary imposition of a state of siege brought about by the assassination in late August of U. S. Ambassador John Gordon Mein, a considerable degree of press freedom exists in Guatemala.

Under Article 8 of the decree establishing the state of siege, the press is enjoined from publishing any material which might "cause confusion, panic, or aggravate the situation". During the current period, there has been no direct censorship, although under the terms of the decree the government is empowered to impose it. The procedure, in the event of publication of material which the government considers to fall within the definitions of Article 8, is to address a letter of admonition to the publication, pointing out the error of its ways, and suggesting more care in the future. Only one such instance, involving the newspaper "La Hora", has occurred since the imposition of the current state of siege on August 28.

Abhorrent as government imposed restrictions may be to the free press of the hemisphere, in Guatemala a much more real threat than that posed by the government is faced by our colleagues. Extremist elements, of the right as well as of the left, from time to time subject the Guatemalan press to direct and indirect pressures which run the gamut from anonymous threats against a publication's advertisers to physical violence against newsmen and publishing plants. However, in all fairness we must add that leaders in labor, business and government have been subjected to the same pressures.

In conclusion, we can, therefore, state that the government of Guatemala, within the confines of its responsibility to maintain public peace and order, has a genuine interest in

conserving a free press. Even under a so-called state of siege, which is hardly apparent to the casual observer, the press is free to exercise its right to keep the public informed and to criticize the government on matters not involving public security.

Our colleagues of the responsible Guatemalan press have seemingly adjusted to the situation, and apparently are able to live with it. They regard the suspension of constitutional guarantees as a temporary but necessary measure which gives the government the required latitude in dealing with terrorists and guerrillas by permitting it, for example, to enter and search a suspected terrorist's house without a court order. This commission agrees that circumstances have made these unpleasant measures necessary, and is happy to report that the government of Guatemala has not taken undue advantage of the powers granted to it.

In our interview with President Méndez Montenegro, he indicated that the state of siege, which is imposed by the Congress in 30-day increments, will in all likelihood be lifted on October 28 at the latest, thus permitting the Guatemalan press to again carry out its mission free of all real or implied governmental restrictions.

HONDURAS

The situation which the commission found in Honduras was markedly different from that in Guatemala. Here the press was not the victim of extremist groups from outside the government. Rather, it was the target of intimidation and closure by the government itself.

When the commission arrived in Tegucigalpa on October 9, it again found a state of siege in effect, but here two newspapers, "La Prensa" of San Pedro Sula, the nation's leading daily, and "El Pueblo", the official newspaper of the opposition party, had been closed by official decree since September 18.

We are pleased to be able to report today that in an interview on the morning of October 10 with the President of Honduras, General Oswaldo López Arellano, he assured us that that afternoon or the next morning the state of siege would be lifted, thus permitting "La Prensa" and "El Pueblo" to reappear. The promise to lift the state of siege was carried out Friday, October 11, and "La Prensa" and "El Pueblo" resumed publication on Tuesday.

In addition to its lengthy and fruitful discussion with President López Arellano, the commission met with the First Vice President and Secretary of the Presidency, Ricardo Zúñiga; the Minister of Economy, Manuel Acosta Bonilla; and the President of the Congress, Mario Rivero López. We also met with members of the diplomatic community, with labour leaders, with newsmen representing pro-government and so-called neutral publications, as well as with representatives of the two closed newspapers, and with citizens representing the private sector of Honduras.

We came away with the impression that Honduran journalism is, under ordinary circumstances, free to a degree bordering on the irresponsible. It is highly personal, frequently venal, and extremely partisan. It is the victim of a malaise not uncommon in Latin America: For the most part, newspaper enterprises are not economically strong enough, nor are Honduran newsmen well-paid enough, to withstand the frequent and tempting emoluments proffered on them by corrupt government officials. As one disinterested observer pointed out, their idealism is directly related to the amount of their last payment.

A notable exception to this practice is "La Prensa", which in the four years since its founding has become Honduras' largest newspaper. It is owned by four wealthy businessmen and is published in San Pedro Sula, center of Honduran industrial and commercial activity, and because of its economic independence is not beholden to the government or to any of its officials. It is considered by disinterested residents as the best newspaper in Honduras.

As with most military governments, the government of Honduras tends to overreact when stung too severely by criticism, lashing back at its detractors with more force than the situation calls for. This appears to be true in the case of "La Prensa". "La Prensa" had been harassed by the government on other occasions. In recent months it became increasingly critical, culminating in its support of a general strike on the north coast protesting the imposition of a consumption tax on certain luxury items without setting up the machinery to prevent the tax from being applied to other, necessary foodstuffs.

The strike began on September 18, a state of siege was immediately declared to bring it to an end, and the government seized this opportunity to silence its severest critics sending

its troops to close down "La Prensa" and "El Pueblo". It could have imposed censorship on them, but instead elected to shut them down altogether, a totally inexcusable act.

The government's attitude towards "El Pueblo" is perhaps explainable, if not justifiable. It is, after all, the official publication of the opposition political party, and can hardly be expected not to color its coverage of Honduran affairs. It simply cannot be categorized as an independent critic of the government.

The case of "La Prensa", however, is in the judgment of this commission an unfortunate and serious miscalculation on the part of the Honduran government. In our interview with President López Arellano and his ministers, they accused "La Prensa" of inciting revolution prior to the September 18 strike. But in reviewing "La Prensa's" files we cannot find anything subversive or seditious. Severe and perhaps exaggerated criticism of the government, yes; but nothing which could justify such extreme measures as complete closure.

We are of course, pleased that both "La Prensa" and "El Pueblo" are once again publishing, but would hope that the Inter American Press Association can recommend to President López Arellano that such actions toward elements of the free press of Honduras cannot but be condemned by hemispheric public opinion.

NICARAGUA

Freedom of the press does in fact exist, but the law of January 25, 1967, that not only restricts the freedom of speech but also discriminates against newspapermen, is still in existence.

It will be remembered that this law has been discussed on several occasions at meetings of the IAPA, and that this organization has requested the Government of Nicaragua to repeal it, a similar petition having been made by the Newspaper Association of Central America.

Pursuant to this law, a newspaper may be closed down by the Ministry of Government, without prior trial, and the newspaperman, or the counsel of the newspaper in question, is not allowed to defend himself from the executive measure adopted by the Government until after the closure.

In our opinion, so long as this law is in force in Nicaragua it cannot be said that freedom of expression is legally guaranteed in that country.

Edgar Solís Martínez, representing "Novedades" of Managua, spoke to the meeting in defense of the press law, saying it was preventive rather than restrictive.

The matter was debated and the Committee reiterated that all press laws are against freedom of the press.

The Committee received a letter from the Minister of Government, Vicente Navas, certifying that the press law has not been applied despite several occasions when it might have been invoked.

CHILE

During last year, it cannot be said that there have been any threats in Chile against freedom of the press, which have taken up the form of legal or illegal pressure against the information media. In this sense, freedom of the press is still practised according to the traditional norms of this country.

Nevertheless, it has to be noted that a new method for restraining the independent press is being used by the extreme left. It consists of denigrating propaganda against the newspapers that do not follow their guidelines with the purpose of deteriorating their public image. They are charged with defense of reproachable and antinational interests, while their editors are accused of all sorts of actions that can lead to suspicions over their correctness and morality.

We draw your attention to the method of action against the press, which though it does not limit physically and directly the freedom of information, tends to create an atmosphere capable of discouraging the reporters who do not possess the sufficient courage to resist the denigrating campaigns mentioned above.

It must be added that these campaigns have not succeeded in decreasing the open approval by the public of the newspapers which carry on an honest and independent journalism, as their circulation continues to grow, despite the attacks.

Héctor González, editor of "El Rancagüino" of Rancagua, informed the Committee that the advertising tax law affects the economic stability of the newspapers, particularly those of the provinces. He also reported that opposition to this law during the last three years has proved useless.

COLOMBIA

There is freedom of the press.

CUBA

We could start with the famous sentence by Fray de Luis León: "As we were saying yesterday..." because we have to repeat again: THERE IS NO FREEDOM OF THE PRESS IN CUBA.

Newspapermen jailed in the dungeons of communist Cuba continue to die and the regime is not satisfied now with the total eradication of free publications but it is marching towards the physical elimination of the press equipment as is evidenced by the dismantling of the newspaper "El Mundo", whose machinery has been sent to Russia.

With these brief sentences we could finish the report concerning Cuba but as we speak of continuations we have also to stress two important points:

Newspapermen members of IAPA continue their visits to slave Cuba but no word ever appears about our jailed colleagues; we never hear any report on any spontaneous action taken on their behalf.

Many of the IAPA member newspapermen continue also acting as bridges to print all the material manufactured by the Castro regime to promote subversion and destruction of the freedoms across the Continent, especially the freedom of the press, whose defense is the basic objective of our organization.

Everybody knows that laws without enforcement are ineffectual and that the first rule in adopting an agreement is to provide it with the means which make its application possible.

As long as we do nothing but throw accusations and imprecations against a regime which tramples the freedom of the press without taking at the same time any measures to enforce our decisions we will have to repeat every year: "There is no freedom of the press in Cuba".

Nothing else should be added to this report. We hope we will not have to repeat the same thing next time.

In a special report about the situation in Cuba, Dr. Fernando Carrandi, Director of the Agencia de Informaciones Periodísticas AIP, and member of the Committee on Freedom of the Press, pointed out that we should leave aside the established system for these reports as Cuba is a country dominated by Communism and where freedom of the press has been completely abolished.

Dr. Carrandi stated that IAPA's task is to denounce and re-establish freedom of the press in a country. This could only be possible in Cuba if the country were liberated from the claws of Communism and led toward this aim, and that, within Cuba, a fair and necessary war has been reinitiated.

He noted that at this moment, sections of the people, especially the youth, were fighting in the cities and the country against Castro's regime and that "war has been started by the Cubansthemselves to give Cuba a completely Cuban Government". He added that it is very significant that many officers and non-commissioned officers of Castro's Army and even his civil officers are joining opposition parties. Dr. Carrandi finally stated he regretted that the resolutions adopted by IAPA about Cuba had not been kept before and that much of the continental press did not pay heed to Cuban news, not only for the sake of human solidarity but also because of the warning which Cuba's tragedy represents for the rest of America's free people.

We hope that next year, with the help and solidarity of all the continental press, Dr. Carrandi indicated, we will be able to tell you that there is freedom of the press in Cuba and to declare that the war initiated from within against Castro has had as a consequence the expulsion of Communism as a disturbing focus of democracy which was established in the heart of America.

He drew IAPA's attention and that of the continental press to the moment when the focus of war existing today in Cuba widens so that they help avoid a genocide of enormous proportions in the Isle as Castro becomes desperate, though it is already known that he himself and his system of terror established in Cuba nine years ago are condemned to death.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

There is freedom of the press.

ECUADOR

There is freedom of the press.

FRENCH ISLANDS

There is freedom of the press.

GUYANA

There is freedom of the press.

HAITI

There is no freedom of the press.

Haitian newspapers continue to be subject to censure, both open and veiled, by the dictatorship of Francois Duvalier and there is no indication that the situation has improved or is about to improve.

Lee Hills, President of IAPA, received the following telegram from John O'Rourke. O'Rourke and Gerry Fletcher of Jamaica had undertaken to see Duvalier in Haiti to discuss freedom of the press conditions:

"Herewith is the report requested about Haiti. No response from Duvalier to offer from Gerald Fletcher and myself to go to Port au Prince to discuss with him possible steps by Haitian government toward a freer press.

When Dr. Duvalier was first elected to presidency a decade or so ago he stated to me in presence of his ministers that he admired and subscribed to the ideals and purposes of IAPA and intended to support them in Haiti. Events since make clear the charitable word for his statement is nonsense.

"The only conclusion to be drawn from our ignored offer of September 2 is that he is not even remotely interested in ameliorating present press conditions.

"Obviously no change is in sight. Personally I am convinced that even a relatively freer press is impossible to attain in Haiti as long as the Duvalier regime exists.

"Due to the way he has developed over the years the power structure he uses to control the country he dare not permit any relaxation at all, in my opinion, because if he did his supporters would not let him live. He is the prisoner of his own terror."

JAMAICA

There is freedom of the press.

MEXICO

There is freedom of the press.

Newsprint is still being furnished to Mexican publications by PIPSA.

NETHERLAND ANTILLES

There is freedom of the press.

PANAMA

On October 10 we proudly cabled the IAPA Freedom of the Press Committee that there was absolute press freedom in Panama.

Our pronouncement proved to be several hours premature. On the night of October 11 the situation suddently changed as a curtain rung down on communication media following the suppression of certain organs of public information.

By Saturday the only papers which circulated were The Panama Tribune, then an extra of El Mundo, and later in the day Informe Diario. La Estrella de Panamá, The Star & Herald (both over 100 years old), El Panamá América, The Panama American, Crítica, Expreso and La Hora were not permitted to circulate. One TV station was silenced while another was permitted to operate. Practically all radio stations were off the air.

All this absolute control of press freedom resulted from a military take-over of the government.

Perhaps never in the history of Panama has there been absolute suppression of news media to the point of preventing the publication and circulation of virtually all newspapers. But never before has the military taken over control of the government and set up a junta under military rule, as is now the case.

Panama has thus been caught in the current wave of militarism affecting this hemisphere. After a period in the 1950s and early 1960s when many of the military rulers were replaced by civilian regimes, it was fervently hoped that militarism was becoming a thing of the past. Also that constitutional governments, once duly elected and installed, would be permitted to function without coercion or imposition from the military forces, until a change in command was determined by the electorate in truly democratic fashion.

On October 11 at night the National Guard of Panama unseated the constitutionally elected Government of President Arnulfo Arias. It was the second military coup to have transpired in Latin America in less than two weeks. Probably these two events presage the future course that is likely to be followed in the Americas. God forbid!

The overthrow of President Arias occurred merely 12 days after the same National Guard had sworn publicly to support him as the country's new Chief Executive. This oath implied that the only military institution of the nation was prepared to follow his dictates loyally as its Commander-in-Chief.

In the morning of October 11, in a ceremony bidding farewell to General Bolívar Vallarino, the newly promoted Commander of the National Guard, Col. Bolívar Urrutia, told the chiefs and troops of his command:

"The transfers and promotions which tave taken place in the high command of the National Guard do not affect the constitution, the order or the discipline of our institution, whose unswerving duty is loyalty to the government of which we form a part, and whose unquestioned mission is the maintenance of public and institutional order, the guarantee of life, honor and welfare of the citizenry.

"In all armed institutions such movements are current and in our country they result from law and are a consequence of the top level policy of the State."

A few days after the coup was consolidated and Col. Urrutia became Provisional Vice President of the Republic, he repudiated his previous stand and, according to the wire service reports, announced that "he would not negotiate with deposed President Arias, neither would he permit him to return to power".

No one having a respect for the democratic process feels that his country must in any event turn to the military for guidance and arbitration. The intrusion of militarism into a democratically constituted political organism has invariably left a wake of dire consequences from which there is no easy recovery. This being the case solutions to political problems are always preferred outside the province of the military dictates.

The first anti-democratic act resulting from the military regime newly installed in Panama is the violation of press freedom.

The seriousness of this situation is underlined by the cable received and read at a session of our Committee from David Samudio, Jr. speaking on behalf of the Central American Newspapers Association, as follows:

"Pedro Joaquín Chamorro
"Inter American Press Association
"Hotel Plaza, Buenos Aires

"Kindly inform the Inter American Press Association of the suspension of publication of La Estrella de Panamá, The Panama America, La Hora, Crítica, Expreso, TV Channel 2 and several radio stations. El Mundo and Informe Diario continue publications freely. Our daily protests this attempt against press freedom of our colleagues. Our protest is being published on the first page of our today's edition. We will continue publication as a public service refusing all commercial advertisement while this situation exists."

