

INTER AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION

XXII ANNUAL MEETING

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1967

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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THE MIAMI HERALD

Miami, Florida

Erick Huss

FIEJ

DAGENS NYHETER

Stockholm, Sweden

Galo Plaza

Quito, Ecuador

David Rockefeller

Council for Latin America

New York, N. Y.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

FIRST MEETING

Monday, October 24, 1966

The first meeting of the Board of Directors of the XXII General Assembly of the Inter American Press Association convened at 10:00 AM, Monday, October 24, 1966 in the Salon Peru of the Hotel Crillon in Lima, Peru, with Mr. Lee Hills, Second Vice President, as Chairman.

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

President Howard, Robert Brown, Chairman of the Executive Committee, Sr. Mesquita, and other officers are all at the Palace to present a formal invitation to the President of Peru, and I have been asked to open the meeting and continue until they return.

In the absence of Mr. Caputto, who has been ill, I will ask the Manager to call the roll. I might inform you that our Secretary, Mr. Caputto, had a heart attack about two months ago. He is recovering very nicely, we hear. He is spending a few hours daily at the office, but he was not able to travel and come to this meeting.

Carlos, will you please call the roll of the Board?

Mr. Carlos A. Jiménez, Manager of the Inter American Press Association called the roll and the following directors were present:

Jack R. Howard, Julio de Mesquita Filho, Lee Hills, John A. Brogan, Jr., Robert U. Brown, Agustin E. Edwards, Manuel Cisneros, James S. Copley, Pedro J. Chamorro, Raymond E. Dix, José Dutriz, Jr., Harold A. Fitzgerald, S.G. Fletcher, Tom C. Harris, Rodolfo Junco de la Vega, Jr., Pedro G. Beltrán, Alberto Gainza Paz, Andrew Heiskell, John R. Herbert, Guillermo Martínez Márquez, Rómulo O'Farrill, Jr., John T. O'Rourke, Joshua B. Powers, John R. Reitemeyer, Amadeo Barletta, Jr., George Beebe, Brady Black, Edward H. Harte, Marian S. Heiskell, Nicholas Ifft, Monseñor Jesús María Pellín, Joseph B. Ridder, Horacio Aguirre-Baca, Francisco A. Rizzuto, E. W. Scripps, Alfredo Silva Carvallo, Juan S. Valmaggia, William K. Blethen, Diana J. de Massot, Manoel P. do Nascimento Brito, Rev. Albert J. Nevins, Enrique Nores Martínez, Germán E. Ornes, Charles E. Scripps, Napoleón Viera Altamirano, Pablo Vargas Badillo, John C.A. Watkins and George W. Westerman.

We have more than 15 members, so there is a quorum, Mr. Chairman.

MR. JACK R. HOWARD (Scripps-Howard Newspapers, U.S.A.): Thank you very much.

As part of the streamlining of these meetings we have decided that some

of the reports will not be read in full, but one that will be read in full this morning will be that of the Chairman of the Executive Committee, Mr. Brown.

I would like first to welcome Dr. Alberto Lleras Camargo, who is sitting in the middle on my left. Perhaps you would stand up. (Applause)

Mr. Brown, do you want to read your report now?

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

You will receive reports on our finances and on our membership in greater detail from our Treasurer and the Chairman of the Membership Committee, but I think it is appropriate to note here that at the close of our last fiscal year, on September 30th, we had a cash balance in excess of \$50,000, which was the highest in our history. This is to be compared with our cash balance of almost \$16,000 five years ago, and almost \$10,000 ten years ago.

In the past year we have had some membership resignations and many new members inducted but at this time it should be noted only that as of September 30th our membership rolls were at the highest in their history and that we had 773 publications affiliated with the IAPA compared to 727 a year ago, 530 five years ago, and 374 ten years ago. At the close of our last fiscal year we had 587 individual members, of which 243 were active voting members from Latin America, 224 were active voting members from the United States and 16 were acting voting members from Canada or the British West Indies. This will be presented to you in more detail by your Membership Committee.

In any analysis of our financial statement it should be kept in mind that our operating expenses for the year are being kept within our annual income from membership dues. This means that our semiannual and annual conventions are self liquidating and in the last few years have produced surpluses for the IAPA due to the generosity of our various host committees.

The work of the Chairman of the Executive Committee has been rather limited in the last year because of the presence in New York City of the President of the IAPA, Jack Howard. The President of the IAPA should be its Chief Executive Officer when he is immediately available. As the Executive Committee works only as a substitute for the Board of Directors, the Chairman of the Executive Committee should only act as a substitute when the President is unavailable, except for his direct responsibility in the operations of the headquarters office.

It was only necessary, therefore, for the Executive Committee to have three meetings in New York City since our last annual assembly. There was one Executive Committee meeting between the Assembly Meeting in San Diego and the Board of Directors Meeting in Caracas and there have been two since the Caracas meeting.

The first of our Executive Committee Meetings was held in New York on November 24, 1965. At that time we approved our annual budget of approximately \$73,000 with the anticipation that our receipts would exceed disbursements at the end of the year by approximately \$1,500. It appears from our current

financial report that this anticipated figure has been realized.

At that November meeting it was the decision of the Executive Committee that the IAPA should participate in the new worldwide International Press Telecommunications Committee which was formed at the instigation of the Commonwealth Press Union. The Executive Committee feels that even at a total cost of approximately \$1,680 the IAPA participation in this work will be of great benefit to our members.

One of the expensive items of the IAPA operating budget has been the cost of reproducing the minutes of our annual meetings in book form. The cost of printing these books in both English and Spanish has amounted to about \$1,600 which is about as inexpensive as it can be done. In addition to that there is the expense of translating and transcribing which brings the total cost to over \$2,000 and which does not include the time and effort spent by the headquarters staff people who are already on our payroll.

It has been suggested by others that the printing of the annual minutes is not actually necessary. Nevertheless, the enthusiasm of those few people who want and use copies of the minutes is so vigorous that the Executive Committee and the Board of Directors have declined to make any move in this direction.

I think that a fitting proposal leading towards operating efficiency and economy has been made in the past by our president and our treasurer that the annual minutes could be reproduced in one volume as an accurate text of what took place in the language that was used at the time. This would eliminate the necessity for translating Spanish into English and vice versa.

In other words, one book would be reproduced which might include both Spanish texts or English texts of speeches or reports which would not require that either one of them be translated for reproduction in another language in another volume. It is our feeling that those who wish to keep the record of minutes of the annual meetings would have a working knowledge of both languages and therefore it would not be necessary to translate. The tape recordings of the proceedings would be available for reference whenever needed.

I recommend that this Board of Directors authorize economy in this direction, because of the tremendous expense involved in taping, transcribing, translating and printing the minutes of our meetings in two languages, leaving it to the discretion of the Executive Committee to print enough copies to meet the demand.

Because there has been some misunderstanding as to the actions of the Executive Committee with respect to decisions of the Awards Committee, I think some clarification is needed at this time.

It will be remembered that in San Diego there was some dissatisfaction expressed on the floor of the convention about a selection of the Awards

Committee. The sentiment was expressed that the recommendations of the Awards Committee should be subject to review by the Board of Directors or the Executive Committee before announcements of selections were made unilaterally by the Awards Committee.

It was reported to the Executive Committee meeting on April 29 that the Awards Committee, at its meeting in Caracas in March, had agreed on the following new procedure:

- 1.- In case of doubt about any candidate to consult with one or more reliable members of the IAPA in the candidate's country;
- 2.- To inform the Executive Committee of the names of the winners before announcing them and notifying the winners.

I reported to the meeting of the Executive Committee on April 29th that some doubts had been expressed at the Caracas Meeting of the Awards Committee about two candidates who were tentatively selected as winners of one of the Mergenthaler awards. Accordingly the headquarters office consulted with other reliable IAPA members in the various countries who answered that in their opinion, these candidates were not deserving of the prizes.

At the Executive Committee meeting, Mr. Agustin Edwards, who is also a member of the Awards Committee, reported at length on the meeting of that Committee in Caracas. After his report, Dr. Gainza Paz proposed that the Executive Committee make a recommendation to the Board of Directors not to give any awards this year and to revise the Awards Committee's rules and procedures. This proposal was endorsed by some others but was rejected by the majority when President Jack Howard suggested it would be wise not to cancel all the awards but only those voted to candidates who in the opinion of the Executive Committee did not deserve them. This proposal was well seconded and on the basis of a resolution proposed by James Stahlman it was approved that the Executive Committee recommend to the Board:

- 1.- To revise the rules and procedures of the Awards Committee;
- 2.- Not to give the awards this year to those candidates selected by the Awards Committee, who in the opinion of the Executive Committee did not merit them.

It was also proposed that since the Board of Directors would not meet until October 24 in Lima, which would be the same day that the Awards would be given to the winners, that the Executive Committee put its recommendations to a vote by mail on the part of the Directors. Mr. Stahlman proposed and it was also approved that the Sub-Committee in charge of studying the revisions of the rules and procedures of the Awards Committee be formed by Dr. Gainza Paz, Mr. Edwards and David B. Lindsay, Jr. All of this was endorsed by the Executive Committee.

Following the meeting and following dissemination of the minutes of the

meeting to those members who were not here, it became immediately apparent in the form of a communication from Mr. Francisco Rizzuto of Buenos Aires, Chairman of the Awards Committee, that a colossal error had been committed by the Executive Committee in naming Mr. Edwards and Mr. Lindsay to the Committee to study the rules and procedures of the Awards Committee. Both of these gentlemen were members of the Awards Committee and in effect would be studying themselves.

Immediately when this was brought to the attention of President Jack Howard by Mr. Rizzuto, the two members Mr. Edwards and Mr. Lindsay were asked to resign from the Study Committee and others were named in their place.

In the meantime, 35 IAPA Directors approved by mail the recommendation for three Awards and no others.

On behalf of the members of the Executive Committee, I regret that a mistake was made on the appointment of the study committee. I am grateful to Mr. Rizzuto for calling the error to our attention so that we could correct it immediately at our next meeting on July 14th. I sincerely regret that Mr. Rizzuto took all this activity and discussion about the Awards Committee as a personal affront and submitted his resignation as Chairman of the Awards Committee.

It was and is the feeling of members of the Executive Committee, that the IAPA should have no autonomous standing committees. It will be recalled by members of this organization that at one time the Committee on Freedom of the Press was operating autonomously without any responsibility to the Board of Directors or any approval by the Board of Directors of its actions. This was felt by members of the Board to be an unwise situation and was corrected.

The present members of the Executive Committee feel that it is just as unwise to have an Awards Committee which is not responsible to the Board of Directors and which does not have its actions approved by the Board. Although there have been some errors in procedure by the Executive Committee in trying to bring this about in the last few months, it is still the contention of members of the Executive Committee that the rules and procedures of the Awards Committee should be changed to make it responsible to the higher body for its approval and this situation should apply to all IAPA committees.

There was nothing personal towards Mr. Rizzuto in the action of the Executive Committee. I regret that he and others have felt that there was.

The greatest single tragedy that has befallen the IAPA in many years was the untimely death of Jules Dubois, member of our Board of Directors and Chairman of our Committee on Freedom of the Press for many, many years.

I was fortunately able to be in Stockholm in early June when Jules Dubois was presented with the "Golden Pen of Freedom" award by the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers. It was another well-deserved honor for Jules Dubois and as usual he was an outstanding representative of this

hemisphere and the IAPA at that meeting. It was the tragic duty of president Jack Howard and me to attend the final services for Jules Dubois only a few weeks later in Washington at Arlington Cemetery on August 23.

I would like to close this report on a happy note of congratulations to the organizing committee in Lima for arranging what promises to be an outstanding IAPA Assembly. I think a warm vote of thanks is due Mr. Manuel Cisneros, chairman of the Organizing Committee, and the Peruvian Airlines for their assistance to IAPA in making it possible for our manager to bring vast amounts of materials and IAPA records from New York to Lima in time for the convention.

MR HOWARD: Thank you, Mr. Brown. Your report will be submitted to the Resolutions Committee for whatever action may be required. Are there any comments on the Report? Mr. Rizzuto.

SR. FRANCISCO A. RIZZUTO (Veritas, Buenos Aires, Argentina): Quiero referirme al informe del Sr. Brown en cuanto al Comité de Premios.

Le agradezco al amigo, Bob Brown, la referencia amplia que hace con respecto a lo acontecido con el Comité de Premios, pero como él sólo ha visto el anverso de la medalla, yo voy a hacer ver a mis colegas el reverso. No quiere decir esto que tenga nada personal, sino que salgo en defensa del Comité que he integrado durante diez años justos.

Yo quiero preguntar a ustedes si el Comité Ejecutivo, en una sesión donde se tratan muchos asuntos, según la copia del acta que tengo a la vista -- ustedes conocen mi parecer porque les he mandado a todos un informe escrito, y si no lo tienen está a su disposición aquí -- quiero preguntar si en una sesión los miembros del Comité Ejecutivo pueden revisar los premios cuyo rechazo aconsejan en forma más conciente que un Comité que estuvo reunido dos veces y tuvo los trabajos a la disposición de todos los integrantes durante tres días para que los estudiaran y los examinaran.

En las páginas 94 y 95 de la memoria que tienen ustedes a la vista, repartidas en esta sesión, de la Asamblea de San Diego, se dice que se pida al Comité Ejecutivo que haga un examen minucioso y profundo, y que el Comité Ejecutivo, una vez que llegue a un acuerdo, lo someta al directorio para que éste se pronuncie.

El 24 de noviembre el Comité Ejecutivo se reunió en Nueva York y nada hizo con respecto a la proposición o recomendación aprobada en San Diego. Por el contrario, nos reunimos en Caracas en marzo sin ninguna disposición previa de parte del Comité Ejecutivo, y era lógico que nos ajustáramos a normas tradicionales que habían regido a la Comisión desde el año 1956.

Quiero decir también que el Comité de Premios, por propia decisión, aprobó pedir la opinión responsable de un miembro del directorio cuando no tuviéramos la seguridad de nuestra elección, y así lo hicimos en el caso del premio por artículos, editoriales, o secciones. Nuestro colega

director aconsejó no dar el premio. Y ese Consejo se tuvo en cuenta, no acordándose el premio.

Si el Comité Ejecutivo sancionó la recomendación de no dar los premios por una sola opinión, o dos opiniones -- porque había dos integrantes del Comité de Premios en el Comité Ejecutivo, y lamentablemente yo no pude concurrir porque estaba en Europa -- qué valía más, la opinión de esos dos señores o nueve que habíamos integrado el Comité de Premios?

¿Por qué entonces, antes de tomar una decisión no se usó la cortesía mínima que se debía a un componente del Comité Ejecutivo y presidente de la Comisión de Premios, como era yo, para informarme que se iba a pedir el voto por escrito? Es desusado en la SIP pedir el voto por escrito a los señores directores. Y ese pedido fue parcial, porque ustedes votaron sin saber lo que votaron. Tengo la circular que nos enviaron como directores, y evidentemente se pedía que se votara, pero no se decía por qué se eliminaba y a quién eliminábamos.

¿Cómo se podía eliminar el voto de consagrar a Lino Palacio, caricaturista famoso en todo el mundo? Digo Lino Palacio para demostrarles a ustedes, señores directores, con qué apresuramiento se juzgó la sanción del Comité de Premios. Olvida el Comité Ejecutivo que la finalidad de acordar premios es estimular a los señores periodistas de la América Latina. ¿Para qué la Compañía Mergenthaler nos entrega 2,500 dólares anuales? ¿Para que los tengamos en caja de ahorros, o para que estimulemos a la gente? El dar solamente dos premios Mergenthaler este año significa que el periodismo latinoamericano se encuentra en plena decadencia. Sobre seis acordamos dos. Y es una cosa que me indigna como periodista latinoamericano.

El apuro en pedir el voto, se me informó, fue para que se pudieran entregar esta noche. Pero cuando estaba de por medio la descortesía con un colega, y cuando estaba de por medio dictar nuevas normas, no debía haber tal apresuramiento.

Pero el Comité Ejecutivo es, según los Estatutos, el que gobierna a la entidad. Yo lo que quiero decirles a ustedes es que se usó un procedimiento dictatorial como todo aquello que hemos juzgado y criticado en nuestras sesiones. No se debió nunca haber acordado un procedimiento sin mi participación como presidente de la Comisión de Premios. Sin embargo, se apresuró el trámite en una sesión y a los siete días se mandó pedir el voto por escrito; yo sólo recibí la comunicación como cualquier otro director. No tuve ningún informe en especial con respecto a la sanción de la Comisión de Premios.

Como no quiero distraer la atención de ustedes -- y creo que no se trata de un asunto personal, como dice mi amigo Bob Brown, sino de una cuestión de principios y de un procedimiento equivocado que puede ser nefasto como antecedente en nuestras sesiones -- yo formalmente dejo sentada esta moción: que nuestra Junta de Directores revea la decisión del Comité Ejecutivo y, por lo tanto, anule el voto que se ha pedido por escrito, por haberse utilizado un procedimiento parcial y apresurado; que se acepten, en consecuencia,

los otros cuatro premios. En fotografía dimos dos premios, uno de ellos por la foto del escupitajo a Dean Rusk en Montevideo; nadie puede impugnar la calidad de esta foto cuando los mismos diarios norteamericanos -- doce en total, según tengo entendido -- la publicaron.

En consecuencia, que las nuevas normas que todavía el Comité Ejecutivo no ha hecho conocer a la Junta de Directores desde el 29 de abril, rijan a partir del año venidero.

Sr. Presidente, he concluido y estoy a las órdenes de los que quieran saber mas del procedimiento del Comité Ejecutivo. Y pido la sanción del voto para lo que acabo de proponer.

MR. HOWARD: Thank you, Mr. Rizzuto. Mr Ornes.

SR. GERMAN ORNES (El Caribe, Santo Domingo, República Dominicana): Mi intervención es, simplemente, para solicitar al Presidente del Comité Ejecutivo una explicación de cuáles fueron las razones que tuvo el Comité Ejecutivo para revocar las decisiones de la Comisión de Premios. Hago esto -- y no había intervenido en este asunto hasta ahora -- porque uno de los premios revocados correspondía a un fotógrafo del periódico El Caribe de Santo Domingo, que dirijo. Es una fotografía de un efecto dramático extraordinario; una fotografía que cuando fue repartida por la United Press International desde Santo Domingo fue publicada la misma semana por las tres revistas noticiosas más importantes en los Estados Unidos: Newsweek, Time y U.S. News and World Report. Esa fotografía tuvo una circulación de más de diez millones de ejemplares en los propios Estados Unidos.

Es una secuencia fotográfica, como digo, de un valor dramático tremendo, y yo no hubiera querido ni quejarme ni intervenir en este asunto porque no había sido hecho público, pero posteriormente a la decisión del Comité Ejecutivo el Sr. Rizzuto circuló un memorándum entre los miembros de la Junta de Directores y miembros de la Sociedad, en la cual ya se decía que ese premio otorgado al diario El Caribe había sido revocado.

El presidente del Comité Ejecutivo dijo hoy que se había considerado que los candidatos no merecían los premios, pero no se explicó a base de qué llegó el Comité Ejecutivo a esa conclusión. Yo no estoy protestando por la decisión. Lo único que quisiera es que se diese a conocer, ya que todo este asunto ha llegado al público y se está debatiendo públicamente, cuáles fueron las razones por las que el Comité Ejecutivo decidió revocar esos premios.. Yo no me refiero simplemente al caso de El Caribe; creo que deberíamos hacerlo para todos. Creo que eso daría oportunidad, además, para que los directores estuvieran bien educados de este asunto y, sobre la base de esa explicación, decidieran acerca de la resolución que ha propuesto el compañero Rizzuto en estos momentos.

MR. HOWARD: Is there any further comment?

MR. JOHN R. REITEMEYER: (The Hartford Courant, Hartford, Conn.): I am not familiar with the incident to which Mr. Rizzuto refers. I was ill a good part of this year and didn't attend the meetings of the Executive Committee. And I also have some difficulty understanding what is being said by this translation system.

However, if I understand the situation correctly, a suggestion has been made that the procedure under which the Executive Committee operates be changed. It is entirely possible that what you may want to do is to amend the By-laws, and if you amend the By-laws you can't do it at this meeting because it requires notice of six months.

There is one rule in Section IX of Article 5 which says: "All standing and special committees shall report in writing to the annual meeting of the Association."

Now, the Awards Committee is a standing committee and obviously has the right, under the By-laws, to report to this Association. On the other hand, the supreme body of any corporation in the United States is the Board of Directors. Under Article 1 of Section III, "The affairs of the Association shall be managed by its Board of Directors."

Furthermore, under Section IX of the same Article, "The Board of Directors shall have the power to make all rules and regulations for conducting the business and affairs of the Association; to establish an office or offices, etc., and generally to do all acts and things deemed necessary for the best interests of the Association."

Further on you have an Executive Committee, which is authorized to function in behalf of the Board of Directors when the Board of Directors is not in session.

So I really think that there could be some conflict here, because I believe the Executive Committee had the right to do what it did. Whether it was the right thing to do or not, I don't know because I am not sufficiently familiar with the problem. I don't know basically what this is all about, and I am referring now entirely to the By-laws and speaking as Chairman of your Legal Committee.

So, I think the Executive Committee has the right to do all the functions as the Board of Directors when the Board of Directors is not in session. Obviously the supreme authority of this agency is the Board of Directors. On the other hand, you have this Section II which says, "Standing and special committees shall report in writing to the Annual Meeting," not to the Executive Committee and not to the Board of Directors, but to the Annual Meeting. And I would suggest, Mr. Chairman, that if some change is desired in this method of procedure you could do it by amending the By-laws at the meeting of the Board to be held at Montego Bay in March.

MR HOWARD: I am having trouble with the translation system, too, and I am not sure that the resolution that Mr. Rizzuto offered is a resolution to amend the By-laws. Would you mind repeating the resolution that you gave?

SR. RIZZUTO: Yo creo que el Comité Ejecutivo procedió legalmente bien. Lo que estoy criticando es el procedimiento que el mismo Sr. Brown admite en su informe. Así que no se trata de ninguna reforma, sino que la Junta de Directores decida anular el voto que se le pidió por escrito y sancione los premios que la Comisión de Premios había acordado, menos uno, que se refiere a Nicaragua.

Pero por los demás, las decisiones del Comité de Premios fueron todas

tomadas por absoluta mayoría, y solamente en el caso de la fotografía, tres señores votaron en contra, contra seis. Eramos nueve integrantes.

Así que no pido ninguna revisión de los Estatutos. Yo estoy apelando, Sr. Presidente, a la nobleza de ustedes, que reconozcan que han cometido un error y lo reconozcan de la A a la Z, y no sólo parcialmente, como dice el informe del Sr. Brown.

Cuando la cancillería del Brasil le sacó el carnet a un periodista, cuando en San Miguel de Tucumán el gobernador recientemente le prohibió la entrada a un periodista, y nosotros pedimos la revisión de las medidas y éstas se revocaron, lo aplaudimos porque hubo nobleza para reconocer el error. Aquí se trata simplemente de que los señores directores reconozcan que el Comité Ejecutivo no actuó bien, que ha procedido en forma descortés con la Comisión de Premios y ha estado sumamente mal aconsejado.

Así, lo que se pide acá no es enmienda de ninguna naturaleza, sino que se retire el voto que se ha pedido por escrito en forma parcial y sin escuchar el anverso y el reverso de la medalla.

MR. HOWARD: Well, I understood that you didn't offer an amendment, but I think what you are suggesting is now that the Board of Directors reverse the Executive Committee's action, which was perfectly proper. Is that what you mean?

SR. RIZZUTO: El Comité Ejecutivo "aconsejó" rechazar los premios, no "resolvió." En consecuencia, si la Junta de Directores fue mal aconsejada, puede retirar el voto que se le pidió por escrito. Estamos legalmente autorizados para resolver aquí la anulación del voto que se pidió por escrito.

MR. HOWARD: Well, you are really making this as a motion. Have you got a second? Anybody second?

As I understand it, the motion is that the Board of Directors reverse the vote it made by mail, so that we would then again have before us the Awards Committee's recommendations. And if I understand this correctly, Mr. Rizzuto would like to have the Board vote on the recommendations of the Awards Committee. Is that right?

SR. RIZZUTO: Sí. Quiero aclarar que estoy pidiendo eso porque no hay normas establecidas. El Comité Ejecutivo no ha sancionado nuevas normas. Por eso he pedido que las normas que ustedes van a hacer rijan para el año que viene, y no con efecto retroactivo.

MR. HOWARD: One of the reasons we are appointing a committee of two now is to take up this very matter and matters of this kind. And presumably that committee will recommend procedures that may fit in with your desires next year. What I am a little confused about is what you want to do about this year. This year has been done.

SR. RIZZUTO: Pero ¿por qué está confuso, señor? Si el informe del Sr. Brown reconoce que ha habido un mal procedimiento, ¿por qué no se reconoce que se ha pedido en forma apresurada el voto a los señores directores? Es cuestión de nobleza, nada más. Ustedes tienen que reconocer que ha habido un apresuramiento y mal proceder. Reconózcanlo del todo y asunto concluido.

MR. BROWN: Excuse me, I would like to clarify the words that Mr. Rizzuto put in my mouth. I said nothing about a "hasty decision." I said that we made an error, originally, in the appointment of a committee to study the rules of the Awards Committee. I said nothing about a hasty decision, and I admit no error in the final action of the Executive Committee.

As Mr. Reitemeyer has pointed out, the Executive Committee had the authority to do what it did and, in spite of accusations of dictatorship, I submit that every organization has to be run by someone or somebody. In this case the body was the Executive Committee. Now Mr. Rizzuto has made a motion which, in effect, would repudiate the Executive Committee, which would reverse the vote that the members of the Board took by mail.

SR. RIZZUTO: Sí, concretamente, es eso, señor.

MR HOWARD: Well, I still haven't heard a second to your motion, Mr. Rizzuto.

SR. RIZZUTO: Bueno, espero que los compañeros de la Comisión de Premios tengan la valentía de hacerlo.

SR. ORNES: Yo creo que antes de someter a votación la moción del Sr. Rizzuto debiera hacerse la explicación que yo he solicitado. Creo que cuando se pidió a los miembros de la Junta de Directores que votaran, no se les explicó suficientemente bien esta cuestión. Yo creo, también, que al decir que había fotografías que no merecían los premios, o que había candidatos que no merecían los premios, debiera también darse una razón de cuáles eran las causas por las cuales el Comité Ejecutivo había encontrado que una decisión del Comité de Premios debía ser revocada por falta de méritos de los candidatos escogidos por el Comité de Premios.

Hecha esa explicación yo creo que entonces sí estaremos en condiciones de secundar y de aprobar o rechazar la moción del Sr. Rizzuto.

MR. BROWN: Again, speaking only as the instrument of the Executive Committee, I don't think it would be fair or reasonable for me to attempt to put words in the mouths of the 17 or 18 members of the Executive Committee who attended those two meetings to which I referred. Secondly, I don't think it would be fair or reasonable, even if I could put those words in their mouths, for me to attempt to explain reasons why something was not done, or something was disapproved. I think it is only fair to say that the Executive Committee made a decision. If the members of this Board do not agree with that decision, it is their privilege at this point, under a motion made by Mr. Rizzuto, to reject that decision and to repudiate the Executive Committee, and I think in fairness to the Executive Committee, that vote should be made as fast as possible right now.

MR. S. G. FLETCHER (The Daily Gleaner, Kingston, Jamaica) : Mr. President, some of us are a little confused as to whether our colleague, Mr. Rizzuto, hopes to revise the decision which has been made, by cancelling that and making some other decision, or whether Mr. Rizzuto is merely making a protest as to the procedure which was followed in arriving at the decision.

Now, if it is the former, if he seeks to revise the decision, I would suggest that is a very serious matter and I can hardly believe that is what he really seeks to propose. If, on the other hand, he is making a protest as to the procedure which has been followed, then I would strongly suggest to him that the protest has been made, that it will appear in the records of the meeting, that just about everything has been said on the subject and I would suggest to Mr. Rizzuto that honor should be satisfied with that.

MR. HOWARD: Thank you, Mr. Fletcher, Mr. Rizzuto.

SR. RIZZUTO: Le agradezco, Sr. Fletcher, pero no es el motivo que me ha guiado hacer la protesta únicamente. Yo entiendo que detrás de un procedimiento equivocado debe haber la sanción correspondiente, no contra el Comité Ejecutivo por haberse equivocado, sino para rectificar un error. Yo entiendo que debemos tomar la decisión: o el Comité Ejecutivo estuvo equivocado en el procedimiento, no en materia estatutaria sino en el procedimiento con respecto a la Comisión de Premios y el pedido de voto apresurado a los señores directores, que no sabían lo que votaban.

Apelo otra vez a la nobleza de ustedes para que lo digan, y en consecuencia, rechazando el voto del Comité Ejecutivo, aprueben los otros tres premios, los cuales fueron rechazados. Porque todos los elementos de juicio los tuvimos a nuestra disposición. Después de diez años se produjo el incidente de San Diego, en el cual, si salí victorioso fue por milagro, porque estaban todos confabulados -- esa es la palabra -- para negarle el premio al señor Collier, que hoy es corresponsal en Buenos Aires.

Y ahora lo que necesitamos es rectificar una decisión porque los periodistas latinoamericanos se sentirán desamparados en el futuro al ver que acordamos dos premios sobre seis. Cada vez vamos a tener menos gente que se presente a los premios.

SR. PEDRO JOAQUIN CHAMORRO: (La Prensa, Managua, Nicaragua): Yo quisiera preguntar al Sr. Rizzuto si no sería más práctico y más beneficioso para nuestra Sociedad que este año, en vista del desacuerdo que ha habido entre la Comisión de Premios y el Comité Ejecutivo, se declaren desierto todos los premios y se establezca un procedimiento para nuevas proposiciones y nuevos premios.

SR. RIZZUTO: No, no es posible, porque esta noche se entregan los dos que han sido acordados. Eso sería incorrecto. No es viable.

MR. HOWARD: Well, it is obvious that we cannot withdraw the awards that have been made and which will be presented this evening. As a matter of fact, I think it would be most unjust to those who are receiving them. We certainly wouldn't do that.

Mr. Fletcher put his finger on the heart of this matter. If the motion is one that is going to repudiate the Executive Committee for exercising its rights, I think it is a very serious thing myself. Perhaps the chair shouldn't be discussing it this way.

The chairman of the Executive Committee, who is directly involved, has asked that we vote on Mr. Rizzuto's motion, which still has not been seconded.

MR. CHARLES E. SCRIPPS (Scripps-Howard Newspapers, U.S.A.) : Mr. Chairman, I think that some of us, if we were not confused before the discussion started, we are now, and it would be extremely helpful before any vote if someone could review for us the history of exactly what happened. And I would hope that we could come to an agreement as to the history of what happened. If we can't do that, we're in bad shape. But could someone do that for us?

MR. HOWARD: I think the Chairman fo the Executive Committee can, if he will.

MR. BROWN: I thought I covered it all in the text of my report. I thought it was pretty complete. Are there any specific questions you have in mind?

SR. RIZZUTO: Me permite, Sr. Presidente. ¿Puede usted hacer leer la carta del Sr. Dancey, integrante de la Comisión de Premios? Es bien explicativa para lo que pide el Sr. Charles Scripps.

MR. JIMENEZ: This letter is from Charles Dancey, a member of the Board and a member of the Awards Committee who attended the Awards Committee meeting in Caracas. It is an answer to Mr. Rizzuto's letter to all the members of the Board and it says:

"I have just received your letter to the Board of Directors. As one who was present at both meetings of the Awards Committee, permit me to say that your presentation was, indeed, completely objective; more objective than I would be under the same circumstances.

"I would not presume to argue that our decisions, or my votes on them, were the correct ones, or the best possible, but most assuredly the materials were available and were examined, and the selections were not capricious. Steps were taken, also, to inquire into areas where we felt we might not have sufficient information.

"It seems to me that someone who did not avail himself of the opportunity to make such study, nor to attend the formal meeting, jumped to personal conclusions about what transpired and represented his view to the Executive Committee with a consequence of precipitous, ill-informed and capricious action on their part, not ours. This was unjust, and particularly so to you. I am sure that it was not so intended, but that was assuredly the actual result.

"It shocks me that the emphais seems to be shifting to one of censorship rather than anything else as a basic criteria for IAPA Awards, and I hope that I am mistaken in this impression. It stems, perhaps, from the remarks at our last meeting and the only two gentlemen chosen from the Committee to study new procedures."

That is all.

MR HOWARD: Well, I think that is an expression of his point of view, but it seems to me that he is doing the same thing in reporting on the meeting of the Executive Committee, because he wasn't there. So he is doing what he accuses the Executive Committee of doing.

SR. RIZZUTO: Pero el Sr. Dancey integró el Comité de Premios, señor, y por lo tanto tiene autoridad para opinar.

MR. FLETCHER: Mr. President, I would merely like again to suggest to Mr. Rizzuto that so far as his protest is concerned, the matter has been very well expressed, very well recorded, and I am sure we all appreciate the feelings and the objectives with which he put the matter forward. And with the greatest respect for Mr. Rizzuto I would suggest, however, that if the objective is that the procedure is wrong and should be protested and should be changed, then that objective has been achieved by the record of this meeting and by the way we will proceed in the future.

If, on the other hand, Mr. Rizzuto feels that a wrong decision has been made as to a candidate for an award, and that the award to any particular candidate should be reconsidered, I would certainly suggest to him that the candidate could be resubmitted for consideration in another period. And there is nothing irrevocable about the fact that he has not got the award on this occasion.

Thus, I would strongly suggest to my friend, Mr. Rizzuto, that the matter can be straightened out without any resolution at this meeting. His protest has been recorded and any mistakes can be corrected in the future quite easily.

MR. EUGENE B. MIROVITCH (Graphic Arts Consultant, Hollywood, Calif.): May I ask Col. Reitemeyer, who referred to the By-laws of the Association, this question, which may be an idle question: is it possible at this time, and provided there is a quorum of the Awards Committee present, to announce some additional prizes to the ones that have already been awarded? Thank you.

MR. REITEMEYER: Well, I suppose it is possible for the Board of Directors to do anything it thinks is the right and proper thing to do. The Board of Directors, through its Executive Committee, which is its responsible agency between meetings of the Board, did what it thought was in the best interests of the Association. And I think that action is proper and is legal. As to the merit of the decision, I am unfamiliar with that matter, but legally, in my opinion, the Executive Committee had the right to do what it did do.

Now, if the Board wants to reverse itself; if the Board sitting around this table wants to decide on additional awards to be made tonight, I suppose it can do so. However, I would suggest that it might be an impolitic and unwise thing to do.

I was Chairman of the Executive Committee for a number of years, and in all of the years when I was Chairman of the Executive Committee, and I am sure that the same thing is true at the present time, the Executive Committee did the thing which it thought was in the best interest of the Inter American Press Association. And I am sure that was the motive which impelled the

Executive Committee to do what it did at this time.

It seems to me that it is rather late at this time for this group to be sitting around a table and in five or ten minutes decide that additional awards should be given. Maybe they could be given another year; maybe they could be given in January -- I don't know, because I don't know the problem here. But I do know the Executive Committee was authorized to do what it did do.

And in answer to the question by Mr. Mirovitch, if this Board should decide to repudiate the Executive Committee and to repudiate the mail vote and to take another vote, it legally has the right to do so, of course. But I am speaking of this only from the legal viewpoint now, and not from any consideration of the motives which led to the decision.

MR HOWARD: Does anybody else want to comment on this?

The Chairman of the Executive Committee twice has said that he would like to have a vote on Mr. Rizzuto's motion. I have three times asked for a second to that motion. We certainly cannot vote upon it until it is seconded. Now we have a second. Would you restate your motion, Mr. Rizzuto, and we will vote on it and get on with our work?

SR. RIZZUTO: Muy bien. La moción concreta es rechazar el voto pedido por escrito a los señores directores. Esto es, darlo por no existente, primero. Y segundo, que en base a lo actuado por el Comité de Premios -- esto es, que no había normas ya fijadas de antemano -- se sancionen los otros tres premios cuya anulación fue aconsejada.

MR. HOWARD: I think we can simplify this a little bit. This motion really is a motion to reject the vote that was requested of the Board of Directors by mail. We decide that first, and if that interpretation of your motion is correct -- it has been seconded -- I will ask all those in favor of rejecting the vote that was requested in writing to do so.

MR. REITEMEYER: I am sorry to interrupt you, Mr. President, but do I understand Mr. Rizzuto's resolution provides to rescind the action of the Executive Committee and to award prizes to the persons whom he suggested get prizes?

MR. HOWARD: I understood that that was later. That is why I simplified it.

MR. REITEMEYER: The first motion he is making is to rescind the vote of the Executive Committee, is that correct?

MR. HOWARD: With Mr. Rizzuto's permission, I divided this up because it seems to me it became rather complicated and if we vote on this rejection, then that will determine, it seems to me, what course we follow. So I will repeat, all those in favor of rejecting the vote that was made by the Board of Director by mail, please raise their right hands.

SR. JULIO DE MESQUITA FILHO (O Estado de São Paulo, Brazil): Yo voy a pedir

permiso para no tomar parte porque no he podido enterarme de los hechos; no he recibido la carta en que me pedían mi voto por escrito.

MR. HOWARD: Thank you, Mr. Mesquita.

Well, all of those in favor of rejecting the mail vote, please raise their right hands. The motion has not been carried, and we will get on with our business. Thank you very much.

Is Mr. Dix here? I believe you wanted to make your report this morning. Perhaps you will do that now? Thank you.

REPORT BY THE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE FOR ENGLISH-LANGUAGE COUNTRIES
RAYMOND E. DIX, CHAIRMAN

This has been an active year in our continuing membership campaign.

From my office 313 original letters were sent to prospective members. In addition to this we mailed out a large number of follow-up letters to prospects who had been solicited by other members of our committee.

Our committee members cooperated enthusiastically, contacting prospects in their respective areas.

During the past fiscal year 61 Active members, including a group with 27 newspapers in Canada, and 14 Associate members were obtained from the English-language countries.

Furthermore, the Board at Lima will consider 14 new Active and 12 new Associate members from the same countries.

As Bob Brown reports, we had 773 members up to the time of this meeting. Eight hundred has sort of been a number that I wanted to shoot for and with the 26 new members we would have 799 -- 425 from the U.S.; 49 from Canada; 7 from the Caribbean area; and 297 from Latin America -- but we have some cancellations, so we are not achieving that figure at this time.

These cancellations came largely from smaller publishers who are unable to find time to attend the meetings. I don't know what can be done to keep smaller publishers interested. I believe they are important to our association and that everything reasonable should be done to retain their interest. In my opinion, the Inter American Press Association has something for all responsible publishers, however small. The publishers, at the same time, have something to contribute to this organization.

Our circulation department tells us that it can get plenty to start, but it is up to the content of the newspaper whether they remain subscribers or not. So I would emphasize that we maintain a very high program level, such as the one we are having here at this meeting. I think the more interesting we can make these programs, the better it will be.

It would have been impossible to conduct such a campaign as we did this year without the cooperation of our membership committee and of Carlos Jimenez, general manager of the IAPA. Everyone seemed willing to help.

Don Pedro Beltran, I think, wrote over 100 letters to prospective members, inviting them to Lima. I am sure that these letters will have an effect later on.

And other officials, including Jack Howard, helped in writing letters to prospective members.

I would like to read the list of the new Active members from English-language areas which we are proposing to be accepted this afternoon. They are:

Active members:

THE VISTA PRESS, Vista, California
Mr. Everett Remsburg, Publisher

HOLYOKE TRANSCRIPT-TELEGRAM, Holyoke, Mass.
Mr. Donald R. Dwight, Associate Publisher

THE STATE, Columbia, South Carolina
Mr. Ambrose G. Hampton, President and Publisher

DEFIANCE CRESCENT-NEWS, Defiance, Ohio
Mr. Gordon C. Dix, President

ADVERTISER-TRIBUNE, Tiffin, Ohio
Mr. Ivan R. Hesson, Publisher

ARIZONA DAILY STAR, Tucson, Arizona
Mr. William R. Matthews, Publisher

THE COMMERCIAL-REVIEW, Portland, Indiana
Mr. H. N. Ronald, President and Publisher

WARREN TRIBUNE CHRONICLE, Warren, Ohio
Mr. Joseph C. Wells, Vice-President

WABASH PLAIN DEALER, Wabash, Indiana
Mr. Joe H. Nixon, President

DAILY TIMES-ADVOCATE, Escondido, California
Mr. Carlton R. Appleby, Publisher

NEWTON DAILY NEWS, Newton, Iowa
Mr. E. K. Shaw, Publisher

THE DAILY GATE CITY, Keokuk, Iowa
Mr. Dale E. Carrell, Jr. Publisher

THE KENTON TIMES, Kenton, Ohio
Mr. Ray F. Barnes, Publisher

PACE MAGAZINE, Los Angeles, California
Mr. David E. Carey

Associate members

MR. WILLIAM M. DOHERTY, Export Sales Manager
Abitibi Paper Sales, Ltd. Toronto, Canada

MR. DIETHARD BAUER
The Cottrell Co., Westerly, R.I.

MR. I. W. COLE, Dean
Medill School of Journalism, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

MR. HOWARD R. LONG, Chairman
Dept. of Journalism, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Ill.

MR. PAUL McDONALD
Wood Flong Corporation, New York, N.Y.

MR. CHARLES E. MARTIN
Bowater Paper Co. New York, N.Y.

MR. DWIGHT E. SARGENT
Nieman Reports, Cambridge, Mass.

MR. MASON ROSSITER SMITH
Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong

MR. JOSEPH A. TAYLOR
Division of Journalism, School of Public Communications,
Boston University, Boston, Mass.

MR. NELSON R. BERSTEIN
Wayne Graphic Products Ltd., Long Island, New York

MR. LOUIS A. LARA
Chemo Photoproducts Co., Glen Cove, New York

MR. EDWARD GOFORTH, Export Manager
Star Parts Co., South Hackensack, New Jersey

Some of our cancellations are as follows:

THE FLINT JOURNAL, Flint, Michigan

THE NEWS-VIRGINIAN, Waynesboro, Virginia

FALL RIVER HERALD NEWS, Fall River, Mass.

DAILY REVIEW, Hayward, California

HUMBOLDT TIMES, Humboldt, California

WOONSOCKET CALL, Woonsocket, Rhode Island

SOUTH EDMONTON SUN, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada

THE DAILY COLONIST, Victoria, B.C. Canada

MR. PRESTON WOLFE

The Dispatch, Columbus, Ohio

Before closing this report I would like to comment on the generous coverage that Editor and Publisher magazine has given the IAPA and its activities. Bob Brown has looked after our interests well. This publicity has helped to keep the organization before the people.

The bulletins, too, have helped a lot. The more frequent these bulletins, the better it is for the IAPA.

I also, for the sake of recognition, would like to read the names of the Membership Committee, because I called upon them for many things -- I know I annoyed them at different times -- but they all responded. And it would have been impossible to do what we did if it hadn't been for these people.

Mr. Tom C. Harris

St. Petersburg Times, St. Petersburg, Fla.

Mr. William K. Blethen

Seattle Times, Seattle, Washington

Mr. John C.A. Watkins

Providence Journal-Bulletin, Providence, R.I.

Mr. Mason Rossiter Smith

Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong,
formerly of the Gouverneur Tribune-Press, Gouverneur, New York

Mr. Joseph B. Ridder

San Jose News-Mercury, San Jose, California

Mr. Howard H. Fitzgerald

Pontiac Press, Pontiac, Michigan

Mr. S. G. Fletcher
The Daily Gleaner, Kingston, Jamaica

Mr. Ignacio Lozano, Jr.
La Opinion, Los Angeles, California

Mr. Charles L. Dancey
Peoria Journal-Star, Peoria, Illinois

Mr. Edward H. Harte
Corpus Christi Caller-Times, Corpus Christi, Texas

Mr. J. S. Gray
Monroe Evening News, Monroe, Michigan

Mr. H. Galt Braxton
Kinston Free Press, Kinston, North Carolina

Mr. Henry D. Bradley
St. Joseph Gazette, St. Joseph, Missouri

Mr. Brady Black
Cincinnati Enquirer, Cincinnati, Ohio

Mr. James Copley
Copley Press, Inc., La Jolla, California

I think Mr. Copley wrote the most number of letters. I would like publicly to thank him at this time.

And that is the report. I do hope that all of you will make a point to go up and talk to those new members who are attending this meeting for the first time. I have met several of them and I am going to make it a point to meet all of them. I wish that as many of you as possible would try to do that. Some of them are a little timid. The language barrier embarrasses them sometimes, and I think that if you just go up and say something to them they would be reassured. We are going to have to do that if we want to retain these members. Thank you.

MR. HOWARD: Thank you very much, Mr. Dix.

SR. MANUEL CISNEROS (La Crónica, Lima, Peru): Quiero decirle al presidente de la Comisión de Nuevos Socios que le he entregado al Sr. Jiménez las solicitudes de dos diarios del interior del Perú: El Eco de Iquitos y La Gaceta de Trujillo. De manera que quizá lo ayude a que llegue a los 800.

MR. HOWARD: I'll ask Mr. Joshua B. Powers, as Chairman of the Applications Review Committee, if he will convene his members this morning to study the new membership applications. Your committee consists of Mr. Copley and Mr. Rizzuto. You should get a quorum.

Is Mr. Fendell here? Will you please, if you have not already done it, form your special committee to welcome the new members? Thank you.

I want to announce the committee chairmanships now, following the way it was done last year. I am going to name the chairmen of these committees and ask them to pick their own committees.

In the Resolutions Committee we have a little switch this year. We are going to ask Dr. Gainza Paz to be its Chairman.

The Credentials Committee, Mr. J. C. A. Watkins; Nominations Committee, Mr. Raymond E. Dix; and the Future Sites Committee, which, I think, only has to determine the meeting place for the Spring meeting in 1968, will be under the chairmanship of Mr. John R. Reitemeyer.

If all the Chairmen will get together and start work today, we will get through with this.

I might remind you that the Nominations Committee that is appointed now will prepare the slate of IAPA officers and chairman and members of the Executive Committee for 1966-67, and submit them to the Board at the meeting on Friday of this week.

There are 15 new directors to be elected and, of course, we won't have their names until the morning of the 27th. We don't have too much time.

I don't know if Mr. Watkins is here, but the Chairman of the Credentials Committee should keep in touch with the Registration Desk.

Is there anything more to come before the meeting now? Dr. Martínez Márquez wants the floor.

DR. GUILLERMO MARTINEZ MARQUEZ (El País, La Habana, Cuba, en el exilio): Solamente por tratarse de un caso de verdadera urgencia me permito interrumpir el programa de esta reunión para pedirles a mis compañeros que resuelvan, de acuerdo con la propuesta presentada en la Comisión de la Libertad de Prensa, dirigir un cable al Presidente Balaguer de la República Dominicana solicitando se le permita al ciudadano dominicano y periodista, Rafael Bonilla Aybar, que regrese a su país.

Tengo aquí un cable de la France Presse, en el cual se dice que el Presidente Balaguer, al enterarse de que el asunto había sido tratado en la Comisión de la Libertad de Prensa, manifestó que esperaba recibir la solicitud de la Comisión para estudiar y resolver el asunto.

A mayor abundamiento, mi querido colega Germán Ornes, de la República Dominicana, ha recibido un cable de su periódico que textualmente dice así en lo que respecta a este asunto: "Bonilla impedido entrar. Presidente dice que si la SIP pide retorno estudiaría el caso."

Pido, pues, que en mérito a la urgencia propia del caso, la Junta resuelva dirigir hoy mismo un cable al Presidente Balaguer a fin de que este asunto pueda ser resuelto a la mayor brevedad posible. Muchas gracias.

SR. ORNES: Sr. Presidente, secundo la moción presentada por el colega Dr. Martínez Márquez, y pido que sea sometida a votación por las razones que él ha expuesto tan convincentemente.

MR. HOWARD: Thank you. All in favor? Opposed? Carried.

Mr. Ornes, has the cable been drafted? Will you do it? Thank you.

The meeting is adjourned until three o'clock this afternoon.

(The meeting adjourned at 12:30 PM).

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

SECOND MEETING

Monday, October 24, 1966

The second meeting of the Board of Directors of the XXII General Assembly of the Inter American Press Association convened at 3:35 PM, Monday, October 24, 1966 in the Salon Peru of the Hotel Crillon in Lima, Peru, with Mr. Jack R. Howard, President, as Chairman.

MR. HOWARD: Mr. Powers, as Chairman of the Applications Review Committee, will you please give us your report?

MR. JOSHUA B. POWERS (Editors Press Service, New York): Mr. President, your Committee has received 14 applications for Active membership from newspapers of the United States: 13 applications for Active membership from Latin America; one application for Corporate membership; and 12 applications for Associate membership. Total dues to be paid by all of these members, \$2,647.00 per year.

Your Committee felt that all of these applicants met the requirements for membership, including those standards set up last year.

The applicants are as follows:

Active Members

United States -- ADVERTISER-TRIBUNE, Tiffin, Ohio; Ivan R. Hesson, Publisher. Sponsored by Ramond E. Dix.

ARIZONA DAILY STAR, Tucson, Arizona; William R. Matthews, Publisher. Sponsored by James S. Copley.

THE COMMERCIAL-REVIEW, Portland, Indiana; H. N. Ronald, President and Publisher. Sponsored by Robert W. Dieterich, and by the Membership Committee.

THE DAILY GATE CITY, Keokuk, Iowa; Dale E. Carrell, Jr., Publisher. Sponsored by Raymond E. Dix.

DAILY TIMES-ADVOCATE, Escondido, California; Carlton R. Appleby, Publisher. Sponsored by Ramond E. Dix.

DEFIANCE CRESCENT-NEWS, Defiance, Ohio; Gordon C. Dix, President, (for the first time present at one of our meetings and I'm sure we will all welcome him). Sponsored by Raymond E. Dix.

HOLYOKE TRANSCRIPT-TELEGRAM, Holyoke, Mass.; Donald R. Dwight, Associate Publisher. Sponsored by John C. A. Watkins.

THE KENTON TIMES, Kenton, Ohio; Ray F. Barnes, Publisher. Sponsored by Raymond E. Dix.

NEWTON DAILY NEWS, Newton, Iowa; E.K. Shaw, Publisher. Sponsored by the Membership Committee.

PACE MAGAZINE, Los Angeles, California; David E. Carey. Sponsored by the Committee. Mr. Carey was director of New World News Bulletin, a former member. The change is made in membership to PACE at a higher rate of dues.

THE STATE, Columbia, South Carolina; Ambrose G. Hampton, president and publisher. Sponsored by Lee Hills.

THE VISTA PRESS, Vista, California; Everett Remsburg, Publisher. Sponsored by James S. Copley.

WABASH PLAIN DEALER, Wabash, Indiana; Joe H. Nixon, President. Sponsored by the Membership Committee.

WARREN TRIBUNE CHRONICLE, Warren, Ohio; Joseph C. Wells, Vice-President. Sponsored by Raymond E. Dix.

Associate Members

United States -- Diethard Bauer, The Cotrell Co., Westerly, R.I., sponsored by Joseph Maceda; Nelson R. Bernstein, Wayne Graphic Products Ltd., Long Island City, New York, sponsored by two member newspapers; I. W. Cole, Medill School of Journalism, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, sponsored by Dean Kenneth Olson; Edward Goforth, Star Parts Co., South Hackensack, New Jersey, succeeds Valentin Elices, former Associate member; Louis A. Lara, Chemco Photoproducts Co., Glen Cove, New York, consultant, succeeds Mr. Garofalo, former Associate member; Howard R. Long, Department of Journalism, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Illinois, sponsored by A. W. Bork; Paul McDonald, Wood Flong Corporation, New York, succeeds William M. Clark, Jr., who is retiring; Charles E. Martin, Bowater Paper Co., New York, succeeds former member Rudolph Wachsman; Dwight E. Sargent, Nieman Reports, Cambridge, Mass., sponsored by John R. Herbert; Mason Rossiter Smith, Chinese University of Hong Kong, Education Department, Hong Kong, formerly publisher of the Tribune Press of Gouverneur, New York; Joseph A. Taylor, School of Public Communication, Boston University, sponsored by Carlos A. Jimenez; William M. Doherty, Abitibi Paper Sales Ltd., Toronto, Canada, sponsored by Pedro Beltran.

Active Members

Latin America -- EL BOLIVARENSE, Ciudad Bolivar, Venezuela - this member was a very kind host to a number of our members in Venezuela last Spring - Sr. David Natera Febres. Sponsored by Guillermo Gutiérrez.

EL CRONISTA, Tegucigalpa, Honduras; Alejandro Valladares, Director. Sponsored by various newspaper recommendations.

EL DICTAMEN, Veracruz, Mexico; Félix Malpica Mimendi, Subgerente. Sponsored by Daniel Morales; and a very welcome new member.

Diario LA MAÑANA, Talca, Chile; Juan C. Bravo. Sponsored by Guillermo Gutiérrez.

Revista MUJER, Bogotá, Colombia; Sra. Flor Romero de Nohra, Directora. Sponsored by the Colombian Newspaper Association.

LA PRENSA, San Pedro Sula, Honduras; Edmond L. Bogan, Sponsored by Xavier Chamorro and Ricardo Castro Beeche.

LE SEPTENTRION, of Cap-Haitien, Haiti, edited by Henriquez G. Victor. Sponsored by Felipe Sanfuentes of the Pan American Union.

THE TIMES OF BRAZIL, São Paulo, Brazil; Vania T. M. de Williamson. Sponsored by William P. Williamson, Jr.

Diario LA GACETA, Trujillo, Perú; Alfredo Pinillos Hoyle. Sponsored by Manuel Cisneros.

EL MUNDO, Panama; Dr. Hernán Porras. Sponsored by George Westerman and Luis Vera.

EL DIA, Panama; Augusto M. Garcia, Director. Sponsored by George Westerman.

EL ECO, Iquitos, Peru; Fernando Reátegui Scarino, Director. Sponsored by Manuel Cisneros.

EL DIARIO AUSTRAL, Temuco, Chile -- one of the SOPEBUR group -- Nicanor Allende, President. Sponsored by Alfredo Silva Carvallo.

AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE, Lima, Perú; Jean Marin, President and Director. Sponsored by the Committee.

Mr. President, your Committee, which consists of myself, James S. Copley and George Westerman, named suddenly this morning to replace an absent member, recommend the acceptance of these members.

MR. REITEMEYER: I move the Committee's report be accepted and that the nominees recommended by the Committee be elected to membership.

MR. HOWARD: It has been moved and seconded that they be admitted en masse.

MR. JOHN C. A. WATKINS (Providence Journal-Bulletin, Providence, R.I.): I couldn't hear this very clearly, but I thought Mr. Powers had proposed

a newspaper from Haiti. Is that correct?

MR. POWERS: Yes, that is correct.

MR. WATKINS: Is it in exile, or is it actively being published in Haiti?

MR. POWERS: It is published in Haiti, and we have had indications that there's been a bit of a change in attitudes in Haitians.

MR. WATKINS: Well, from what little I know about what is going on in Haiti, I don't see how it is possible under the present president of Haiti for a free newspaper to operate there.

MR. POWERS: This I will leave to the vote of the directors. It seemed to the members of the Committee, from what they heard from the sponsors, that this publisher, who will once again bring the voice of Haitians into our membership, is of such a character as to deserve that we should admit him.

It is obvious that this paper is not very big, nor very powerful -- it pays us \$15 a year dues; has a weekly circulation of 3,000 -- but if it even approaches being a free newspaper, as it has been suggested that it does, the Committee recommends it.

DR. ORNES: Yo quería preguntarle al Sr. Powers cuál es el periódico haitiano de que se está tratando.

MR. POWERS: LE SEPTENTRION, of Cap-Haitien.

DR. ORNES: Por lo que yo conozco de la situación haitiana, como director de un periódico en la República Dominicana y como vicepresidente de la Comisión de la Libertad de Prensa para Haití y la República Dominicana, yo me permitiría sugerir, no el rechazo de este periódico, sino que se mantuviera la solicitud en suspenso y que se hiciera una investigación más completa del carácter y de las condiciones en las cuales este periódico se edita.

En Haití no hay libertad de prensa. En Haití no sólo no hay libertad de prensa, sino que existe tal control del gobierno sobre los medios de expresión del pensamiento, que yo dudo mucho que haya una publicación que pueda llamarse libre.

En esas condiciones me permito sugerir que se suspenda la admisión de este miembro y que se investigue con mucho más cuidado el carácter de esta publicación para ver si corresponde o no aceptarla como miembro de una sociedad de periódicos libres de este continente.

MR. POWERS: Mr. President, your Committee does not pretend to pass judgment on whether this man is completely free in the publication of his newspaper. Your Committee only knows that it was recommended by Felipe Sanfuentes of the Pan American Union, and we had reason to believe that this newspaper, to some extent, marks a new trend in Haiti.

Your Committee does not insist on this, but your Committee feels that this newspaper may be benefitted by its association with free newspapers.

MR. HOWARD: Thank you.

MR. REITEMEYER: I must say I know nothing about this particular newspaper. I would like to point out, however, that in previous years, certainly not under ideal conditions, we have had members from Haiti, too. We had at least two members from Haiti who used to come to all of our meetings, and Mr. Powers may recall their names -- I can't recall them now.

We have also had newspapers who were members, even in countries under dictatorship. We had members in Argentina when Peron was running the government; we had members in Venezuela when Perez Jimenez was the dictator; and elsewhere.

I think in most cases you have to judge the individual newspaper and not necessarily the government of the country, because a newspaper may be free, or relatively free, and its publisher may be inclined to freedom and doing the best he can under the circumstances and membership in the IAPA frequently helps him to achieve his will to democracy. I know Mr. Sanfuentes of the Pan American Union very well and he certainly is no one who is inclined to dictatorship. If he has recommended the paper, I personally would be very loathe to reject his recommendation.

MR HOWARD: Thank you, Mr. Reitemeyer. I think that we have to be careful that we don't stifle this perhaps small voice in Haiti. I think it should be encouraged, and I agree that we would not be admitting Haiti into the IAPA. We are admitting a newspaper. Frankly, I don't know any more than I've heard here whether or not this paper is eligible, but I'm assuming that some study was given this matter already.

Any further discussion?

DR. ORNES: Yo no me estoy oponiendo a la aceptación de este periódico haitiano. Lo que yo creo que debemos hacer es investigar un poco más la naturaleza de este periódico. Todos conocemos el régimen de Duvalier; todos conocemos los regímenes de este tipo. Es muy posible que esto sea el comienzo de alguna modalidad haitiana hacia la libertad. Pero eso debemos establecerlo mejor. Es muy posible también que sea una de las tantas maniobras de que se valen los dictadores para introducirse en asociaciones como la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa.

Yo no creo que perdamos nada con suspender la aceptación y hacer una investigación un poco más completa y si es cierto que se trata de una publicación que no tiene nexos con el gobierno haitiano, que se está editando en condiciones de libertad, creo que debíamos aceptarla y alentarla. Pero me parece que debíamos hacer una investigación un poco más completa, y nada perdemos con esperar a que esa investigación esté realizada.

MR. HOWARD: Well, I am assuming that this investigation has been made. I don't know how detailed it was. Mr. Powers, you know more about that than I do.

MR. POWERS: It was not very deep. We had one or two members who have some slight knowledge.

MR. HOWARD: I think then that the stand that has been taken here is well taken. We don't want to be embarrassed, to wake up in the morning and find out who is in bed with us.

MR. POWERS: We have one or two other members in Haiti who cannot attend our meetings. We do not reject them as members, and I suspect that they are as closely controlled by the government as this small weekly may also be controlled.

The Committee recommends acceptance. However, if the Board wishes to leave it over, then the Committee accepts the Board's decision.

MR. HOWARD: Well, the motion was made and seconded that all of these papers would be accepted. All in favor? Opposed? They are accepted. Thank you.

Mr. Fletcher, do you have anything to report about next Spring's meeting in Montego Bay, at the Reitemeyer Beach Hotel? (Laughter)

MR. FLETCHER: Mr. President, there is now a considerable amount of doubt as to who owns this hotel. Almost every member of the IAPA Board has been accused of owing it at some time or other, and I rather suspect that you've been there often enough that you've paid for it anyway.