It may be pointed out that Mr. Samudio is the son of the publisher of El Mundo, who ran as official candidate in the recent presidential elections against President Arnulfo Arias. Both publisher Samudio and his son, who waged a bitter campaign politically and from their newspaper against the opposition forces headed by Dr. Arias, are citizens of unquestioned patriotism. The fact that young Samudio has sent the IAPA such a cable speaks highly of his regard for the ideals of this organization, of which he is a member, ideals he has pledged to uphold.

Mr. Samudio realizes the blight which has overcome Panama by restricting press freedom in that country and he has courageously joined his voice to other Panamanians and freedom-loving people in this continent who reject any interference with the rights of a free and untrammelled press.

Without freedom of thought and its expression the essential rights of democracy are violated and there can be no guarantee or defense of the other liberties upon which democratic government is founded.

This action against press freedom in Panama emanates from militarism, which controls a state by force of arms and, usually, by suppression of civil liberties. The provisional government of Panama, now headed by two military and eight civilians, reports that it intends to remain in power only until it finds a solution to its present de facto status.

It is most unfortunate that a country which has over the years been noted for its free and independent press, should now find itself faced with curtailment of so basic a liberty as the right to forming and expressing public opinion.

In the distressing circumstances confronting Panama, one at this distance from the actual scene can only echo the plea of Col. Abel Quintero, Panama's military attache in Washington, that those who have taken this grave step should "meditate over the consequences of the overthrow of President Arias, and the advantages of the republic promptly returning to constitutional norms".

PARAGUAY

Because of circumstances beyond their control, Pedro Beltrán, Robert U. Brown and Jack Howard were unable to join George Beebe in an IAPA mission to Paraguay. Mr. Beebe submitted the following report:

I interviewed President Alfredo Stroessner about the nation's press. I talked with newspaper editors and reporters from several publications.

My findings and recommendations follow.

This mission was assigned by IAPA President Lee Hills before it was known that at least two Paraguayan newspapermen would attend our sessions in Buenos Aires.

I told President Stroessner that it is the desire of IAPA to at long last include Paraguay among the Hemispheric countries with a truly free press.

I emphasized that the last two reports on Paraguay indicated that a more liberal attitude toward the press was developing.

Then I told him I had four principal complaints about the Paraguay government that had been received by IAPA, and asked that he comment on each.

The first was:

1. There appears to be an unwritten law that no newspaper or magazine will personally criticize President Stroessner. Publications can comment occasionally about government policies and even criticize department heads, but never the president. To do so, some newsmen feel, would bring stern action against the newspaper.

General Stroessner's answer: "That is false. All you have to do is to read some newspapers to see that I am criticized -- probably more than deserved."

2. Every newspaper reportedly has employees who accept under-the-table money from government officials seeking to get personal or departmental publicity. Editors and publishers don't approve, but it has been the accepted practice for so long that it apparently is difficult to terminate without government cooperation.

General Stroessner's answer: "This is absolutely not true. We do not have sufficient money for the great needs of the country, such as education, so certainly we are not going to provide money to newspapermen."

3. Whenever a story of editorial critical or the government appears, the publisher or editor can expect a phone call next day asking: "Why? You don't know what you are talking about". Some newsmen feel this is a veiled threat or warning. It also may mean that the newspaper and government are not communicating in getting both sides of an issue.

General Stroessner's answer: "To my knowledge, this just isn't so. No one in Paraguay should ever fear about what they write about the government. We have the solid support of the people, so we do not fear criticism."

4. Too many governments officials, seeking personal publicity, pressure newspapers to use releases about themselves or their pet projects. Some papers use these without question, others base their use on whether they are legitimate news.

General Stroessner's answer: "I know nothing of this. I doubt that it is true."

From this interview, President Stroessner was made aware of reasons why Paraguay has been denied a place among those nations of the Western Hemisphere with a free press.

The president is a man extremely sensitive to criticism.

"You can see for yourself by reading our papers that they operate freely", he told me, showing me some of the opposition papers.

"We have protested SIP's unjustified criticism in the past, but no one would listen. For over a year now we have had a new constitution which guarantees a truly free press."

I found in looking over some of the Asunción papers that they do indeed express some fairly strenuous views about the government.

One topflight newsman in Asunción said that his paper prints today opinions that could not have been expressed a few years ago.

The governmental ministers once rebelled at any critical comment; now they are willing to discuss issues with their critics.

Even young members of Stroessner's Colorado Party are discussing openly critical subjects that were conversationally taboo as short a time as two years ago.

A United States State Department man recently returned from Paraguay confirms that press freedom is one of the most noticeable aspects of President Stroessner's moderation.

He said he knew of no retaliation for attacks on Stroessner by name, and Paraguayan editors said this was so.

All of the information gathered in the IAPA survey in Paraguay has been discussed with Freedom of Press Chairman Tom Harris and other members of his committee.

It is agreed to recommend that at long last Paraguay be admitted into the circle of Hemispheric nations where a free press exists.

In taking that country off the IAPA balcklist, it is suggested that the progress of the press in the next year be observed, with another report to be made when the General Assembly is held in Washington in October, 1969.

There is one danger area to be watched. Paraguay has a 32 per cent overcharge on all imports, to help the balance of payments. To date, the government has granted exemptions to this overcharge on newsprint.

It takes more red tape than should be expected to acquire this exemption, and there always is concern that the tariff could be used as a weapon against an overzealous newspaper.

The fact that we have two Paraguayan newspapermen at an IAPA meeting for the first time in memory, is a most encouraging sign.

It is hoped that other publishers and editors of Paraguay will see the value of IAPA membership, and join with us.

PERU

There is freedom of the press.

During the period under consideration in this report, some denunciations were received from persons who considered they had been injured by certain publications that were submitted to Court, although none of this is of major importance or cause for alarm, in the sense that it might threaten the freedom of the press.

The Government recently presented an unfortunate draft tax bill which, among other provisions, proposed a 40% ad valorem tax on the import of newspapers and periodical publications. This project merited total rejection by the press and the citizenry, which rightly considered it to be an attack on the right to culture. Happily, in the face of such determined public opinion, the Government withdrew its proposal.

Supreme Decree No. 300-68 HC of August 14 raised from 2% to 4% the tax on the sale of foreign magazines, which had been in force for over 20 years pursuant to law 10674, and also established a 2% tax on advertisements in all periodical publications printed in the country, to be paid by the publishers. These taxes are exclusively for the social assistance to street newspaper vendors, who also sell magazines and lottery tickets, and who, by reason of the nature of their work, lack a chief or employer having the obligation to make a fixed contribution in order to protect them from the hazards of sickness, maternity, old age, death and, in general, social assistance.

On October 3 a military take-over deposed President Belaúnde; but the Military Government has shown absolute respect for the unrestricted freedom of the press that has existed in Peru for over a decade. We trust the Military Government will continue to respect the freedom of the press that the country has enjoyed so far.

PUERTO RICO

There is freedom of the press.

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

There is freedom of the press.

UNITED STATES

There is freedom of the press.

The press of the United States remains among the freest in the world, yet ironically it is one the most harassed.

Each year it loses ground in a never-ending battle to protect the people's right to be fully informed about their government.

Despite this privilege being imbedded in the First Amendment to our Constitution, we find a continuing effort by those in government and in our courts to circumvent this fundamental right.

On the national level the press is alert and hard-swinging in meeting the challenge.

On the state and local levels, except for a few notable exceptions, there has been a lack of aggressiveness and organization.

Here we need a cohesive force of all media to deal quickly and effectively with infractions of long-standing free press prerogatives.

The longer local problems persist, the more difficult it becomes to correct them.

If our detractors can keep one door closed, they will be tempted to close others.

Far too many publishers and editors fail to take their battles beyond the editorial page. They must actively enter the arena of combat. They must be prepared to help initiate injunctions, and even to underwrite long and costly court actions.

Our stake in this conflict is too important for any member of the Fourth Estate to sit on the sidelines.

- o -

It has been four years since the U. S. news media launched its opposition to the American Bar Association's effort to put a clamp on crime news coverage.

This remains our greatest freedom of the press challenge, for it already is bringing secrecy into our law enforcement agencies and courts.

In February we lost a major battle.

The American Bar Association adopted recommendations of its Reardon Committee aimed at controlling information given out in criminal cases.

The news media always has been in complete sympathy with the basic objective of the Bar Association's plan -- the protection of defendants in criminal cases from any prejudice on the part of jurors.

But we long have been convinced that this can be accomplished without the heavy hand of the Reardon proposals.

At the moment, the Reardon recommendations are advisory and not compulsory.

The state and local bar groups are given a choice of adopting the Reardon principles in full, or in working with the news media to produce guidelines mutually acceptable to both professions. Over the nation, the bar is moving toward the latter.

But while final determination is being weighed, a new and more dangerous crisis has been hatched from the controversy.

The adoption of the Reardon report has touched off a wave of restrictions far more severe than Judge Reardon contemplated.

Jurists, prosecuting attorneys, police chiefs and even police officers in many U. S. communities are using the Reardon report to justify closing doors and records.

There has been no order. There has been no finality of the Reardon recommendations. And there has been no voice from Judge Reardon or the American Bar officials seeking to correct this misinterpretation.

The four leading U. S. journalistic societies -- ANPA, ASNE, APME, SDX -- have indicated a willingness to give full support if and when the time comes to test the constitutionality of some of the Reardon recommendations.

In the meantime, some of the "wildcat" judicial and police decisions on the state and local levels may have to be challenged in the courts.

Hu Blonk of the Wenatchee (Wash.) World, who is the diligent chairman of the Freedom of Information committee of The Associated Press Managing Editors Association, suggests court tests in the following issues:

1. Is it constitutional for jurists to stop lawyer, police officers, jurors and witnesses from talking prior to or during the trial?

2. Is it constitutional to prohibit photographers or TV in the courthouses, in adjacent parking lots or perhaps eventually all over town?

3. Is it constitutional to bar reporters from a public trial while the jury is out at the request of the defense attorney?

4. Is it constitutional to bar reporters from preliminary hearings?

5. Is it constitutional for a judge to bar sketching in the courtroom?

6. Is it constitutional for a judge to seek to restrict the volume of pre-trial and during-trial news and photo coverage, as differentiated from trying to restrict possible prejudicial reporting?

There is no doubt these questions must be answered eventually, and probably by the Supreme Court.

W. Theodore Pierson of a Washington, D.C. law firm, who champions the cause of the news media, said recently:

"There is more sense in testing adverse rulings at the state level than in discussing the desirability of reaching the U. S. Supreme Court."

He stresses the need for a national joint media panel of journalists and lawyers to act as an information center and to encourage and handle requests for assistance concerning problems of local publications and broadcast stations.

The Freedom of Information Center of the University of Missouri has volunteered as a clearing house for such problems.

This dilemma of the U. S. press could have hemispheric repercussions, for as the American Bar Association often cites restrictions on British crime coverage, so might the Latin American and Canadian judges and lawyers begin to pattern new press rules on the Reardon proposals.

It is the recommendation of the United States sub-committee of the IAPA Freedom of the Press Committee, that we give all possible support to the U. S. media's fight, and encourage individual IAPA members to do the same.

I know the U. S. journalistic societies will appreciate this hemispheric gesture of cooperation.

- o -

We continue to have other roadblocks plaguing the newspaper industry of the United States:

UNION THREATS: A newspaper, to be effective and successful, must be solvent, yet many U. S. publications face deficit operations because of the unrealistic and outrageous demands of unions, and the tendency of the National Labor Relations Board to lean heavily in its decisions to labor's side.

Union members should realize that they destroy, rather than enchance, their financial situations when they make demands that lead to the demise of a newspaper.

CLAMP ON OWNERSHIP: The Department of Justice recently suggested to the Federal Communications Commission that it grant no broadcast licenses to owners of newspapers. This rule would apply to license renewals, as well, thus threatening to disrupt present investments of millions of dollars.

The Justice Department's proposal would seem unconstitutional. At any rate, it is wholly wrong.

MANAGED NEWS: As long as leaders of the federal government attempt to conceal records, we cannot have a true story of many important issues.

Government press agents, handicapped by a policy of closed records, seek to satisfy the questions of the news media about their government. The full story rarely is told except by the reporters who spurn the handout circuit and do their own investigative work. There are too few of this breed in Washington.

MISTREATMENT OF NEWSMEN: When the police of a major U. S. city give the same brutal treatment to newsmen as to anti-war demonstrators, we have cause for protest and concern. Chicago police, during the Democratic National Convention. showed open hostility to the press, ignoring credentials and badges in roughing up some 30 reporters and photographers who were covering a major street demonstration near the Conrad Hilton Hotel.

It is not the purpose of this Committee to determine if the violent police action against an unruly mob of young peace militants was justified.

We do deplore, however, the typical "police state" practice or harassing accredited members of the news media, if they are showing responsibility, and moving against them with the same force and brutality showered on those

who wildy demonstrate or riot.

Unless newsmen are free to cover all major events of our nation, no matter how ugly, we deprive our people of an intimate look at meaningful incidents.

Unhappily, we must admit that there are members of our reportorial and photographic staffs who sometimes become rude and belligerant, and who disrupt the proceedings of justice.

It is our duty as publishers and editors to train our staff members to be courageous and ingenious in their news coverage, but never to become actors when their place is in the audience.

Because program time restricts the length of this report, other pertinent observations and suggestions are contained in a supplemental report, being made available to each of you.

I urge that you take time to read it.

This concludes the 1968 summary of the work of the United States sub-committee, whose members are:

George Beebe, Knight Newspapers, Chairman
Brady Black, Cincinnati (Ohio) Enquirer
Alberto R. Cellario, Time-Life International
Charles L. Dancey, Peoria (Ill.) Journal Star
Raymond E. Dix, Wooster (Ohio) Daily Record
Howard H. Fitzgerald, Pontiac (Mich.) Press
William L. Giandoni, The Copley Press
Edward H. Harte, Harte-Hanks Newspapers
William R. Hearst, The Hearst Corporation
Nicholas Ifft, Idaho State Journal, Pocatello, Ida.
David B. Lindsay, Jr., Sarasota (Fla.) Herald Tribune
Ignacio E. Lozano, Jr., La Opinión, Los Angeles
W. D. (Don) Maxwell, Chicago Tribune
Father Albert J. Nevins, Maryknoll Magazine, Maryknoll, N. Y.
Joseph B. Ridder, San Jose (Calif.) News-Mercury
Edward W. Scripps, Scripps League Newspapers

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT

Because of the length of the main report, a number of significant observations and developments are being recorded in a supplemental summary.

THE SUB-COMMITTEE'S JOB: The U. S. sub-committee on Freedom of the Press decided that it will continue to concentrate only on the major threats, such as the Reardon recommendations, managed news, etc. The more localized issues will be left to ANPA, ASNE, APME, SDX and the regional and state associations. IAPA stands ready to lend its full support whenever called upon.

A GREAT IDEA: Chuck Dancey (Peoria Journal Star), of our Committee, has come up with an excellent suggestion.

He would ask a half dozen Latin American publishers who have been victims of tyranny to briefly relate their experiences in exile, imprisonment, etc., and to express concern over the U. S. trend toward secrecy in government and law enforcement, and cite the dangers of the Reardon recommendations.

These letters would be made available to any U. S. news media that would find them of value in legislative hearings, discussions with bar and bench or even in editorializing on the threats to a free press.

Chuck has been asked to make this his personal project.

CREDIT WHERE CREDIT IS DUE: Don Maxwell (Chicago Tribune), also a member of this committee, thinks it would "prove profittable to the association if we had one committee to cite 10 newspapers a year, evenly divided between South and North America, that accomplished things the press ought to strive to accomplish." His suggestion is being passed on to the Executive Committee.

SAD BUT TRUE: Brady Black of The Cincinnati Enquirer, a committee member, is worried about our image with the younger generation.

Says Brady: "In a period in which many members of the younger generation have grown up with a perspective of (a) management by big government and (b) political and social change by mob action, the press, if it stands for responsibility, is looked upon as an obstacle to change and an enemy of those who want change.

"There has been a tendency also among some young people to regard the press as an agency which should be managed by government."

This could be a bitter problem to digest in our future.

SOME GOOD ADVICE: Raymond Dix of The Wooster Daily Record, a Committee member, says that "intrusions on press freedom often have to be fought locally, at first. Newspapers should constantly be encouraged to do this. Little things like closed meetings, withholding information on teacher salaries, submitting to closed trials and accepting blackouts decreed by local officials can lead to dangerous situations.

"Newspapers must be encouraged to stand up and fight."

SOLVENCY MEANS SUCCESS: Ignacio (Nacho) Lozano of La Opinión, Los Angeles, has this observation: "We often mention, when referring to our brethren below the border, the importance of economic viability to a free press. Might it be appropriate to comment on what threat, if any, growing union pressures, abetted by a sometimes overindulgent NLRB, hold in store for the economic strength of the U. S. press?"

There is not a publisher or editor in the United States who doesn't agree with the danger Nacho outlines.

LAWYERS ON OUR SIDE: In our long dispute with the bar and bench, it has been encouraging to have some of the nation's most eminent judges and attorneys speak out against the adoption of the Reardon report.

Typical is Chief Justice John C. Bell, Jr., of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. He said:

"It is imperative that we must resist constantly -- and with all our power -- every attempt to muzzle the press by well-meaning but unrealistic persons."

Bell believes that "newspapers and other news media are terrifically important in our lives, and particularly in showing up incompetent or crooked public officials and dangerous criminals.

"Indeed," he says, "it is not an exaggeration to note that the press is absolutely vital and indispensable for the protection of the public against crime and the criminals."

WEAKNESSES OF THE BAR: With the bar and bench on our necks for four years, we probably have been delinquent in not exploring the weaknesses of those who would curb some press freedoms.

An APME questionnaire to 50 courthouse reporters showed that lawyers and the courts are not without sin.

The survey indicated that 47 court reporters felt that some lawyers deliberately seek to prejudice a jury by asking questions of a witness they know a judge will order ignored, yet will have the desired prejudicial effect on jurors.

If any court has acted against such lawyers, it hasn't come to our attention.

And U. S. Chief Justice Earl Warren is critical of the backlog of federal court cases that allow criminals to run loose while awaiting trial.

This is a major problem in the U. S. today.

JURORS NOT SWAYED: The Rocky Mountain News, a Scripps-Howard paper in Denver, conducted a survey of 350 former jurors and only three said they were swayed in any way by news coverage.

This concludes the supplemental report of the U. S. subcommittee of the IAPA Freedom of the Press Committee.

DANGER TO OUR FREEDOMS: E. W. (Ed) Scripps, a FOP Committee member, is concerned by what he terms "the implied assumption in recent legislation and court rulings that those who own property -- including newspapers -- are guilty, unless they can prove to their accusers that they are innocent.

"The despicable thing about the Los Angeles Times ruling and the Tucson accusation by the Justice Department is that emphasis is placed on ownership; that if ownership of property, including newspapers, is such that monopolistic practice MIGHT be used to gain unfair competitive advantages, the courts have the power to divest a man of his property in order to prevent unlawful things that MIGHT happen."

Ed goes on to say that "If we permit our courts and legislative bodies to take away our property, and to force us to sell it, just because we MIGHT use this property to further a monopoly, we have placed power in the hands of governing bodies that will inevitably lead to tyranny of the worst kind.

"Our founding fathers had reason to fear that personal freedom would disappear when property rights are disregarded."

U.S. VIRGIN ISLANDS

There is freedom of the press.

In the past year the Virgin Islands legislature passed a law requiring publications including newspapers to register and get a license from the government, renewable each year. The IAPA Freedom of the Press Committee protested this proposed law and the governor vetoed it.

A complaint that a police blotter was closed to the press at times in a town in St. Croix was resolved with the police assurance that the records would be open.

The publisher of a newspaper in St. Thomas protested a new law which limits government advertising to two newspapers instead of all newspapers, as had been the custom in the past, but this legislation is not in the scope of freedom of the press as defined by IAPA.

URUGUAY

There is not complete freedom of the press. It has been limited for several months as a result of the so-called prompt security measures, which under the Uruguayan Constitution are tantamount to a state of siege and which the Government is empowered to impose in cases of grave agitation. Several editions of Buenos Aires newspapers were confiscated when they reached Montevideo. The same action was taken on several occasions against Uruguayan newspapers and some of them have been suspended for printing reports considered dangerous to the public order by the government during the period of student and labor commotions.

The financial problems of the Uruguayan press -- which caused in 1967 a strike that left Montevideo without newspapers for three months -- are now more serious. The demands for raises of wages, which have been frozen by the Government, have brought about new strikes and the total circulation of the Montevideo press has been reduced to a third of what it was, while the advertising revenues in a period of terrible inflation and acute deeper business recession have been considerably reduced.

VENEZUELA

There is freedom of the press.

The complaint of a United States journalist, Ruth Shereff, that she was placed on board a plane by the authorities, is being investigated by the Freedom of the Press Committee.

III - CONCLUSIONS

At our last two assemblies, your Committee on Freedom of the Press noted with satisfaction progress and positive changes in the press freedom of the hemisphere.

The unprecedented climate of press freedom found last year continues to exist. As our President reported, the Western Hemisphere is the only place in the world where an overwhelming majority of people live under conditions of a free press.

However, your Committee this year has had to conclude that negative influences verified in seven countries since our meeting in San Juan have offset progress made in other areas of the hemisphere.

That this is so points up warnings previously voiced: the IAPA must constantly be alert to the even-present danger of losing what has been gained through many years of steadfast dedication to the attainment of its objectives, and must maintain eternal vigilance against infringements on freedom of expression from any quarter.

Attacks take many forms -- from closing and destruction of newspapers by government troops to harassment of reporters trying to gather news, from closure of public and judicial records to taxes on advertising and newsprint.

Your Committee has called attention to the fact that in an every-growing number of nations of this continent, civil, democratic and representative governments are being substituted by de facto regimes under military control.

In a majority of cases, happily, these de facto regimes have shown full respect for freedom of the press. In others, however -- as so recently in Panama --, freedom of the press has been flagrantly violated.

That press freedom may be respected by a majority of the de facto regimes is an encouraging sign, and evidence of the results of this Association's labors. But since the freedom in these cases exists almost invariably at the will of these de facto governments, your Committee believes constant observation is necessary.

As part of the common effort to keep alive freedom of the press, your Committee expresses concern over the fact that even in countries where freedom is a reality, journalism is often subject to threats -- many times subtle but nonetheless effective -- that hamper the exercise of the right to report and criticize freely.

In certain countries mentioned in the body of this report, there is still a persistent governmental tendency to impose taxes on equipment, materials and other matters concerning the journalistic profession, in total disregard for its cultural and civic mission as well as for the universal principles laid down by the world's great international organizations. The Committee insists, therefore, in its oft-stated position that taxes on newsprint and newspaper equipment as well as on advertising should be eliminated wherever they exist in fact, or decried whenever there is a danger of seeing them imposed.

It recommends attention, also, to problems faced by correspondents, reporters and editors in carrying out their informative functions in other countries for lack of proper accreditation, or inability to obtain it without inordinate delay. Your Committee heard with sympathy a suggestion that members of the IAPA cooperate with representatives of affiliate publications to the extent even of interceding on behalf of the visiting journalist with their own governments, so that this obstacle to free access to news be eliminated.

Comparing the state of the press in the Americas as reported this year to reports made at the San Juan assembly in 1967, your Committee notes positive action or influences in Argentina, Guatemala, Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, Aruba and Paraguay.

In Paraguay, for instance, this year's report states -- for the first time in memory -- "there is freedom of the press". Repeated protests to the Paraguayan government over the years, and recent improvements in the press-freedom climate recently, were climaxed with an IAPA mission to that country.

In the Dominican Republic, which has enjoyed freedom of the press since late 1961, the report for the first time this year is limited to the words "there is freedom of the press".

In Argentina, Nicaragua and the Netherland Antilles, certain problems noted last year have been eliminated or ameliorated.

In Guatemala, an IAPA mission found the government is not taking advantage of exceptional powers it holds in the unsual circumstances presently prevailing to place restrictions on press freedom, and Guatemalan newspapers are free to inform the public and criticize the government.

On the negative side of the ledger, the most serious and distressing situation related to the hemisphere's press freedom is now occurring in Panama, where armed forces have kept various newspapers closed and others censored since October 11.

In Peru, a statement by the de facto President puts press freedom under his military government under the shadows of a vague phrase: "it depends".

Honduras must also be placed on the negative side of the ledger, because the government of that country, taking advantage of a state of siege which it declared to bring a general strike to an end, closed down two newspapers which had been critical of it. The two papers resumed publication October 15 after an IAPA protest.

Cuba and Haiti, on the other hand, weigh on the negative side because there is no change in the situation in these countries, no freedom of the press, and no signs giving lead to optimism.

Your Committee regrets that these oppressive situations continue to deteriorate. In the case of Cuba, with more than 40 newspapermen still imprisoned in communist jails, the Committee reminds IAPA members who send reporters to Cuba that they have been urged to concern themselves with the situation of the prisoners.

The IAPA has always maintained and continues to maintain that the best press law is no press law. We view with grave concern the situation in countries where any press law exists even if not applied.

In Brazil, the island of Dominica and Nicaragua, the press works under threat of such laws.

In Brazil not only does a specific press law hang over editors' heads, but also a National Security Law, containing articles which could directly and direly affect freedom of expression. That these laws have not been applied is secondary, because freedom of law as well as freedom of fact are necesary to guarantee a free press and a well-informed public.

With or without restrictive laws, however, various countries permit freedom of the press to exist in fact, but not as a matter of right. Rather, it exists at the will of the government. The IAPA believes that freedom of the press deserves and should have specific legal guarantees, and urges its members to seek such guarantees.

As a case in point, the Committee reminds members that in Czechoslovakia the first freedom to be restored in the liberalization of the regime was press freedom... and it was also the first to be rescinded after Russian occupation.

MR. HARRIS: The floor is now open for debate under the rules that Mr. Hills enunciated just a few minutes ago. You may pick any country at random to discuss. You don't have to follow alphabetical lines. Mr. Chamorro.

SR. PEDRO J. CHAMORRO (La Prensa, Managua, Nicaragua): Unicamente deseo informar a la Asamblea y a nuestro Presidente de la Comisión de la Libertad de Prensa que además de la ley restrictiva de la prensa que existe en Nicaragua y a la cual se refiere el informe muy bien, se presentó hace dos días un nuevo proyecto de ley también restrictivo de la libertad de expresión. Esta vez, debo aclarar, no fue el gobierno de la República quien presentó ese proyecto, sino un diputado de uno de los partidos de la oposición, resentido por críticas que se han hecho a sus actuaciones.

Simplemente quería hacer constar esta noticia y pedirle al Presidente de la Comisión de la Libertad de Prensa que, así como se va a dirigir al Gobierno de la República de Nicaragua y al del Brasil y al de Dominica pidiendo que deroguen las leyes restrictivas de la libertad de expresión que existen en esos países, se dirija también al Presidente del Congreso Nacional, expresándole que para nuestra Sociedad la mejor ley de prensa es la que no existe. Gracias.

MR. HARRIS: Thank you, Mr. Chamorro.

SR. ABEL VILLACORTA CISNEROS (El Nacional, Tegucigalpa, Honduras, y uno de los secretarios de la Asociación de Prensa Hondureña): Señor Presidente, honorable Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, yo quiero pedir a la Asamblea que se suprima esta parte del informe que dice que Honduras debe considerarse en el lado negativo, porque esto no es cierto.

Tengo aquí el diario El Cronista, decano de la prensa hondureña, edición del 29 de septiembre, durante el estado de sitio, y en su editorial, entre otras cosas, dice lo siguiente:

"En nuestro país, verdad es decirlo, nunca han sido aplicados los rigores de una ley de estado de sitio por muy delicada que la situación sea, y la que se encuentra vigente es una demostración de lo que anteriormente decimos. Los periodistas de los diarios capitalinos no encontramos cortapisa alguna en la divulgación de las noticias pese a que en las garantías suspendidas se encontraba la que normaliza la libre emisión del pensamiento, y algunas veces, para satisfacción de la insaciabilidad del público, nos hicimos eco hasta de los rumores que arriba mencionamos."

También se habla de una huelga general. Fue una huelga de un sector de la costa norte, y de esto se habla en este mismo editorial cuando dice: "La huelga que como cosa curiosa estalló en la costa norte bajo el estímulo de poderosos dirigentes patronales que nunca habían movido un dedo en beneficio de los sectores obreros, y antes bien han sido sus voraces explotadores en todos los tiempos, ha quedado felizmente concluida."

Yo quiero resumir los puntos de mi petición, juntándolos así:

(1) En mi país no ha habido amonestación, censura o cierre. Ha habido suspensión de publicaciones dentro del régimen de derecho. Aquí hay abogados, y entienden muy bien eso.

(2) La suspensión de los diarios fue de carácter temporal.

(3) Ningún periodista ha sido detenido o acusado por sus publicaciones. Si alguna persona fue detenida, lo fue por sus actividades políticas en el movimiento de la huelga, pero no porque haya escrito alguna línea o porque se haya manifestado públicamente sobre el acontecer nacional.

Es más, algunas de las personas a quienes se han referido aquí no son periodistas en el sentido de profesionales de la noticia o de la información.

(4) No se ha violado en ningún momento o forma la libre emisión del pensamiento.

(5) La suspensión que tanto se ha comentado se llevó a cabo con el pleno respaldo del decreto de estado de sitio, que suspendió ciertas garantías durante tres semanas y con fundamento en lo preceptuado en la Constitución de la República.

(6) Por decreto Núm. 46 del 11 de los corrientes se levantó el estado de sitio e incontinenti quedó restablecida la garantía individual de la libre emisión del pensamiento.

(7) El día 15 reaparecieron los diarios El Pueblo, órgano de un partido político de oposición al Gobierno, y La Prensa, diario independiente pero que se mantiene en la oposición al Gobierno, nuevamente y siempre con improperios al Gobierno constitucional de Honduras, emanado de la libre voluntad popular.

Muy respetuosamente reitero mi petición, porque en Honduras existe absoluta libertad de prensa. Muchas gracias.

SR. GERMAN E. ORNES (El Caribe, Santo Domingo, República Dominicana): Como miembro de la Comisión de la Libertad de Prensa y del Subcomité de Conclusiones de la misma, me considero en el deber de defender el informe que ha sido presentado en el caso de Honduras. Yo creo que el informe debe mantenerse tal como fue redactado.