However, be that as it may, I would like to say that, in keeping with all the established traditions, we will be very happy in Jamaica to welcome you to Montego Bay for the Spring meeting of the Board, together with any other members who wish to attend, and it is their privilege. We are very pleased that with each repeated occasion at Montego Bay we have had the very great pleasure of having more and more of our friends from Latin America, and we hope that in March the record will again be surpassed and that many of these delightful and distinguished people who have not yet experienced the pleasures of doing business in Montego Bay under pleasurable conditions will come and have a try. We certainly would like to have them.

As usual, we are prepared to welcome you with any quantity of festivities that you might like, though we are usually instructed that we should keep the organized hospitality to a minimum in order that you may all get nicely sunburned on the beach, on the theory that there isn't time for everything and therefore you might just as well do the business and have a swim and not have too many social activities. But may I just emphasize, Mr. President, that you may have whatever you want, and I hope that the Executive Committee will instruct me in due course as to what arrangements are desired. And

whatever they are, they are yours with the greatest pleasure and the greatest welcome. (Applause)

MR HOWARD: Thank you very much, Mr. Fletcher.

This Board will now fade out and immediately reappear as the membership and the Board of Directors of the IAPA Scholarship Fund. I will call upon the President of the Scholarship Fund, Mr. Fitzgerald, to take over the meeting.

MR. HAROLD A. FITZGERALD (The Pontiac Press, Michigan): Fellow members, fellow directors:

The first item of business is to ascertain the presence of a quorum. Since we have already done that -- we are contiguous, the same as the other organization -- we have already proven that we have one. Will someone so move? Is that supported? All those in favor raise your right hand.

Competent IAPA administrators have struggled successfully to streamline these programs. In the interests of that concision, my report to you and the members will be encompassed in a single statement on Wednesday before the whole membership.

The By-laws stipulate the Treasurer's report must be given today. Hence I call on Sr. Rodolfo Junco de la Vega, Jr.

SR. RODOLFO JUNCO DE LA VEGA, JR. (El Norte, Monterrey, Mexico): Voy a leerles el informe que comprende del 1o. de octubre de 1965 al 30 de septiembre de 1966:

INTER AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION SCHOLARSHIP FUND, INC.

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND DISBURSEMENTS

OCTOBER 1, 1965 TO SEPTEMBER 30, 1966

INCOME

Contributions	35,075.55	
Interest	<u>5,900.14</u>	
		40,975.69

DISBURSEMENTS

Scholarships	38,413.70
Rent	1,500.00
Administrative Expenses	500.00
Insurance	500.00

Printing and Stationery	620.52	
Postage	510.75	
Office expense	20.00	
Telegraph	77.30	
Miscellaneous: Enter-		
tainment	145.49	
Script on		
diplomas	61.45	
Magazines	2.50	
Flowers for		
student	<u>12.75</u>	
	222.19	<u>42,364.46</u>
Excess of disbursements over income		<u>1,388.77</u>
Cash balance September 30, 1965		<u>134,051.67</u>
Cash balance September 30, 1966		<u>\$132,662.90</u>
Bowery Savings Bank	10,410.64	
Dry Dock Savings Bank	10,606.92	
Knickerbocker Federal Savings		
& Loan Ass'n	10,479.42	
First National City Bank of		
New York, Savings Acct.	2,297.69	
First National City Bank of		
New York, Checking Acct.	380.06	
Greenwich Savings Bank	9,647.08	
Union Dime Savings Bank	10,476.26	
Savings Banks Trust Co.	78,314.83	
Petty Cash	<u>50.00</u>	
		<u>\$132,662.90</u>
		=====

Parece, Sr. Presidente, que es un record. Y a pesar de que tenemos bastante dinero en caja, les pedimos encarecidamente que sigan ustedes contribuyendo para que la lista de becarios sea cada año mayor. Muchas gracias.

MR. FITZGERALD: You have heard this report. Are there any comments on it before I ask that it be approved and voted? If there is none, I suggest that someone move we adopt Sr. Junco de la Vega's report. Moved, seconded, and adopted.

The founding fathers also asked for submission of the scholarship winners at this meeting. Therefore, I call on Mrs. Marian Heiskell of our Committee.

REPORT BY THE SCHOLARSHIP AWARDS COMMITTEE

Your Committee met at headquarters in New York on September 29 to consider scholarship applications submitted by working newspapermen and students from the United States and also a few exceptional ones from Latin America.

The applications, although comparatively few in number, constituted one of the best lists this Committee has ever examined as far as quality is concerned.

As a result of its study, the Committee unanimously agreed to recommend to the Board the following applicants for scholarships:

I

Gisella E. Bergeret, of Montevideo, Uruguay, for the IAPA-Angel Ramos Scholarship, established in memory of the late editor and publisher of El Mundo, San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Miss Bergeret's English is excellent as she graduated from an American high school and junior college in Montevideo and then, on a scholarship of the Institute of International Education, studied psychology at the University of Arkansas, where she had a B minus average.

She became interested in journalism at Arkansas, but had to suspend her studies after one year and return to Uruguay because of illness in her family. Since then she has been taking experimental courses in journalism.

One of her letters of recommendation says that Miss Bergeret "was one of the best choices made by the committee which selects the students" to go to Arkansas and adds that she has the aptitude to become a good journalist.

Miss Bergeret would like to study journalism and international affairs at Columbia or any other good school of journalism in the United States, then return to Uruguay and work as a free-lance writer.

II

Larry F. Cripe, born in Idaho and now living in New York, for the IAPA-Ezequiel P. Paz Scholarship, donated by Dr. Alberto Gainza Paz, editor and publisher of La Prensa of Buenos Aires.

Mr. Cripe, who has a working knowledge of Spanish and is now improving it as he does social work in a predominantly Puerto Rican section in New York, is a journalism graduate of Montana State University,

where he was an outstanding student.

He also has some experience as a newspaperman, since he was associate editor of his college's newspaper and later worked for the daily Missoulian Sentinel of Missoula, Montana.

Both the editor of this newspaper and the dean of Montana State's School of Journalism have praised him very highly.

Mr. Cripe would like to attend either the University of Buenos Aires or a university in Peru and then work as a Latin American correspondent.

III

Lloyd A. Cubbison, of Denver, Colorado, for the IAPA-Copley Newspaper Scholarship, donated by Mr. James S. Copley, President of The Copley Press, for Copley Charities.

Mr. Cubbison is majoring in journalism, with Spanish as minor, at the University of Colorado in Boulder and expects to graduate in January, 1967. Although working his way through college, he has had good to very good marks and was cited for excellent scholarship both terms in 1965-66.

He has written a large number of stories and articles and is also an editorial cartoonist.

Mr. Cubbison has been very well recommended by the dean and two professors at his school, and according to his Spanish teacher he would have no trouble at a Latin American University.

He would like to study international relations, comparative politics and economics in Chile, Peru, Venezuela or Mexico, return to the United States to get his master's degree, work as a newspaperman for at least 10 years and then become a university professor.

IV

Norma C. Romano, born in Bolivia and now studying as a senior at the University of Kansas' School of Journalism, for the IAPA-John H. Perry Publications Scholarship, donated by Mr. John H. Perry, President of Perry Publications,

Miss Romano, who graduated with good marks from a German high school in Bolivia, went to the United States in 1963 on a one-year scholarship given by Stephens College through the Institute of International Education. After her scholarship year was over she decided to continue her studies in the United States and was admitted at Kansas' School of Journalism.

She has been able so far to pay for her tuition and other expenses with savings from her summer job with the Peace Corps as an instructor in Spanish, but will need more money for her senior year at Kansas.

Miss Romano has been well recommended by Stephens College's Dean of Students and by the Dean of the School of Journalism and the Dean of Foreign Students at Kansas.

Following her graduation at Kansas, Miss Romano plans to return to La Paz and work for some newspaper.

V

Sandra A. Sawicki, born in South Carolina and now living in Washington, D.C., for the IAPA-Freedom of the Press Scholarship, established by the IAPA Scholarship Fund with contributions smaller than a full scholarship made by members.

Miss Sawicki received her B.A. in Spanish from Russell Sage College in New York in 1964 with excellent marks and is now studying for her master's degree at Georgetown University in Washington, where her marks have been good to excellent.

She expects to finish her studies in January, 1967 and would like to attend the University of Uruguay in Montevideo and write her master's degree thesis on the Uruguayan press.

Miss Sawicki has had some experience as a newspaperwoman, as she wrote for the now defunct Latin American Times of New York and is now working for United Press International in Washington.

She has been well recommended by the news editor and the Sunday editor of UPI's Washington bureau, and by William Manger, director of the Latin American Studies Program, Georgetown University.

Following her scholarship year, Miss Sawicki would like to work as a newspaperwoman specialized in Latin American affairs and possibly study at Columbia University for a doctor's degree in journalism or literature.

VI

Denton L. Watson, born in Jamaica and now citizen of the United States living in Hartford, Conn., for the IAPA-Louis Calder Scholarship, donated by the Louis Calder Foundation of New York City.

Mr. Watson, now a general assignment reporter for The Hartford Courant, worked in the composing room of the newspaper while studying at the University of Hartford for his B. A. in English, which he received in 1964.

He then attended Columbia University's School of Journalism on a scholarship, and graduated with fair to good marks in 1965.

The assistant managing editor of The Hartford Courant says that Mr. Watson is a "very serious, high-type young man, a hard worker and a

good writer". He has also been well recommended by an Associate Dean of Columbia's School of Journalism.

Mr. Watson has a working knowledge of Spanish and is now taking intensive courses. He would like to study history and political institutions in Chile, then work as a newspaperman specialized in Latin America.

Mr. President, our Committee recommends we accept all of these students, and I so move.

MR. FITZGERALD: Thank you, Mrs. Heiskell. Now you have heard the motion. Is that supported? Are there any comments on the list? We think it is an exceptionally good one. Will all those in favor please raise your right hand?

I have one further matter for consideration of the Directors. Since our cash position has permitted, we have one annual IAPA endowed scholarship. When sufficient funds accumulate to permit, we add an extra scholarship directly from open funds. One is available now, and it has been suggested that we name this in honor of Jules Dubois. Gentlemen, I await your advice or permission.

It has been moved and supported that we name this extra scholarship in honor of Jules Dubois.

If there are no other matters pending, the meeting of the membership and the Board of Directors of the Scholarship Fund is adjourned and I relinquish the chair to Mr. Herbert.

MR. JOHN R. HERBERT (The Patriot Ledger, Quincy, Mass.): Since the members and the directors of the Technical Center are the directors of the IAPA and a quorum has been established, would someone move that we dispense with the roll call?

Moved and seconded that we dispense with the roll call. Passed.

I have a brief report.

REPORT BY MR. JOHN R. HERBERT
President, IAPA Technical Center

The most active year in the history of the Inter American Press Association Technical Center comes to a close at this meeting. Our manager will make a complete report on this subject later at this session.

During the year I represented the Inter American Press Association at the annual meeting of the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers - or FIEJ - in Stockholm. This was the session at which our distinguished

colleague, the late Jules Dubois, was presented the Golden Pen of Freedom by FIEJ. It was a conference that did much to acquaint the world wide members of FIEJ with the Inter American Press Association. Jules spoke vigorously on the IAPA's defense of press freedom and I had the opportunity to give a review of the Technical Center's work. Because of my close association with Jules at this European meeting, his untimely death a few weeks later was a great shock to me. The Technical Center pays tribute to Jules Dubois in a special bi-lingual edition of the Technical Center Bulletin issued for this meeting in Lima.

There is only one other piece of business upon which I want to report today. You have received notification of our desire to amend the by-laws of the Technical Center with a simple change that creates the office of chairman of the board. I would ask that this amendment be adopted. If the nominating committee so reports, the shift of the present president to chairman of the board may be accomplished this year. This would open the way for the election of a new and younger president for the Center. Were I to say more, I would invade the private domain of the nominating committee.

Let me say only one more thing on this subject: I don't believe that any job ought to be filled endlessly by one person. I think the long-term growth and strength of the Technical Center can be assured by the services of qualified persons for reasonable periods of time in our various elected positions.

I will now call upon our Treasurer, Mr. Powers, to make his report.

MR. JOSHUA B. POWERS: Mr. President, following along the line of thought suggested just now by the President, this "old Treasurer" would also like to follow in Jules Dubois' footsteps and retire at the end of this report.

We all remember how gladly Jules asked to be retired each year, but it was not easy. In this case it will be much easier.

REPORT BY THE TREASURER OF THE IAPA TECHNICAL CENTER, INC.

MR. JOSHUA B. POWERS

This report will be in two parts.

First, Price Waterhouse & Co. have concluded their report of the period March 1, 1962 through June 30, 1966. This covers the first four years of operations and the use of the first grant of \$400,000.00 made to us by the Ford Foundation. It also shows the collection of \$225,000.00, which is one half of the second Ford Foundation grant of \$ 450,000.00 for use during the next four years.

The audited report is available for inspection by members, and it is, of course, being sent to the Ford Foundation along with the report of work planned and accomplished by our vice-president and general manager, Guillermo Gutierrez.

During the four and one-half years to June 30, 1966, the Technical Center had a total collected income of \$ 738,124.22. Of this \$ 625,000.00 came from The Ford Foundation; \$2,500.00 from contributions to the Reitemeyer Fund; \$5,450.00 from other contributions; \$11,918.52 from interest on money on deposit; \$3,255.70 from registration fees for seminars; and \$90,000.00 from sales of contributed equipment.

Expenditures during the same period amount to \$414,882.28, which left us on deposit and on hand \$323,241.94 on June 30 last.

Expenditures consisted of salaries, \$123,895.60; specific costs for seminars, \$131,977.85; travel, \$34,624.43; bulletin and publication costs, \$40,678.31; and other normal operating expenses, details of which are listed. On June 30, we had in savings accounts \$58,845.57; in certificates of deposit, \$225,000.00; in checking accounts, \$40,339.92, a total of \$324,184.92.

Second, the treasurer made a report covering the year October 1, 1965-September 30, 1966.

Income during that year was \$248,487.10, of which \$225,000.00 came from the second Ford Foundation grant already mentioned; \$12,000.00 from the sale of a press donated by Messrs. Donald and Samuel W. Miller of the Call-Chronicle newspapers; \$750.00 contributions to the Reitemeyer Fund; \$400.00 contributed to the bulletin account; and \$10,337.10 from interest on deposits. We have also received a \$1,000.00 contribution to the Counterpart Fund from O Estado de Sao Paulo, which was deposited in early October.

Disbursements during the year totalled \$137,142.60, including non-recurring costs due to the opening and furnishing of our new teaching offices in Miami. Equipment for those offices cost \$8,547.49. Payroll during the year was \$44,924.22. Other details will be seen on the attached statement.

On September 30, 1965 our cash balance was \$181,868.95. On September 30, 1966 it was \$293,213.45. This was held in the form of certificates of deposit in the First National City Bank, checking accounts and savings accounts.

It should be noted that we collected \$1,000.00 in counterpart funds in dollars. These funds are normally to be collected in local currencies and deposited in banks in various countries. They consist of contributions made by members to pay part of seminar expenses, etc., in the countries of origin. Details of collecting and accounting for these funds, which are in formation, will be presented next year.

IAPA TECHNICAL CENTER, INC.
STATEMENT OF INCOME AND DISBURSEMENTS
OCTOBER 1, 1965 TO SEPTEMBER 30, 1966

INCOME

Grant from the Ford Foundation	225,000.00	
Sale of press donated by Mr. Samuel W. Miller, Call-Chronicle Newspapers	12,000.00	
Contributions: John R. Reitemeyer Fund	750.00	
Bulletin Fund	400.00	
Interest on Savings Accounts	<u>10,337.10</u>	248,487.10

DISBURSEMENTS

Payroll	44,924.22	
Travel and Entertainment	19,400.42	
Translation and Bulletin	5,741.80	
Rent and Light	4,647.72	
Printing and Stationery	1,634.48	
Postage	3,104.53	
Office equipment	864.45	
Simultaneous Interpretation Equipment	3,444.14	
Office expense	1,993.69	
Books and magazines	392.86	
Telephone and Telegraph	1,850.73	
Legal and Accounting	800.00	
Payroll taxes	1,530.97	
Insurance	847.20	
Group Medical Insurance	274.11	
Technical Consultant	4,000.00	
Publications (cost less sales)	4,248.08	
Packing charges on contributed equipment	4,400.00	
John R. Reitemeyer Awards	325.00	
Seminars: San Diego	12,204.82	
Brazilian (transl.)	80.00	
Miami	<u>8,734.85</u>	21,019.67
Miami Offices: Rent	1,624.95	
Printing & Staty.	173.10	
Telephone	483.73	
Off. Equipment	8,547.49	
Miscellaneous	<u>17.50</u>	
	10,846.77	
Other	<u>851.76</u>	137,142.60
Excess of income over disbursements		111,344.50
Cash balance September 30, 1965		181,868.95
Cash balance September 30, 1966		<u>293,213.45</u>

The First National City Bank of New York	
Certificates of Deposit	210,000.00
Regular Checking Account	9,200.37
Seminar Account	2,894.70
First National Bank of Miami	15,000.00
Saving Accounts	51,536.00
Saving Accounts - John R. Reitemeyer Fund	2,083.45
Equipment Fund	2,041.02
Bulletin Fund	402.91
Petty Cash	100.00
	<u>\$293,213.45</u>

I hold here also the detailed report as of September 30, for your inspection.

Mr. President, I offer this for approval.

MR. HERBERT: You have heard the report of the Treasurer. Any questions? If not, will someone move it be accepted? Moved and seconded. Accepted.

I shall now call upon our Manager, Mr. Gutierrez, to give his report.

REPORT BY MR. GUILLERMO GUTIERREZ V-M
Vice President & Manager, IAPA TECHNICAL CENTER

Since the IAPA Technical Center Manager's return early this year after an eight months' absence, a brief report was presented to the Board of Directors meeting in Caracas. This is the first opportunity to report to the full Assembly. Former Manager Guillermo Céspedes resigned at the end of 1965, and Guillermo Gutiérrez rejoined the Technical Center staff. Mr. Gutiérrez has also been Vice President of the Center since the Mid-Year Meeting in Montego Bay in March, 1965.

Those who have followed the Technical Center's activities and given their constant support are well aware of its accomplishments since the active, full-time program began in June, 1962, with the first donation of The Ford Foundation. This program has followed the recommendation set forth in the report submitted to the Foundation with the original request for funds. The Technical Center recently received a new donation of \$450,000.00 from The Ford Foundation for a four-year program, including establishment of two training divisions in Miami.

PRESENT ORGANIZATION OF THE TECHNICAL CENTER

IAPA members are acquainted with the creation of our new divisions, the Latin American Press Institute and the Latin American Technical Training

Institute, in the Miami Herald building in Florida. The agreement with The Herald includes the following points:

- a) We pay an annual rental of \$6,500 for the 1,690 square feet our offices occupy. There is an office for the Manager, a conference room, three secretarial offices and a small reception area.
- b) The Technical Center pays The Herald \$60 per person per week for use of the paper's physical facilities by seminar participants.
- c) In the case of Press Institute seminars, The Herald receives \$30 per person per week.
- d) The Technical Center pays Herald discussion leaders and technicians \$50 each per session.
- e) We have a permanent representative in the Miami office who receives a monthly fee of \$250 and an additional amount for full-time duties while seminars are in session.
- f) A simultaneous interpretation system purchased with special funds collected by Agustín E. Edwards, chairman of the board of El Mercurio, Santiago, Chile, is installed in the Miami Conference room and facilitates seminar operations enormously.

The arrangement with The Miami Herald guarantees the complete independence of the Technical Center in all its operations, while providing the indispensable access to the newspaper's facilities and expert personnel.

The main office continues to be in New York, and the rest of the Technical Center's activities are carried out there, including publication of the Bulletin; distribution of information to member newspapers, maintenance of relations and contacts with manufacturers and professional organizations; attention to the multiple problems of members in regard to acquisition of equipment; compilation of bibliographies; preparation of tours for visiting executives and journalists, and so forth. Publishing activities, although operating on a limited scale at present, are carried out in New York and are of considerable significance.

In spite of its greatly increased activities, the Technical Center still has a permanent staff on only three: the Manager and two secretaries. IAPA members will realize from the brief account above that this situation cannot continue indefinitely because of the obvious physical impossibility of three persons' carrying out such an extensive program.

On several occasions Technical Center officers, including President John R. Herbert, Treasurer Joshua B. Powers, and the Vice President and Manager, have discussed the necessity of obtaining an assistant to the Manager. There are persons qualified for this responsibility but consideration of the matter always reaches the same stumbling block: the high salary requirements of a person of the caliber needed. It is basically for this reason that the Technical Center continues with such a small staff. We present this situation in order to seek

practical suggestions from the IAPA membership.

INTEREST IN TECHNICAL CENTER ACTIVITIES

The great majority of the Latin American newspapers have consolidated their support for the Technical Center through active participation in its many activities and contributions to the Counterpart Fund mentioned in another section of this report. Nevertheless, only a handful of United States members are acquainted with or seem interested in Technical Center activities.

The Center has received moral and material support from that minority on a great number of occasions. But the Technical Center's activities are not directed to United States members, and they consequently show a great lack of interest, particularly at meetings of the Board of Directors and at Assemblies when they have gone so far as to ignore the sessions dedicated to the Technical Center. In order to acquaint North American members to some extent with the nature and activities of the Center, we have brought to the Assembly a special edition of the Technical Center Bulletin published in English and Spanish. We hope that in the future the more active members of the IAPA will become aware of the Technical Center's significance in the life of the Inter American Press Association.

Every step taken by the Technical Center affects all members, and their guidance or constructive criticism of the program can be of the greatest importance for the future.

SEMINARS

The new Miami training divisions held their initial seminars this fall from August 29 through October 13.

The first, sponsored by the Latin American Technical Training Institute, was for production managers, directors and superintendents and was attended by 18 participants and two observers from seven countries. During the four weeks of meetings, problems of every section involved in the mechanical production of the newspaper were discussed. Aside from the meetings held in The Herald, the group visited the Palm Beach Post-Times for a session on offset, and the St. Petersburg Times. John H. Perry, Jr., and Tom C. Harris were their respective hosts.

More than 250 pages of basic talks were printed from this conference, plus an equal number of pages of transcription of discussion periods. Participants also received a great deal of literature from manufacturers and numerous forms supplied by The Miami Herald.

All basic talks and edited discussion periods were mailed to the entire Latin American IAPA membership, in accordance with the policy of sharing the benefits of the seminars with those who for one reason or another could not participate. This work alone means that more than 200,000 pages of documents which were translated and edited by personnel hired for the purpose, have been printed, collated and distributed. It is hoped that the newspapers will use this material to train their personnel and that it will not remain in the

files of the top executives whom it first reaches.

The second seminar this fall, devoted to "Newspaper Photography and the Photo Editor," ran from October 3-13. As in the previous case, the corresponding documents -- more than 100,000 printed pages -- were sent to all IAPA Latin American members.

The Technical Center has placed special emphasis on the problem of newspaper photography for two basic reasons. The first is the poor quality of photographic presentation in the papers in general. Secondly, the newspapers are competing to an ever greater degree for the readers' time and the advertisers' budgets with magazines and television, two essentially visual media which are receiving greater attention from the public and advertisers. In analyzing this problem, it becomes clear that good photographic and typographical presentation are indispensable in the newspapers' struggle with their competitors.

In the judgement of the Technical Center management, both meetings were successful, but the final proof will come only through greater efficiency in the newspapers' operations. In place of a detailed analysis of the seminars, we would like to take advantage of this report to request the owners, editors and managers of the newspapers represented to give their executives the opportunity and the means to put into practice the new knowledge and ideas they have acquired, and to allow them to undertake the changes which are feasible in the light of the particular operating and financial circumstances of each newspaper. If this procedure is not followed, all efforts of the Technical Center, in work and in money, the impressive statistics on thousands of pages of documents produced, and everything achieved would mean absolutely nothing.

We make this plea to the publishers because our experience and that of similar organizations throughout the world shows that the good will of a conference's organizers, the participants' dedication, the cost to newspapers of sending their executives away, and many other factors which determine the success of a seminar, are lost if a favorable atmosphere and reaction on the part of top management do not greet the conferees on their return.

In November the Technical Center will hold two seminars in Buenos Aires. The Pan American Union, secretariat of the Organization of American States, will co-sponsor the first -- for journalists writing on scientific matters and for scientists -- with the cooperation of the Argentine National Council on Scientific and Technical Research. The second meeting, for newspaper managers, will be co-sponsored with the Institute for Development of Executives in Argentina (IDEA), and will give special emphasis to problems of organization, costs, labor relations, administration, selection and training of personnel and public relations. Subjects directly related to newspaper management, such as advertising and circulation, will also be covered.

The Latin American Press Institute and Technical Training Institute will hold four seminars in Miami in 1967.

The Center plans to co-sponsor two inter-American seminars next year to inform journalists on the subject of conservation of natural resources. These meetings will be partially financed from funds obtained by the Pan American Union Department of Scientific Affairs.

PUBLICATIONS AND TEXTS

Initiating an ambitious publishing program, the Technical Center has distributed during the last year the Spanish-language version of Professor Edmund C. Arnold's text, "Functional Newspaper Design," which was introduced at the San Diego Assembly. The Technical Center subsequently distributed its "Manual of Style" for Latin American newspapers and two booklets: one on "How to Produce a Better Newspaper," containing talks given at the San Diego Assembly by Agustín E. Edwards, president of El Mercurio in Chile, and Shepard Stone, director of the International Affairs Program of the Ford Foundation, and the second a translation of a talk on "Tomorrow's Newspaper: Challenge and Promise," by Tom C. Harris, General Manager of the St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times-Independent.

With the special bi-lingual edition printed for the Assembly, the Technical Center has published 52 issues of its monthly bulletin, which is sent to all Latin American members and their executives and department heads, as well as to other interested parties.

A book on photography and photo editing, written in English by Robert De Piante, Miami Herald photo editor, and translated into Spanish and edited by the Technical Center, has just gone to the printer. We feel that it will be extremely useful to the Latin American newspapers. At the October 25 Assembly session dedicated to the Technical Center, Mr. De Piante will describe the contents of this book, which will cover professional aspects of photography and newspaper presentation, as well as organization of the photo and art departments. We feel that this new publication will meet with great success among the newspapers and others interested in photography.

At the initiative of the Technical Center's Treasurer and adviser and great enthusiast of the Center's activities, Joshua B. Powers, we are studying the possibility of creating an editorial board. The board's first publication would be Mr. De Piante's book, probably to be followed by a revised and augmented edition of the Pepper Dictionary, which will appear under the title "The Practical Translator." We shall continue to edit some booklets on subjects of significance for the press insofar as time and funds permit.

THE REITEMEYER AWARD

Generated by great concern in journalism circles about the quality and quantity of science news coverage in Latin America, the John R. Reitemeyer Award was established to serve as a stimulus for journalists writing on scientific matters. The 1966 Reitemeyer Award will be given during the present Assembly to Dr. Misael Acosta-Solís of Ecuador, and honorable mentions will go to O Estado de S. Paulo of Brazil and two of its science editors, Andrejus Korolkovas and Marco A. Filippi, and to Dr. Emilio O. Forrer of El Diario de Hoy in San Salvador, El Salvador.

The Reitemeyer Award and the first seminar for journalists specializing in science news -- held in Santiago, Chile, in October, 1962 -- also inspired the new seminar on this subject which will take place in Buenos Aires from November 15-19. If any justification of the Technical Center's concern with science reporting is necessary, no better answer could be found than the article published in a recent issue of LIFE by Albert Rosenfeld, science editor, entitled "Science is Where the Action Is." It is obvious that newspapers can no longer avoid the responsibility of informing their readers on the extraordinary technological revolution which the modern-day world is experiencing. The subject of dissemination of scientific news thus has great urgency.

DONATIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

The Technical Center has been able to extend its program beyond what the Ford Foundation grant might have permitted through contributions of money and equipment received from certain United States and Latin American members. We wish to make special mention of the Counterpart Fund program, created at the initiative of Technical Center President John R. Herbert, and formed by annual contributions of a number of members. At the time this report was prepared, the newspapers listed below had pledged an annual total of US\$11,060:

CRONICA, Comodoro Rivadavia, Argentina
EDITORIAL ABRIL, Buenos Aires, Argentina
EL DIARIO, La Paz, Bolivia
LOS TIEMPOS, Cochabamba, Bolivia
O ESTADO DE S. PAULO, Sao Paulo, Brazil
JORNAL DO BRASIL, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
EL CAMPESENO, Bogotá, Colombia
EL TIEMPO, Bogotá, Colombia
EL ESPECTADOR, Bogotá, Colombia
EL MERCURIO, Santiago, Chile
LA PRENSA, Lima, Perú
LA PRENSA GRAFICA, San Salvador, El Salvador

The amount pledged and the number of newspapers participating in the program may seem small, but we feel certain that during the next six months both figures will increase considerably. We should point out that although these contributions mean an extra load on the papers' budgets, they are also a symbol of interest in and recognition of the Technical Center's work.

OFFICERS AND STAFF

The increase in Technical Center activities has necessitated more complex and frequent consultations with the officers. President John R. Herbert and Treasurer Joshua B. Powers have provided service beyond the call of duty. Other officers during the past year were the following:

<u>Vice Presidents:</u>	Andrew Heiskell James S. Copley Guillermo Gutiérrez Julio de Mesquita Neto Máximo Gainza
<u>Asst. Treasurer:</u>	H. Earle Braisted
<u>Secretary:</u>	William H. Pepper, Jr.
<u>Manager:</u>	Guillermo Gutiérrez

The Technical Center has received valuable cooperation and ideas over the years from the officers and many members.

The program, as previously mentioned, is carried out with a minimal staff, composed of the Vice President and Manager, Mr. Gutiérrez, and two secretaries, Miss Marcela Ortega and Miss Nora Larke. Mrs. Vera E. Escudero is the efficient accountant of the Technical Center. Extra help is hired during seminars and for special translations.