En Honduras se clausuraron o se suspendieron publicaciones -- cualquiera que sea el nombre que se le dé -- y eso es una violación de la libertad de prensa. Dos periódicos dejaron de publicarse por acción del gobierno. Eso es lo que se dice en el informe, y creo que no tenemos ningún motivo para cambiar lo que ese informe dice. Ruego pues a la Asamblea que vote en favor de mantener -- sin enmiendas -- el informe en lo que se refiere a Honduras. Muchas gracias. (Aplausos)

SR. IGNACIO E. LOZANO, JR. (La Opinión, Los Angeles, California): Mr. Chairman, as a member of the mission which visited Honduras and which reported to the Committee on Freedom of the Press on its findings, I think that we should further identify Mr. Villacorta. He is here representing the

newspaper El Nacional, which is the official organ of the party in power in Honduras and which, incidentally, is not being published at this time. I really question the validity or the propriety of having someone here representing a newspaper which currently does not exist.

Mr. Villacorta additionally referred to another newspaper in Tegucigalpa. Our Commission was told that the reason El Nacional is not in publication was because it was cheaper for the party in power to buy its way into the other one. Thank you.

MR. HARRIS: Thank you, Mr. Lozano. Mr. Chamorro.

SR. CHAMORRO: Deseo secundar la moción del compañero Germán Ornes. Me parece a mí que no venimos aquí, periodistas libres de América, a escuchar discursos políticos como el del señor de Honduras. Para decir discursos políticos hay otros sitios. La verdad es que el informe sobre la República de Honduras es justo, porque allí se han clausurado dos periódicos durante bastante tiempo y eso es una violación grave de la libertad de expresión.

En cuanto a los ciudadanos arrestados por el Gobierno, uno de ellos -- el Sr. Jaime Rosenthal -- incluso estaba inscrito para asistir a esta reunión. El Sr. Rosenthal es miembro del directorio de La Prensa de San Pedro Sula, y no pudo venir, no sé si porque todavía continúa preso, o si porque el tiempo que estuvo en la prisión le impidió hacer los arreglos necesarios para viajar hasta Buenos Aires.

Repito que me parece justo el informe y pido al Presidente Harris que concluya este debate aceptándolo. Gracias.

MR. HARRIS: Thank you, Mr. Chamorro.

SR. VILLACORTA CISNEROS: Sr. Presidente, sólo quiero hacer las siguientes aclaraciones. El diario que represento no se está publicando en estos momentos porque se encuentra en un período de reorganización para darle mejor estructura, mejor contenido y mayor circulación. Pero nosotros mantenemos nuestra afiliación a esta Sociedad y desde luego tenemos nuestros derechos completos.

Y en segundo lugar, a la fecha de mi salida, el 11 del presente mes, no había ningún periodista detenido, ni había tampoco ningún reo político. Muchas gracias.

MR. HARRIS: Thank you. We have a motion to suppress the report on Honduras, made by the gentleman from Tegucigalpa.

Does anyone second that motion?

No second, so that motion died.

Does anyone want to make a motion regarding the report on Honduras?

Mr. Lozano moves that the report on Honduras be adopted as written by the Committee.

Seconded and carried. The report is accepted with one opposition.

We also have a motion on the floor from Mr. Chamorro that the Committee send a protest telegram to the president of the Congress of Nicaragua, opposing this latest press law proposal. Under this law it would be possible to close down any newspaper for as many as eight days if it refused to make a rectification or correction, or give the other person's side of the story. As you know, we oppose these laws.

Does anyone second his motion to send this message? Seconded and carried.

Any debate on any of the other countries?

Mr. Williamson has some remarks in regard to part of the report.

MR. WILLIAM P. WILLIAMSON (Brazil Herald, Rio de Janeiro): In the report on Guatemala on page 8, last sentence of the first paragraph, we say that the commission agrees that circumstances have made these unpleasant measures necessary.

The unpleasant measures referred to -- as I understand this -- are permission to enter and search a suspected terrorist's house without a court order. I think in most free countries this might be termed "illegal search and seizure" and I believe the IAPA should not go on record as saying that any totalitarian or semi-totalitarian measure is necessary in any form because we might some day find them necessary against newspapers. Therefore, I would like to move that we make this last sentence read simply: "This commission is happy to report that the government of Guatemala has not taken undue advantage of the powers granted to it".

SR. LOZANO: Mr. Chairman, the unpleasant measures that the report refers to are really not the government's right to illegally enter and search a suspect's house; it refers to the state of siege which the government found necessary to invoke.

Now the sentence says "This commission agrees" and that refers to the commission which visited Guatemala and reported to the Freedom of the Press Committee; it does not refer to the Freedom of the Press Committee.

This simply says that the four of us who went to Guatemala agree that those measures were necessary; not that the full Freedom of the Press Committee or that the IAPA agrees with these measures. This is really just a subjective opinion of the four of us who visited Guatemala.

MR. WILLIAMSON: If the Assembly accepts this clarification that this is not a position of the IAPA, I will withdraw my motion.

MR. HARRIS: The motion has been withdrawn. Is there any other objection to this wording?

The report will stand as written.

Do we have any comments, debates or questions on any other part of the Freedom of the Press report? If not, does someone want to move that it is accepted?

George Westerman has moved that the Report of the Committee on Freedom of the Press be accepted. Any seconds?

The report is accepted.

Now I will turn the meeting back to Mr. Hills.

MR. HILLS: Thank you, Mr. Harris, for that fine report. All of us appreciate the great work that you and your Committee have done this past year, and I suggest that we give the Freedom of the Press Committee a round of applause. (Applause)

MR. HARRIS: Thank you very much on behalf of all the Committee.

MR. HILLS: The Recommendations and the Draft Resolutions of the Committee on Freedom of the Press have gone to the Resolutions Committee, and we will hear about them this afternoon.

The General Assembly will meet this afternoon at three o'clock in this room to receive the report of the Resolutions Committee. After the Assembly session ends, the Board of Directors will then immediately meet to elect officers and the Executive Committee of the IAPA, the Scholarship Fund and the Technical Center for 1968-1969.

All members, of course, are cordially invited to stay for the Board meeting.

Does any member wish to make any comments or remarks on this or any other subject at this time?

Our manager, Carlos Jiménez, has an announcement.

SR. JIMENEZ: Les recuerdo a los señores delegados que las entradas para diversos actos -- si no las han retirado ya -- están a su disposición en la mesa de inscripción.

Esos actos son: El asado criollo con bailes folklóricos argentinos en la Sociedad Rural, que ofrece mañana la Ford Motor Company de Argentina; Carreras en el hipódromo el domingo; para los delegados extranjeros, carreras de automóviles en el Autodromo.

Y también los libros con datos biográficos de los directores de la SIP, atención del Sr. Watkins. Eso es todo, Sr. Presidente.

SR. FELDMAN JOSIN: En el día de hoy uno de los diarios señeros de América, La Prensa, cumple 99 años. Está, pues, en vísperas de su centenario.

Su permanente acción en favor de la libertad de prensa, de la libertad de conciencia, en defensa de los derechos humanos, ha acumulado suficientes razones para que esta Asamblea transmita a los continuadores de José C. Paz los mejores deseos de que el año próximo La Prensa pueda cumplir su centenario con la dignidad y la altivez que ha mantenido durante todo este tiempo. Esto es todo. (Aplausos)

MR. HILLS: Thank you, Mr. Feldman. Mr. Horacio Aguirre has asked for the floor.

SR. AGUIRRE: En primer término me solidarizo plenamente con los conceptos del Sr. Feldman acerca del diario La Prensa de Buenos Aires, al cual todos admiramos y respetamos, y

aprovecho la oportunidad para rendir tributo de simpatía y admiración al Dr. Gainza Paz.

Yo pedí el uso de la palabra para hablar sobre el Centro Técnico de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa.

El Presidente de nuestra Sociedad, Lee Hills, exaltó en su informe la importancia del Centro Técnico, y se refirió a dificultades financieras en su funcionamiento.

El Sr. Heiskell brevemente nos dio lectura a la encuesta realizada bajo su dirección y en la que aparece que la opinión de los periodistas o de las empresas que integran nuestra Sociedad refleja que el Centro Técnico es de gran importancia para todos nosotros. Y confirma, también, lo expresado por el Sr. Hills en el sentido de que afronta problemas de carácter económico.

Por otra parte, el Tesorero, el Presidente y el Director y Vicepresidente del Centro Técnico, también se refirieron en su informe a este asunto. Yo únicamente quiero limitarme a invitar a toda la Asamblea, sin precisar ninguna fórmula salvadora, para que oportunamente estudiemos la manera de cómo nuestro Centro Técnico pueda funcionar eficientemente con independencia económica.

Nuestro Centro Técnico presta importantísimos servicios a las empresas pequeñas que no pueden tener por sí mismas sus departamentos de investigación científica -- por así decirlo -- y que no tienen los recursos necesarios para adquirir sus equipos con su propia dirección técnica.

Los errores que en la vida moderna se pueden cometer al comprar equipo -- por ejemplo por falta de buen asesoramiento -- puede representar pérdidas fabulosas, y el Centro Técnico nos brinda asistencia a todos nosotros -- el Diario Las Américas ha recibido esta asistencia, y sé que muchos otros periódicos la han recibido -- para orientarnos en la adquisición de equipo, en su manejo, y además nos ha brindado la oportunidad, a través de sus seminarios, de adiestrar a nuestro personal en el campo profesional en breve tiempo, cosa que nos sería muy difícil a las empresas pequeñas hacerla por nosotros mismos.

Si estamos conscientes de que el Centro Técnico es de una gran utilidad -- y así lo refleja abierta y claramente la encuesta que dirigió con acierto el Sr. Heiskell --, si

sabemos que está en situación económica difícil, si consideramos que el Centro Técnico está vinculado a la libertad de prensa en el sentido de que estimula la independencia de nuestros periódicos a través de su perfeccionamiento profesional, debemos hacer algo serio, prudente y práctico. No podemos permitir -- o no debemos permitir -- que una organización tan útil para nuestra Sociedad deje de existir o exista muy débilmente por falta del respaldo económico necesario. Eso es todo, Sr. Presidente.

MR. HILLS: Thank you.

SR. CELLARIO: Sobre el Centro Técnico, quisiera agregar que dentro de las actividades del Centro me ha tocado participar en la Mesa Redonda sobre la Conservación de los Recursos Naturales Renovables. Cuando conocí el tema me pareció un tanto esotérico, un tanto alejado de la misión misma del Centro Técnico, pero con la experiencia de la participación en la Mesa Redonda he llegado a la conclusión de que esas actividades del Centro son de gran utilidad para desarrollar en los periodistas de la América Latina, sobre todo, un interés en temas específicos y para mejorar la capacidad de los que trabajan en el campo de las ciencias, siempre tan difícil de encarar cuando no se es especializado.

Yo quería solamente expresar mi deseo de que la Unión Panamericana y la Fundación Brasileña para la Conservación de los Recursos Naturales, que facilitaron y permitieron la realización de esa Mesa Redonda con su cooperación, insistan en ello y continúen prestando al Centro su apoyo. Eventualmente esas mesas redondas se podrían extender a otros campos especializados, lo que yo sé está ya en la mente del Director y Vicepresidente del Centro Técnico, Sr. Guillermo Gutiérrez.

MR. HILLS: Thank you very much, Mr. Cellario.

SR. HECTOR GONZALEZ (El Rancagüino, Rancagua, Chile): He oído con mucho agrado las palabras de mi amigo Aguirre sobre el Centro Técnico, porque ha reflejado la profunda inquietud, el temor con que los que representamos a diarios pequeños de nuestra América hemos sabido de las dificultades financieras que afronta el Centro Técnico de la SIP.

Para los diarios pequeños de provincia de nuestra América Latina, el Centro Técnico es el verdadero vínculo concreto que tenemos con la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa. Es el

organismo que está más cerca de nosotros; es la institución a la cual podemos acudir cuando necesitamos algo; es el organismo que nos está brindando lo que nos hacía falta, lo que no teníamos; que ha puesto seminarios de perfeccionamiento a nuestro alcance; que todos los meses, por intermedio de su boletín, nos está trayendo las novedades que nosotros deseamos y necesitamos conocer.

Repito que es con inquietud, con temor que vemos la posibilidad de que el Centro Técnico deje de prestarnos sus servicios. Creo que gran parte de la razón de que los diarios pequeños sigan permaneciendo en la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa deriva de la existencia del Centro Técnico. Por lo tanto, este temor se justifica. Lo comparto en este momento con muchos de los aquí presentes y lo reflejo en estas palabras que quiero dirigir a la Asamblea para que se haga un esfuerzo a fin de que el Centro Técnico pueda seguir brindándonos a los diarios pequeños de nuestra América el servicio que de él estamos recibiendo. (Aplausos)

MR. HILLS: Thank you very much. I appreciate the deep concern that you and others have expressed in this situation. I think it is a most important question. A group of us had a meeting at breakfast this morning, before this General Assembly meeting, to discuss the problem. A good deal of work is being done on it, and I have asked Mr. John Herbert, Chairman of the Technical Center, to make a final statement advising you what is being done and what efforts we are making.

MR. HERBERT: First of all, let me say that I appreciate the kind words expressed by the three members of the Inter American Press Association in testifying to the value of the Technical Center's work.

Let me state very briefly what our problem is at the present time. The Technical Center was established with a Ford Foundation grant of $400,000.00. Later the Ford Foundation gave us an additional $450,000.00. We went back to the Ford Foundation this Spring to apply for a renewal of this amount, or an increased amount, if necessary, and we received assurances that we were doing a great piece of work and they would give our request some kind of a study and some kind of an answer within a few weeks.

Now the Ford Foundation reversed its policy that had been established for some time, and decided to concentrate most of

its grants to projects within the United States, to try to handle some of these problems that had existed within our cities, etc. Most of the overseas grants from The Ford Foundation were eliminated, but we did receive $150,000.00, which they said was a token grant but it was in recognition of the outstanding work that we were doing.

This means, then, that our Foundation underwriting is substantially reduced; however, I don't believe that the Technical Center ought to exist indefinitely with Foundation grants. Either we are doing a good job and we can stand on our own feet, or we should go out of business. And so, sooner or later we had to face this crisis.

We feel that the Technical Center's work is of such value and of such importance that we can make it self-supporting. We are going to call upon you, whether you are North American members or Latin American members, for your help and assistance in making the Technical Center self-supporting. As Mr. Hills said, we had an early morning meeting and we went over the problem. I think we have some ideas that will work out well, and we will keep you informed. But we would like to have your help as we call upon you, and I think that we will have a very fine Technical Center, which will be self-supporting -- we won't have to worry about Foundation grants -- in the long-run, in order to provide this useful service to the members of the IAPA.

MR. HILLS: Thank you, Mr. Herbert. I would like to urge all of the members to participate in any way possible and to cooperate in this effort. It is going to take a lot of doing but I am sure it can be done. As I said in my opening address, we must find ways to make the Technical Center self-sustaining, and we think it can be done. Dr. Martínez Márquez has asked for the floor.

DR. MARTINEZ MARQUEZ: Como veterano de la letra impresa, con 49 años de ejercicio profesional ininterrumpido, a veces en mi patria, cuando había libertad, en otras ocasiones en las tierras americanas libres, estoy muy acostumbrado a lo que nosotros llamamos en nuestro lenguaje periodístico "erratas de imprenta", pero en este caso yo diría que se trata de una errata para mí muy importante.

Durante mi intervención -- mi breve intervención -- en el debate de la Comisión de la Libertad de Prensa, dije con

profundo pesar que en el caso de Cuba los periodistas norteamericanos que habían ido a mi patria no habían cumplido el elemental deber de solidaridad profesional con sus compañeros presos. Desgraciadamente, por un error de interpretación se publicó que de esta omisión estaban exentos los periodistas americanos. Al solo efecto de que quede clara constancia de mis palabras, de mi protesta, quiero decir y repetir mis palabras.