The Vice President and Manager of the Technical Center wishes to thank all the Center's friends for their contributions and cooperation and calls on Latin and North American members of the Inter American Press Association who have not already done so, to offer the same assistance and cooperation now given by only a few members of the organization.

MR. HERBERT: Mr. Aguirre would like to have the floor at this time.

SR. HORACIO AGUIRRE (Diario Las Américas, Miami, Florida): Sr. Presidente, deseo decir unas pocas palabras, no solamente para pedir, como estoy seguro es el deseo de todos, que se apruebe este magnífico informe, sino para dejar constancia, como un deber personal de mi parte, de lo mucho que representa para el perfeccionamiento del periodismo continental el funcionamiento de nuestro Centro Técnico, porque, estando yo en la ciudad de Miami, he tenido oportunidad de comprobar, quizás como testigo de excepción, los magníficos resultados de esos seminarios que se realizan bajo la insuperable dirección técnica del Sr. Gutiérrez, quien con fervor que sin exagerar podríamos llamar apostólico, se dedica a la superación de esos seminarios que constituyen una fuente de orientación magnífica para todos los periodistas que acuden a ellos.

Yo he tenido oportunidad de oír diversas opiniones, inclusive la de un distinguido compatriota mío, el Ingeniero Xavier Chamorro, subdirector del diario La Prensa de Managua, Nicaragua, quien asistió a un seminario recientemente celebrado.

Otros distinguidos periodistas también me han expresado esa misma opinión, y, por mi parte, yo personalmente lo he comprobado.

Me parece que debemos rendirle testimonio de reconocimiento, gratitud y simpatía al Sr. Gutiérrez, lo mismo que al Presidente Herbert, a los altos funcionarios del Centro, y especialmente también al prestigioso periódico estadounidense, The Miami Herald, que en forma eficaz ha facilitado y simplificado el funcionamiento de estos seminarios, con un deseo marcado, claro y sincero de contribuir al mejoramiento de la prensa latinoamericana.

Esto es todo, Sr. Presidente.

MR. HERBERT: Thank you very much for those kind words.

Does anyone want to comment on the report of the manager? If not, we will consider the report accepted as read.

We have one other piece of business for the Technical Center meeting, and, as is the custom so often when we have a job to do, we call on the man of all work, Joshua B. Powers, Chairman of the By-laws Committee.

MR. POWERS: Mr. President, I am going to permit myself to say one word in advance, to add to the words that were just said by Horacio Aguirre. I had the privilege of attending the first seminar in Miami, and I want to say that the organization and the management, the teaching, the quality of those learners who were there, the direction of our manager was such as I have not seen duplicated anywhere. I want to go on record before talking about By-laws in saying that we are very fortunate to have Willie Gutiérrez with us and very fortunate that he has his wife, Mimi, to back him up. (applause)

Now, to the By-laws. The President, feeling that the time has come when younger people should step in to do some of the jobs that are beginning to develop caused to be issued on September 30 the following notice:

"Pursuant to Article VII of the By-laws of the IAPA Technical Center, Inc., adopted October 18, 1957, notice is hereby given of attempt to offer amendments to the By-laws of the Technical Center at the annual meeting of the Directors in Lima, October 24."

The purpose of the amendments is to create an additional position: Chairman of the Board. The paragraphs creating the position of Chairman of the Board are the only new feature of the text. The rest of the wording is identical, other than renumbering, with the present By-laws.

Text of the proposed amendments follows:

"Resolved that Article IV of the By-laws of the Corporation be, and it hereby is, amended in the following manner:

" (1) Section 1 shall read as follows: Section 1 - Number of Officers. The officers of the Corporation shall be a Chairman of the Board, a President, one or more Vice Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and such other officers as may be appointed. In accordance with the provisions of Section 3 of this Article IV, one person may hold two or more of the aforesaid offices. Officers need not be members.

" (2) Section 2 shall read as follows: Section 2 - Election of Officers. The officers shall be elected annually at each annual meeting of the Board by a plurality of the votes cast. Each officer may succeed himself in office. Each person elected an officer shall continue in office until next annual meeting after his election, or until his successor shall have been duly elected and qualified, or until his earlier death, resignation, or removal in accordance with the By-laws. Vacancies of offices caused by death, resignation, removal, or increase in the number of officers, may be filled by a majority vote of the Board at a special meeting called for that purpose, or at any regular meeting.

"The Chairman of the Board and the President shall be chosen from among the Directors. Other officers need not be members of the Board.

"The present Section 5 is renumbered Section 6 and a new Section 5 added, reading as follows:

" Section 5 - The Chairman of the Board. The Chairman of the Board shall preside, if present, at all meetings of the members and of the Board and he shall perform such other duties, and have such other powers, as may from time to time be designated and assigned to him by the Board.

" (3) The newly numbered Section 6 shall read as follows: Section 6 - The President. The President shall receive such compensation for his services as the Board may authorize. In the absence of the Chairman of the Board the President shall preside at all meetings of members of the Board. He shall be the chief executive officer of the Corporation and shall have general supervision over the affairs and property of the Corporation, and over its several officers, and generally do and perform all acts incident to the office of President, and shall have such additional powers and duties as may from time to time be assigned to him by the Board. When authorized by the Board the President may sign and execute, in the name of the Corporation, deeds, mortgages, bonds, contracts or other instruments authorized by the Board, except in cases where the signing and execution thereof shall be expressly delegated by the Board or by these By-laws to some other officer or agent of the Corporation.

"The present Sections 6, 7, 8 and 9 are renumbered Sections 7, 8, 9 and 10."

Mr. President, I move that the Board approve these changes in the By-laws.

MR. HERBERT: To simplify your thinking on this, the only change in the existing By-laws is the words "Chairman of the Board" and the description of his duties. The rest had to be read because the By-laws have to be renumbered, with the addition of this office. Is there any comment on the report of the Chairman of the By-laws Committee?

MR. REITEMEYER: I have no objection to any of the things which were suggested, but has the Board been notified of all these changes? I remember one change in the notification, concerning the election of a Chairman of the

Board, but I don't recall all of these other changes, if they are changes. I haven't had an opportunity to read these new By-laws. Are there other changes besides that one?

MR. POWERS: There are no other changes.

MR. REITEMEYER: No further objections.

MR. HERBERT: To answer your question: Carlos, could you notify the Board as to what action was taken?

MR. CARLOS A. JIMENEZ: Yes, of course, the draft amendment was sent to all members of the Board.

MR. HERBERT: Will someone move that the amendment as read be adopted? Moved, seconded and approved.

Is there any other business to come before the meeting of the Board of Directors of the Technical Center? If not, I will declare the meeting adjourned and relinquish the chair to Mr. Howard.

MR. HOWARD: Thank you, Mr. Herbert. We are now reconvened as the Board of Directors of the IAPA.

I am going to ask the Manager to read a communication we received at mid-day.

SR. JIMENEZ: Es una carta del Sr. Francisco A. Rizzuto, dirigida al Sr. Howard.

"Estimado Presidente: 'El orgullo de un hombre es dignidad y no orgullo,' dijo Becker.

"Y visto el resultado del voto que usted acaba de pedir a mis colegas de la Junta de Directores hago renuncia formal de mi cargo de director de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, al que fui reelegido por tercera vez, y que vencía en octubre del año venidero.

"Quiero agradecer a usted y al Presidente del Comité Ejecutivo la oportunidad que me dieron para expresar mis ideas, y decirles que por encima de la decisión de los hombres que hoy manejan la entidad, la SIP estará en mi recuerdo permanente por dos circunstancias: la de haberse ocupado durante la clausura de Veritas y la de haber adherido al fallecimiento de mi padre.

"Reciba el atento saludo de su amigo." Firmado, Francisco A. Rizzuto.

Eso es todo, Sr. Presidente.

MR. HOWARD: Thank you.

MR. REITEMEYER: Mr. Chairman, I move that the letter of resignation be tabled. I mean, that no action be taken on it at this time.

Mr. Rizzuto has been a very helpful member of this organization. I worked with him very closely during the time that I was Chairman of the Executive Committee. We didn't always agree, and there were times when he might have resigned, but I remember one time he travelled all through Latin America, at his own expense, recruiting members for the IAPA.

He has done a number of other helpful things, and I hope that Mr. Rizzuto could be persuaded to withdraw this resignation as a Director.

SR. CHAMORRO: Estoy de acuerdo con el Sr. Reitemeyer. Y, además, me parece que como la carta del Sr. Rizzuto no dice que su renuncia es irrevocable, perfectamente bien puede esta Junta de Directores declararse en el sentido de que por los merecimientos del Sr. Rizzuto, por su largo trabajo a favor de nuestra Sociedad, no acepta esa renuncia.

SR. ORNES: Quiero secundar la moción del Sr. Reitemeyer y adherirme a los conceptos que él emitio.

MR. FLETCHER: Mr. Chairman, I would like to support Col. Reitemeyer, also. But I would like to ask a question. Perhaps I may be forgiven if I am Anglo-Saxon in some of my ideas, but this American principle of tabling a motion means that nothing is ever done about it. Now, in the case of a member wishing to resign, does that not leave a rather obscure position into the future? Is not a resignation a thing that should either be accepted or refused?

MR. HERBERT: Mr. President, if I understand the book correctly, we can't debate this motion anyway. I think we have to put it to a vote.

MR. HOWARD: That is right.

MR. REITEMEYER: If you will waive the rules for just a moment.

MR. HOWARD: Well, since you request it and you are the Chairman of the Legal Committee, we will certainly waive the rules.

MR. REITEMEYER: I am out of order, really, but it is possible to table. He has offered a resignation, and I must say that he has done this before, and we have taken the same action. I hope Mr. Fletcher will not be too concerned about it this time.

MR. GEORGE WESTERMAN (The Panama Tribune, Panama): I am in deepest sympathy with Mr. Rizzuto. I feel very keenly on the matter which caused him to take the action which he took this morning, but I think that Mr. Chamorro has furnished a way open to us to handle this matter. He has not stated that his resignation was irrevocable, and on that basis I think we can reconsider the resignation which he has presented to us on this occasion.

MR. REITEMEYER: I move the resignation be tabled, as I did before.

MR. HOWARD: The motion has been moved and seconded that we follow this strange procedure Mr. Fletcher referred to, and table the letter. Is that right? All in favor?

MR. WESTERMAN: Mr. Chairman, what are we voting on, please?

MR. HOWARD: We are doing nothing about it.

MR. WESTERMAN: Well, wouldn't it be better that we say that nothing has been done in the matter? Or are we going on record as having tabled a motion which is completely out of order? Col. Reitemeyer himself admitted that the motion was completely out of order.

MR. HOWARD: No, he didn't say that the motion was out of order. He said he was out of order.

MR. WESTERMAN: He was out of order in presenting the motion.

MR. REITEMEYER: What I said was that in talking further on this motion I was out of order. I didn't say the motion was out of order. The motion is perfectly in order.

MR. WESTERMAN: Pardon me.

MR. REITEMEYER: And it has been voted on.

MR. HOWARD: We voted to table it.

Now, I recognize Dr. Martínez Márquez on another subject.

DR. MARTÍNEZ MARQUEZ: Los periodistas cubanos lo hemos perdido todo en nuestra patria -- nuestros periódicos, nuestra libertad, todas nuestras propiedades -- pero no hemos perdido la memoria. Y es por eso que a mí me parece oportuno recordar aquí que el 24 de octubre de 1790 -- hace 176 años hoy -- se editó el primer periódico libre e independiente en Cuba bajo el título de Papel Periódico de La Habana.

Con ese motivo en el año 1935 se creó el Día del Periodista de Cuba. Desde el año 1959 el Día del Periodista de Cuba no se conmemora en Cuba. Nosotros, los periodistas cubanos en el exilio, no podemos celebrar esta fecha en la esclavitud que padece nuestra patria. Pero podemos y debemos recordarlo, y yo quiero que todos los colegas aquí presentes recuerden con nosotros que hace 176 años que salió el primer periódico libre en Cuba y que hace seis años que los periodistas cubanos no tenemos libertad. Esto es todo.

MR. HOWARD: Thank you, Dr. Martínez Márquez.

Is there any more business this afternoon? If there isn't, I would like to remind everybody that we are invited to cocktails by the United Press International at 7:30 at the Country Club and then at 9:00 o'clock, also

at the Country Club, we will have the Inaugural Dinner, being offered by the Peruvian newspaper members of IAPA. At that dinner we will introduce new members and the awards will be made.

We will adjourn until tomorrow morning at 9:30. I would like to remind everybody, and I will remind you again tonight, that the President will be here in the morning. We are adjourned.

(The meeting adjourned at 5:20 P.M.)

INAUGURAL DINNER OF THE XXII ANNUAL ASSEMBLY
PRESENTATION OF IAPA-MERGENTHALER AND
IAPA-TOM WALLACE AWARDS

Monday, October 24, 1966

The Inaugural Dinner of the XXII Annual General Assembly of the Inter American Press Association, offered by the Peru newspaper members, was served Monday, October 24, 1966 at 9:00 PM in the Lima Country Club.

In presenting the 1966 IAPA-Mergenthaler and IAPA-Tom Wallace Awards, the Chairman of the Awards Committee, Mr. Pablo Vargas Badillo, read the following report:

INFORME DE LA COMISION DE PREMIOS

La Comisión de Premios de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa se honra y se complace de que los premiados de este año sean dos de sus más distinguidos miembros y a la vez más esforzados paladines de la Institución; Monseñor Jesús María Pellín y Joshua B. Powers, y el periódico Barbados Daily News, de Bridgetown, Islas Barbados.

Leeré ahora las menciones de los tres premios, y ruego a los favorecidos o a sus representantes que se adelanten para recibirlos.

PREMIOS SIP-MERGENTHALER - Monseñor Jesús María Pellín

"En reconocimiento de la labor de un periodista por la libertad de prensa" -- Diploma y 500 dólares a Monseñor Jesús María Pellín, director de La Religión de Caracas. Monseñor Pellín, campeón consagrado de la libertad de prensa desde hace muchos años, libró en 1965 desde las columnas de su periódico una brillantísima campaña en defensa de esa libertad en Venezuela. A su pluma y a su empeño se debió en gran medida que el Congreso venezolano no aprobase un restrictivo proyecto de ley de prensa que pudo haber sido el comienzo de tiempos peores para nuestros colegas de dicho país. Por el fracaso de esa tentativa debe dársele todo crédito a Monseñor Pellín, que por su prestigio y por el altísimo concepto en que se le tiene en su patria impidió que se coartase la libertad del periodismo venezolano.

BARBADOS DAILY NEWS

"En reconocimiento de servicios destacados de un periódico en beneficio de la colectividad" -- Placa de bronce al Barbados Daily News, de Bridgetown, Islas Barbados, por una serie de editoriales en que se opuso enérgicamente a los planes del gobierno orientados a lograr la independencia de Barbados separadamente y no como parte de una Federación del Este del Caribe. La campaña del Barbados Daily News tuvo pleno éxito y el periódico recibió innumerables felicitaciones por ese logro.

PREMIOS SIP-TOM WALLACE

"En reconocimiento de la labor de un periodista de los Estados Unidos o Canadá por la amistad y la comprensión interamericanas" -- Diploma y 500 dólares a Joshua B. Powers, de Editors Press Service, por sus infatigables esfuerzos en favor de las buenas relaciones entre todos los países de América y en bien de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa. El Sr. Powers fue uno de los principales promotores y fundadores de la SIP reorganizada en 1950, cuando la entidad, que hasta entonces contaba con el apoyo de gobiernos, pasó a ser completamente privada, le permitió erigirse en el gran baluarte de la libertad de prensa y de un periodismo limpio y constructivo. El Sr. Powers presidió el Comité Ejecutivo de la SIP en 1950-51, el primer año después de su reorganización y es actualmente miembro del Consejo Consultivo y de la Junta de Directores de la SIP y tesorero del Centro Técnico.

Como es sabido, los Premios SIP-Tom Wallace consagran la memoria de uno de los más esforzados paladines de nuestra organización y son costeados por aportes voluntarios de nuestros socios latinoamericanos.

Los Premios SIP-Mergenthaler, a su vez, honran la memoria del inventor de la linotipo y son financiados con una donación de la Mergenthaler Linotype Company.

Los tres premiados del año actual fueron elegidos por la Comisión de Premios en su reunión de marzo último en Caracas y ratificados por el Comité Ejecutivo. Para otorgar el Premio SIP-Tom Wallace, la Comisión se basó en una recomendación de una subcomisión formada por sus miembros latinoamericanos.

No se concedió el Premio SIP-Tom Wallace para publicaciones de los Estados Unidos o Canadá, ni tampoco Premios SIP-Mergenthaler en las siguientes categorías: en reconocimiento de servicios meritorios a la colectividad por medio de editoriales, artículos o secciones; en reconocimiento de servicios meritorios a la colectividad por medio de informaciones o reportajes; en reconocimiento de la labor meritorio de un caricaturista; y en reconocimiento de la labor meritoria de un fotógrafo.

La Comisión de Premios tiene una profunda satisfacción al distinguir de esta manera a tan distinguidos miembros de nuestra institución, que de manera tan señalada contribuye al mantenimiento de la libertad de prensa en América, así como a las buenas relaciones entre todos los países del hemisferio.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY
FIRST MEETING

Tuesday, October 25, 1966

The first meeting of the XXII Annual General Assembly of the Inter American Press Association convened at 10:00 AM., Tuesday, October 25, 1966, in the Salón Perú of the Hotel Crillon in Lima, Peru, with Mr. Jack R. Howard, President, as Chairman.

MR. JACK R. HOWARD (Scripps-Howard Newspapers, U.S.A.): We have with us some distinguished guests, representing other organizations, and I thought that I would call on them now while we await the President.

I'll call on Lee Hills first, who is here representing the International Press Institute as well as the American Society of Newspaper Editors. Mr. Hills.

MR. LEE HILLS (Knight Newspapers, U.S.A.): I have been requested by Per Monsen, director of the International Press Institute, to convey a greeting from the Institute to the Inter American Press Association, which I am happy to do as a member of IPI's American Committee.

Mr. Monsen said he wanted to point out the importance, not only of Inter American Press cooperation, but also of international cooperation, as provided by IPI. He added, and I quote: "We should like to have more members from Latin America taking part in our international activities. We realize that long distance and heavy costs prohibit many Latin American editors from joining the Institute. IPI will welcome reports on press problems and developments in Latin America, to be printed in our monthly bulletin, which is distributed to leading newspapers and editors all over the world. This is today of special importance when there have been recent political changes in some Latin American countries affecting the press. Colleagues all over the world would like to know more about this and to have the view of their Latin American colleagues."

The technical aid program which IAPA is undertaking with financial assistance of the Ford Foundation is very similar to the program IPI has in Africa and Asia.

John Herbert, of our organization, has been very active in IPI and if John is here, I think he would like to make a few brief comments. John assures me there is no conflict or competition between the IAPA and the International Press Institute.

MR. HERBERT: This is a real friendly arrangement here this morning, you can see.

The International Press Institute and the IAPA Technical Center work in very close cooperation. We have exchanged information and we have jointly participated in Ford Foundation conferences, called to discuss the problems of the press in

Latin America, Asia and Africa. I would like to tell you briefly about what is going on in Asia and Africa, because I think you will find a close parallel there to the work that we are attempting to do here in Latin America with the Technical Center.

The present IPI Asian program, which began in 1960 and operates out of Manila, concentrates on sending out editorial, managerial and technical consultants, arranging workshops and seminars, both local and all-Asian, and stimulating the growth of local institutions to take over the work initiated by the IPI. The Press Institute of India, for instance, was inaugurated in 1963 and in 1965 IPI had the pleasure of seeing two more institutes, the Philippine Press Institute and the Korean Press Institute, being born. This is a program in which IPI will go into an area and stimulate interest in the press, and then there will be a national press institute set up to carry on the work. The most encouraging feature last year was the response of the Asian press and the financial contributions from Asia, which increased.

This three-year program, which will end in 1968, is financed by a \$184,000.00 grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, which pays the administration costs and other activities, and a \$100,000.00 grant from the Asian Foundation.

In Africa, the IPI African Training Program started in 1963, and they had six-month training courses for journalists with prior experience. They ran these in Kenya and in Nigeria to meet the most urgent needs of the African press for skilled personnel. IPI has worked in cooperation with the universities in Nairobi and Lagos. At the end of the year IPI will have trained over 200 African journalists and the need there is very great. The program has been most successful and has created a good reputation for IPI in English-speaking Africa.

IPI had to close the Lagos training center this year because of the political developments in Nigeria, but the students from West-African countries were transferred to Nairobi and the training center has carried on there.

They have had short-term courses for photographers and -- a very unusual feature -- they have had training courses for women journalists. One was very successful and they have a second one coming along now.

In French-speaking Africa the pilot work is going on, but there isn't an extensive program in this field.

The African training program has been financed by The Ford Foundation with two grants. The present grant of \$300,000.00 expires this year, but IPI has a reasonable hope of getting a new grant to cover 1967 and 1968, and our close work with IPI in swapping notes and information will continue, so that we will have a maximum effectiveness of these great international programs. We can swap information so that we don't make common mistakes; we will profit by our own experiences. Thank you. (Applause).

MR. HILLS: Thank you, John.

I don't know why I was asked to bring you greetings from two other famous newspaper organizations at this Assembly, but I'll now change hats and as a past president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors I bring you greetings and warm good wishes from what is probably the most prestigious journalistic organization in the United States. Many of us here are ASNE members, including our president, Jack Howard, and some past presidents like Jack Knight and Jimmy Stahlman, the late Tom Wallace, and many others. And it is from this group in the States that we recruit many of the most active members of IAPA. Members of the American Society of Newspaper Editors have a greater interest in, and appreciation of, the importance of Latin American and other inter-American relations than ever before. They want you to know this. Through me today they reach out to you with a hand of friendship and support. Thank you.

MR. HOWARD: Thank you, Mr. Hills.

We have another distinguished representative with us. Mr. J. Howard Wood is here as a representative of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, of which he is president. (Applause).

And now I would like to call on Mr. Erik Huss, the managing editor of Dagens Nyheter of Stockholm, Sweden, who is here on behalf of the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers (FIEJ). Mr. Huss.

MR. ERIK HUSS: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen of the IAPA.

Let me first tell you how happy and grateful my wife and myself are to be here as your guests. Let me also thank you for this opportunity to address you briefly on behalf of the FIEJ, the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers, and to offer its congratulations to your magnificent organization, which so well represents the free press of the Western Hemisphere.

I would like, with your permission, Mr. President, to say just a few words about the FIEJ. It is, in a way, a sister organization of your IAPA. Actually, there are two international organizations that may be called your sister organizations; one is the IPI, the International Press Institute, which Mr. Hills and Mr. Herbert have just talked about, and the other is the organization I represent, the FIEJ. Both aim at the strengthening of a free press, backed with a different emphasis. The IPI is primarily an editors' association, dealing with editorial matters, whereas the FIEJ is an association of publishers and presidents, dealing also, and particularly, with practical matters, such as exchange of information about technical questions, newsprint supply and prices, telecommunications, relations to advertisers and agencies, relations to, and competition with, radio and TV, etc.

These matters may seem to you somewhat prosaic, but we all know that by working for better economic conditions for newspapers we strengthen their integrity and help them fulfill their fundamental task, to publish impartially news and views. We in the FIEJ try, like in all international organizations,

to reach our aims by discussions and publications, but first of all, as you do, through the personal contacts and friendships established by repeated meetings at our conventions.

The FIEJ has its headquarters in Paris and its membership consists mainly of national organizations of newspapers, representing most countries with a free press, such as the United States, Japan, the democratic countries of Western Europe, etc., but with the notable exception of Latin America. The absence of the free press of Latin American from our organization is understandable from a geographical point of view, just as Mr. Hills talked about it from the point of view of the IPI: the great distance to Europe, where most of the FIEJ members live and where most of our conventions have been held. But we of the FIEJ certainly, and I stress this, would be delighted and feel much more complete if we could welcome representatives of the free press in Latin America, with its ever-increasing importance in the world.

Last year our Assembly was in Munich, Germany. This year I had the pleasure of being host in my home town of Stockholm, Sweden. Next year we will meet in Tel Aviv, Israel, and in 1968 in Tokyo, Japan. I tell you this just to give you an idea of the geographical scope of our organization.

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, let me finish by expressing once again greetings and congratulations from the FIEJ to the distinguished members of the IAPA. Thank you. (Applause)

MR. HOWARD: Thank you, Mr. Huss.

Is Mr. Carlos Biedma in the room? Would he please rise? He is here as a representative of the Inter American Education Association. (Applause)

The first item on the agenda is to establish a quorum, and I will now call on the chairman of the Credentials Committee, Mr. Watkins, to report, please.

MR. WATKINS: Mr. President, fifty members are required for a quorum. The Credentials Committee wishes to report that as of last night there were registered 190 representatives of Active members, 27 Associate members, 47 Observers, 132 wives and other relatives, 3 Life members and 3 guests, for a total of 402 persons registered here in Lima.

This is three more people, as of last night, than were registered at San Diego. The Credential Committee reports that there is a quorum. Thank you. (Applause).

MR. HOWARD: Thank you, Mr. Watkins.

At this point I will turn the meeting over to our first vice-president, Mr. Julio de Mesquita Filho, while Mr. Cisneros, Dr. Gainza Paz and I greet the President of Peru.

SR. JULIO DE MESQUITA FILHO (O Estado de São Paulo, Brazil): Ruego al Sr. Jiménez que nos lea los mensajes recibidos.

SR. CARLOS A. JIMENEZ (Inter American Press Association): El Senado del Perú, en la sesión celebrada el día 20 de octubre, aprobó la siguiente Moción de Orden del Día: "Los Senadores que suscriben, CONSIDERANDO: Que el próximo martes, 25 del presente, se inician en Lima las actividades de la XXII Asamblea General de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, entidad que agrupa a las más importantes publicaciones democráticas del Continente: Que la Libertad de Prensa constituye el pilar fundamental en que se sustenta la democracia, doctrina que defienden tenazmente, contra la infiltración roja, los pueblos de América; Que la elección de nuestra capital como sede de la Asamblea significa una honrosa distinción y un claro testimonio del clima democrático que vive el Perú; Que es deber nuestro, como representantes del pueblo, hacer constar el importante rol que viene cumpliendo la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa en resguardo de la Libertad de Expresión en el Hemisferio;

"Proponen la siguiente Moción de Orden del Día:

"El Senado de la República saluda a la XXII Asamblea General de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa y formula votos por su éxito; asimismo expresa su reconocimiento por la eficaz labor que desarrolla para mantener intangible la libertad de prensa en el Continente."

Tenemos mensajes de varios socios que tradicionalmente, desde hace muchos años, son infaltables a nuestras Asambleas y que por diversas causas no han podido venir. Entre ellos figuran John Perry, Charles Dancey y David Lindsay.

Un mensaje de Ventura Estrada, director del diario La Voz del Pueblo de Cañete: "La prensa chica, relegada y olvidada salúdalos, recordándoles que también tenemos angustias, problemas y heroísmos desconocidos por ustedes."

"Radio Cuba Libre del Comité Pro Libertad de Cuba les hace llegar sus votos más fervientes por éxitos continuos en vuestra constante lucha por apoyar y mantener la libertad de prensa en las Américas. Reconocemos vuestros esfuerzos por llevar al conocimiento de las demás naciones de este Hemisferio las horrendas realidades de Cuba comunista. No debemos olvidar que en este momento importante de la historia la aceptación de una Cuba comunista pudiera comprometer la libertad de todas las naciones del mundo libre.

De la FIEJ: "The International Federation of Newspaper Publisher (FIEJ) has appealed to Fidel Castro to release the journalists who are still being held in Cuban jails. The letter to Castro from FIEJ President Claude Bellanger was mailed on October 13 and will be released in Paris on October 18. Such an appeal was suggested by the late Jules Dubois. It places FIEJ in support of the continuing efforts by the Inter American Press Association to secure release of these journalists."

Esto es todo, Sr. Presidente.

SR. MESQUITA: El Sr. Jiménez va a leer una información sobre la elección de los nuevos directores.

SR. JIMENEZ: According to the procedure we adopted last year for the election of new directors, members will find on the documents table printed ballots with the names of the candidates submitted by the Nominations Committee. The ballots provide space for write-in candidates who may be nominated from the floor before this morning meeting ends.

Balloting will be conducted in the ante-room of this room, near the registration desk, tomorrow, Wednesday, from 12 noon to 6:00 PM. There will be no roll call for voting; each member representative must go to the balloting place, identify himself, and cast his ballot. Results of the election will be announced at the start of the morning meeting of the Assembly on October 27.

The balloting will be supervised by a six-member Committee of Judges.

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 Article VII, Sections 2, 3 and 4 of the By-laws. The Committee of Judges will ensure compliance with Article III, 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 VII 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 larger number shall be invalid."

Article III, 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 the United States of America."

Members are reminded, also, that only representatives of Active and

Corporate members, and not the Associate members, are entitled to vote.

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

SR. MESQUITA: Señores, Su Excelencia el Presidente de la República del Perú, Arquitecto Fernando Belaúnde Terry. (Aplausos)

DISCURSO PRONUNCIADO POR EL PRESIDENTE DEL PERU, SR. FERNANDO BELAUNDE TERRY

Sr. Presidente, señores delegados, os doy la bienvenida como los defensores de una gran causa, la causa de la libertad de expresión. Y lo hago en una nación en que afortunadamente esta libertad no tiene restricción de ninguna clase, que practica con devoción la idea de que la libertad de prensa está en la base de todas las libertades y es requisito indispensable para lograr la justicia social. Libertad mantenida, cuidada, en algunos casos sufrida, porque sabemos bien que si en la democracia la cruz la lleva frecuentemente el gobernante, en la dictadura que destruye la libertad de prensa esa cruz inevitablemente la carga el pueblo. Por eso, señores, respiramos un ambiente saludable que es propicio para adentrarnos en la realidad de la hora presente y en las posibilidades que tenemos por delante.

En realidad, nos hemos encontrado frente a la encrucijada de dos grandes corrientes mundiales. Por un lado la corriente marxista, tan exótica en América, corriente que exagera el dolo en vez de avivar la esperanza; corriente por la cual todo se critica, en la cual todo se ve a través de un cristal pesimista, en la cual se magnifica la injusticia social que es propia de todo lo terreno, dejándose de ver aquellos grandes logros y aquellas grandes realizaciones que tanto honran al suelo americano.

Por otro lado tenemos la corriente democrática, que es nuestra corriente tradicional, corriente que en vez de avivar el dolor, cultiva y enciende la esperanza. Pero dentro de estas dos corrientes existe el mundo subdesarrollado; subdesarrollado dentro del comunismo o subdesarrollado dentro de la democracia. Las grandes naciones rectoras de estos dos grandes movimientos deben tener conciencia de que ambas corrientes deben fijarse claramente en la realidad de los pueblos por desarrollar y adaptarse a las necesidades del presente momento histórico. Por eso yo quiero aprovechar la presencia de tan distinguidos y eminentes personeros de la prensa hemisférica para decir unas palabras de aliento al desarrollo, para poner énfasis en la prensa como factor y como promotora de este desarrollo.

Hemos tenido momentos históricos de enorme relieve en la vida de América. Tuvimos la época prehispánica en este Perú legendario, donde se cultivó tempranamente la idea de justicia. Tuvimos el momento dramático del descubrimiento; el momento sangriento de la conquista, el gran proceso histórico del mestizaje en que se han forjado los pueblos andinos; el momento de la emancipación, que fue sobre todo una emancipación política, mas no una emancipación en lo social y en lo económico. Y ahora se abre ante nosotros la gran tarea del momento, la gran consigna histórica de la hora, cual es la de desarrollar a estos pueblos dentro de la democracia.

La prensa puede ser un factor decisivo en esta gran cruzada, la prensa que da la noticia, que muchas veces presenta a la guerra como la preocupación fundamental, que a veces resalta el desastre o el dolor, que muchas veces recoge las tendencias malsanas de la discordia en su afán de informar, y que muy a menudo da poco interés y poco espacio a aquella gran cruzada de la paz que estamos llevando adelante. Pero yo sé que los órganos de prensa aquí representados se han citado en Lima, no para una reunión rutinaria, sino para precisar la posición de esta hora y para encarar la tarea del mañana. Me permito insinuar respetuosamente a nuestros ilustres visitantes que pongan el mayor interés en lo que se está haciendo por la justicia.

Alguna vez dije, repitiendo palabras inmortales, que el mundo es un valle de lágrimas y que no corresponde al hombre destruir, o cambiar, o alterar esa implacable realidad, pero dije que el hombre sí podía disminuir el caudal de esas lágrimas, reducir el dolor, aumentar la esperanza en los pueblos. Y en ese sentido estamos empeñados en el Perú y en las naciones vecinas en la tarea histórica de completar aquello que el Creador nos entregó, por fortuna, incompleto; de completar la obra de planificación física en el continente como una base para sustentar, en forma más justiciera y más holgada, a nuestras poblaciones siempre crecientes.

Desde la época preincaica, aceptando el reto andino, nuestros antepasados se establecieron en la zona más difícil de la Cordillera. Se colocaron en el altiplano y allí floreció la brillante civilización de Tiahuanaco.

En el Perú de hoy Chavin, Huamachuco, Huaylas, fueron culturas establecidas también en las nacientes de los ríos, donde el hombre supo imponerse a la geografía. Más tarde los incas, esos grandes coordinadores, incorporaron los reinos de la costa peruana, creando una verdadera unidad imperial, pero ellos sólo penetraron en expediciones realmente heroicas a aquella gran región, la cuarta región del Perú, que fue llamada el Antisuyo.

Esta región del Antisuyo, la selva peruana, tuvo, es verdad, incursiones victoriosas de los incas que fueron allí a descubrir sus misterios, pero que encontraron en una higiene no controlada, en las epidemias, en la dificultad para mantener los productos, en las largas comunicaciones, la imposibilidad de incorporar plenamente a la economía aquella ubérrime región.

Más tarde, en la colonia, los misioneros incursionaron aún más profundamente, pero sin lograr todavía la incorporación de esa zona, de la que tanto espera el mundo. Y hoy, en nuestro siglo XX, con una explosión demográfica tan vigorosa como la sudamericana, en la cual el Perú exhibe un crecimiento de 3% anual, sentimos que la ciencia moderna, que la higiene ha dominado plenamente el trópico, que en la industria la deshidratación y la refrigeración no sólo hacen posible la conservación del producto tropical, sino que reducen considerablemente su peso, y por consiguiente amplían el radio de extensión de su mercado.

Por ello, comprendiendo la tarea de la hora, sabiendo que a toda avance y a toda organización de los hombres debe corresponder una paralela organización de las cosas, nos empeñamos desde el inicio de este gobierno en una tarea

fraternal de colaboración con las naciones vecinas, en la gran epopeya de la incorporación plena de la zona de selva, y de selva alta, tarea en la cual nos encontráis ahora empeñados.

Hemos tenido primeras victorias, victorias indudables, avances arrolladores que pueden verse y pueden palpase, pero todavía nos encontramos insatisfechos, porque no hemos tenido toda la ayuda internacional que le era debida a un proyecto del cual esperan estos países andinos no sólo una prosperidad inmediata, sino sobre todo una redoblada fraternidad que nace de la acción conjunta y de la acción creadora.

A lo largo de estos tres años yo he podido leer mucho sobre mi país, y estoy agradecido a la prensa hemisférica por haber resaltado nuestros aportes a la cultura, por haber subrayado nuestros éxitos, pero no debería ocultar el hecho de que estaría aún más agradecido si muchos hechos dolorosos y en cierta manera secundarios e intrascendentes no hubieran tenido todo el espacio que le fue restado a la gran tarea del desarrollo, que es la noticia de primera plana en el Perú y en la América Latina. (Aplausos).

Debemos destruir una leyenda negra que se ha difundido mucho sobre el Perú, y sobre muchos pueblos de América. Se habló de que éste era un país feudal; de que éste era un país en manos de unas cuantas familias. Y nada más lejos de la verdad.

Desde tiempo inmemorial, y si bien existen injusticias en este suelo como en otros, el factor fundamental en la propiedad agraria del Perú fue y es, la presencia de la comunidad indígena. Comunidad indígena que tiene en sus manos siete millones de hectáreas y que posee un número considerable de cabezas de ganado; comunidad que por ser inembargable no había tenido acceso al crédito y por consiguiente estaba privada de la liquidez que da cierto brillo y cierta apariencia de prosperidad.

Afortunadamente hemos logrado, mediante el crédito y mediante una comprensión inicial en el Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo, que se abran cauces hacia el dinero que desarrolla a estas comunidades indígenas. Y hoy día están más vigorosas que antes, y más de dos millones de peruanos están allí organizados, y no tienen problema de tenencia de la tierra porque disfrutan de una supertenencia, porque esta tierra, según nuestra Constitución, no puede serles arrebatada por nada ni por nadie.

Por otro lado, en el actual régimen, en el proceso de reforma agraria, he entregado ya títulos de propiedad a 66.000 peruanos, lo que destruye aquella falacia de que la propiedad en el Perú estaba en unas cuantas y pocas manos. E igualmente, en un arrollador programa de viviendas, que no sólo se concentra en la capital, sino en toda la república, estamos logrando la creación de 100.000 propietarios urbanos, lo que significa un espaldarazo considerable a la clase media, cuya hora ha sonado precisamente en este tiempo en el Perú.

Y además, el magisterio, aquel gran conjunto de ciudadanos en cuyas manos está el futuro del país, y a quienes les está entregada la niñez de la república, ha visto sonar la hora más venturosa con el estatuto magisterial que los favorece.

Y es aparente hoy en el Perú cómo nuestros 84,000 maestros han dado un salto hacia arriba; su tarea ha sido reconocida; su alta jerarquía cultural ha sido realzada, y el gobierno ha hecho un esfuerzo considerable hasta dar a la educación pública el 25% de todos los recursos de que dispone.

Esta es la realidad del Perú de hoy; realidad que comparten muchos de los pueblos vecinos. No es el paraíso, porque por cierto no es tarea humana la de crear paraísos terrenos, pero sí estos hechos demuestran que ha sonado una hora de esperanza, y que dentro de la libertad se está trabajando por disminuir el caudal de las lágrimas en este mundo, donde el dolor es inevitable, pero en el cual la democracia tiene mucho más que ofrecer que las dictaduras totalitarias, donde no hay esperanza de ninguna clase para los pueblos que trabajan y sufren. (Aplausos).

Os pido, pues, eminentes visitantes, que pongáis el mayor énfasis en estas noticias halagüenas de pueblos que trabajan.

Yo he llegado al gobierno, lo digo con la frente alta, porque el pueblo lo quiso; porque el pueblo me secundó y porque comprendió que en nuestro recorrido por el país había una verdadera intención de estudio y de servicio.

Se ha dicho que soy el forjador de una doctrina; el forjador de un movimiento nacionalista y democrático. Pero yo podría definirme, si es que la expresión es entendida por todos, como el huaquero de la vieja idea de la justicia andina. Porque en este suelo andino la justicia, como lo he dicho muchas veces, fue una idea nativa; porque el Perú antiguo sincronizó siempre la extensión de las áreas de cultivo con el número de los habitantes, que era, en cierta manera, el planteamiento fundamental para asegurar a todos el sustento.

Y nosotros hoy, después de muchos años, abordando nuevas técnicas, recibiendo el mensaje de los pueblos más desarrollados, pero practicando nuestra propia filosofía, queremos continuar con esta idea de la sincronización del área que sustenta con la población que es sustentada. Y en esa tarea necesitamos el apoyo de la prensa; que la prensa hemisférica y mundial sepa que nosotros no estamos aquí para disfrutar de las ventajas del gobierno, sino para trabajar en bien de las generaciones futuras.

Alguien decía que el político piensa en la generación presente y el estadista en la generación futura. Seamos estadistas, miremos el porvenir con plena fe en nuestros destinos, y hagamos la gran tarea conjunta de promover, por la información, por la opinión, por el editorial, este gran concepto de un desarrollo que tenga como meta la justicia social para todos los pueblos de América.

El Perú se siente honrado de haber sido escogido como sede para este gran certamen. El Perú saluda, por mis labios, en la forma más sincera y cordial, no sólo a las personalidades que han llegado, sino fundamentalmente a las naciones y a los diarios que ellas representan. Y el Perú tiene plena confianza en que estos ojos avizores que tienen el hábito de ver profundamente la realidad de las cosas, contemplen a nuestro país en plena transformación; vean sus aciertos y sus errores, pero llegando a la conclusión de que nunca estuvo más arraigada en nuestro suelo la idea de justicia y de que jamás la república disfrutó de una más irrestricta y completa libertad de prensa. (Aplausos).

Decid en vuestros diarios, señores delegados, que hemos excluído de nuestro diccionario de las relaciones entre países hermanos, la palabra "discordia"; en el Perú abre sus brazos a todas las naciones del hemisferio; que la verdadera palabra de primera plana en esta hora es la palabra "desarrollo", y desarrollo no en beneficio de unos cuantos, sino en beneficio de las grandes masas y de las grandes multitudes.

Decid en vuestros diarios que en el Perú presenciarnos un nuevo proceso electoral municipal, y que si de algo se precia el gobernante de este país, es de haber restaurado el régimen municipal electivo, pero no con vanas palabras, sino en el momento de jurar el cargo de Presidente de la República, después de 44 años en que todos los presidentes del Perú designaban a dedo a los alcaldes y a los regidores; en que al llegar el gobernante a la casa de gobierno su arma política más poderosa -- y yo creo que más peligrosa y dañina -- era la de designar a quince mil amigos, suplantándose al pueblo para imponerle sus propios regímenes.

Yo no he usado de esa arma, ni voy a usarla. Y para demostrar la sinceridad de nuestro propósito, ese mismo 28 de julio de 1963 convoqué a los cabildos abiertos, y una semana después me fui a Pacaritambo, un pueblo perdido de los Andes, de donde surgiera el imperio de los Incas, a presidir personalmente ese cabildo, en el que restituí al pueblo su derecho de dirigir sus propios destinos y elegir sus propios alcaldes.

Posteriormente, realizado ya el acto legal de organización del municipio definitivo, a los pocos meses tuve el honor de presidir una elección de la cual han surgido en toda la república las comunas que hoy nos gobiernan. Y da la casualidad de que en esta cita de la SIP tengamos la coincidencia de un nuevo proceso electoral municipal, para renovar estos municipios cumplido su primer período de tres años.

Yo me felicito de que la prensa hemisférica pueda presenciar estos comicios, que se realizarán de todas maneras, pese a quien pesare; comicios a los que concurrirnos con la seguridad de que el pueblo no se equivocará y con la decisión de respetar su veredicto. Es una democracia practicada y no hablada; una democracia que plenamente, y precisamente por la restauración municipal, hemos implantado en todos sus ámbitos en el Perú; una democracia de la cual os ruego llevar una versión, no parcializada, sino justa y verídica; una democracia que no sólo asegura la justicia dentro del país, sino que cultiva -- y esto es lo más importante -- la fraternidad más estrecha entre todos los pueblos de América, la erradicación definitiva de todo posible conflicto doméstico y la solución de todas las divergencias que pudiesen quedar en América por los medios pacíficos de los tratados, de la comprensión y de la solidaridad humana.

Decid en vuestros diarios, señores delegados y Señor Presidente Howard, que en el Perú ha sonado esta hora venturosa; que el país ha aceptado el reto implacable de la geografía; que estamos, como dije alguna vez, fructificando los desiertos con la irrigación, venciendo la Cordillera con la realidad, y desflorando la selva con la colonización, cumpliendo allí la gran tarea que nos ha reservado la historia.

En esta gran tarea esperamos tener el espaldarazo sincero y verídico de la información y, sobre todo, el apoyo editorial que necesitan todas las grandes cruzadas en el Continente.

Y decid en vuestros diarios, como un mensaje mío, que si bien la democracia es, tal vez, difícil para el gobernante, la dictadura es, en cambio, intolerable para el pueblo. Por eso seguiremos practicando esta democracia sin apartarnos una línea del camino que nos hemos trazado.

Y, finalmente, sentid que os doy la bienvenida a nombre del país todo, a nombre del gobierno, como lo dije al iniciar, como a los vencedores triunfantes de una gran causa; como a vencederos que podrían recibirse bajo un arco triunfal; como a los defensores de la causa de la libertad de prensa, que es causa triunfante y perdurable en el Perú. (Aplausos).

MR. HOWARD: Mr. President, we thank you for honoring us with your presence here. We thank you even more for your inspiring and inspired words. I think, Sir, that I speak for all of us when I say that we share your thrilling vision of the future and we hope that we can contribute to its realization, Thank you, Sir. (Applause).

Now, before we proceed with the formal program I would like to call upon Monsignor Pellín to deliver the invocation, please.

MONS. JESUS MARIA PELLIN (La Religion, Caracas, Venezuela) delivers the invocation.

MR. HOWARD: Manuel Cisneros, Chairman of the Host Committee.

DISCURSO DE BIENVENIDA DEL PRESIDENTE DE LA COMISION
ORGANIZADORA, DR. MANUEL CISNEROS SANCHEZ

Señor Presidente, señoras y señores:

En nombre de la Comisión Organizadora de la XXII Asamblea Anual de la SIP, cuya presidencia tuvo a bien confiarme nuestra querida Institución, presento, con ítima satisfacción, la bienvenida a todos y cada uno de ustedes, representantes del periodismo democrático de las Américas, congregados, una vez más, con renovados bríos y entusiasmo, para vigilar y luchar por los principios fundamentales de nuestra organización: la libertad de prensa y el derecho de los pueblos a informarse.

La ciudad de Lima, que bordeando los dos millones de habitantes, cuenta con seis diarios en la mañana y cuatro en la tarde, con un tiraje acumulado de un millón de ejemplares, disfruta ya el halago de tener como huéspedes a distinguidos personeros de la prensa hemisférica, os recibe con los brazos abiertos y plena cordialidad.

Nuestra Lima está marchita y empolvada. No la véis en sus mejores momentos. Como todos saben, acabamos de ser puestos a dura prueba por un movimiento telúrico a costo de vidas y de destrucción. El Perú entero está conmovido con la

desgracia sufrida, pero todos los peruanos hemos mantenido la serenidad, nos hemos sentido más unidos que nunca y tenemos siempre una sonrisa amable, aunque triste en estos momentos, para visitantes tan gratos como ustedes.

El culto a la opinión libre es una ancestral devoción limeña, que ha tenido sus denodados luchadores, y también sus víctimas y sus héroes, a través de los años; y que en nuestros días se manifiesta en la unánime, vigorosa e indeclinable actitud de enfrentamiento a la infiltración del disolvente totalitarismo rojo.

Lima, fundada y establecida hace más de cuatro siglos, tiene singulares títulos históricos como centro del pensamiento y de la palpitación del Nuevo Mundo.

Durante la era hispánica fue, indiscutiblemente, la más importante y señorial ciudad de Sud-América, porque, como sede del gobierno virreynal, de ella emanaban las directivas gubernamentales, a la vez que se irradiaba la cultura.

Deseo que nuestra ciudad, con sus hitos de remotas y milenarias civilizaciones y con sus monumentos virreynales, les haga llegar a ustedes el mensaje de la historia que fluye de su ámbito. Aquí han quedado los recuerdos de Pizarro, la higuera, sus restos, el lugar donde cayera luchando con las armas en la mano y haciendo el signo de la cruz, como correspondía a un genial iluminado de la aventura, humilde gran capitán que, con la fuerza de su brazo y la fe de su espíritu, descorrió el telón que permitió conocer al mundo civilizado ese milagro del Imperio Incaico y de sus culturas anteriores. Aquí, encontraréis la más antigua universidad de la América Continental, la de San Marcos, fundada en 1551, fuente y centro de inquietudes libertarias e intelectuales. Aquí, urgando bibliotecas y archivos, podréis ver que Lima tenía ya en 1584 una imprenta y que tuvo el privilegio de contar con la primera forma de expresión periodística, aunque de aparición esporádica, que de tal puede calificarse a las "Relaciones" y a los "Noticiarios", aparecido el primero en 1594. En 1715 encontraréis la primera publicación periódica al aparecer "La Gaceta Reimpresa en Lima", para llegar después al primer diario que, con el título de "Diario de Lima", se fundó el 10. de Octubre de 1790, o sea siete años después que el bisemanario "Pennsylvania Evening Post" se convirtió en el primer diario publicado en los Estados Unidos; para saltar brusca y forzosamente hasta nuestros días, a fin de poder señalar que el diario "La Crónica", que represento con orgullo en esta Asamblea, adoptó, desde su fundación en 1912, el formato tabloide, el primero en América, con una anticipación de siete años sobre el primer diario tabloide publicado en los Estados Unidos.

Aquí en Lima encontraréis también la mística que marca los pasos de ese ejemplo de sencillez de amor al prójimo que fuera San Martín de Porres y que señala las huellas de esa flor de santidad que fue Santa Rosa de Lima, en cuyo solar

"Hace trescientos años que el jardín florecía
y lleno de perfumes florece todavía! ",

al decir de un poeta de mi sangre, el querido e inolvidable Luis Fernán Cisneros. Viviréis también el fervor limeño, entre el perfume de los sahumerios, que se rinde cada mes de octubre ante la devota centenaria tradición del Señor de los

Milagros, y como expresión de la religiosidad de este pueblo podréis ver la grandiosidad de los templos de San Francisco y San Pedro, de la Catedral, de San Agustín y La Merced y muchos más cuya enumeración prolija no correspondería en este momento.

Aquí en Lima, por último, encontraréis el puente y la alameda, cantado por nuestro folklore; la bi-centenaria Plaza de Acho, jalón de españolismo en las costumbres y en los gustos; el Paseo de Aguas, alarde de galantería, que rememora esa figura de travesura y picardía que, con el nombre de "La Perricholi" la leyenda y la crónica han brindado a la literatura. Hallaréis asimismo, las casas de Pilatos, Oquendo, Corcovado, Aliaga, la Quinta de Presa y tantas otras, y muy particularmente el Palacio de Torre Tagle, llamado por Paul Morand "la más bella casa colonial de América del Sur", que evoca marqueses de blancas pelucas, condesas con sedas y crinolinas y la deliciosa "Tapada", símbolo de antaño de la mujer limeña, cantada por poetas y ensalzada por literatos desde el viajero Bachelier hace más de doscientos cincuenta años hasta André Maurois en nuestros días.

Dentro de nuestros barrios residenciales, con floridos rincones de incomparable belleza, encontraréis incrustados monumentos arqueológicos - las Huacas Julianas, Aramburú, Mateo Salado, etc. - que dan testimonio que la zona de Lima, asentada en el valle del Rímac, fue también durante el Incario, y aún antes, el asiento de colectividades que forjaron admirables manifestaciones culturales en lapso que se remonta a más de tres mil años y cuya huella profunda se encuentra en las cercanas ruinas de Cajamarquilla y Puruchuco, emplazadas casi a la vera de la Lima urbana, y en el Santuario de Pachacamac, situado a menos de treinta kilómetros de distancia.

La impecable pulcritud geométrica que presidió, hace más de cuatro siglos, el trazado de las calles iniciales de Lima, se advierte aún hoy por encima del impulso modernizador, que parece que quisiera devorarla. Al lado de los casilleros verticales que ha levantado el progreso podréis siempre encontrar la nota artística, evocadora y sugerente, verdadero regalo para el espíritu. En esta época en que los hombres, las cosas, los hábitos y hasta las ideas se quieren uniformizar; en que todo se adocena y despersonaliza en un desmesurado afán de buscar denominadores comunes; en que se hace una doctrina de la igualdad de las formas externas sin preocupar mucho la igualdad de fondo, cual es la social con los mismos derechos y oportunidades para todos, los limeños podemos todavía enorgullecernos de que nuestra ciudad conserve su individualidad, que se brinda cálida y cordial a quienes quieren conocerla. Es esta la impresión que queremos que se lleven de nuestra Lima, que, recordando al poeta Gálvez, podemos decir que nunca se va del todo: que el norteamericano Waldo Frank sintetiza diciendo que "de calle a calle, y hasta de casa a casa, cruza uno mares y centurias" y de la que Bertrand Flornoy, dice: "Lima, que ha elevado una estatua a Manco Cápac, primer emperador Inca y otra a Pizarro, primer virrey español, es la síntesis de la América del Sur".

El entrañable cariño a esta Lima, que es la ciudad mía, me ha hecho extenderme excesivamente, abusando de la atención de ustedes y restando precioso tiempo a esta Asamblea. Quisiera que cuanto he expresado pudiera servir de pauta para que ustedes, al abandonar nuestra ciudad, se vayan queriéndola un poco y comprendiéndola bastante.

Me satisface ver en este auditorio tantas caras amigas y queridas que reunidas en este salón compensan en exceso con su presencia los trabajos de la Comisión Organizadora de la Asamblea que he tenido el honor de presidir. No puedo, sin embargo, dejar de decir que me falta encontrar unos ojos queridos de un amigo fraterno que identificó su vida con la de la SIP. Siento que está presente y no lo está. Me refiero a Jules Dubois, corporalmente ausente pero cuyo espíritu, desde las alturas, vela por nosotros y nos desea los mejores éxitos personales e institucionales.

Sr. Presidente:

Por mi intermedio, la Comisión Organizadora de esta Asamblea hace entrega de su trabajo. Agradezco la confianza puesta en nosotros y pido benevolencia para juzgar la tarea realizada, que, podéis estar seguros, ha sido hecha con cariñoso empeño. Bienvenidos a mi patria, el Perú y a mi ciudad, Lima. (Aplausos).

MR. HOWARD: Thank you, Mr. Cisneros. Your warm affection for your city of Lima has certainly been transmitted to all of us in that eloquent welcome.

In view of the Peruvian eloquence this morning, I come to my own report with some trepidation, but I will now read it, if I may.

REPORT BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE IAPA, MR. JACK R. HOWARD

It is a delight to be in Lima and gratifying to know that the recent tragic earthquake was not of greater magnitude. It certainly failed to crack the hospitality which we are all enjoying and for which we offer our warm thanks to chairman Dr. Manuel Cisneros and all the members of the Host Committee who have contributed to the planning of this meeting.

It is hard for me to believe that a year has gone by since you entrusted me with the honor and responsibility of the presidency of the Inter American Press Association, an organization which is a guardian of our professional history and traditions and a supporter of our professional hopes and dreams. The year that has sped by since we met in San Diego, California, has been a most interesting and rewarding one for me. I must confess that for me, personally, there have also been several prolonged distractions. And the year has been marred by the tragic loss of our dear friend and associate, Jules Dubois. I hope that I have been able in some degree to further the aims of this organization to which we are all dedicated.

This, my first report to the General Assembly, is also my swan song and perhaps wisdom has played a part in setting this precedent because it permits the president of IAPA to have the first and last word at one and the same time.

Nothing is more in keeping with the stream-lining of our procedures established last year and still in progress.

During the past year the IAPA has been involved in a number of skirmishes which have become a way of life along all frontiers of freedom around the world. To meet these challenges IAPA has what you might describe as a highly mobile force in its Freedom of the Press Committee, a force ready to parachute into a journalistic Congo on short notice. And it has done so.

While in themselves, with possibly one exception, these clashes have not been too menacing, they have served to remind us -- if reminded we need be -- that the fight for, and preservation of, freedom of the press is never ending. Just as the struggle for freedom itself is never ending.

Although no complaints were received from our members there, some danger signs have been detected in Argentina.

In Brazil, new threats to foreign capital investment in press and broadcasting developed as did rumors of a new Press Law to imposed by decree.

In Canada, a protest to the Prime Minister brought assurances that regulations with respect to advertising in U.S. publications offered no threat to freedom of the press and some easing of the situation subsequently developed.

In Honduras the Law of Expression of Thought is viewed apprehensively by some as restrictive of freedom of expression.

In Mexico PIPSA, the government-industry corporation which for 30 years imported and distributed newsprint, and against which IAPA had kept up a steady barrage of opposition was, en effect, reactivated. You will recall that PIPSA's charter expired before our 1965 meeting, and the General Assembly adopted a resolution expressing the hope that the decision to liquidate PIPSA was the first step towards permitting the Mexican press to obtain newsprint without governmental intervention and free of all taxes and duties. This reactivation resulted from the urging -- strange to some of us -- of a number of Mexican newspapers themselves.

In Nicaragua there has been some political sniping.

In the United States serious doubts and questions have arisen following the recent release of a report by the American Bar Association's Advisory Committee on Fair Trial and Free Press. The report contained tentative recommendations for steps to preserve and strengthen the right of fair trial without abridging freedom of speech and of the press. It was one of the things brought about by the so-called Warren report. Released "for consideration and discussion", it was generally criticized by the U.S. press who see in it a threat to freedom of the press as well as a threat to the constitutional guarantee of free speech. The threat appears to stem from misinterpretation rather than from the recommendations themselves.

There is one larger flareup, however, to which I will devote a bit more time. I refer to the charges made in August that the government of Chile was trying to take over a group of five newspaper in that country. The group,

the Sociedad Periodística del Sur S.A. (SOPELUR) alleges that the government has been putting heavy pressure on SOPELUR stockholders to sell their shares to a corporation jointly owned by the Chilean State Bank and its employees' retirement fund.

The IAPA did not, I must confess, spring into action as promptly as it might have, but the charge was one that had to be investigated thoroughly before any action could be taken. It was no occasion for shooting from the hip. On 9 September a message was dispatched to President Frei of Chile. It read:

"The Inter American Press Association has the honor of addressing itself to Your Excellency in connection with complaints it has received from several sources, including its own members, and also from the Sociedad Periodística del Sur S.A., protesting that the Chilean Government or some of its agencies are in the process of buying shares in the above named private corporation, which has a proprietary interest in five independent newspapers; i.e., La Patria of Concepcion, El Diario Austral and El Gong of Temuco, El Correo of Valdivia and La Prensa of Osorno.

"It is asserted that the purpose of the Chilean Government's action is to acquire a majority of shares which will permit it to dominate and control these five publications.

"It is further asserted that improper coercive pressures have been brought to bear against certain shareholders reluctant to sell in this instance.

"It is axiomatic that a press owned by the government is a press controlled by government. History has proved over and over that a press controlled by government cannot be free.

"The freedom of the Chilean press is one of the proudest attributes of Chilean democracy.

"The freedom that the press of Chile has enjoyed has contributed greatly to the worldwide admiration of the wisdom and sophistication of the political institutions of the Republic.

"In the past, the government of Chile has not only respected, but championed, the basic rights of freedom of speech, of press and particularly of responsible critical political expression so necessary to the health and, indeed, the survival of representative government.

"The Inter American Press Association must convey to you in gravest terms its alarm at the possible ill effects, both nationally and internationally, if these important segments of the press of Southern Chile are inhibited from functioning as free and independent entities because of financial maneuvers on the part of the government or its agencies.

"To bring these publications under government control in this manner inevitably would be construed as an indication of basic government policy which could not fail to disturb profoundly the entire free Chilean press. In fact, it has already editorially expressed its alarm.

"Furthermore, the Inter American Press Association most respectfully wishes to call Your Excellency's attention to the damage such an eventuality would do to the high reputation of the government of Chile now held by the free press of the world and particularly by the press of this hemisphere. Inevitably, it would also tarnish the lofty image of Chile now held by all institutions, whether cultural, educational, financial or commercial, which are guided in their policies by the norms supported by all free societies.

"The Inter American Press Association earnestly solicits an assurance from Your Excellency that the Chilean Government will refrain from seeking control over independent publications and, specifically, will take proper steps to preserve independence of the five aforementioned publications."

On September 13, 60 Members of the Christian Democratic Party, the government party, submitted a joint resolution to the lower house seeking condemnation of the IAPA for, and I quote, "intervention in the internal affairs of Chile." At least this offered further confirmation that the IAPA message had indeed been received.

President Frei's reaction was more prompt than IAPA's action. On September 12 he replied. I'll read it in full also since it is shorter than the IAPA message.