Dije, y repito, que los periodistas norteamericanos que habían ido a Cuba habían incumplido -- no habían cumplido -- el más elemental deber de solidaridad profesional con sus compañeros presos, ignorando la situación de sus colegas que guardan prisión en Cuba. Eso es todo. (Aplausos)

MR. HILLS: Thank you, Dr. Martínez Márquez, we will ask that the record be corrected.

Are there any other comments?

The session of the General Assembly is now adjourned until 3:00 o'clock in the afternoon in this room.

(The meeting adjourned at 12:45 PM.)

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

FIFTH MEETING

Friday, October 18, 1968

The fifth meeting of the XXIV General Assembly of the Inter American Press Association convened at 3:00 PM, Friday, October 18, 1968, in the Salón de Fiestas of the Plaza Hotel in Buenos Aires, Argentina, with Mr. Lee Hills, President, as Chairman.

MR. HILLS: The meeting is called to order.

I will now ask the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, Dr. Gainza Paz, to read the report of the Committee. I would like to ask him to specify, before reading each recommendation or resolution, whether it calls for a vote, and then read the resolutions or recommendations one by one, proceeding with the next one after action, if required, has been taken.

DR. GAINZA PAZ: Mr. Chairman, your Committee recommends approval of resolutions on the following matters, and that these resolutions be sent to the appropriate authorities:

Resolution No. 1:

"THE XXIV ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE INTER AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION RESOLVES:

"That the IAPA again express deep concern over efforts of the American Bar Association and Judicial Conference of the United States to close records and silence lawyers and courthouse personnel in criminal cases under the threat of disciplinary action."

I think this should be submitted to a vote. Is there any discussion?

MR. HILLS: It has been moved and seconded. Carried.

DR. GAINZA PAZ: Resolution No. 2:

"THE XXIV ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE INTER AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION RESOLVES:

"That the IAPA urge the President of the Republic of Chile, Don Eduardo Frei Montalva, to seek the repeal of the tax on

advertising affecting Chilean newspapers, which has created a grave financial crisis for all newspapers and especially the smaller ones."

I think this should be submitted to a vote too, Mr. Chairman.

MR. HILLS: It has been moved and seconded. Carried.

DR. GAINZA PAZ: Resolution No. 3:

"THE XXIV ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE INTER AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION RESOLVES:

"That the IAPA urge the Government of Nicaragua to repeal the existing press law, which is restrictive of freedom of the press."

I move that a vote be taken.

MR. HILLS: It has been seconded and carried.

DR. GAINZA PAZ: Resolution No. 4:

"THE XXIV ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE INTER AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION RESOLVES:

"That the IAPA urge the President and Congress of Brazil to repeal any provisions ofthe existing laws that affect freedom of the press."

I move that a vote be taken.

MR. HILLS: It has been seconded and carried.

DR. GAINZA PAZ: Resolution No. 5:

"THE XXIV ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE INTER AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION RESOLVES:

"That the IAPA advise the Government of Dominica that its 'Seditious and Undesirable Publications Law' was brought before this Assembly along with the letter from the Government requesting that we reconsider an original IAPA protest, and that the Assembly again went on record as saying that the best press law is no press law, and urging that the Governor of Dominica use his good offices to have this law repealed."

I move for a vote.

MR. HILLS: It has been seconded and carried.

DR. GAINZA PAZ: Resolution No. 6:

"THE XXIV ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE INTER AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION RESOLVES:

"To recommend to the Executive Committee that it study the possibility of establishing a system of inter-American press acreditation of professional journalists and seek recognition of the system by the authorities and thereby give them equal access to sources of information."

MR. HILLS: It has been moved and seconded. Carried.

DR. GAINZA PAZ: Resolution No. 7:

"THE XXIV ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE INTER AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION RESOLVES:

"That the IAPA take notice of the statements made by the military Government of Peru that there is freedom of the press in that country and express its hope that this freedom will be maintained without any restrictions."

MR. HILLS: It has been moved and seconded. Carried.

DR. GAINZA PAZ: Resolution No. 8:

"THE XXIV ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE INTER AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION RESOLVES:

"That the IAPA is gratified to learn from its mission to Paraguay that there has been a relaxation of restrictions on freedom of the press in that country and expresses its hope that this trend will continue until there is true freedom of the press in Paraguay."

MR. HILLS: It has been moved and seconded. Carried.

DR. GAINZA PAZ: Resolution No. 9:

"THE XXIV ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE INTER AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION RESOLVES:

"That the IAPA again go on record as being vigorously opposed to all duties or special taxes on newsprint and newspaper equipment."

MR. HILLS: It has been moved, seconded and approved.

DR. GAINZA PAZ: Resolution No. 10:

"THE XXIV ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE INTER AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION RESOLVES:

"That the IAPA reaffirm its recent protest to the Government of Panama denouncing the closing of some newspapers, and again urge that the Government immediately lift the ban on these newspapers and restore freedom of the press."

MR. HILLS: It has been moved and seconded. Carried.

DR. GAINZA PAZ: Resolution No. 11:

"THE XXIV ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE INTER AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION RESOLVES:

"1. That the IAPA take notice that the President of Honduras fulfilled his promise to the IAPA mission which recently visited that country to lift the ban against the newspapers that were closed by his Government; and

"2. That the IAPA expects there will be no repetition of this violation of freedom of the press."

MR. HILLS: It has been moved and seconded. Carried.

DR. GAINZA PAZ: Resolution No. 12:

"THE XXIV ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE INTER AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION RESOLVES:

"That the IAPA again express its sorrow and indignation at the treatment given over 40 of our Cuban colleagues who are imprisoned in Cuba, and urge its members to seek every opportunity to report on their plight."

MR. HILLS: It has been moved and seconded. Carried.

DR. GAINZA PAZ: Resolution No. 13:

"THE XXIV ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE INTER AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION RESOLVES:

"That the IAPA hereby express its affectionate congratulations to our dedicated Life Member, Mr. J. N. ("Ned") Heiskell, on the occasion next month of his 96th birthday, and our warmest greetings to his charming wife." (Applause)

MR. HILLS: It has been moved and seconded. Carried.

DR. GAINZA PAZ: Now, Mr. Chairman, being a member of the Organizing Committee, I shouldn't read this resolution, but I will do it anyway.

Resolution No. 14:

"THE XXIV ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE INTER AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION RESOLVES:

"To thank the members of the Host Committee, their charming wives, the many public and private groups, and particularly General Manuel Iricíbar, the Mayor of Buenos Aires, whose enthusiastic cooperation and generous hospitality have made the XXIV Annual Assembly in Buenos Aires a memorable event." (Applause)

MR. HILLS: It has been moved, seconded and carried.

Thank you very much, Tito, and the members of your Committee.

Under the rules of the Inter American Press Association your President is authorized to present such a resolution of thanks and appreciation, which I had prepared, and since it is a little more in detail and names more people -- even though there is a little repetition in this -- if you will pardon me, Tito, I will ask our Manager, Carlos Jiménez, to read it.

SR. JIMENEZ: La Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa manifiesta su especial reconocimiento a todas las personas y organizaciones que han contribuido al éxito de la XXIV Asamblea General, cooperando con la Comisión Organizadora y con la Sociedad.

La SIP desea expresar en particular su sincero y hondo agradecimiento a:

Su Excelencia el Señor Presidente de la Nación Argentina, Teniente General Juan Carlos Onganía; al Sr. Intendente, General Manuel Iricíbar; al Secretario de Difusión, Sr. Federico Frischknecht; al Presidente del Comité Interamericano de la Alianza para el Progreso, Dr. Carlos Sanz de Santamaría; al Presidente del Banco Internacional de Reconstrucción y Fomento, Sr. Robert McNamara; y a los miembros del panel que formó parte de nuestra Asamblea.

A la Comisión Organizadora de Buenos Aires; a la Comisión de Damas; al Dr. Bartolomé Mitre; al Dr. Alberto Gainza Paz; al Dr. Carlos Ovidio Lagos; y al Sr. Francisco A. Rizzuto. A todos ellos les estamos profundamente reconocidos por haber organizado una magnífica Asamblea y un extraordinario programa de agasajos, trabajando intensamente durante muchos meses.

A Time Inc. y a las empresas y organizaciones que contribuyeron con donaciones, máquinas, útiles o servicios.

Al personal de secretaría y a los intérpretes, que trabajaron arduamente durante todo el tiempo necesario para asegurar el éxito de nuestra Asamblea.

Eso es todo, Sr. Presidente. (Aplausos)

MR. HILLS: I suppose the main thing this resolution of mine proves is that we North Americans are more flowery and more profuse than our Latin friends. (Laughter) Anyway, I move that the resolution be approved.

It has been seconded and approved. (Applause)

I would like to remind everyone of tonight's social events: first the Mergenthaler cocktails in the Salones Retiro, Galería and Florida of the Plaza Hotel at 7:30 PM, and the IAPA Closing Banquet in this same meeting room at 9 PM.

The President of the World Bank, Mr. Robert McNamara, will deliver the special speech at the Banquet, and we also will have the Inaugural Speech of the new President of the IAPA at that time.

As you know, this is an optional black tie affair. I would like to remind everyone to wear his badge, not only tonight, but for tomorrow's barbecue, which is being offered by the Ford Motor Co. of Argentina. The buses will leave the Plaza tomorrow at 12 noon.

Before we adjourn this meeting and go into the Board of Directors meeting I would like to ask if any member wishes to make any comments or any remarks.

MR. DIX: I merely want to take advantage of your being here to tell you that Mr. Mesquita Neto and I desire a joint meeting of the Membership Committee immediately after these meetings here this afternoon, at the rear of the room. We have to get this thing started right away and this is the only time between now and our Spring meeting when you are all together here. So, to all of you who are members of this Committee, we would like to meet with you in the rear of this room immediately after this meeting. It will just require about five minutes, so if you will be there I will appreciate it very much.

MR. HILLS: Thank you, Mr. Dix. Are there any other remarks, comments or announcements?

SR. ENRIQUE NORES MARTINEZ (Los Principios, Córdoba, Argentina): Sr. Presidente, amigos. Yo hubiera querido que las ligerísimas reflexiones que voy a hacer hoy hubieran sido al margen de la reunión, pero con la asistencia de todos ustedes a los efectos de que eso se entendiera, no como un consejo, sino como una simple recomendación.

Todos hemos vivido una jornada fecunda de la SIP. Hemos asistido a un proceso bastante jaqueado y bastante movido en todos los órdenes. No deja de preocuparme -- y esto lo he escuchado también de muchos colegas, inclusive de colegas del periodismo que no viven la intimidad de la SIP -- algo de lo cual la prensa argentina, y supongo que la mundial también, se ha hecho eco con idéntica fidelidad.

Yo creo que es un propósito que a todos nos alienta con una vehemencia, diríamos apasionada, el de mantener el prestigio de nuestra organización, que no es solamente el del organismo en sí, sino la dignidad de todos los que la integramos. Del curso de las discusiones habidas y del curso

de los proyectos y, diríamos, encuentros entre algunos sectores ha quedado de manifiesto, y recogido en la prensa diaria, algo que me preocupa, y sé que preocupa a muchos intensamente, y es lo siguiente:

Se ha dicho por allí que algunos diarios miembros de la SIP habrían retaceado determinadas informaciones que hacen a problemas que a todos nos preocupan por igual.

Yo quiero dejar en este momento, Sr. Presidente -- y vuelvo a decir que mi deseo hubiera sido que esto no se produjera dentro de la reunión, sino al margen de ella -- la siguiente recomendación amistosa:

Que frente a esta experiencia, todos los que alguna vez tengamos que formular algún reclamo a nuestros propios colegas, lo hagamos concretamente, citando nombres y acontecimientos, para que así el cuerpo pueda tomar contacto directo con el proceso, opinar, resolver, juzgar.

Porque creo que es muy peligroso que quede flotando en el ambiente una acusación abstracta, casi generalizadora, sobre todo con respecto a hechos que a todos nos preocupan por igual y que a todos nos alcanzan por igual.

En una palabra, que cuando algún colega tuviere un cargo de ese tipo que formular -- que sería gravísimo desde mi punto de vista -- ese cargo sea concreto para que el hecho sea juzgado por sus pares en el momento en que debe serlo. Y si esa publicación o ese hombre, por resultado del análisis del caso sometido a juicio, fuese indigno de pertenecer a la SIP, que se lo saque de la SIP y no caiga una acusación abstracta, castigándonos a todos por igual.

Que esta recomendación, les ruego y suplico a todos, sea tomada como una recomendación amistosa en beneficio de nuestra institución y por respeto a nuestra propia dignidad. Nada más, Sr. Presidente.

MR. HILLS: Thank you very much, Mr. Nores Martínez, for your suggestion and recommendation. I think most of us will agree with you that it is better when we have complaints and criticisms, to make them concrete and specific. I appreciate your comments.

Are there any other remarks? If not, let me say again that all of you are invited to stay for this short meeting of the Board of Directors.

At this time I will adjourn the meeting of this General Assembly, and I would like to remind all of you that the next General Assembly will be held in Washington, D.C., October 29-31, 1969. We hope all of you will be there.

SR. AGUIRRE: Sr. Presidente, en la mañana el señor secretario de la Junta Directiva, Sr. Feldman, tuvo unas palabras de reconocimiento para un gran periódico hispanoamericano de merecida fama mundial, y después cuando hablé yo sobre otro asunto, me referí también en forma breve a ese periódico para rendirle un homenaje personal.

Me estoy refiriendo al diario La Prensa de Buenos Aires, que está comenzando el año de su centenario. Se trata -- como todos sabemos -- de una gran tribuna del pensamiento y de la orientación de todos nuestros pueblos, desde el extremo norte hasta el extremo sur de nuestro hemisferio.

Yo me permito pedir a todos los distinguidos colegas de esta Asamblea un voto de aplauso para el diario La Prensa en la iniciación del año de su centenario, por todo lo que ese periódico representa para todos nosotros como un faro, como una tribuna, como una ruta de orientación y de prestigio. Y este aplauso que yo pido de parte de todos nosotros para el diario La Prensa lo quiero hacer extensivo de manera muy particular a su ilustre director, el Dr. Alberto Gainza Paz, figura de sobresalientes méritos que ha luchado denodadamente dentro y fuera de su patria por los más nobles ideales de nuestra Sociedad. Eso es todo, Sr. Presidente. (Aplausos)

SR. FELDMAN JOSIN: Aunque nuestro presidente, Lee Hills, continúa en el cargo hasta esta noche, este es, sin embargo, el momento en que podemos decir dos palabras sobre él. Quiero que la Asamblea agradezca y reconozca la inteligente gestión que ha realizado Lee Hills durante un año, y la forma cordial y ecuánime en que ha dirigido todos los debates, permitiendo que cualquier asambleísta use de la palabra y diga lo que ha querido.

Solicito, entonces, este aplauso para nuestro presidente, quien ha realizado una buena tarea. (Aplausos)

MR. HILLS: Thank you very much. I appreciate that. It has been a wonderful, interesting year.

Since I had already adjourned the meeting of the General Assembly, and since we have not yet convened the meeting of the Board of Directors, all of this, of course, was off the record. I appreciate it anyway.

The meeting of the Board of Directors of the IAPA is now in session.

To facilitate the voting, I would like to ask that the directors, including the 15 elected today, please sit in the first three rows. If you are not a director, would you please change places, because we are not at the round table or horseshoe table.

Just one word of warm and cordial welcome to this new Board of Directors, which is meeting today for the first time.

The first order of business -- even though I just got elected this morning -- is that I am resigning from the Board, because I have become a member of the Advisory Council and automatically serve, with other past presidents, on the Board and the Executive Committee.