"I am deeply surprised by the unusual terms of your cable, which was released to the press before it was delivered to its addressee. Chile and its government do not accept and do not need any such reminder as you offer to defend freedom of the press and all freedom without exception, a matter on which they do not receive but, on the contrary, can give lessons. All publications of every ideology and every party, including many forbidden in other countries, circulate in Chile, and free debates in parliament, where the opposition exercises its rights without any limitation, are published. I regret that your association serves as an instrument to publicize the attitude of Chileans who use all means to attack the government, including impairment of the reputation of their country abroad. Before sending the cable your association should have learned the facts, should not have acted on the basis of unilateral, false and prejudiced reports provided by persons who know that the Chilean state is not buying any newspaper and that it is conducting an investigation of denunciations of the actions of some officials to determine if they are true. It would be convenient if your association investigated the newspapers you mention to see if, using your words, they offer 'responsible political criticism'. It would find instead that they attack the government without stopping at distortions of the facts, enjoying the fullest freedom, which this government guarantees. Your association should also know that this government has introduced a

bill derogating the law which limited freedom of information, as a proof of its will not only to maintain, but also to consolidate the freedom of the press."

My reply to this was sent to President Frei on September 20 and it said:

"On behalf of the Inter American Press Association I wish to acknowledge with thanks your response to the message I sent to you on September 9.

"In the interest of mutual confidence and understanding, permit me to comment on and to clarify with complete frankness and cordiality several points in your message.

"The IAPA is immensely reassured by your statement that the Government is not buying any newspaper.

"As you know, allegations have been made that officials of the Chilean State Bank used their connections to exert improper pressures on SOPESUR shareholders reluctant to sell, and therefore we are greatly gratified to note that your Government is conducting an investigation to determine whether these charges are true.

"May I respectfully correct your impression that the IAPA acted on the basis of 'unilateral', false and self-interested reports.

"Our inquiry to you was sent only after close consideration of several urgent cables and letters from people whose probity and good judgement we have absolutely no reason to doubt.

"Carefully read also were more than 60 news stories and editorials which appeared in the Chilean press generally, as well as several international wire dispatches.

"Our cable to you followed examination of the above-mentioned information received from various sources, some interested, some disinterested.

"Surely you will agree that not all of these could be considered false, or be serving unilateral or special interests.

"A months ago, when in Buenos Aires, the Chairman of IAPA Committee on Freedom of the Press refrained from specific comment on the matter when asked for a statement by The Associated Press, in order that the matter could be examined thoroughly.

"I would also like to correct your misapprehension that the IAPA released to the public its message to you before it was delivered to your office. This is not the case.

"The New York cable company records show the cable to you was sent at 11 AM on September 9 and delivered to your office at 12:40 PM. The IAPA held its news release until after the message had been delivered, as can be verified by the time records on the wire copy itself in The Associated Press and United Press International bureaus".

To this message there has, as yet, been no reply.

On September 23 President Frei announced at a meeting with the National Press Association that the government had opened a special office in Temuco to investigate the charges made by SOPE SUR. He also said the State Bank had ordered its subsidiary to dispose of the SOPE SUR shares it had acquired with credits from the bank. These shares amounted to 22% of the total.

There is, of course, much more to this story. I have merely wanted to present the exchange of messages between the IAPA and President Frei as a background for a more detailed account. It and the other brief references have been made because they are indicative of what is constantly going on in this endless conflict in which we are involved. They will be, I am sure, more fully developed when we take up the report of Chairman John T. O'Rourke's Freedom of the Press Committee at a later time during this meeting.

I have used, metaphorically, the words skirmish, clash, conflict, struggle and such in describing much of the activity of IAPA. In that area of our effort there often appears to be more excitement, more head-line commanding action.

The truth of the matter is that just as the medical, economic and educational programs in Southeast Asia may, in the course of time, be revealed as the most important factors in bringing peace and prosperity to that part of the world, so the technical and educational programs of IAPA may eventually play the decisive role in winning freedom of the press throughout this hemisphere. In these areas, certainly, the phrase "search for freedom" is more appropriate than "fight for freedom" and I much prefer it.

Again, I do not want to detail work which already has been, or will be reported. I do, however, want to repeat an opinion -- which I have expressed before and to which I adhere tenaciously -- that the contributions of the IAPA Technical Center, under the presidency of John R. Herbert and the general managership of Guillermo Gutierrez, toward its achievement of the goals of this organization have been invaluable. Nor have we even begun to see the full measure of its potential.

No less effective has been the IAPA Scholarship Program under the guidance of President Harold A. Fitzgerald. This is a worthwhile project that has demonstrably proved itself. Basically it fosters communications among the Americas and that, really, is what we are all about. The more we succeed in this area of search the fewer the skirmishes -- and perhaps battles -- we will have to fight in achieving the goal to which I have referred.

At that future day -- and we hope it will not be too distant -- it will not be necessary to devote a part of our program to a discussion such as we have scheduled here with respect to the plight of the Cuban press and our colleagues languishing in Castro's cells. It will not be necessary to keep constant vigil over freedoms threatened by dictators.

Up to now I have confined these brief observations and comments to the IAPA as seen from the outside. The IAPA the public sees.

I would like, at the risk of being gratuitous, to make a few additional comments about the IAPA as seen from the inside. The IAPA as it sees itself.

Last year in San Diego I suggested that if we didn't have unity in this organization we would not survive. Certainly we will not survive as the effective force we have demonstrated ourselves to be over the years.

Unity seems more imperative today than it did a year ago but it seems we have less of it than we had a year ago.

And to me the disturbing thing about it is that we are not divided by any major serious issue, about which there could well be several honest points of view, but we are threatened by relatively minor matters which are concerned with procedure rather than objectives.

As a result the objectives are threatened.

I sincerely hope that as an organization dedicated to democracy and freedom we do not cease, to any extent, to practice what we preach. Honest discussion of honest differences, of course. But when the decision has been made let's abide by it. (Applause)

Are there any comments? If not, I will consider the report approved and I will call upon our distinguished Treasurer, John A. Brogan, Jr., for the Treasurer's report:

MR. JOHN A. BROGAN, JR. (The Hearst Corporation, U.S.A.): In the Holy Gospel, as I recall it, there's one bloke that takes a seat at the lower end of the table and when the Master comes in and finds him down there, he says, "Come, friend, take a place in a higher area." Thanks, Mr. President.

REPORT BY THE TREASURER OF THE IAPA,
MR. JOHN A. BROGAN, JR.

The twenty second annual report of your treasurer continues, simply, as another chapter of the story of the tiny acorn that grows into a larger and stronger giant oak with each succeeding year.

In the interest of time saving, and efficient procedure, your humble treasurer will give you verbally merely the highlights. Those who wish complete details of our financial structure may have mimeograph copies which are available.

Here are the facts, in tabloid pill form, which you should know and wish to know:

We closed the fiscal year with a cash balance of \$50,880 (including \$4,127 in Mergenthaler and Tom Wallace Awards funds) and also \$28,100 applicable to 1966-67, the new fiscal. The total cash balance of \$78,980 compared with a total of \$49,704 at the end of our previous fiscal. Since figures were prepared about three weeks ago we have since been informed that our four savings bank accounts have earned \$680.00 in interest for the fourth quarter of our fiscal year. This gives us annually enough money to contribute a scholarship if we wish to do so.

For comparison purposes I am very pleased to inform this assembly that five years ago at this time we had a cash balance of \$15,970 and ten years ago at this time when I started as treasurer our cash balance was only \$9,365. The treasurer seeks no credit and is entitled to none.

Total receipts applicable to 65/66 were \$86,893 compared with \$75,098 for the previous fiscal (our comparative statement is given in figures rounded out to the next dollar).

Membership dues received for 65/66 totaled \$58,759 compared with \$54,184 for the previous year.

Our disbursements for 65/66 totaled \$74,953 compared with \$76,162 during the previous fiscal.

I would like at this point to insert here a sort of financial postscript. The Board allowed the late Jules Dubois -- requiescat in pace -- \$300.00 for clerical and stenographic help. When Jules stepped down he sent back to us \$125.00 of that money.

Our auditors will make their examination after November first.

And now to membership records, and I'm sorry to take up your time with dull, dry and uninteresting figures but our membership dues are the principal source of our revenues and you should be interested.

We closed 65/66 with a total of 773 affiliates, counting as such each publication of a Corporate member. In the United States we had 425 affiliates; in Canada 49; Jamaica, Trinidad, Tobago and European possessions 7 and Latin America 292. (Included in these figures are 14 members who resigned, closed, retired or died but whose dues for 65/66 were paid).

If we consider each Corporate member as one member only, the breakdown would be United States 300; Canada 16; Jamaica, Trinidad, etc. 7 and Latin America 264. The voting Active members are Latin America 243; United States 224; Canada 9; Jamaica, etc. 7.

Another very encouraging fact that I think you should know is this: at the end of the fiscal year just completed we had 773 affiliates compared to 727 a year ago, 530 five years ago and only 374 ten years ago,

After 64/65 we eliminated 42 delinquents whose dues totaled \$1,151. Thirty-seven were from Latin America and five from the United States. Because of other reasons (closings, deaths, resignations, retirements) during 65/66 we lost thirty members, dues totaling \$2,485.

The total of affiliates we lost for different reasons in 65/66 was 72 whose dues totaled \$3,636. For comparison purposes 104 new affiliates were admitted by the Board in San Diego and Caracas and their dues total \$7,256 annually. Forty-eight of the new members are from the United States, total dues \$5,018.29; 29 from Latin America dues, \$1,738 and Corporate Thomson Newspapers with 27 publications in Canada, dues \$500. According to these figures we have had a net gain of 32 affiliates and \$3,620 in dues in 65/66.

The Board at its meeting here in Lima has approved 40 membership applications with annual dues totaling \$2,647. Twenty five are from the United States, dues \$1,723, 14 from Latin America, dues \$824 and one from Canada, dues \$100.

As of October 22 we had a total of 35 delinquents with dues totaling \$2,942.50.

Thank you gentlemen, for your patience, your apparent interest and toleration.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
APPLICABLE TO FISCAL YEAR OCT. 1, 1965-SEPT. 30, 1966

RECEIPTS

Membership dues (1964-65)	1,488.50	
Membership dues (1965-66)	58,759.43	
Contribution from Mergenthaler Linotype Co.	2,500.00	
Contribution from The Associated Press	500.00	
Registration fees San Diego Meeting	10,855.00	
Registration fees Caracas Meeting	1,700.00	
Surplus San Diego Meeting	8,637.91	
Interest on Savings Accounts IAPA	2,273.21	
Tom Wallace	73.09	
Mergenthaler	106.28	
	<u>2,452.58</u>	
		86,893.42

DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries	29,346.78
Printing and Stationery	5,564.26
Convention expense San Diego	15,361.18
Convention expense Caracas	1,251.76
Travel and Entertainment	2,636.57
Telephone and Telegraph	2,633.93
Rent and Electricity (4,314.60-1,500.00 from Scholarship Fund)	2,814.60

Mergenthaler Awards and expenses	1,737.12	
Tom Wallace Awards and expenses	901.57	
Postage	4,472.55	
Legal and Accounting	948.00	
Office expense	2,022.00	
Office equipment	412.91	
Payroll taxes	1,019.88	
Insurance	341.13	
Group Medical Insurance	277.76	
Promotion (Tie tacs & membership cert.)	529.15	
Other (Breakdown on separate page)	<u>3,182.48</u>	
	75,453.63	
Less contribution from Scholarship Fund for Administration expenses	<u>500.00</u>	
		74,953.63
Excess of receipts over disbursements		11,939.79
Cash balance Sept. 30, 1965 (1965-66)		38,940.53
Cash balance Sept. 30, 1966 (1965-66)		50,880.32
Cash balance applicable to 1966-67		28,100.41
Total Cash balance Sept. 30, 1966		<u>\$ 78,980.73</u>
The First National City Bank of New York Bank Statement	21,596.34	
Foreign checks entered for collection	<u>45.00</u>	
	21,641.34	
Less outstanding checks	<u>265.56</u>	
	21,375.78	
Less taxes withheld from salaries	<u>528.03</u>	
Balance Regular Checking Account		20,847.75
Savings Accounts		
Bowery Savings Bank	20,864.08	
Dry Dock Savings Bank	10,770.34	
East River Savings Bank	11,182.09	
Seamen's Bank for Savings	<u>11,189.01</u>	
		54,005.52
Balance IAPA Funds		74,853.27
Bowery Savings Bank for Mergenthaler Awards	2,695.16	
Bowery Savings Bank for Tom Wallace Awards	<u>1,432.30</u>	
		4,127.46
		<u>\$78,980.73</u>

<u>DISBURSEMENTS</u>	<u>1964-65</u>	<u>1965-66</u>			
Salaries	26,780	29,347			
Printing & Stationery	5,744	5,564			
Convention expense	14,217	16,613	(4)		
Travel & Entertainment	8,012	2,637			
Telephone and Telegraph	4,801	2,634			
Rent & Electricity	2,465	2,815			
Mergenthaler Awards & exp.	2,558	1,737			
Tom Wallace " "	768	902			
Postage	4,123	4,473			
Legal & Accounting	1,169	948			
Office Expense	2,492	2,022			
Office equipment	497	412			
Promotion	1,164	1,020			
Payroll taxes	702	341			
Insurance	357	278			
Group Medical Insurance	269	529			
Miscellaneous	944	3,182			
	<u>77,062</u>	<u>75,454</u>			
Scholarship Fund Contrib.	<u>900</u>	<u>500</u>			
			<u>76,162</u>	<u>74,954</u>	(5)
Excess of disbursements over receipts			1,063		
Excess of receipts over disbursements				11,940	
Cash balance September 30		(1964)	<u>40,004</u>	<u>38,941</u>	(1965) (6)
Cash balance September 30		(1965)	<u>38,941</u>	<u>50,881</u>	(1966)
Cash balance applicable to	(1965-1966)		<u>10,763</u>	<u>28,100</u>	(1966-67)
Total cash balance September 30		(1965)	<u>49,704</u>	<u>78,981</u>	(1966)

(4) Of total San Diego convention expenses, \$405,86 was disbursed in 1964-65 and \$14,955.32 in 1965-66

(5) Of total expenses for 1965-66, \$406 was disbursed in 1964-65 and \$74,453.63 in 1965-66.

(6) Total cash balance at the end of 1964-65 was \$49,704, of which \$10,763 was applicable to 1965-66.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
SEPTEMBER, 1966

RECEIPTS

Membership dues (1964-65)	80.00	
Membership dues (1965-66)	<u>1,172.50</u>	
		1,252.50

DISBURSEMENTS

Payroll	2,633.00	
Printing and Stationery	443.12	
Telephone and Telegraph	268.51	
Rent and Light	359.55	
Postage	1,352.75	
Office expense	70.92	
Payroll taxes	50.54	
Group Medical Insurance	23.84	
IAPA Mergenthaler Awards	5.61	
IAPA Tom Wallace Awards	1.54	
Other: Dubois Medal	166.81	
Flowers, Dubois	38.38	
OPC Dues, C.A.J.	75.00	
Occupancy tax	15.00	
Freight	11.50	
Books & Magazines	<u>1.50</u>	
	308.19	
		<u>5,517.57</u>
Excess of disbursements over receipts		4,265.07
Cash balance Aug. 31, 1966 (1965-66)		<u>55,145.39</u>
Cash balance Sept. 30, 1966 (1965-66)		50,880.32
Cash balance applicable to 1966-67 (see attached)		<u>28,100.41</u>
Total cash balance Sept. 30, 1966		\$ 78,980.73

First National City Bank of New York

Bank Statement	21,596.34	
Foreign checks entered for collection	<u>45.00</u>	
	21,641.34	
Less outstanding checks	<u>265.56</u>	
	21,375.78	
Less taxes withheld from salaries	<u>528.03</u>	
Balance Regular Checking Account	20,847.75	
IAPA Savings Accounts	<u>54,005.52</u>	
Balance IAPA Funds		74,853.27
Bowery Savings Bank for Mergenthaler Awards	2,695.16	
Bowery Savings Bank for Tom Wallace Awards	<u>1,432.30</u>	<u>4,127.46</u>
		\$ 78,980.73

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS APPLICABLE TO 1966-67

September, 1966

RECEIPTS

Membership dues (1966-67)	20,796.45	
Registration fees, Lima Meeting	<u>880.00</u>	
		21,676.45

DISBURSEMENTS

Convention expense, Lima Meeting		
Printing	217.63	
Badges	160.41	
Translation	<u>30.00</u>	
		408.04
Excess of receipts over disbursements		<u>21,268.41</u>
Cash balance Aug. 31, 1966		<u>6,832.00</u>
Cash balance Sept. 30, 1966		<u>\$ 28,100.41</u>

MR. HOWARD: Thank you, Mr. Brogan.

At this time I would like to appoint the six judges for the ballot counting. They will be Enrique Nores Martínez, George W. Westerman, William K. Blethen, Horacio Aguirre, Charles E. Scripps, Tom C. Harris.

I would also like to appoint the Resolutions Committee. Dr. Gainza Paz will be the Chairman; other members of the Committee will be John R. Reitemeyer, Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, Agustín Edwards and John C. A. Watkins.

The judges of the election will report to the Assembly in the morning of Thursday, the 27th of October, to give us the results of the election of directors.

The Resolutions Committee must report to the General Assembly on Friday morning, the 28th of October.

At this point I would like to call on Harold Fitzgerald, who has something to say about the Scholarship Fund, on which he works so hard.

REPORT TO THE ASSEMBLY BY THE PRESIDENT
OF THE SCHOLARSHIP FUND,
MR. HAROLD A. FITZGERALD

Members and Guests:

Your IAPA Scholarship Fund is happy to report today. We feel that the past 12 months have been specially worthwhile and profitable, when we take

cognizance of the 13 students upon whom we have conferred scholarships.

We have had two unusual and interesting experiences that we share with you. One of our semi-annual meetings brought the largest number of total applicants in IAPA history. There were nearly fifty which left us awed and a bit breathless. The other meeting saw less than a dozen applications; but happily, they constituted one of the most promising and worthwhile lists we've ever experienced. The lessened number drives home one fact rather significantly and sharply. Are the members giving sufficient publicity to the two or three short stories which we send out during the 12 months and which constitute our official and only announcements?

I earnestly adjure all of you to remember that it is through the insertion of these notices in your various publications that the prospective students are appraised of our existence -- and their unusual opportunity.

Hence, the next time you receive the brief announcement which always emanates from headquarters, I beg of you go give it reasonable play in your newspaper or magazine for the sake of your own organization -- and the students whom we seek to reach.

You will be interested to learn that we have disseminated \$276,000 all told. This covers 116 students and I hope you feel some of the same pride of achievement and accomplishment that we do. Fifty nine have gone to Latin Americans, 50 to North Americans, and seven to nationals from the British West Indies.

As I have said many times before, the IAPA is the greatest defense against communism in our hemisphere. Despots, dictators and autocrats fear -- and hate -- us beyond anything between Hudson Bay and Buenos Aires. They can ignore insults and ride rough shod over all other professions with impunity and even a sense of - "So What?"

But they are everlastingly afraid of publicity -- the simple, factual truth of what they do and plot. Every President of this Society has taken up the cudgel in behalf of Freedom with specific entities during his term of office -- and the fact he is backed by almost eight hundred publications and individual members that are unafraid constitutes the greatest danger dictators face.

Our scholarships work everlastingly and without surcease on the matter of a better understanding and better relationships between the three Americas. You neither fear -- nor hate -- things you comprehend, understand and have analyzed. Thus, the free interchange of students contributes directly to a deeper appreciation of our respective problems.

The general demand for donations has never been as great in history as it is today. Mails are flooded -- and the bulk of these are worthwhile. Also, the solicitor who knocks at your door today is in a greater profusion than ever.

However, the IAPA offers you one of the very, very few times in your life when you can give to your own organization -- your own business -- your own personal concern. The Scholarship Fund is YOURS. In a sense, you are giving your money to yourself and your lifetime occupation. You are directly strengthening your own business plus a significant advancement of your own hemisphere.

Really, there's personal satisfaction in this that quite transcends support of other projects.

Some of you may know eligible students in journalism personally; or you may hear of them. If you do, please take time to investigate, bearing in mind that you are directly serving the publications and people of your own hemisphere.

I close with my annual plea. Please -- please -- take time and give our next request for a donation the consideration we feel it deserves. You don't have to contribute \$2,500 for a full scholarship -- nor a thousand dollars -- or even a hundred. We welcome anything you feel disposed to send. Visualize your Scholarship Fund on bended knee, arms outstretched in a prayer of entreaty.

Thank you and I promise the final official session of the Scholarship Fund Friday will consist of little more than the election of officers. This constitutes our full report and our humble plea for recognition and wider support.

John Brogan suggested that the parent organization could now afford to give a scholarship. John, I accept it. (Applause)

Last evening I was given a check unexpectedly for \$2,500, and it came from that great big, wonderful, magnificent, glorious Ed Scripps. And on this happy note I close. (Applause).

MR. HOWARD: I will now ask Mrs. Tina Hills if she would like to tell us something about the 1967 meeting in San Juan.

MRS. TINA HILLS (El Mundo, San Juan, Puerto Rico): Sr. Presidente, como saben nuestros amigos y compañeros de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, a San Juan le cabe el honor y la satisfacción de albergar nuestra convención anual de Octubre de 1967 entre los días 13 al 20.

El Hotel Dorado Beach, situado a la vera de una de nuestras más bellas playas y dotado de todas las facilidades, será la sede de nuestra próxima convención. Además, contaremos con otras facilidades en el Dorado Hilton, moderno hotel a sólo minutos del primero.

Ambos hoteles ofrecerán tarifas muy especiales para los delegados, sus familiares e invitados. Estas tarifas se mantendrán vigentes antes y después de la convención para beneficio de aquellos que quieran adelantar su arribo o retrasar el regreso a sus hogares.

Aparte de sus habituales diversiones y la extraordinaria belleza que los circunda, ambos hoteles son notables por sus actividades deportivas, especialmente natación, tenis y golf.

El campo de golf del Dorado Beach Hotel es uno de los más conocidos en el mundo.

Miramos con gran satisfacción al 1967, cuando Puerto Rico se honrará con la convención plenaria de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, y esperamos que el programa que estamos desarrollando será del agrado de todos.

Los detalles completos los recibirán más adelante, a través de la oficina central de la SIP.

Allí les esperamos. Muchas gracias. (Applausos)

MR. HOWARD: Thank you, Mrs. Hills.

Is there anybody who would like to say anything on any subject? If not, I will make a few announcements.

MR. G. J. SCHOUTEN (The News, Aruba, Netherland Antilles): The subject is very short, so don't expect much. It is that in the Report we have been called "European possessions." I would like to say that most of us are free now. We are no longer possessions. We have complete autonomy. Thank you. (Applause)

MR. HOWARD: Thank you very much.

May I say that your presence here and at past meetings gives proof that you certainly are not a possession. You are free.

This afternoon we will have a meeting of the IAPA Technical Center. There will be three speakers: Mr. Germán Picó Cañas, President of the National Press Association of Chile, on coverage of the Latin American Free Trade Association; Mr. Robert de Piante, Photo Editor of the Miami Herald, on News Photography; and Mr. John R. Herbert, President of the Technical Center, on hemispheric news coverage.

Also, this afternoon the John R. Reitemeyer Award for Excellence in Science Writing will be presented to its winner.

And I have been asked to remind you that tonight you are invited to dinner at the home of Dr. and Mrs. Manuel Cisneros Sánchez at 8:30. The buses will leave the hotel at 7:30.

MR. IAN H. MACDONALD (Thomson Newspapers Limited, Toronto, Canada): Mr. Chairman, I would be remiss, indeed, if I were a party to the continuance of this statement in your Report, which I am sure is there in the belief that it is accurate, that we have any assurances in Canada by the Prime Minister that there is no threat to freedom of the press, in this sense. We have these assurances but we believe that they are worthless, and completely worthless.

The situation that confronts us in Canada right now, specifically, by way of illustration, is that in the city of Toronto, a city of two million population, where there are three papers, were one to be bought by an alien, other than a Canadian, the two opposition papers would enjoy the full advantages that you do enjoy in a competitive world. The third paper, presumably bought by an American or a Briton, or someone from this country, would be suffering the economic disadvantage that nobody advertising in that paper could claim his advertising expenditures as a taxable deduction.

Now we in Canada divide on this point. I personally came down to San Diego last year seeking enlightenment and encouragement on what was meant by freedom of the press. I had written to the IPI, of which I am a member, and they helped me to this extent: they said they really did not know what was meant by freedom of the press, but they would institute a debate and probably that would clarify the matter. Obviously that wasn't very helpful to us in Canada fighting this particular battle at that particular time.

I came down to your meeting. I was inspired by your definition of freedom, which states, I think, in essence, that it is not only a matter of race, color or creed, but regardless of nationality a man has the right to speak his mind and extend his opinions beyond that fact by his writing.

Now we have that impasse in Canada. I would be completely wrong if I left with you a belief that we have absolute freedom. We have not. There is only one kind of freedom in my kind of thinking and that is absolute freedom. We have qualified freedom in Canada on this particular point at this moment. But we are very hopeful that this situation will correct itself.

If you will permit me a moment, I will say this: in Great Britain a committee was set up to define freedom of the press, chaired by Lord Shawcross. Lord Thomson, with whom I am associated, was on that committee and, of course, his views are to be obviously that of being a world publisher. The third member of that committee was the editor of The Economist.

I have a copy of the draft of their definition, which in actual words differs from your actual words, but in essence is almost wholly what you say, and that has gone out to all members of the Commonwealth and in a further covering letter they say that they must at this time define freedom, not in term of a negative definition, which I imagine and believe in my own mind to be the definition of both IPI and, up to this point, the Commonwealth Press Union. They could tell you what freedom of the press was not, but they couldn't tell you what freedom of the press was. I came here to find out your definition, and I am most grateful to you. (Applause)

MR. HOWARD: Thank you, sir.

I would like to make one comment if I may. The entire subject, of course, will be developed in the report of the Freedom of the Press Committee. In my report I referred to the protest made to the Prime Minister, and said that this protest brought the assurance to which you have referred. The assurances were those given in a letter from the Prime Minister. Maybe I was a little too subtle about it.

If there is no more business we will adjourn until three o'clock this afternoon in this room. Thank you.

(The meeting adjourned at 12:30 PM)

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

SECOND MEETING

Tuesday, October 25, 1966

The second meeting of the XXII General Assembly of the Inter American Press Association convened at 3:00 PM, Tuesday, October 25, 1966, in the Salón Perú of the Hotel Crillon in Lima, Peru, with Mr. Jack R. Howard, President, as Chairman.

MR. HOWARD: The meeting is called to order.

I would like to announce now that tomorrow morning we will meet at 9:30, and I hope everybody will be here promptly because we want to introduce the new members, who were literally frozen out last night, and we would like to have them meet everybody before the General Assembly ends.

As you know, this afternoon we have the program of the Technical Center. At this point I am going to turn the meeting over to Mr. John Herbert.

MR. HERBERT: I will now turn the meeting over to Guillermo Gutiérrez, the Manager of the IAPA Technical Center, who will preside this afternoon.

SR. GUTIERREZ: Thank you, John.

El Sr. Herbert acaba de presentarme y entregarme la dirección de la sesión de esta tarde y yo, a mi turno, tengo el placer y el honor de presentar a John Herbert, Presidente del Centro Técnico de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa y director del diario The Patriot Ledger de Quincy, Massachusetts. El Sr. Herbert nos va a hablar esta tarde de un tema que es apasionante y de mucho interés, y que inclusive tiene una relación muy directa con lo que esta mañana nos expresó el Excelentísimo Señor Presidente de la República del Perú en elocuentes palabras sobre la fluencia de las noticias y la mejor forma de cubrir las informaciones de nuestras Américas. El Sr. Herbert tiene la palabra.

SPEECH BY MR. JOHN R. HERBERT, PRESIDENT
IAPA TECHNICAL CENTER

I am about to discuss the use of foreign news in our newspapers. This is a subject that quite properly comes within the definition of the more complicated, mysterious and often misunderstood theme of The Flow of the News. I should hasten to add that while the broad field of Flow of the News may be a bit complicated, it does not have to remain either mysterious or misunderstood. Over the years many a person has asked me if Flow of the News is a fancy term for freedom of the press. The answer is no.

The subject Flow of the News is so sensitive that mere mention it is to be discussed at a meeting such as this usually gives wire service executives a bad case of nerves.

The expression "Flow of the News" came into general use when the International Press Institute was founded. It was agreed that editorial research should be an important part of the IPI activities.

Lester Markel, Sunday Editor of the New York Times and now an associate editor of that paper, was the architect for International Press Institute. It was he who pleaded many years for adequate research into The Flow of the News.

Edwin D. Canham, editor-in-chief of The Christian Science Monitor, proposed that we call the subject "Coverage and Use of the News". Perhaps this is a clearer definition of my subject today although what I have to say deals primarily with foreign news coverage and not the reporting of local and national news in any given country.

Stuart Underhill, managing editor of Reuters, observes that the Flow of the News "is a topic that over the years has engendered endless discussion, most of it inconclusive."

"Really," he observes, "it is the offspring of another controversial subject - should newspapers print what their readers want or what their readers should have?"

I might add here that the interest of the IAPA Technical Center in the Flow of the News is perfectly natural. We have had many seminars on various newspaper subjects but at all times, regardless of the seminar subject, we stress the importance of content.

Whenever the subject of The Flow of the News is discussed, the observation is usually made that publishers spend thousands of dollars a year on research into better printing methods. However, these same publishers spend little or nothing on research into what is printed in the news columns of their newspapers. And the purists will ask whether adequate news coverage is more important than better printing processes. Actually this is an oversimplification of the problem. Or it is a misstatement of the situation. Improved and better printing processes are needed - not alone to give our readers better looking and easier to read papers - but more important, these new processes should lead the way to less expensive methods of printing. To carry this out one step more - the savings in printing costs to some extent, at least, should be used to improve and extend the coverage of the news. Thus there should be no conflict between better printing processes and better news coverage. The only question is whether we really know what we should do to provide better news coverage. And this is why we urge research into the coverage and the use of the news.

Studies of the subject have already been done. In 1953, supported by Ford and Rockefeller Foundation, the International Press Institute was able to present its monumental Flow of the News Study. It was not the ideal study

but being a pilot model, it did point the way for better and more meaningful surveys. Mostly it set the stage for continuing debates on the issue of Flow of the News.

While the 1953 study of the Flow of the News was not a completely successful project, experts feel it was about 50 per cent effective. Those who either misunderstood the idea of a flow of the news study or those who didn't like the idea anyway, figured the Flow of the News concept would die with the report.

However, it did not die.

The arguments went on for some time and finally three or four years later the American Society of Newspaper Editors became interested in the idea of a Flow of the News study.

It was felt that a study of The Flow of the News between Great Britain and the United States would be helpful. I suggested that a much more useful purpose would be served by having a hemispheric study made. My reasoning was that there was no obvious problem of Flow of the News between Great Britain and the United States and furthermore there was a common language. I felt that if we could study The Flow of the News all the way from Canada to Argentina we would be looking into a field where improvement in the coverage and use of news could be achieved. What made the project even more challenging was the existence of several languages in the many nations of the hemisphere. The American Society of Newspaper Editors agreed that this was a good idea and suggested that the IAPA might try to initiate the project. We prepared a prospectus for foundation funds and, I am sorry to report, we were unable to raise the money at that time. I would like to read just a paragraph from our basic plea to the Foundation because this, I think, is just as true today as when we made our presentation.

In our plea, we stated this basic concept:

We cannot have understanding among the peoples of the world unless they know one another better; unless they have true information about one another. Sound public opinion depends upon reliable information. The information that now passes among nations is not always reliable. This is of great help to promoters of disunity. The main instruments of understanding are the newspapers. It is not the propaganda; it is not the speeches; it is the day by day news transmitted from one country to another that is of prime importance.

Even with our failure to get funds for a study, the Flow of the News idea remained alive. Today there are many new signs of life.

When I represented the IAPA at the FIEJ meeting in Stockholm in June, 1966, I talked at length with Per Monsen, director of IPI, about Flow of the News. He has useful and new ideas on the subject. For instance, he would like to develop some basic ideas in the whole field of news research. He suggests, additionally, that it might be worth making a study about what people know

of international affairs, where they get their information and what can be done to make them better informed.

A year ago, Professor John Hohenberg of Columbia University, a shrewd observer of the newspaper scene, completed a study of the flow of the news from Asia to the United States.

Following this we had Professor Hohenberg speak on the Flow of the News concept at our Technical Center seminar in San Diego. Let me quote a few of his observations:

"I can say with certainty," he said, "that each one of the main countries of Latin America generally receives more attention from the AP and UPI than India, a country of 480,000,000 population, the second largest in the world. Excepting coverage from Saigon, the coverage from Latin America is more extensive than that of Asia by the majority of news media in the United States. The truth of the matter is that there is a greater exchange of news, ideas and editorial opinion today between Latin America and the United States than at any other period in our history. It should also be said that there is more news of the United States in the Latin American press than there was 20 years ago and that with a few exceptions it is better balanced and fairer in tone than in previous years."

These words of Professor Hohenberg are encouraging especially when you balance them against the observations made in 1958 by Earl J. Johnson of the UPI, who reported on the result of a test page of Latin American news distributed in the United States by the United Press in recognition of Latin American week.

A survey showed that few newspapers used any of the copy.

"After more than 20 years of pushing Latin American news on the wires, I've concluded that very few editors are really interested", wrote Johnson in his 1958 memo. "Much is said at inter-American press meetings about the importance of printing more news from Latin American countries in the United States. But not much is done about it when the North American delegates return to their desks".

And then Johnson added this prophetic note:

"It is perhaps a cynical thought but I imagine that if one country in Latin America came under Communist influence, North American interest would perk up appreciably".

Reading these words, written eight years ago, we have to wonder if it took Fidel Castro to improve the flow of the news between Latin America and the United States:

As encouraging as Professor Hohenberg's statements may be, in contrast to Earl Johnson's earlier observations, there is not general agreement that the Flow of the News in this hemisphere is good.

Only a month ago, Lincoln Gordon, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter American Affairs, told the UPI editors meeting in Mexico City that his own principal complaint concerning the press "has been too little reporting rather than too much and too narrow a view of the dramatic and the newsworthy".

"It remains true," said Mr. Gordon, "that far more news from the United States is printed in Latin America than Latin American news printed in the United States. It is still true that bad news travel faster and farther than good news; consequently the North American public more often gets exposed to dramatic headlines of disasters than of quiet achievements in Latin America".

Yet H. W. Burch, Director of International Services for UPI, in a report to our Technical Center a few weeks ago, pointed out that "we receive an average of about 15,000 words daily by scheduled and radioprinter transmissions and the remainder come by cable, radio, telex and telephone". The UPI average for Latin American news received in New York last March was 700,000 words and in April it was about 600,000 words.

The interesting questions which could be answered by a Flow of the News study, would be:

1. How much of this news is then transmitted to the newspapers of North America?
2. What does the average editor in the United States do with the copy when he receives it?

Turning to Latin America, we have from Stanley Swinton, director of the World Services Division of The Associates Press, his study conducted over a three day period prior to the IAPA meeting in San Diego last October. Mr. Swinton made the study at the suggestion of Agustin Edwards of El Mercurio of Santiago, Chile.

This study which was strictly a quantitative one, served the useful purpose of pointing up the comparative absence of news about Latin America in Latin American newspapers.

Of the 19 papers studied, representing Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Uruguay and Venezuela, the study found that only 5.4 per cent of the total news space was given over to news about other Latin American countries. Actually, news about North American scored much higher, with 7.7 per cent, and European news was next with 6.4 per cent. However, the great bulk of the news, a total of 76.7 per cent, was local and national news.

One of the difficulties in making a Flow of the News study is the evaluation of the stories. In the study made by Swinton, there was no single story dominating the news for the three-day period.

However, we feel that to be completely meaningful, a Flow of the News study must be a qualitative, rather than a quantitative analysis. Or to put it in simpler terms, a study can be less than accurate if the only measurement device is a ruler.

Let me cite an example. Take two papers in the United States. One may have a travel page feature 60 inches in length about historic sites in a Latin American nation. A second paper may have a page one story 10 inches in length from the same country, a story that reveals a basic change in government direction in that country.

On a quantitative basis, the paper with the 60 inch feature appears to be giving better coverage when actually the shorter story is more significant and important.

Stuart Underhill says, "I know that in the last two years Reuters has increased the volume of Latin American news in all its World Services. This doesn't mean that there has been a corresponding increase in the amount of Latin American news printed though we do see more rather than less. Perhaps it's just a matter of persisting."

I have no desire today to needle the various wire services on the way they cover Latin America. I feel they are doing a good job in getting the news and until and if a study proves otherwise I will rest on that statement. AP, UPI, and Reuters keep meaningful figures on their coverage -- their own sort of Flow of the News study -- and their arguments based on these figures are good. Furthermore, I have found that wire services try pretty hard to give us the news we want -- provided we make our wants known. So the real problem is with the publishers and the editors.

I think newspapers often regard their use of news space as a private matter into which no one should inquire. The very thought of some impartial organization making an analysis of news columns seems to be repugnant to many an editor or publisher.

Well, none of us is trying to pry into the private affairs of any newspaper. Besides, what a paper publishes is completely public and anyone with a ruler can make some sort of an analysis of the kind of news coverage a paper provides. So the measurement device alone does not bother newspapers as much as a comparison with other papers that may prove embarrassing.

We would like to assure all newspapers that when we propose a flow of the news study, our primary interest is in making available a useful tool that might help produce better newspapers.

I think it worthwhile to say a few words about what I mean by foreign news coverage and the motivation for doing a better job. Foreign news, as I see it, is news from anywhere outside the continental limits of your own nation. Thus, in my definition, what goes on in the nation contiguous

to yours is foreign news.

It is not my purpose today to give a lecture on the importance of foreign news coverage.

Flow of the News study proponents are criticized on the grounds that what they are really up to is nothing more than lecturing publishers and editors on what they ought to be printing in the way of foreign news. Nothing could be further from the truth. We feel that your readers want to know or ought to know about important news from outside your own country. This is the core of our argument but we do not go beyond this in telling you how you ought to edit your newspaper.

If a study can show that readers want more foreign news -- or if a study can show that readers need more foreign news, what is wrong with such a concept?

Do I have to repeat here the well worn statement that as the world grows smaller our responsibility to our readers for foreign news is greater?

I am concerned about the coverage we give news from outside our own nations.

Not only is it a matter of knowing what is going on in other countries but of equal or perhaps greater importance is understanding what is going on.

If we find any validity in the argument that newspapers must provide community leadership through the exercise of responsible journalism, we must look upon this responsibility from a global point of view. How, I ask you, can we have an effective and long lasting peace unless we know and understand other peoples and unless we are aware of their problems and their aspirations? (Applause)

SR. GUTIERREZ: Muchas gracias, John.

Tenemos un período de discusión sobre el tema que ha tratado ahora John Herbert. ¿Hay alguien que quiera tomar la palabra? Sr. Swinton, de Associated Press.

STANLEY SWINTON (The Associated Press, New York): Your able and articulate President, Mr. Herbert, asked me to comment briefly on what he had to say.

I agree with it, but I think there are some reasons why the American newspapers don't print more news about Latin America. I made a considerable study of this.

One is the school system in the United States. Only about 3.5% of American secondary schools teach any separate course on Latin America or Latin American history. Even less, by the way, teach any course on Canada.

So the reader finds his Latin American history -- ~~he~~ finds Simon Bolivar and San Martín -- thrown into a discussion of world history, and his knowledge of the subject is rather small and, therefore, he doesn't read it as much as he might if it were something he knew better.

Certainly, use of news in the United States tends to be influenced by ethnic groups. For instance, one of the directors of the IAPA is the very brilliant John Watkins, who comes from Providence, Rhode Island. The largest ethnic groups there are Italian and Portuguese, so a Rome dateline or a Lisbon dateline will get used. But you find very few Uruguayan North Americans in Detroit and very few Argentine North Americans, so the ethnic use of news, the weight of news by people because they are people from that country, is small with the exception of Mexico and Cuba.

Lastly you come down to the heart of the thing, and that is the telegraph editor, because the telegraph editor is the man who puts the news in the paper. And at these meetings publishers and editors are here, but most of the telegraph editors are sitting back home, ripping that story off the machine and putting it in the paper.

Most of the telegraph editors in North America today are products of World War II -- they are between 30 and 45 -- and if they went abroad, they went to Asia or they went to Europe in the army. They don't know Latin America and they don't have any background on Latin America, so they naturally tend to weight the news toward areas they know, an area that they have been to.

Now, John mentioned Castro in his speech. Actually, of Latin American news on the wire -- the news that the AP or UPI carried -- only about 11% of it was filed before Castro. Since Castro it is about 26%. So whether we like Castro or not, he has contributed perhaps more to the flow of news between Latin America and North America than any other single man.

A study of the flow of the news is always difficult. I was a member of the committee at the Council of Foreign Relations when John Hohenberg made his study of the flow of news from Asia. It is an extraordinarily difficult thing to do, because it is much easier to weigh things quantitatively. When you weigh them qualitatively you get the individual judgment of the man deciding.

But I do think that the idea of a continuing study of the flow of the news between the Americas is important, because of the little things. The fact that the United States is a continent and not a country and therefore looks into itself -- just as the Soviet Union, which is a continent, looks into itself and looks abroad less -- has an influence on the amount of news used.

On the other hand, in Latin America, where there are many countries, there is more of a tendency to print foreign news; and in Europe where

there are many countries there is more of a tendency to print foreign news.

All of these things are pertinent factors. And certainly a flow of the news study could contribute a lot, and perhaps some year -- five years from now or ten years from now -- when we come to these meetings we will have had a flow of the news study and we will know what we are talking about. Thank you. (Applause).

SR. GUTIERREZ: Muchas gracias, Sr. Swinton.

SR. ANDRES ABURTO (Orbe Latinoamericana, Santiago, Chile) : Agradezco esta oportunidad de dar una pequeña opinión sobre el problema que ha sido expuesto. Creo que el informe del Sr. Swinton, siendo muy interesante, afronta el problema con un criterio más bien negativo. El nos dice que por proceso educacional y por cuestión de desconocimiento de los jefes de cables los temas de interés para Latinoamérica -- los asuntos regionales -- suelen ser ignorados.

Esa visión, siendo exacta, nos conduce, sin embargo, a una conclusión sin horizonte positivo. Yo creo que el problema puede ser abordado principalmente en un aspecto latinoamericano. Esto es, tratando de crear nosotros un ejemplo hacia Estados Unidos de manera de que no vuelva a suceder -- o no ocurra tan a menudo -- que si bien nos quejamos de que los periódicos norteamericanos no publican asuntos de la América Latina, tengamos que admitir, también, que en nuestros países no se publican noticias de los otros.

En tal sentido, y siendo notorios los progresos que se constatan, yo creo que puede sacarse una conclusión de un aspecto del informe del Sr. Herbert. El nos decía que la medición cualitativa era más importante que la cuantitativa, en el sentido de que si un periódico publica una gran información de magazin y otro una pequeña noticia de actualidad, esto vendría a significar que es más importante la chica que la grande.

Creo que podemos llegar nosotros a crear interés en nuestros lectores dentro de la América Latina si con mayor frecuencia insertamos noticias, aunque sean de tipo magazinesco, en nuestros periódicos. De esta manera iremos creando poco a poco una imagen de mayor atractivo, de mayor conocimiento recíproco entre los pueblos latinoamericanos, de modo que se vaya preparando gradualmente el terreno hacia el conocimiento de los temas más importantes en cuanto a desarrollo o política.

Estaríamos cumpliendo así, por lo demás, el anhelo que nos expresara esta mañana el Presidente del Perú en su intervención, en que nos recomendaba: "Publiquen más de aquellas noticias de tipo positivo que hablan de nuestro desarrollo." Creo que es el papel que nos toca ejercitar a nosotros en el futuro. Nada más. (Applausos)

SR. GUTIERREZ: Muchas gracias, Sr. Aburto. Muy amable.

MR. STUART UNDERHILL (Reuters, London, England): I think that John Herbert has summed up the problem admirably in his speech this afternoon and I compliment Stanley Swinton on the way he has presented the problem from the point of view of the wire services.

The wire services, in the coverage of Latin America, or indeed of any area, are prepared to provide what their customers want. In fact, I think that Stan Swinton would say they very often provide a lot more than their customers use. This is a big problem for us because the collection of news is a very expensive matter. News is a costly commodity and wire services, working on budgets, however generous they may be, have to consider the best expenditure they can make. They are quite prepared to spend money when they know their customers are going to compensate them for it and make use of the news they are providing.

I think one of the big problems in this question of the flow of Latin American news to the rest of the world is the difficulty that often exists in collecting news in Latin America. In the United States and Europe you have established agencies, the national agency of the country in some cases. In the United States you have the Associated Press and the United Press International, which have a tradition going back, in the case of the AP, for over a century.

In South America you don't have even this sort of news collecting organization. The correspondent in South America really has to dig news.

In the United States and Europe, apart from the agencies which provide a great flow of news, you have people only too anxious to give you news. It's rammed down your throat everywhere you look, whereas in South America the problem to get the news is much greater.

I think the day will come inevitably in South America when national agencies will develop on a scale comparable with that of the rest of the world, but that day has still to come. And until it does it is going to pose a problem for the correspondent, which may be a good thing. We all hear of managed news - in South America certainly the correspondent has to manage to get his own news.

In the United States -- Stan Swinton and I were discussing this the other night -- it is not just a question of Latin American news, it is also Canadian news. North American editors in the United States, who live on the Canadian border, certainly complain, I know, to the AP that there is a great dearth of Canadian news. And I know that AP will make a great effort to provide them with more, but it adds up to the same thing: no more gets printed. So I think this problem is a pretty universal one.

Looking at it the way I do from the vantage point of London, where constantly, every day, every minute, we get reports of what is being used around the world, one sees the countries that print the greatest proportion of news of Latin America are those who have commercial interests in this continent.

We find, for example, that Germany and Italy -- and I suppose that in the case of Italy there is a certain tie, too, because so many Italians have emmigrated to Latin America; but Germany is greatly interested because of economic interests -- these countries will print more. What I am getting at is that it does seem to be essential to have some interest that ties a country to this continent.

It is very hard to create interest in any specific area. I think it is changing a great deal. I remember 10 or 12 years ago, when I was in the United States and was trying to impress a publisher in Cincinnati that he owed it to his readers to provide them with the cream of the world's international news -- in other words, to subscribe to the Reuters News Service --, he said that as far as he was concerned his readers were more interested in what was going on in the new sub-division than they were in Moscow.

This has changed a great deal. I was extremely interested last night talking to Bower Hawthorne of the Minneapolis Star and Tribune, who now has a roving correspondent in Latin America. His approach to this was interesting because his correspondent is expressing Latin American problems in terms that will interest the reader in Minneapolis. Now, this is a very hard thing for a wire service to do in its supplying a whole country. The individual correspondent can do this, and does do it, and I think that the number of United States newspapers who are sending correspondents to Latin America is increasing. I think that from the point of view of the wire services this is a good thing.

I am always glad to see more and more newspapers sending correspondents abroad because that means a growing interest in international news, but there again it is a question of relating it to what the home reader is going to be interested in.

I think that just about sums up what I want to say, Mr. Herbert. Thank you very much. (Applause)

SR. GUTIERREZ: Thank you very much, Mr. Underhill.

Quiero destacar que hemos llamado en primera instancia a tres de los representantes de las agencias internacionales porque consideramos que es muy importante su punto de vista, desde el momento en que, especialmente en los diarios de la América Latina y en reuniones de esta naturaleza, se ha dado un énfasis especial a la falta de noticias o fallas en la cobertura de las informaciones por parte de las agencias noticiosas.

Felizmente, como dijo el Sr. Herbert en su exposición, esa manera de confrontar el problema ha pasado prácticamente a la historia. Las agencias noticiosas, por estadísticas, por la eficacia de su servicio, han llegado a comprobar que las informaciones que ellas suministran son sumamente amplias, y que en verdad la falla para cubrir las noticias en una forma más satisfactoria, tanto en los diarios de la América Latina con respecto a los Estados Unidos como en los diarios de los Estados Unidos con respecto

a la América Latina, y más aún entre los países de la América Latina, se debe principalmente a la falta de criterio, o la falta de interés y de deseos de servir con mayor eficacia los intereses del lector.

Está claramente establecido, en otras palabras, que las agencias suministran las informaciones y llegan a los escritorios de los jefes de cables las informaciones en la forma más amplia. Pero es allí donde se comete el error de no hacer un uso adecuado de esas informaciones para que las noticias se den en una forma amplia y satisfactoria con un sentido de responsabilidad continental, y abarcando aspectos que, aun cuando en muchas oportunidades no pueden tener un gran interés para los lectores, constituyen una vía educativa, y más que eso constituyen una de las vías para la integración, por lo menos intelectual y educacional, entre los pueblos de la América Latina.

Tiene la palabra el Sr. Jones de la United Press International.

JOSEPH L. JONES (United Press International, New York):
Mr. Chairman, as you and Mr. Herbert have both said, the gap is not between the event in Latin America and the office in New York. We have, and I am sure that our colleagues at the AP have, twenty columns of news from Latin America in New York every day. Twenty columns of news would absolutely overwhelm the editor in Springfield, Missouri or in Omaha, Nebraska, so we have to find the interesting part of that and throw away most of it.

There are two or three possibilities. One, which is the way news generally gets printed from Latin America in the United States, is when something terrible happens. Argentina got the most publicity in its history when Perón was a threat to the whole community.

Cuba was not thought very much of until Castro came in.

My Reuters friend has mentioned that there is no news from Canada, but I am from Missouri, and I could never get anything in New York from Missouri either. So this proves that we in the United States are a provincial and parochial agglomeration of communities and that the local interest is the thing which sells a story.

I noticed yesterday morning on the front page of one of the Lima newspapers a story from Dallas. So many hundred tents have been sent to Lima for housing of the earthquake sufferers, and you know who sent those? The friends of the Alliance, and Texas has a fraternal relationship with Peru, while Connecticut, where Mr. Reitemeyer is involved in the Committee, has a relationship of that sort with Northeast Brazil.

I am sure that the Texans who have been active in sending 400 tents and other relief supplies to Peru are going to be much more interested in the news of Peru for the next two or three months than they have been before.

So while the general story does not always permeate through the telegraph editor of the paper in Evansville, Indiana, who is overworked and

is carrying on the news of the state and of the nation and of the world all in one little package, there is a succession of local stories which we find can arouse a great deal of interest and that the interest will continue.

I am sure Mr. Herbert has already pointed out that this problem does not subsist only in North America, but that most of the newspapers -- I should say most of the daily newspapers -- in South America print less news about South America itself than they may about some other situation.

All of these things I tell you are about twenty times better than they were when I first began working in this field. And one of the things that have happened, which might be an example for other publishers and editors, is what John O'Rourke did with the Washington Daily News. He became interested in Latin America, partly because of the IAPA, and said, "I will now pass a law that the News in Washington will print one column about Latin America every day." And they did. And the other newspapers in Washington began to do the same thing.

I think another example is The New York Times, and I believe it was Mr. Sulzberger, although I am not sure -- I mean the elder Mr. Sulzberger, or it may have been Turner Catledge -- who also decided that they would devote a certain number of columns every week to news of Latin America. First thing you know people get accustomed to it, and they begin to want it.

It is not that the readers are going to write letters to the editor and say, "I demand four columns of news about South America." It is certainly that the editor and publisher of the paper have to take some action of their own to meet it. And more of this is being done now.

Look at Jim Copley's service, which is not spot news -- not something that happened today -- but it tells stories of interest in South America. It's commercial, Jim.

There are many things of this sort which are being done and all of which add up together to a very great improvement in this situation which you have lamented and you, Mr. Herbert, have been trying to fix. (Applause).

SR. GUTIERREZ: Thank you very much, Mr. Jones.

MR. ANDREW HEISKELL (Time Inc., New York) : I couldn't agree more with Joe Jones.

This business of waiting to find out what your readers want is a little bit like in 1875 asking them whether they wanted electric light. They had never heard of it, so why should they want it?

I would like to make a few irreverent, and maybe irrelevant, remarks on this whole subject, the first of which is, do we really know what we are doing?

People say, "O.K., by what kind of standards are you judging what you publish?" Well, indeed, by what kind of standards? It seems to me that too many of us are trying to be all things to all people. We think of the newspaper as being the medium of information for all of the people and, therefore, we tend to edit it accordingly.

I seriously raise the question as to whether the newspaper is the medium of information for all of the people. I would suggest to you that maybe two thirds of the people are getting about all the information they want and can absorb through the electronic media.

Now, if I happen to be correct in that assempcion -- and I rather suspect that I am -- then perhaps we should think differently about the way we edit our publications. We should think in terms of speaking essentially to the more educated people, perhaps to the people who are too busy to look at television or listen to the radio; to the people who think that our media have one enormous advantage to them because they are so busy, since they can be read at their convenience and at their leisure.

If you think of it in those terms, that sort of changes your standards as opposed to the existing standards.

The second point I make, and it is somewhat related, I believe, is that we all have a tendency to talk about this vast quantity of news that we transmit or that we receive. I know in our own organization there is an immense amount of pride in the fact that we receive a million words a week. Well, to my mind that raises certain questions. Why do we receive a million words a week? We can't print more than 40,000 in one publication and 30,000 in another. Are we receiving the right words? And whether we are receiving the right words or not goes back to my previous point; i.e. who are we addressing ourselves to?

Now, if we are addressing ourselves to the upper strata, if you want, the upper third, the educated third, then that changes the entire nature of the message that you are trying to transmit and, indeed, it raises a serious question as to whether you should be proud of transmitting 600,000 words of Latin American news over the UPI or 700,000 over the AP, because obviously if my first assumption has any merit, how the devil can anybody plow his way through six or seven hundred thousand words and come up with anything sensible? The sense in the message must be at the origin, so that it is immediately recognizable by the recipient. And perhaps the major question that we should be addressing ourselves to is not the quantity of the news that is being originated and transmitted, but the quality of the news that is being originated and transmitted, and if we have a really higher quality of news, whether we think of our readers in terms of being people of higher understanding. They may not have the knowledge, but they have the capacity to learn and they have the capacity to read and understand.

If we think in those terms and then raise the level of our sights in terms of the talent we have and the messages that we transmit and the

messages the telegraph editor has to cope with, we might do a lot better job of understanding what is going on in the world.

Let's face the fact: the noise level is very high. There are now 118 countries making noise and just looking at it from the United States' point of view you can add 50 states making noise, so you have a noise level of 168, in effect, states. How is that all going to get in? Quantity is going to be no answer to the problem. We have to have a much more clear-cut policy as to what it is we are doing, who it is we are talking to and in view of who we are talking to, what kind of information we want to get from the source. Thank you. (Applause)

MR. G. J. SCHOUTEN, JR. (The News, Aruba): Mr. President, I am going to make it short, but not as short as this morning. And that is coming after I listened to what kind of news are we bringing. I would like to ask the Assembly a question.

We ban all members who are associated with Cuba or communists, but are we not, with our news, helping Fidel Castro? Fidel Castro needs the news. That bad boy every morning, when he gets up, plans something to bring the news to us and all of us are publishing this news. Should we not silence Fidel Castro by giving him less?

Fidel Castro is getting from the news services everything free because he could not pay for it even if he came to any democratic member to get that news in. Every newspaper that we are reading in Latin America and especially in Aruba, Netherland Antilles, has something about Fidel Castro and that is what Fidel Castro wants.

So I am asking the members: are we not helping him? I think that indirectly we are spoiling that boy in getting the news across all the time. I propose that we give less news of Fidel Castro so that he cannot get his message of corruption right through to Latin America for those ignorant people because they like to read that.

That is why I would like to ask the wire services to give less news of that bad boy so that he cannot get his news across free. If he tried to pay, I don't think he would get it across. Thank you. (Applause)

SR. GUTIERREZ: Muchas gracias, señores. El Centro Técnico, con este simple y corto debate, cree haber cumplido con su misión y con esta parte de su programa al permitir a través de la exposición del Sr. Herbert una discusión muy clara y muy importante presentada por los representantes de agencias noticiosas, por el Sr. Andrew Heiskell y por el editor del periódico de Aruba.

No encontramos la respuesta a ninguno de nuestros problemas en una de estas reuniones. Este mismo tipo de reunión se ha realizado con mucha frecuencia -- este mismo tema se ha presentado en diversos tonos y en diversas oportunidades. Todo lo que nosotros deseamos es dar siempre una oportunidad y crear una conciencia en los editores de diarios sobre los problemas que confrontan en lo que tiene relación con la presentación

de las noticias, especialmente las noticias de nuestra América..

Creemos haber cumplido, como he dicho anteriormente, con nuestro deber en este aspecto y ahora vamos a pasar al próximo punto de nuestro programa.

El Sr. John R. Reitemeyer, ex presidente de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, editor del diario Hartford Courant, uno de los más antiguos de los Estados Unidos, estableció el premio Reitemeyer hace algunos años como estímulo sistemático para los diarios y para los periodistas que están interesados en las noticias de carácter científico.

El Centro Técnico está dando gran énfasis y gran importancia a este aspecto de la información. Vivimos en un mundo que está pasando por una verdadera revolución tecnológica. Nuestros hijos, los niños, reciben estas informaciones en cierto grado distorsionadas, a través de lo que llamamos nosotros vulgarmente las tiras cómicas.

Sin embargo, procesos de gran importancia que ocurren en nuestra América, procesos de gran importancia que ocurren en el campo universal relacionados con la ciencia, no son oportuna y adecuadamente comunicados a nuestro público lector. Por eso es empeño nuestro establecer este premio y, además, realizar seminarios donde se discuten los problemas de la publicación de informaciones científicas, uno de los cuales vamos a efectuar muy próximamente en Buenos Aires.

Voy a pedir al Sr. Reitemeyer, por ser la persona que estableció este premio con su primera contribución y con su iniciativa, que tenga la amabilidad de entregar el premio de este año y las menciones honoríficas a las personas que fueron seleccionadas por el comité especial constituido en Washington con la colaboración del Departamento Científico de la Unión Panamericana y con la participación del Centro Técnico de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa. El Sr. Reitemeyer.

MR. REITEMEYER: Thank you very much, Mr. Gutiérrez.

Before actually getting down to the business of presenting these awards, I can't help but say that I was made quite unhappy by a story which I saw on the front page of a Lima paper this morning.

The story was about a student riot in Bogota, in the Ciudad Universitaria, and before they got through the 500 police and armed guards were out, tear gas was being hurled, etc. I have seen a good many student riots in Latin America, and they don't disturb me too much, but the thing that seemed to provoke this riot was the presence of the President of Colombia and John Rockefeller, who were visiting the university in order to inaugurate a new laboratory in the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine.

I'm not too familiar with the requirements of this particular university, but if it is like many other universities with which I am familiar in Latin America, they can use a new laboratory. They can use new laboratories, more modern, more efficient laboratories in many of their scientific disciplines.

And the chances are also excellent that they need more veterinarians.

Last year, for instance, the University of Buenos Aires graduated 1000 lawyers and only eight agronomists and veterinarians. This is a country where the cattle industry is an important part of the economy.

When this award was set up, following the Scientific Journalism Conference we had with newspaper publishers and scientists in Santiago three years ago, it was my hope that by setting up an award of this kind we could stimulate greater interest on the part of the newspapers to do two things:

(1) To interest more students to study in the scientific disciplines.

(2) By stimulating interest in science, persuade governments to be more generous in their grants for the scientific equipment and activities of the various universities.

Just how much success we have had in accomplishing these objectives, I don't really know. All I know is that the percentage of lawyers being graduated in all the universities is still, I think, unusually and abnormally high.

I don't go as far as Dr. José Luis de Imaz, sociologist of Argentina, who suggested that all the Latin American law schools be closed for three years so that the students would be compelled to seek other studies. That, of course, is an impracticable suggestion. If people want to study law, there is no reason why they shouldn't be permitted to study law.

But all the Latin American countries are saying there is a rise in industry. Industry requires technicians. It has been estimated that Argentina alone will need 500,000 technicians by 1970. And, I can tell you, despite the fact that Ford and Kaiser are training approximately 700 technicians a year, Argentina is not going to have 500,000 technicians by 1970. As more and more chemical plants and other industries which have need for chemists and physicists and engineers come into being, you are not going to have the people to staff these industries. And in my opinion, furthermore, it is only as industry takes over in many of these countries that you are going to get the higher standard which would make a better life for all of you people.