Now this opens the way for the election of one additional director, and at this time I would like to ask Mr. Heiskell, the Chairman of the Committee on Nominations to the Board, if his Committee has any nomination to make for this new vacancy on the Board of Directors. Mr. Heiskell.

MR. HEISKELL: Mr. Hills, welcome to the state of Senior Citizen.

I would like to suggest to the Board that it consider the name of Mr. Carlos Ricart as a possible nominee for this vacant post. He has three times in succession come very, very close to being elected, missing by one or two votes. He has had a distinguished career -- as you noted, the other day he won one of the major awards -- and if it is proper for me, Mr. Hills, I would like to put his name in nomination.

Mr. Hills, would you care to have a vote, or do you just want to take the applause?

MR. HILLS: Is there any discussion?

You heard that motion. It has been seconded and carried. Mr. Ricart of Listín Diario, Santo Domingo, is the new member of the Board of Directors. Congratulations. (Applause)

What is going on right now in the sight of the hall -- just to keep you informed -- is that the Nominations Committee which was appointed to name the new slate of officers, apparently is having further discussion on who these new officers should be, so it has asked for a few moments to have another meeting. Apparently there is a great deal of competition on this, and as soon as the Committee is ready, we will hear its report.

In the meantime, I understand there has been a request for photographs of the new Board of Directors immediately following the adjournment of this meeting, so will all the Directors please stay for just a few minutes? I can tell you we are running well ahead of time. We will finish early enough for everyone to have a nap or anything else you may do this afternoon. That is, if Pedro Beltrán and his Committee do not take too long.

Does anyone else wish to speak at this time?

SR. CARLOS A. RICART (Listín Diario, Santo Domingo, Rep. Dominicana): Unas palabras muy breves, señores, para agradecerles profundamente una vez más la amable acogida que siempre me han dado en nuestra Sociedad, y en esta oportunidad muy especialmente quiero agradecer al Sr. Heiskell por haber propuesto mi nombre como miembro de la Junta de Directores. Quiero decirles que me siento sumamente honrado de estar en tan distinguida compañía, y pueden contar con mi colaboración y mi fidelidad a los estatutos de la asociación. Muchas gracias, señores. (Aplausos)

MR. HILLS: I think that while we are waiting for the Committee, we could very well proceed with some other business, and so I will ask at this time if Mr. Cowles, as Vice President, or Mr. Jiménez, as Secretary, is ready to proceed with the routine business this afternoon of the IAPA Scholarship Fund.

MR. COWLES: The Scholarship Fund must now elect its members and directors for the 1968-69 year, and since the members and directors of the Fund are the directors of the IAPA, a quorum has already been established.

A motion is in order that all the directors of the IAPA be elected as members and directors of the Scholarship Fund. Will someone place that motion?

Moved, seconded and approved.

The new Board of the Scholarship Fund must now elect its officers and Executive Committee for 1968-69. A quorum has already been established.

I will call on Mr. Herbert, Chairman of the Nominating Committee, to present a slate of new officers and Chairman and members of the Executive Committee.

MR. HERBERT: Mr. Cowles, the Nominating Committee for the Scholarship Fund recommends the election of the following officers for another term: President, Rodolfo Junco de la Vega, Jr.; Vice Presidents, Alberto Gainza Paz, Harold A. Fitzgerald, William H. Cowles and John S. Knight; Treasurer, Howard H. Fitzgerald; Secretary, Carlos Jiménez; and the Executive Committee would be the Executive Committee of the parent body, the Inter American Press Association.

This report is signed by John R. Herbert, Chairman; Marian S. Heiskell, Germán Ornes and Pedro Joaquín Chamorro.

I move that the officers be elected.

MR. COWLES: It has been moved, seconded and approved.

The meeting will now be adjourned, and the Chairman of the Board of the IAPA Technical Center, Mr. John R. Herbert, will take the chair to preside over a meeting of the Center's membership and Board.

MR. HERBERT: The Technical Center must now elect its officers and directors for 1968-69, and since the members of the Center are the directors of the IAPA, a quorum has been established.

Will someone move that all the directors of the Inter American Press Association be elected as members and directors of the Technical Center?

It has been moved and seconded. Approved.

The Center must now elect its officers and Executive Committee for 1968-69, and I will now call upon Diana Massot, Chairman of the Nominating Committee, to present a slate of new officers.

SRA. DIANA JULIO P. DE MASSOT (La Nueva Provincia, Bahía Blanca, Argentina): Señores miembros de la Junta de Directores, vuestra Comisión de Nominaciones para el directorio del Centro Técnico para 1968-69, integrada por quienes suscriben, propone los siguientes nombres: Presidente del Directorio, Sr. John R. Herbert; Presidente, Sr. E. W. Scripps; Vicepresidentes, Sr. Andrew Heiskell, James S. Copley, Montgomery Curtis, William Hearst, Jr., John Perry, Jr., Julio de Mesquita Neto, Máximo Gainza Castro y Guillermo Gutiérrez; Tesorero, Earle Braisted; y Secretario, Peter Manigault.

Los que suscriben son el Sr. Fletcher, el Sr. Aguirre, el Sr. García Lavin, y la Sra. de Massot, quien les habla.

MR. HERBERT: Thank you very much. Will someone move that the slate as read be elected?

It has been moved, seconded and approved.

We will return the chair to Mr. Hills, the meeting of the Technical Center now being adjourned.

MR. HILLS: Thank you, Mr. Herbert. We are still waiting for the Nominations Committee. This may be very interesting. It could be that democracy is finally running rampant in this organization. They have had some hours to discuss all the possibilities, so I urge you all to stay, or stand and have a seventh-inning stretch, and as soon as the Nominations Committee returns we will find out who they propose for the new slate of officers and then that will just about conclude our business this week.

Does anyone else wish to speak at this time?

MR. FLETCHER: Mr. President, some remarks were made about you and about your term of office and the manner in which you have conducted the affairs of this Association, and you said they would have to be off the record because the meeting of the Assembly had been closed and the meeting of the Directors had not yet begun.

I am sure, sir, that that is not the wish of the members. I think the members would wish that those remarks be written into the record of the Assembly, and I am sure that, provided there is unanimous consent, it is quite proper to do that without any difficulty. May I suggest that the meeting be asked for permission to write those remarks into the record of the Assembly. (Applause)

MR. HILLS: Thank you very much, Mr. Fletcher.

I now see that the Chairman of our Committee on Nominations has returned from some new deliberations of the Committee, and if Sr. Pedro Beltrán is ready to report on the nominations for the new slate of officers, we would like to hear from you now, sir.

SR. PEDRO G. BELTRAN (La Prensa, Lima, Perú): Mr. President, the Committee has met and has agreed unanimously to submit the following nominations for officers of the Association:

President, Mr. Agustín Edwards, of El Mercurio, Santiago de Chile (applause); 1st. Vice President, Mr. James S. Copley, of The Copley Newspapers (applause); 2nd. Vice President, Mr. Manoel F. do Nascimento Brito, of Jornal do Brasil (applause); Treasurer, as before, the very careful and able Mr. John C. A. Watkins, of the Providence Journal-Bulletin (applause); Secretary, Mr. Raymond Dix, of the Wooster Daily Record (applause).

Perhaps I shouldn't say anything about Mr. Dix, but no one has contributed more to the growth of the membership of the Association than that man.

For Chairman of the Executive Committee, as before, Mr. Robert Brown, of Editor & Publisher (applause); and for members of the Committee, the same as before. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. (Applause)

MR. HILLS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

You have heard the nominations for the slate of officers as proposed by the Nominations Committee. Are there any nominations from the floor?

Mr. John R. Reitemeyer makes a motion that one vote be cast for the entire slate. Is there a second?

It has been seconded and carried. Congratulations to all the new officers. (Applause)

I think that concludes the business of this General Assembly. I would like to announce to all the members of the Executive Committee that the next meeting of the Executive Committee will be in New York City on December 5 of this year.

The headquarters office will notify you of the time and the place.

This meeting of the Board is now adjourned until March of 1969, when we will gather again in Acapulco, Mexico. On the opening day I gave you the message of Rómulo O'Farrill, Jr., and I think I told you also about Rodolfo Junco de la Vega not being able to be here, but they are looking forward to our being in Acapulco in March for our mid-year session.

Is there any other business to come before the Board of Directors?

If not, this meeting is adjourned. The manager has an announcement.

SR. JIMENEZ: Me acaban de informar que los calendarios donados por don Pedro Beltrán tradicionalmente a los miembros de la Asamblea están por llegar. Tan pronto lleguen estarán a disposición de los delegados, o se los mandaremos a sus respectivas habitaciones. Lamentamos que problemas de aduana hayan demorado la entrega de estos calendarios.

MR. HILLS: Thank you. You all know about the Mergenthaler cocktails at 7:30 and the final Adjournment Banquet in this room at 9 o'clock this evening.

(The meeting adjourned at 5:30 PM.)

ADJOURNMENT BANQUET

Friday, October 18, 1968

The Adjournment Banquet of the XXIV General Assembly of the Inter American Press Association was held in the Salón de Fiestas of the Plaza Hotel in Buenos Aires on Friday, October 18, 1968.

There were addresses by Robert S. McNamara, President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and by Agustín E. Edwards, the newly elected President of the IAPA. Mr. McNamara was introduced by Dr. Alberto Gainza Paz and Mr. Edwards by Mr. Lee Hills.

DR. GAINZA PAZ: En realidad el orador de esta noche no necesitaría ser presentado. Desde su egreso de la Escuela de Administración de Empresas de la Universidad de Harvard, tanto en la actividad privada como en la función pública, se ha distinguido por la brillante eficiencia que pronto le elevó a los puestos dirigentes de mayor importancia y responsabilidad en su país.

Sirvió a su patria durante la guerra mundial en Gran Bretaña, la India, China y en el Pacífico. Mereció la condecoración de la Legión del Mérito y, antes de volver a la vida civil, fue ascendido al grado de Teniente Coronel.

Poco después comenzó su actuación en la Ford Motor Company y en 1960 fue elegido presidente de esa importante empresa.

El mismo año el Presidente John F. Kennedy le ofreció el cargo de Secretario de Defensa, tarea que aceptó y desempeñó con reconocido acierto hasta el mes de marzo de 1968.

El Departamento de Defensa administra más de setenta mil millones de dólares por año y cerca de cinco millones de personas dependen de él. De él, también, depende la seguridad de los Estados Unidos, así como la paz y la libertad del mundo. Con razón un distinguido periodista de Washington ha podido decir que el Secretario de Defensa ideal debe tener la sabiduría de Salomón, la astucia política de Maquiavelo, el genio militar de Napoleón y una capacidad mental digna de la más moderna computadora electrónica IBM.

Pues bien, nuestro huésped ocupó ese cargo durante ocho años y lo hizo con extraordinaria eficacia y dedicación hasta abril de 1968, en que pasó a desempeñar la presidencia del Banco Mundial.

Los seis primeros meses de su gestión han sido auspiciosos para el progreso y bienestar de nuestros países. Está convencido -- y cito sus propias palabras -- de que "en la medida en que la disminución de la afluencia de capitales ensancha la brecha que separa a los países ricos de los pobres, es indispensable que el Banco Mundial expanda sus actividades crediticias a fin de evitar que el desarrollo y progreso económicos sean frenados".

El Banco Mundial ha tenido y tiene una larga y estrecha vinculación con los países de la América Latina y esta vinculación que todos nosotros podemos y debemos apoyar será, con toda seguridad, más estrecha aún en el futuro. Estoy seguro de que hoy escucharemos conceptos interesantes acerca del papel que el Banco Mundial puede desempeñar en el fomento de la prosperidad de nuestro continente.

Apreciamos y agradecemos muy sinceramente que haya elegido este auditorio de periodistas, miembros de la SIP, reunidos en Buenos Aires, para hablar por primera vez en público, fuera del recinto del Banco en Washington.

Señoras y señores, el Sr. Robert McNamara.

ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT ROBERT S. McNAMARA OF THE WORLD BANK

Thank you very much for your generous words, Dr. Gainza Paz.

I am honored to be here tonight and delighted to have the opportunity to talk to the Inter American Press Association which has done so much to preserve the freedom of the Press throughout the Americas.

This is my first speech away from Washington, and my first visit as President of the World Bank to Latin America. But the Bank is no stranger here.

- Twenty years ago it made its first loan ever for development in a less developed country. That loan was made in Chile to help finance electric power plants.

- Eleven years ago our newborn subsidiary, the International Finance Corporation, made its first investment in private industry. That was in an electrical equipment plant in Brazil.

- Seven years ago, just as the Alliance for Progress was beginning, the International Development Association -- our concessionary loan affiliate -- made its first credit to help build a road that would open for the first time almost one third of a nation. That was in Honduras.

The Bank, then, is not a newcomer here. It is a partner of long standing in the development efforts of this continent. But I am a newcomer. I have been at the Bank barely half a year, during which time I have tried to learn as much as I could about the 110 nations I serve as an international official.

I am responsible to them, and this responsibility requires me to study the development progress of our members and to comment frankly and objectively on it. This seems to me to be the first obligation of a good public servant.

On the one hand I must try to interpret our members' problems and prospects to those who provide the funds which we, in turn, re-lend. On the other hand, I am obliged to speak clearly about those courses of action which we believe best serve to promote economic and social development, and to speak frankly about our concern as to their progress.

Before coming on this trip I talked to many people about the prospects and problems, the hopes and fears, the achievements and failures of this area, the southern part of the Western Hemisphere. I found much solid achievement, many sound reasons for hope, and several causes for concern.

All over the hemisphere, the winds of social, political and economic change are blowing.

The past two decades have witnessed the laying down of impressive economic infrastructure. Throughout the region, new electric power plants, new roads and railroads, modern ports, improved systems of telecommunications, more productive farmlands, new industries large and small -- testify to national resolve, to international cooperation, and to the resourcefulness of the entrepreneur. We at the World Bank are proud to have been associated with many of these achievements of your peoples.

All over Latin America there are signs too of a real public determination to improve the lot of the common man. In some countries land reform is gathering momentum; in many, education is being modernized and extended. In almost all nations, real efforts are being made for the first time to insure that all segments of the population contribute their fair share in taxes to the Government's need for development funds.

At the same time, those countries which still have open frontiers are pushing them back, settling new lands, using heretofore untapped resources. And in the great cities, there are bold experiments designed to make urban life more satisfying, more fulfilling, and more beautiful.

All this is of course only a beginning. There remains a very full agenda for action by our generation, and by generations yet to come. But there can be no denying the tremendous progress of the two decades past.

But I have seen also the dark side of the picture: the failures as well as the achievements, the unfinished business that still faces us and causes us concern.

- I am concerned that in recent decades Latin America has not fulfilled the promise of growth and modernization that prevailed at the beginning of this century.

- I am concerned that Latin American economies continue to be dependent on exports of raw materials, highly vulnerable to price and volume changes, while the world community has yet to devise a workable system for stabilizing commodity earnings.

- I am concerned that persistent destructive inflation continues to afflict several of Latin America's largest countries.

- I am concerned that Latin American industry has been confined to small national markets and that progress toward economic integration is slow.

- I am concerned by the rigidity of social systems in which the mass of the people is poor, few are rich, and there is little chance for the many to move upward from poverty.

- I am concerned about explosive population growth in most Latin American countries, growth which tends to drag down increases in per capita income, and to inhibit improvement in the lot of the individual.

- I am concerned that some countries whose development has lagged tend to blame external factors for their lack of progress. I do not underestimate the importance of these difficulties, but I do believe that the will to develop, and with it the adoption of sound domestic policies, can move mountains even in the face of difficult external conditions.

- I am concerned, deeply concerned, both as your servant and as a United States citizen, at the failure of the U.S. Congress to replenish the funds of the International Development Association, the source of low-interest, long-term loans so desperately needed by the poorest countries.

I cannot stress too strongly that my concerns as President of a World Development organization -- for the Bank is more than a Bank, it is a Development Agency -- include the shortcomings of the nations who are rich as well as the failings of those who are poor. But I do not despair. There are grounds for hope, solid grounds on which we can build together. We at the World Bank do not intend to sit back and lament. We intend to act, and act in partnership with you.

Last April when I came to the World Bank we began to study where we could and should direct our energies during the next five years. It is clear from that study that we can do far more, and with the help of our members we intend to do it.

In Latin America, I believe we should during the next five years lend at least twice as much as during the past five years -- to go from about $350 million a year in loans in the past two years to between $700 and $800 million a year by 1972.

You well may ask: Can we obtain the funds to support such an increase? The answer is: Yes, I believe we can. In the past ninety days alone, the Bank has raised more funds by borrowing that in the whole of any single calendar year in its history.

When I stress that we plan to more than double our lending in Latin America, I do not want you to think our policy is simply more of the same. The change in quantity of loans will be accompanied by a change in emphasis as well.

We will continue and even accelerate the financing of basic infrastructure -- roads, dams, power plants, etc. But we hope to do considerably more to promote efficient and diversified industrialization, to help bring Latin America forward to the stage where it can apply modern science and technology efficiently to every segment of its economic life.

And we intend to devote particular attention to two critically important sectors: to agriculture, long a neglected step-child of development, and to education, which holds the keys to man's self-fulfillment.

The educational field is a relatively new one for the Bank in which we have slowly been feeling our way. We are concerned with the problem of illiteracy, but it is more than illiteracy that we seek to attack. Education is relevant to all aspects of development: it makes a more effective worker, a more creative manager, a better farmer, a more efficient administrator, a more complete human being.

Our purpose will be to provide educational assistance where it will contribute most directly to the development process. This will in some cases mean helping to plan the renovation of entire school systems, from primary to post-graduate levels. It will mean assistance in teacher training. It will mean expansion of our support for schools to train managers, entrepreneurs, technicians and agriculturalists. It will mean experimenting with different kinds of schools.

I hope that in our lending we can improve the efficiency of education, helping to alleviate the endemic shortage of qualified teachers by making good teachers more productive. This will involve investment in text books, in audiovisual materials and in the use of modern communications techniques (radio, film and television) for teaching purposes.

So far we have done very little lending for education in Latin America -- only slightly more than $20 million during the last five years. In the next five, I believe we should increase this tenfold.

But the sector which will have an even greater dollar expansion during the next five years will be agriculture, on which so many Latin Americans depend for their livelihood. Some Latin American countries have long been famous for their leadership in various agricultural activities but many others lag behind, particularly in the production of foodstuffs for domestic consumption.

Our challenge is to help the campesino in the fields as well as the worker in the city and we intend to meet that challenge. Our objective is simple: to assist farmers, both large and small, to increase their production substantially. We will lend for irrigation systems, fertilizer plants, agricultural extension services, banks to provide farm credit, the improvement of livestock and of strains, pesticide production, agricultural machinery, and food processing and storage facilities.

Over the next two years we plan to more than double our agricultural lending in Latin America, and over the next five years to quadruple it.

This then is our resolve: to contribute in every way we can to the healthy growth of the nations of this hemisphere. At the same time, we ask you for renewed resolve to face your problems with realism, and to optimize the use of your own resources and those that come to you from outside.

- We ask for economic and social policies which will permit a more equitable distribution of the benefits from increases in production and productivity.

- We ask for effective measures to bring balanced growth without the risk of destructive inflation and repeated balance of payments crises.

- We ask for measures to promote stronger and more diversified export industries and to take advantage of large and expanding markets overseas.

- We ask restraint in expenditures for sophisticated military equipment which responds neither to internal nor external threats to national security.

- We ask a strengthening of regional ties that will encourage rational industrial growth, stimulate exports and promote co-operation in programs of education and regional development of physical facilities.

- We ask for a realistic appraisal of the effect of population growth in those countries where that growth is clearly holding back progress, and for an earnest effort to cope with this most difficult and complex problem of our times.

I fully appreciate that here I am entering on what Mr. Krieger Vasena, the Argentinian Minister of Economy and Labor, called at the recent meeting in Washington "highly controversial ground". I shall never fail to bear in mind his warning that we must act always for "the dignity of man".

I assure you that I tread this thorny path only because I am convinced that unrestrained population growth cripples economic growth, and thus in fact degrades the dignity of man by depriving him of the elementary essentials for a fuller, happier life.

The fact must be faced that rapid population growth is the greatest barrier to the economic progress and social well-being of the citizens of our member nations. And nowhere is population growing more rapidly than in Latin America. Between the Rio Grande and Cape Horn, a population of over 250 million is today experiencing the most explosive increase of any continental area in the world.

In 1900, Latin America had a population of 63 million people. It required 50 years to add the first 100 million; only 17 years to add the next 100 million. And by the end of the century, the population of Latin America will be increased by almost 400 million more to a total of nearly 650 million. It will be growing then at a rate of 100 million every 5 years.

It is not, at this stage, the absolute numbers that are most disturbing. The world can still carry a larger population. In this hemisphere it can be argued that some countries -- including our host -- have too few people. The deep trouble that we are in comes from the speed of growth. If population grows by 3 per cent a year, even an increase in gross national product of 4.7 per cent a year -- the average for Latin American countries -- leaves far too little for expanding a nation's capital structure, including that critical element in all development -- the education of the young. The tidal wave of children swamps the school system, literally eats away the margin of saving, and inundates the labor market. No power on earth can ensure that there will be such rapid economic progress that all these children will grow up healthy, well educated and capable of taking their rightful place in a competitive world.

It is perhaps the most tragic irony of our time that better programs of public health, undertaken from wholly laudable and humanitarian motives, have unleashed the population explosion on the developing world. The spurt of population through the reduction of death rates has preceded modernization, and now obstructs it. If development efforts are to succeed -- not development of such abstractions as "the economy" or "the state", but development of human beings, of individuals and families -- we must put population policy at the center of our future strategy.

The emphasis to be placed in national policy on varying methods of population control is the responsibility of governments. The choice of methods is the inviolable right of parents. The World Bank is not attempting to dictate detailed policies.

But as a development agency, we must give priority to this problem, and we must ask that governments which seek our assistance do so too, and that they evolve a serious strategy for stabilizing the rate of population growth.

I see no alternative to our direct involvement in this crisis. Therefore:

- We will point out to our member countries the extent to which rapid population growth in itself slows down their development, and that this factor must be taken into account in the optimum employment of the world's development funds.

- We will join with others in assisting programs of research to determine the most effective methods of family planning and of national administration of population control programs.

- And we will seek opportunities to lend for population control programs to those of our member countries who seek such help.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have spoken long enough. I have come before you not only to express concern but also to outline a basis of hope.

I have spoken not as a critic, looking at Latin America from a comfortable outside vantage point, but as a friend

sharing your hopes and aspirations; and as your servant in helping to achieve them.

Eight years ago a man who profoundly influenced my own life had a vision. It came to be called the Alliance for Progress. It has faltered, perhaps, but it still exists. In his inaugural address President Kennedy spoke to the citizens of his own country about the world around them, saying, "If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich".

I suggest that his words have equal meaning to you and to others who lead this hemisphere in thought and action.

Let us remember those words as we contemplate the future. Let us resolve to rekindle the flame of the Alliance and make of it a burning torch for all the world to see.

Let us take pride in the past; let us learn from our mistakes; and let us join together for the great adventure that lies ahead. (Applause.)

MR. HILLS: My final act at this General Assembly is one that gives me a great deal of personal pleasure -- to present to you the new president of the Inter American Press Association.

Agustín Edwards was born in Paris, of Chilean parents, and educated in England, Chile and the United States. He graduated cum laude from Princeton. He travels widely and he and his lovely wife, Malu, are as much at home in Europe and the United States as they are in Latin America. For a young man, he carries on an amazing range of other activities, as the head of insurance companies, banks, mines, ranches, a brewery, a soap company and various other enterprises. I often wonder how he does it. His associates will tell you that he is always in a rush, but that he never misses a detail.

The important thing, of course, is that newspapers are his first love, and Doonie Edwards has become one of the top newspaper leaders in the hemisphere. He has demonstrated that the owner and publisher has a great deal to do with the editorial excellence of a newspaper. Agustín Edwards will give credit to his editors, but I am sure the editors of El Mercurio and his other newspapers in Chile will tell you that Mr. Edwards' own intense interest in fine newspapers and especially his interest in the editorial page, make their own performance possible.

Mr. Edwards has contributed greatly to the IAPA. His newspaper was one of the founders of the reorganized association in 1950. He has been a director since 1956, and a member of the Executive Committee since 1958. He also has served as secretary, on the Awards Committee, and on the Freedom of the Press Committee and the Technical Center.

It gives me great pleasure to present my good friend, Agustín E. Edwards of Santiago, Chile.

DISCURSO DEL PRESIDENTE DE LA SIP, SR. AGUSTIN E. EDWARDS

Agradezco muy cordialmente a esta Asamblea el honor que me confirió al elegirme Presidente de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa. No puedo ocultar la satisfacción de haber sido distinguido por la confianza de ustedes. Seguro, pues, de la ayuda de los amigos que me rodean, tomo con firmeza la responsabilidad que la Asamblea decidió entregarme.

Sin embargo, esta seguridad va aparejada de la sensación de que son graves los problemas que se nos plantean y de que no hay respuestas fáciles para ellos. La particularidad del momento es que todos los valores y todas las antiguas seguridades tiemblan. La crítica, la desconfianza y el ataque al orden dado, en todos sus aspectos, es la actitud general. Allí se emplean el argumento filosófico, el espectáculo artístico, el cartel de propaganda, el grito, la pedrada o la carga de dinamita. El proceso de protesta empezó en las fuerzas emergentes, en los individuos jóvenes y en los pueblos nuevos. Ahora puede decirse que el fenómeno cubre una amplia gama de edades, que abarca tanto a las sociedades nuevas como a las maduras, que se da en países capitalistas y socialistas, que presenta indistintamente signos de izquierda o de derecha y que llega hasta el plano de la teología y la religión.

El año que acaba de transcurrir es como un resumen de esta inquietud dramática y contradictoria.

Recordando sumariamente los últimos acontecimientos, nos encontramos con que la subversión universitaria francesa puso en jaque al fuerte régimen de de Gaulle y en general, el "statu quo" de su país. Estudiantes rebeldes de todas las latitudes entran sucesiva o simultáneamente en acción contra las jerarquías habituales. Dentro del área soviética y también en el seno del comunismo mundial la ortodoxia se

disuelve. Tendencias liberales y patrióticas aparecen en Checoslovaquia, apoyadas, con distintos matices, por otras naciones de Europa Oriental. Las tropas rusas violan y ocupan el territorio checo, en defensa del orden viejo, del conservantismo staliniano. El Kremlin no pudo inducir a la obediencia voluntaria a los rebeldes y recurrió entonces a la fuerza. Este año quedó marcado además con los asesinatos de Martin Luther King y de Robert F. Kennedy. Entretanto, el llamado "Poder Negro" está planteando, ya no la igualdad y la integración, sino una especie de "apartheid" al revés, una segregación racial y territorial en beneficio de la gente de color. Habría que añadir, por otra parte, que el sistema norteamericano atraviesa por un estado de perplejidad presidencial; que los extremismos surgen a ambos lados del mapa político de los países; y que, en América del Sur, las fuerzas armadas encabezan un número creciente de gobiernos. Piénsese que la inquietud juvenil en México estuvo casi a punto de frustrar las brillantes Olimpíadas, cuya realización constituye una oportunidad de exhibir ante el mundo los triunfos del partido que hizo y consolidó la revolución mexicana.

En una institución tan jerárquica y conservadora como la Iglesia Católica Romana, también ha entrado el germen de la crítica. Estalló con fuerza frente a la Encíclica de Paulo VI "Humanae Vitae", pero la inquietud revisionista venía de antes y sólo necesitaba la coyuntura propicia para manifestarse en forma inequívoca.

Frente a la inestabilidad moral e institucional descrita, los periodistas no podemos quedarnos en las lamentaciones, ni transformarnos en censores incomprensivos de cuanto sucede.

Los estremecimientos y los cambios tienen una razón de ser. Ha aumentado bruscamente la población educacional en todos los niveles, y especialmente en las universidades. Muchos jóvenes tienen motivo para preocuparse de su presente educacional y de su futuro de trabajo. Las universidades de tipo napoleónico, dotadas de estructuras rígidas, y a menudo incapaces tanto de investigación como de autocrítica de su sistema, exigen reformas. Ha existido realmente una discriminación racial injusta e intolerable. Aun en las sociedades avanzadas se presentan situaciones de marginalidad social capaces de efectos explosivos. El campesino de los países en desarrollo y específicamente el de América Latina, ha

sufrido una postergación económica, educacional y política irritante. Las profundas brechas entre países industriales y países en desarrollo, son crecientes.

Sinceramente hay que decir que los estremecimientos y los derrumbes de la hora no son tan injustificados como imaginan los que se limitan a defender la situación establecida.

El temblor general en que nos encontramos, provocado por acciones violentas y por reacciones no menos violentas, está conmoviendo profundamente nuestra civilización, es decir, las normas, los vínculos, los estilos y los valores que forman el tejido de la existencia, tal como la concebimos y tal como la heredamos de las generaciones anteriores. Pero ese temblor no destruye la esencia misma del hombre. En otros momentos de la historia hubo conmociones de este género, juzgadas en su época como naufragios universales y definitivos. Sin embargo, hubo a la vez espíritus capaces de saltar por sobre las ruinas y de ayudar al cultivo de la semilla de los nuevos tiempos. Los hombres de prensa deberíamos ser capaces de esa enérgica disposición para avanzar entre los veloces cambios contemporáneos.

Sería trágico que los periódicos libres de hoy no supieran otra cosa que morir con el mundo que muere, sin llegar a adivinar ni mucho menos a prohijar el mundo que nace.

En el orden social y político hemos visto caer numerosas cadenas. En el plano intelectual presenciamos el derrocamiento de los tutores y de los sabios consejeros. Hombres y mujeres, especialmente los más jóvenes, no confían más que en su propio juicio y en su experiencia directa. Los prestigios tradicionales han perdido fuerza convincente. La rapidez del crecimiento de la ciencia impide estimar como antes la sabiduría acumulada en el pretérito. Si vamos a la esfera moral, la figura del predicador que fustiga desde el púlpito tiende a sustituirse por la figura del que conversa con sus semejantes, al mismo nivel que ellos.

Los individuos despiertan precozmente a la conciencia de su propio valor como personas, cualquiera que sea su condición en la sociedad. Esto produce un impulso nivelador entre edades, sexos, naciones y razas, que está en el origen de la inestabilidad que nos preocupa. Muchos quieren ser iguales en dignidad, en poder y en bienestar. El resultado

es que se hacen visibles las carencias de bienes, servicios y palancas de poder, cuyas proporciones estaban condicionadas a un mundo menos multitudinario. Se explican, entonces, las insatisfacciones, las impaciencias y los tumultos, tras los cuales se encierran un anhelo de justicia y una protesta que, no por ser violenta, es menos merecedora de atención. Corresponde entonces examinar seriamente las causas del fenómeno, en vez de sepultarlo, sin más, en los archivos del prejuicio.

Como parte del cuadro de anticonformismo y anticonvencionalismo, hay que hacer constar que los países latinoamericanos aumentan su conciencia política y social en tanto que afirman sus personalidades nacionales.

Nuestros periódicos en la región no pueden estar ausentes del despertar de sus pueblos ni defender un colonialismo intelectual e informativo que levanta toda suerte de justificadas resistencias.

Por otra parte, la comunicación directa entre individuos situados en las antípodas, en virtud del lanzamiento de nuevos satélites, traerá otro cambio sustancial. Por encima de fronteras nacionales y de exclusivismos comerciales, los habitantes del planeta podrán recibir en su casa comunicaciones telefónicas, radiales y de televisión. Esto permitirá derribar muchos cercos actuales y abrir nuevas dimensiones a la mente humana. El sistema es ya técnicamente viable, y las razones políticas o económicas que detienen su aplicación caerán con la fuerza del progreso.

Estas nuevas condiciones hacen que nuestro hemisferio se achique, que estemos más cerca unos de otros y que podamos frecuentarnos más que en el pasado aún reciente. Asimismo, la existencia en todas las Américas de problemas tales como el de la rebeldía estudiantil, la violencia política, la pobreza, la marginalidad social de razas o grupos, agregan similitudes a la situación en que nos encontramos los periodistas del hemisferio.

Frente a este panorama de revisión, es posible adoptar diversas actitudes. Una de ellas es sumarse a los rebeldes sin reserva alguna y cooperar expresa o tácitamente a su trabajo iconoclasta. Ciertos medios de información en todo el mundo toman esta actitud, y consiguen el favor del público y de los nuevos fabricantes de popularidad, de los que están

construyendo el próximo "statu", de la ultra izquierda intelectual y elegante. Otra posición es hacer la cruzada en favor de la ortodoxia y atacar abrupta, y aun físicamente, la rebeldía. Es lo que ha hecho la Unión Soviética en Checoslovaquia. Habría que añadir la reacción de quienes apoyan a candidatos o a partidos que se disponen a frenar los revisionismos, lo que explicaría el auge de tendencias aparentemente disparatadas o fuera de época, pero que responden al deseo de escapar al vuelco del mundo contemporáneo.

¿Qué pueden hacer los periodistas de América frente a la situación de que venimos hablando?

Me parece importante que la insistencia en que las empresas periodistas han de ser prósperas, si quieren ser efectivamente libres, no lleve al descuido del mensaje envuelto en su producto. La neutralidad completa es imposible en quienes ocupan día a día la tribuna pública, a través de informaciones gráficas o escritas, comentarios de noticias y opiniones editoriales. Por lo mismo, nuestros diarios no podrán ser neutrales absolutamente frente a los derrumbes y temblores de este tiempo. Se diría que su papel es comprender la época y retratarla sin ser ciegos defensores del "statu quo" ni tampoco ser un mero vehículo de las fuerzas iconoclastas, sino procurando ser un puente que comunique lo más duradero del pasado, del presente y del futuro.

Hemos visto que el púlpito de los predicadores tiende a sustituirse por la mesa, en torno a la cual conversan los iguales. Sin embargo, algunos de nosotros tendemos a seguir en el púlpito, adoctrinando a nuestras comunidades, como en los tiempos en que existía una ortodoxia indiscutida para casi toda clase de materias. Dentro de las inseguridades de hoy, el mismo mensaje religioso se reviste de formas distintas. Hay que aceptar entonces, con mayor razón, que el mensaje editorial tome modalidades contrarias a la relación antigua, entre el severo predicador y el oyente distraído.

Es demasiado profunda la revisión del horizonte mundial y, por tanto, el cambio de mentalidad de la población lectora, como para que los diarios aquí reunidos no se resuelvan a hacer un esfuerzo de interrogación profunda a la época.

El Centro Técnico ha rendido grandes frutos en el entrenamiento profesional de hombres de prensa. En este momento

propongo la creación de una actividad complementaria del mismo. Invito a ampliar sus fines y su organización.

Considero indispensable establecer un núcleo de reunión y expansión del talento periodístico creador de América. Me refiero a un instituto de investigación, de documentación y de enseñanza, que habilite a los periodistas para captar las noticias en sus fuentes reales. De este modo, nuestros hombres, dispuestos ya a progresar en el uso de las técnicas más modernas de la confección de diarios, adquirirían también una técnica de exploración informativa, capaz de ir más allá del dato irrelevante y oficial que nos entregan los canales establecidos.

Tal instituto debería permitir el contacto de los periodistas con otros hombres de pensamiento y de cultura, a fin de que la conciencia de que está naciendo un nuevo mundo delante de nuestros ojos se haga lúcida y alerta, con ayuda del mayor bagaje posible de datos. Parece que se necesitara ampliar la visión de quienes llenan las columnas de los diarios, a fin de que no se nos relegue entre los textos aburridos e inservibles, o se nos reduzca a la tarea de entretener con amenidades, cuando se remecen los cimientos de una civilización.

Es de extrema importancia para todos los que trabajan en la prensa o alrededor de ella que el periodismo escrito progrese en consonancia con los tiempos. Y tal progreso requiere investigación, documentación y entrenamiento. Si, además de los auxilios financieros especiales con que pudiera contarse, las empresas periodísticas y quienes las proveen de servicios o equipos destinaran a esta iniciativa un reducido porcentaje de los gastos que demanda la expansión anual de la industria, ella sería factible.

La batalla de la SIP por la libertad de prensa, por el perfeccionamiento técnico de los periódicos y por la eficiencia de las empresas periodísticas, debiera tener como corolario una batalla para revolucionar nuestro trabajo informativo, abandonando las líneas tradicionales para crear rieles adecuados a esta época sin precedentes.

Ninguna actividad importante está hoy autorizada para petrificarse en su ritmo y en sus procedimientos. La prensa

del hemisferio no puede ser excepción a este imperativo ineludible del presente.

El triunfo de esta idea será uno de los principales objetivos de mis esfuerzos como Presidente de la SIP.

Habrán de reconocer ustedes que será difícil emular en el desempeño del cargo a Lee Hills, quien ha comprometido para siempre la gratitud de la SIP con la brillante labor cumplida este año.

Reitero mis agradecimientos a ustedes, prometo entregar mis mayores energías al servicio de la SIP y espero que el concurso de todos nos permita acometer con éxito las tareas del futuro próximo. (Aplausos)

RESOLUTIONS ---- RESOLUCIONES

Following are, in their final form, the resolutions adopted by the XXIV General Assembly of the Inter American Press Association:

I

THE XXIV ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE IAPA RESOLVES:

That the IAPA again express deep concern over efforts of the American Bar Association and the Judicial Conference of the United States to close records and silence lawyers and courthouse personnel in criminal cases under the threat of disciplinary action.

II

THE XXIV ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE IAPA RESOLVES:

That the IAPA urge the President of the Republic of Chile, Don Eduardo Frei Montalva, to seek the repeal of the tax on advertising affecting Chilean newspapers, which has created a grave financial crisis for all newspapers and especially the smaller ones.

A continuación se dan, en su forma final, las resoluciones aprobadas por la XXIV Asamblea General de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa:

I

LA XXIV ASAMBLEA ANUAL DE LA SIP RESUELVE:

Que la SIP exprese nuevamente su profunda preocupación ante los esfuerzos realizados por la Asociación Norteamericana de Abogados y la Conferencia Nacional de Consejos Judiciales de los Estados Unidos para prohibir el acceso a los expedientes judiciales y silenciar a los abogados y personal de los tribunales en casos criminales bajo amenaza de acción punitiva.

II

LA XXIV ASAMBLEA ANUAL DE LA SIP RESUELVE:

Que la SIP inste al Presidente de la República de Chile, Don Eduardo Frei Montalva, a gestionar la derogación del gravamen a la publicidad que afecta a los periódicos chilenos y que ha creado una grave crisis financiera para todos ellos, especialmente los de menor circulación.

III

THE XXIV ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE IAPA RESOLVES:

That the IAPA urge the Government of Nicaragua to repeal the existing press law, which is restrictive of freedom of the press.

IV

THE XXIV ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE IAPA RESOLVES:

That the IAPA urge the President and Congress of Brazil to repeal any provisions of the existing laws that affect freedom of the press.

V

THE XXIV ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE IAPA RESOLVES:

That the IAPA advise the Government of Dominica that its "Seditious and Undesirable Publications Law" was brought before this Assembly along with the letter from the Government requesting that we reconsider an original IAPA protest, and that the Assembly again went on record as saying that the best press law is no press law, and urging that the Governor of Dominica use his good offices to have this law repealed.

III

LA XXIV ASAMBLEA ANUAL DE LA SIP RESUELVE:

Que la SIP exhorte al Gobierno de Nicaragua a derogar la actual ley de prensa, cuyas disposiciones restringen la libertad de prensa.

IV

LA XXIV ASAMBLEA ANUAL DE LA SIP RESUELVE:

Que la SIP inste al Presidente y al Congreso del Brasil a revocar cualquier disposición de las leyes existentes que afecte la libertad de prensa.

V

LA XXIV ASAMBLEA ANUAL DE LA SIP RESUELVE:

Que la SIP informe al Gobierno de Dominica que su "ley contra publicaciones sediciosas y perjudiciales" fue analizada en esta Asamblea junto con una carta del Gobierno en la cual se pedía fuese reconsiderada una protesta previa de la SIP, y que la Asamblea dejó constancia nuevamente de que la mejor ley de prensa es la que no se promulga, y encareció al Gobernador que utilice sus buenos oficios para obtener la derogación de la ley mencionada.

VI

THE XXIV ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE IAPA RESOLVES:

To recommend to the Executive Committee that it study the possibility of establishing a system of inter-American press accreditation of professional journalists and seek recognition of the system by the authorities and thereby give them equal access to sources of information.

VI

LA XXIV ASAMBLEA ANUAL DE LA SIP RESUELVE:

Recomendar al Comité Ejecutivo que analice la posibilidad de establecer un sistema interamericano de acreditación de periodistas profesionales y procurar el reconocimiento de dicho sistema por las autoridades para que aquellos tengan acceso a las fuentes de información.

VII

THE XXIV ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE IAPA RESOLVES:

That the IAPA take notice of the statements made by the military Government of Peru that there is freedom of the press in that country and express its hope that this freedom will be maintained without any restrictions.

VII

LA XXIV ASAMBLEA ANUAL DE LA SIP RESUELVE:

Que la SIP tome nota de las declaraciones hechas por el Gobierno militar de Perú, afirmando la existencia de libertad de prensa en dicho país, y exprese su deseo de que se mantenga esa libertad sin restricciones.

VIII

THE XXIV ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE IAPA RESOLVES:

That the IAPA is gratified to learn from its mission to Paraguay that there has been a relaxation of restrictions on freedom of the press in that country and expresses its hope that this trend will continue until there is true freedom of the press in Paraguay.

VIII

LA XXIV ASAMBLEA ANUAL DE LA SIP RESUELVE:

Que la SIP se complace de haberse informado, por intermedio de su misión especial al Paraguay, que ha habido una reducción de restricciones en la libertad de prensa en ese país y expresa su deseo de que se mantenga esta tendencia hasta que exista total libertad de prensa en el Paraguay.

IX

THE XXIV ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE IAPA RESOLVES:

That the IAPA again go on record as being vigorously opposed to all duties or special taxes on newsprint and newspaper equipment.

X

THE XXIV ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE IAPA RESOLVES:

That the IAPA reaffirm its recent protest to the Government of Panama denouncing the closing of some newspapers, and again urge that the Government immediately lift the ban on these newspapers and restore freedom of the press.

XI

THE XXIV ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE IAPA RESOLVES:

1. That the IAPA take notice that the President of Honduras fulfilled his promise to the IAPA mission which recently visited that country to lift the ban against the newspapers that were closed by his Government; and

2. That the IAPA expects there will be no repetition of this violation of freedom of the press.

IX

LA XXIV ASAMBLEA ANUAL DE LA SIP RESUELVE:

Que la SIP deja constancia nuevamente de su enérgica oposición a todo gravamen aduanero o impuesto especial que recaiga sobre el papel y equipos para periódicos.

X

LA XXIV ASAMBLEA ANUAL DE LA SIP RESUELVE:

Que la SIP refirme su reciente protesta ante el Gobierno de Panamá denunciando el cierre de algunos periódicos y encarezca de nuevo a ese Gobierno que levante inmediatamente la clausura y restablezca la libertad de prensa.

XI

LA XXIV ASAMBLEA ANUAL DE LA SIP RESUELVE:

Que la SIP tome nota de que el President de Honduras cumplió la promesa, hecha a la misión especial de la SIP que visitó recientemente a ese país, de permitir la publicación de los periódicos clausurados por su Gobierno; y que la SIP espera que no se repetirá en Honduras esa violación de la libertad de prensa.

XII

THE XXIV ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE IAPA RESOLVES:

That the IAPA again express its sorrow and indignation at the treatment given over 40 of our Cuban colleagues who are imprisoned in Cuba, and urge its members to seek every opportunity to report on their plight.

XII

LA XXIV ASAMBLEA ANUAL DE LA SIP RESUELVE:

Que la SIP exprese nuevamente su pesar e indignación por el tratamiento dado a más de cuarenta cubanos colegas nuestros que se encuentran prisioneros en Cuba, e inste a sus miembros a buscar toda oportunidad de informar acerca de la penosa situación.

XIII

THE XXIV ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE IAPA RESOLVES:

That the IAPA hereby express its affectionate congratulations to our dedicated Life Member, Mr. J. N. ("Ned") Heiskell, on the occasion next month of his 96th birthday and our warmest greetings to his charming wife.

XIII

LA XXIV ASAMBLEA ANUAL DE LA SIP RESUELVE:

Aprovechar la oportunidad para desear muchas felicidades a nuestro dedicado Socio Vitalicio, Sr. J. N. ("Ned") Heiskell, que celebrará su 96º aniversario el mes próximo, y nuestros más calurosos saludos a la encantadora Sra. de Heiskell.

XIV

THE XXIV ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE IAPA RESOLVES:

To thank the members of the Host Committee, their charming wives, the many public and private groups, and particularly General Manuel Iricíbar, the Mayor of Buenos Aires, whose enthusiastic cooperation and generous hospitality have made the XXIV Annual Assembly in Buenos Aires a memorable event.

XIV

LA XXIV ASAMBLEA ANUAL DE LA SIP RESUELVE:

Agradecer a los miembros de la Comisión Organizadora, a sus encantadoras esposas, a todas las entidades públicas y privadas, y en particular al Sr. General Manuel Iricíbar, Intendente de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires, cuya entusiasta colaboración y generosa hospitalidad hicieron que esta XXIV Asamblea Anual se convirtiera en un acontecimiento grato y memorable.

SOCIAL PROGRAM

The social program during the XXIV General Assembly of the Inter American Press Association included the following events:

Monday, October 14

Visit to President Juan Carlos Onganía of Argentina and glass of champagne at the Government House.

Tuesday, October 15

Bus tour of the city.

Cocktail-reception offered by The Associated Press.

Inaugural Dinner offered by Argentine newspaper members of the IAPA.

Wednesday, October 16

Bus tour of the city and visits to museums.

Cocktails and buffet-dinner offered by United Press International.

Performance at the Colón Opera House.

Thursday, October 17

Buffet-luncheon offered by Agence France-Presse.

For the ladies, tea and fashion show.

Champagne-reception offered by the Mayor of Buenos Aires, general Manuel Iricíbar.

Performance at the Colón Opera House.

Friday, October 18

Cocktail-reception offered by the Mergenthaler Linotype Company.

Adjournment Banquet.

Saturday, October 19

Luncheon, with Argentine folk songs and dances, offered by Ford Motor Argentina.

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