So that was our objective when we set up these awards after the Santiago meeting three years ago. I will say that so far, from the newspapers' viewpoint, the results have been most satisfactory. The first year there were not too many entries sent in; last year there were more; this year there were more. And in all of the entries there is observed a higher standard of quality, also.

As Mr. Gutiérrez told you a moment ago, most of the work of judging the

entries is done by the very excellent Scientific Division of the Pan American Union. And more and more they are enthusiastic about the quality of the work that is submitted for our appraisal. I hope that more and more newspapers give more space, more attention to scientific activities.

I know Dr. Beltrán is interested in it, and I know others are developing an interest in this field, and it is not too soon. In fact, if anything, it is too late. But nevertheless one must start somewhere.

I am very happy that this year the award was won by Misael Acosta Solís, who is a professor at the University of Quito, in Ecuador. He is President of the Institute of Natural Scientists of Ecuador -- I am reading this from La Prensa, which had a very interesting interview with him the other day -- and for thirty years he has been writing about science, not only for El Comercio, for which he writes his principal articles, but also for El Universo and El Telégrafo of Guayaquil, El Heraldo of Ambato and La Hacienda magazine of New York.

Dr. Acosta Solís, I want to congratulate you on winning this award, and I hope you will continue the fine work that you have been doing in your scientific writing. (Applause).

Now we have some other awards. I have asked Mr. Julio de Mesquita Filho, of O Estado de São Paulo, to receive the scroll giving credit to his very fine newspaper for outstanding coverage of scientific activities. (Applause).

But this isn't the only award, Mr. Mesquita. There are also two honorable mentions for Andrejus Koralkovas and Marco Antonio Filippi, both of whom are science writers for O Estado.

They are not here today, but I would like to present their scrolls to Mr. Mesquita, with the request that he give them to his writers. (Applause)

Mr. Viera Altamirano, this honorable mention scroll is for Dr. Emilio O. Forrer of your newspaper, El Diario de Hoy. I want to congratulate you for him, and also congratulate you. (Applause)

SR. GUTIERREZ: El Sr. Misael Acosta Solís, por favor. Quiere usted tomar el micrófono?

DR. MISAEL ACOSTA SOLIS (El Comercio, Quito, Ecuador): Por supuesto tengo que hablar en español, a pesar de que sé inglés. Tengo que hablar en español porque estoy en América Latina, y es costumbre en todo el mundo hablar en el idioma nativo en su propia tierra, como estoy haciendo en este momento.

Sr. Presidente del Centro Técnico de la SIP, señores miembros de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, distinguidos periodistas continentales:

Quiero solamente decir unas pocas palabras de agradecimiento al recibir este diploma, que realmente me honra, y agregarlo a los que he venido reci-

biendo en mis 30 años de vida de escritor científico. Realmente, para mí es un gran honor, y estoy sumamente contento porque lo recibo de una institución periodística.

Los premios profesionales que recibí anteriormente son de academias científicas y universidades e instituciones técnicas. Y sinceramente digo ahora que esta distinción me honra porque yo no me creí escritor científico, sino simplemente profesor de ciencias. Es una cosa completamente diferente ser científico o técnico investigador y otra cosa diferente el saber difundir la ciencia entre las masas por medio de una didáctica especializada, una didáctica natural.

Como he sido profesor de ciencias muchos años, he pensado toda mi vida que no es posible que sólo enseñemos en las universidades y en las politécnicas. He creído necesario enseñar más a los muchachos, a los jóvenes y a las masas que no están en condiciones de comprar libros o no están en posibilidad de entrar en las universidades y en los colegios técnicos. Es por esto que desde mi juventud me dediqué a escribir esta clase de divulgaciones, haciéndolas lo más didácticas posible, poniendo el vocabulario al alcance de todas las personas que tengan cultura solamente escolar y a las que tengan cultura de segunda enseñanza.

Sr. Presidente del Centro Técnico de la SIP, señores miembros de la organización máxima del periodismo continental, quiero decir sólo dos o tres palabras especialmente dedicadas a ustedes, a los periodistas del continente latinoamericano.

He señalado varias veces, en los 3.500 artículos que he escrito sólo en periódicos, que el periodista entre nosotros se dedica más -- y claro, hay razones psicológicas, hay razones sociológicas, hay razones humanas -- a la noticia, a la información y un tanto a la política. Pero yo he querido, en una forma muy sana, muy modesta -- porque hay que decirlo con toda sinceridad -- enseñar al que no sabe la parte científica.

Hay que dar un poco más de espacio en los periódicos a la información científica. Mientras los rotativos de América Latina dedican seis páginas a periodismo, no hay una columna para la ciencia, y por cada editorial que se publica en cualquier periódico no sale sino después de diez o doce días un artículo de divulgación científica.

¿Por qué los artículos que he publicado se han dedicado más a las ciencias naturales y a los recursos naturales del país, de la América Latina? Porque es una cosa tan natural, tan lógica que nosotros estamos primeramente en contacto con la naturaleza. Y como nos impresiona tanto la naturaleza, tenemos que escribir primero de esto.

¿Cuáles fueron los primeros científicos del mundo? Naturalistas.

¿Cuáles fueron los que siguieron? Los geógrafos naturalistas y luego los químicos, los físicos, los biólogos, etc.

Por esto he querido, en una forma didáctica, comenzar con el periodismo científico aplicado a los recursos naturales, aplicado a la naturaleza latinoamericana.

Pido como un favor especial, señores editores y periodistas, que se dedique un poquito más de espacio a divulgaciones de ciencias o divulgaciones de la naturaleza, como primer punto. Y segundo punto, a la divulgación de todos los temas que están ahora de moda, la ciencia geofísica, la ciencia electrónica, etc.

Y para terminar, señores, quiero agradecer de veras, en una forma muy sincera -- porque ya desde ahora me parece que me voy a creer periodista científico, siendo sólo un divulgador -- quiero agradecer al Sr. John Reitemeyer, quien con gran visión ha creado un estímulo de esta naturaleza.

Repito, señores: mientras que para los escritores de novelas o los escritores de ficción, los escritores de asuntos generales, existen varios premios en el mundo, para ciencia realmente son muy reducidos, o casi no existen en algunos países. El Sr. Reitemeyer ha hecho una gran obra por el prestigio que ya tiene el premio establecido hace tres años: el primero se dio al Brasil, el segundo a Chile y el tercero ahora el Ecuador por medio de El Comercio, en que colaboro desde hace tantos años y donde he tenido realmente un apoyo dedicado de su director, Sr. Carlos Mantilla. Esto mismo debería hacerse en todos los periódicos de la América Latina.

Y yo agradezco, Sr. Reitemeyer, agradezco al Centro Técnico de la SIP, no porque me hayan dado el premio solamente, sino porque veo que esta gente sabe ahora pesar y reconocer la importancia que tiene la ciencia para el futuro. Y en segundo lugar ¿cómo es posible que en el siglo XX no se dé importancia a aquello de que estamos viviendo: recursos naturales, ciencia y técnica? Gracias, señores. (Aplausos).

SR. GUTIERREZ: El Dr. Mesquita Filho, por favor.

DR. JULIO DE MESQUITA FILHO (O Estado de São Paulo, São Paulo, Brasil): Es un gran honor el que recibí mi diario al ganar el premio de divulgación científica. Pero yo no debo aceptar personalmente el premio. Este premio corresponde a mi hijo, aquí presente, pues fue por su iniciativa, como director del diario, que hemos iniciado esta nueva fase de las actividades periodísticas en mi diario. (Aplausos).

El mayor premio para mí es ver que la dirección de mi diario está en magníficas manos, que ya puedo pensar en retirarme porque seré substituido, probablemente con ventaja, por mi hijo mayor aquí presente. Muchas gracias, señores. (Aplausos).

SR. GUTIERREZ: Señores, tenemos ahora el agrado de presentar al Sr. Roberto De Piante, el editor fotográfico del Miami Herald. Es un hombre fogueado en docenas de seminarios, donde ha expuesto sus puntos de vista y enseñado a numerosos periodistas de los Estados Unidos y de nuestra América.

No quiero extenderme en la presentación de Bob, ni explicar que es lo que él va a mostrar, porque su charla lo hace en forma muy amplia y completa. Estoy muy complacido de haberlo podido traer aquí para que pueda diseminar una información muy importante sobre el libro que está editando el Centro Técnico acerca de la información gráfica y el editor fotográfico. El Sr. Bob De Piante.

MR. ROBERT DE PIANTE (The Miami Herald, Miami, Florida): Thank you, Bill. I would like to add my congratulations to all those that have been received by the men who won the Reitemeyer Award. I am sure they all earned it very capably.

WHY A BOOK ON PHOTOGRAPHY AND PHOTO EDITING?

BY. MR. ROBERT DE PIANTE

I have been asked to come to Lima to tell you about a new publication of the IAPA Technical Center, a book of photojournalism and photo editing called PICTURES AND TODAY'S NEWSPAPER. Prepared by me in English and translated and edited in Spanish by the Technical Center during the last year, PICTURES AND TODAY'S NEWSPAPER came as a by-product of the various seminars at which I have spoken and especially from my trip to Chile last year. The Technical Center asked me to make this presentation in order to introduce the book to you and to explain why we think it will be so useful and important for the Latin American press.

We wanted to take advantage of this opportunity to ask the top executives of your newspapers to give us their support and understanding. We hope that, in accordance with individual circumstances, you will use the book and our recommendations to organize a good photo department, and that you will entrust the function of photo editor to a person truly qualified for the position.

People who have seen the manuscript of PICTURES AND TODAY'S NEWSPAPER feel that it contains ingredients of great interest and that its application will be wide and varied. You may ask, as I did at the beginning of this talk, "Why a book on photography and photo editing?" Why the Technical Center's great emphasis on these subjects recently -- through its Bulletin, the seminar for photo editors just completed in Miami, and this book -- when the title and functions of photo editor, as they are known in the United States, are not encompassed in the organization of most Latin American newspapers? Perhaps I can explain.

As you are only too well aware, newspapers are facing intense competition with the other visual media, including magazines, television and outdoor advertising. These media of communication and advertising constitute a serious challenge to the press in the editorial and news area as well as in the economic field; their presence in the market means a constant struggle for a share of the advertising budgets of large and small firms and a great variety of industrial and commercial concerns. Without ignoring other factors,

an important element in meeting this competition is the effective handling of pictures and the layout of newspaper pages.

PICTURES AND TODAY'S NEWSPAPER will cover many areas vital to improving picture presentation. It is a 12-chapter, approximately 300-page book containing about 240 illustrations.

The book takes you through the newsroom, touching on each area where pictures are used. It covers sports pictures, women's page pictures and city side pictures. It discusses the wire services and explains what each of the two major services operating in Latin America offers in the way of photo service. Included is a chapter discussing the functions and responsibilities of the photo editor and the chief photographer.

PICTURES AND TODAY'S NEWSPAPER tells how to edit page one pictures, what to seek in photo coverage of a major news story. It tells what kind of pictures the editor must seek for page one when pictures of news events are not available. In addition, it takes the reader through an art department and explains the organization and duties of the artists. It shows the kind of work they should be required to do in order to maintain a highly effective picture presentation. It shows how to make charts, graphs and maps.

It goes into engraving field -- with emphasis on color work -- and details systems of color engraving, utilizing charts, graphs and pictures to help explain these systems.

The book includes information on how the staff photographer, even the person who is not a professional photographer, can improve his picture presentation. And it explains how to crop pictures to obtain the most effective presentation, how to lay out news pages, how to design picture pages, and how to use pictures to improve the appearance of pages inside the paper.

It does all these things in the framework of a typical newsroom and uses examples from Latin American papers, papers in the United States, the wire services and other sources.

PICTURES AND TODAY'S NEWSPAPER was designed and written with one basic premise in mind: Pictures are the single most important factor in the visual presentation of the news. If pictures are used effectively, if they are taken with care and edited with care, they can improve the quality of reporting and display in any newspaper.

I have with me some slides, showing some of the material we have used in our book. Perhaps looking at these will give you a closer understanding of the contents and show you what we have hoped to accomplish with PICTURES AND TODAY'S NEWSPAPER when it is published.

When I started my career in photojournalism, the field was in its infancy. I saw the opportunity to raise the standing and value of photojournalism through good photography. I have since learned that it is difficult for the

photographers themselves to make any changes of real significance in the approach taken by editors and publishers to picture content and the improvement of that content. Photo editors have greater influence. But first of all the publishers and editors must set policy at the top level.

I hope that our presentation today will give you -- the persons who have the power to improve the picture content and the layout of your newspapers -- a desire to improve the presentation of your papers.

I would like to make these four comments:

1. Pictures, and picture presentation, can be improved.
2. An improved picture presentation makes a better newspaper.
3. You, the editors and publishers, are the only people who can ensure that these improvements are made.
4. Our forthcoming book can serve as a guide to you and your editors through which improvement of your picture content can be a challenging opportunity rather than a chore.

MR. GUTIERREZ: Thank you very much, Bob.

El Sr. Picó Cañas.

SR. GERMAN PICO CAÑAS (La Tercera, Santiago, Chile): Estimados colegas: Lamento tener que volver un poco hacia atrás en los temas que hemos estado tratando para referirme nuevamente al problema de la difusión de noticias.

Hemos escuchado un interesante informe de John Herbert, el Presidente de este Comité, referente a la fluencia de noticias. Nos ha dado informaciones muy interesantes sobre cómo muchas de las noticias que llegan a los diarios dejan de publicarse.

Se ha analizado también el problema del intercambio de comunicaciones entre América del Norte y América del Sur. Hemos escuchado la autorizada palabra de los representantes de agencias noticiosas y a continuación Andrew Heiskell nos dio interesantes informaciones también sobre la manera de cómo ir difundiendo las noticias y el problema que muchos diarios y revistas tienen para darles la debida publicidad.

Yo quiero ahora -- y en esto deseo referirme fundamentalmente a mis colegas latinoamericanos -- al intercambio de noticias entre los países de la América Latina. En las referencias anteriores hemos escuchado cómo se produce el intercambio entre Norte y Sur América. Yo creo que el problema que aquí se ha planteado no es un problema que pueda ser resuelto ni que corresponde a las agencias noticiosas. Les corresponde a los diarios. Yo creo que es un problema de idiosincrasia es un problema de mentalidad;

es un problema de conciencia colectiva, frente a lo que debe constituir una necesidad. Aquí hay que intercambiar ideas y dar a conocer a fondo las modalidades y los aconteceres de los diferentes pueblos.

Nosotros, los latinoamericanos, generalmente nos quejamos de que se preocupan poco de nosotros en los Estados Unidos. Yo creo que esto obedece al deseo permanente que los latinoamericanos tenemos de quejarnos. Y muchas veces nos quejamos porque no nos gustan las noticias que se publican de nosotros, porque además deseamos que se publiquen a nuestro sabor.

Precisamente Andrew Heiskell tiene una larga experiencia sobre esta materia. Son muchas las veces que, a causa de enfoques realistas de sus publicaciones, ha recibido quejas de latinoamericanos porque las noticias no se han publicado como a ellos les habría gustado que se publicasen. Yo creo que esto forma un poco parte de nuestra idiosincrasia.

Pero, como dije antes, yo quiero referirme ahora a otro aspecto de este gran problema: el intercambio de noticias dentro de la América Latina. Es un problema que no dice relación con las palabras que quedan sin publicarse de todas las que mandan las agencias noticiosas; no dice relación con lo que se publique o no de nosotros en los Estados Unidos. Yo creo que ese aspecto está sobradamente cubierto. El problema queda circunscrito al hecho de que los editores, o los directores de diarios, no publican todas las noticias que reciben porque, o encuentran que no son interesantes, o piensan que no son noticias vendedoras.

El problema a que yo quiero referirme ahora es diferente, y con el objeto de evitar duras reacciones, lo he concretado en una moción que quiero someter, por intermedio de este Centro Técnico, a la consideración de la Asamblea.

Pido excusas a mis colegas por llamar su atención a un problema que, si bien no es nuevo, cobra cada día mayor actualidad, en razón de los esfuerzos que los Gobiernos de América Latina hacen en busca de adecuadas soluciones.

Me refiero a la dramática lucha que el Continente sostiene para salir de lo que se llama la etapa del sub-desarrollo.

Los economistas están dando voces de alerta para prevenir que en un futuro próximo, a pesar de la revolución técnica que vive el mundo, se puede entrar en un período en que los alimentos sean insuficientes para abastecer las necesidades.

No es mi propósito, ni cabe tampoco hacerlo dentro del marco de nuestras deliberaciones, un análisis de todos estos problemas. Solamente deseo señalarlos y destacar - y esto sí que es el motivo de mi intervención - el rol importante que a la prensa y en general a los medios de difusión de ideas e informaciones les cabe, como elementos coadyuvantes a la labor que los gobiernos y las comunidades latino-americanas hacen para promover el desarrollo del Continente.

Hace pocos días le escuché al destacado economista don Felipe Herrera, Presidente del Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo, en una conferencia dictada en la Universidad de Chile, que la creación de una Comunidad Económica de América Latina como expresión institucional de un verdadero "Mercado Común Regional" es la fórmula de integración que América Latina debe adoptar para cumplir el triple propósito de dar una base geo-económica suficiente a los propósitos de industrialización y desarrollo de nuestros países; acelerar el cumplimiento de las metas de reformas sociales en que la región está empeñada de acuerdo a la Carta de Punta del Este; y acrecentar la gravitación de América Latina en el campo de las relaciones internacionales.

Además de lo expresado por don Felipe Herrera, desde la Carta de Punta del Este que dio nacimiento a la Alianza para el Progreso hasta hoy se han redoblado los esfuerzos de América Latina para acelerar su desarrollo y todos los economistas están de acuerdo en que sin expansión de los mercados, no se logrará superar esta etapa.

Es en busca de estas metas que las cinco naciones de América Central forman ya un mercado común, cuyo comercio tiene hoy un valor cuatro veces mayor al de antes de la integración.

La ALALC, por su parte, agrupa ya a nueve países sudamericanos y México, cuyo comercio recíproco se ha duplicado.

Ya nadie discute la conveniencia de los mercados comunes. Los jefes de nuestros estados latinoamericanos están en permanente contacto y se proyectan reuniones en la cumbre para impulsar el desarrollo.

La técnica moderna permitirá superar las dificultades de orden geográfico que presentan nuestras geografías. Se podrán acortar las distancias salvando los obstáculos naturales y se crearán redes integradas de comunicaciones.

Deseo referirme ahora a un aspecto de la integración a la que no siempre se refieren los economistas. Aún más, diría que la echo de menos en conferencias y eventos.

Me refiero a la integración espiritual que debe preceder a toda integración material o económica y que no se puede crear por tratados o por leyes. La integración espiritual es la resultante de un proceso de divulgación de ideas y de informaciones, cuya responsabilidad la tenemos nosotros, los hombres que manejamos la prensa del Continente.

Creo que la prensa de América Latina ha hecho bastante y ha estado siempre al servicio de las ideas de fraternidad entre los pueblos.

Pero ahora estamos confrontados con nuevos problemas y nuevas ideas. No basta la fraternidad pura y simple.

Estamos confrontados con mercados comunes, con eliminación de barreras aduaneras, con carreteras panamericanas, con planes sectoriales, aprovechamiento de cuencas hidrográficas, aprovechamiento conjunto de recursos

naturales y otras obras de infraestructura regional para cuya ejecución no sólo es necesario disponer de la capacidad económica necesaria, sino que debe existir la voluntad política de los gobiernos y de los pueblos para realizarlas.

Y para qué esto se consiga, debe a mi juicio la prensa y los medios de divulgación de ideas y noticias, como la radio y la televisión, analizar todos estos nuevos conceptos y enfoques de nuestros países en sub-desarrollo para colocarse más resueltamente al servicio de ellas.

Se ha dicho mucho, pero no temo repetirlo, que cualquiera que sea la razón, en nuestros respectivos países recibimos rápidamente las noticias de un motín en las cárceles, de guerrillas a veces sin importancia pero magnificadas, de crímenes sensacionales y cosas por el estilo. Pero bien poco sabemos uno de los otros de los enormes esfuerzos que nuestros países están haciendo para impulsar sus economías y dar a sus pueblos mayor bienestar. Poco sabemos en Chile, por ejemplo, del desarrollo industrial y minero del Perú y de sus sorprendentes progresos y poco saben aquí de lo que nosotros estamos haciendo y menos todavía que muchos esfuerzos se están duplicando innecesariamente en vez de complementarse, y esta afirmación vale para todos los países de la hermandad ibero-americana.

Y este es el rol importante que la prensa del continente tiene.

Se ha dicho y no me importa repetirlo que de cualquiera de nuestros países, se habla con toda facilidad por teléfono con Europa y Estados Unidos pero no podemos hablar entre nosotros, sino a determinadas horas y con mucha dificultad. La mayor parte de las comunicaciones se hacen a través de Miami o New York. ¿No es grotesco que si un país centroamericano quiere hablar con otro, lo tenga que hacer vía New York?

Con los servicios informativos pasa lo mismo. Tengo entendido que la UPI debe mandar sus mensajes a Chile desde esta capital a New York y desde ahí se retransmiten porque no hay comunicación directa.

Es por estas razones que me permito someter a la consideración de esta Asamblea la siguiente moción:

La XXII Asamblea de Lima de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, acuerda patrocinar la realización de una conferencia Ibero-Americana de Prensa, invitando a la Radio y Televisión, para estudiar la manera que estos medios de difusión de ideas y noticias participen activamente en los planes de desarrollo económico de sus respectivos pueblos.

El Comité Ejecutivo designará la Comisión Organizadora y señalará el país que será sede de esta Conferencia.

He dicho. Muchas gracias.

SR. GUTIERREZ: Muchas gracias, Dr. Picó Cañas.

Señores, muchas gracias por su asistencia a la reunión del Centro Técnico.

El proyecto presentado por el Dr. Picó Cañas será objeto del comentario correspondiente de parte de nuestro Presidente, a quien devuelvo la dirección de nuestra Asamblea.

MR. HOWARD: Mr. Picó Cañas, your resolution will be submitted to the Resolutions Committee. Thank you very much.

Just a few announcements, but they are important and I hope you will bear with me for a few minutes.

I would like to remind you that the meeting tomorrow will begin at 9:30, not at 10:00, as is listed in the program. We want to introduce our new members before the General Assembly ends.

I would like to remind all the Active and Corporate members that the balloting for the election of 15 directors will be conducted just the other side of that room in the ante-room, near the Registration Desk, tomorrow from 12 noon until 6 PM. There will be ballots on the table in the meeting room. The results of the election will be announced on Thursday morning.

Also, I would like to remind you that tonight we are all invited to dinner at 8:30 at the home of Dr. and Mrs. Manuel Cisneros, and the buses will leave the hotel at 7:30.

If anybody has any comments, we will be glad to hear them. Otherwise the meeting is adjourned until 9:30 tomorrow morning. Thank you very much.

(The meeting adjourned at 5:30 PM)

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GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRD MEETING

Wednesday, October 26, 1966

The third meeting of the XXII Annual General Assembly of the Inter American Press Association convened at 9:30 a.m., Wednesday, October 26, 1966 in the Salón Perú of the Hotel Crillon in Lima, Perú, with Mr. Jack R. Howard, President, as Chairman.

MR. HOWARD: The meeting will please come to order. I have two brief announcements first:

I want to remind all members and guests of the IAPA that they are invited to view the films that are being shown in the lobby by Copley Productions, the motion picture division of The Copley Newspapers.

Also, I would like to see a showing of hands by all of those who might be interested in attending a briefing at the United States Embassy by the Economic and Political Sections. How many would be interested in that? Presumably it would have to be this afternoon.

Will all those people who would be interested--and there appears to be about seven or eight--please give their names to Ed Harte? Are you there, Ed? Would you mind having them give you their names? Thank you very much.

At this time it is my sad duty to report the names of a number of our members who have died since our meeting in San Diego. I am simply going to read the names in alphabetical order, and ask that you all rise while I am reading them and remain standing for a minute, please.

Kenneth L. Adam, LOMPOC (Calif.) RECORD; Hugh Baillie, UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL; Roy A. Brown, INDEPENDENT JOURNAL, San Rafael, California; Antonio Cabral, NUEVA ERA, Tandil, Argentina; Jules Dubois, THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE; Buel Hudson, WOONSOCKET (R.I.) CALL and EVENING REPORTER; Jorge Mitre, LA NACION, Buenos Aires.

A year ago in San Diego the Board of Directors, at its meeting on the 14th of October, approved by acclamation a recommendation submitted by the Nominations Committee, Mr. James G. Stahlman, Chairman. The recommendation reads:

"That a special and appropriate portion of the XXII General Assembly, to be held in Lima, Perú in October, 1966, be set aside as a tribute to the 15 years of devoted service given by Jules Dubois to the IAPA and to the cause of a free press, to the preservation of all recognized constitutional liberties and to the promotion and nurture of hemispheric understanding, good will and solidarity;

"And that the Board of Directors authorize the striking of a suitable gold medal, emblematic of Mr. Dubois' devotion and service to the ideals of the IAPA, to be presented to Mr. Dubois at the Lima session of tribute, as a

token of the gratitude and affection of his colleagues in the IAPA."

We had all looked forward to this tribute here today. Unfortunately fate decreed otherwise, and Jules is not here with us.

Jules, as a courageous fighter, like all courageous fighters, at all times had behind him the support of a wife. She, too, has had great courage, the courage to bear the anxieties that exist for the wives of all soldiers; and Jules was a soldier in every sense of the word. He literally risked his life day after day, and always in her mind was this thought. I am now going to present to Mrs. Dubois the medal which we had hoped to present to Jules here today.

I don't believe it would be out of order to applaud. (Applause)

Now, if you will be seated, please. Mr. Cisneros will say a few words on behalf of Mrs. Dubois.

SR. CISNEROS: Señoras y señores, Lucila Dubois ha querido darme el privilegio de contestar en nombre de ella el homenaje que acaba de recibir la memoria de Jules Dubois. Realmente cumplo con este deber honroso con un nudo en la garganta, porque si fui un modesto amigo de Jules, sí creo tener derecho a decir que fui, si no su mejor amigo, en la primera línea de sus amigos.

Es emocionante que esta medalla, este nuevo reconocimiento a la labor extraordinaria de Jules, se realice en Lima porque fue el gobierno del Perú, hace ya muchos años, el primero que puso en el pecho de Jules Dubois una merecida condecoración. Jules Dubois, así, recibió su primer homenaje público del gobierno del Perú, y recibe la última medalla que le tocaba recibir en vida, en esta ciudad de Lima que él supo querer.

Lucila Dubois ha dado una prueba de temple, de fortaleza, viniendo a estar aquí con nosotros para recibir en nombre de Jules esta medalla, porque está forjada como era Jules, hombre enérgico, hombre que sabía en todo instante cumplir con su deber.

Cumplió con él en exceso. Tan es así que al agradecer yo en estos instantes en nombre de Lucila y sus hijos este homenaje, puedo decir que ese hogar feliz no tuvo sino un rival. Ese rival fue la SIP, a la que Jules dedicó con amor todas las horas que fueron necesarias, a la que sacrificó cuanto pudo sacrificar. Jules supo poner muy en alto el nombre de nuestra institución.

Jules por eso fue querido y apreciado por todos. Quizás pueda haber habido entre nosotros algunos que no sabían que lo querían. Ha tenido que desparecer para que todos sepamos cuanto lo amábamos. Muchas gracias, señores. (Applause)

MR. ERIK HUSS (Dagens Nyheter, Stockholm, Sweden): Mrs. Dubois, ladies and gentlemen:

As a representative of the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers (FIEJ), I have also come here to pay our respects to the memory of Jules Dubois.

I shall not try to add anything to what has been said today and earlier this week to characterize him as a man and as a journalist, but I would like to stress that the appreciation of his efforts and his achievements are not limited to the Western Hemisphere, represented so admirably by your Association. A proof of this is the fact that Jules Dubois was one of the five journalists in the world who had been awarded the Golden Pen of Freedom, a prize instituted by the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers as a tribute to someone who, in his writings and his actions, had made an outstanding contribution to the promotion of freedom of the press.

The other four were newspapermen from Turkey, Burma, Congo and Ceylon, who under difficult and sometimes severe conditions, had fought for the free publication of news and views.

This prize was given to Jules Dubois by our FIEJ President, Claude Bellanger of France, in June this year at our General Assembly in my home town of Stockholm, Sweden. It was intended as a homage to a great and indefatigable journalist, and also as a recognition of the valuable and successful work done by your wonderful Committee on Freedom of the Press under his long leadership.

I might add that when two weeks ago M. Bellanger, as President of the FIEJ, wrote to Fidel Castro asking him in the name of this international organization to release 40 newspapermen from Cuban prisons, he was acting on advice given to him by Jules Dubois shortly before his death, and certainly in Jules Dubois' spirit.

Let me conclude, Mr. President, by saying that what I have heard these last days, both in private talks and during the meetings of your organization, has very strongly confirmed my belief that the FIEJ could not have chosen a more worthy receiver of its prize. And it is, therefore, with great sincerity that we of the FIEJ join the IAPA in paying homage to the memory of a brave man and a devoted champion for the right to publish the truth. (Applause)

MR. HOWARD: I will now call on Dr. Biedma, President of the Interamerican Education Association.

SR. CARLOS J. BIEDMA (Asociación Interamericana de Educación):

Sra. de Dubois, señoras y señores:

La Asociación Interamericana de Educación desea sumar su voz al homenaje que hoy la prensa tributa a la memoria de uno de sus más conspicuos representantes y luchador infatigable, el Presidente por muchos años de la Comisión de la Libertad de Prensa, Sr. Jules Dubois.

La V Asamblea de nuestra entidad, reunida hace pocos días en São Paulo, al iniciar sus deliberaciones rindió homenaje a este ciudadano de América, que se distinguiera por la celosa custodia de los principios republicanos, y que los defendiera con sin par tesón de los ataques que en graves momentos pusieron en peligro la independencia moral de nuestras patrias.

Los educadores americanos sienten profundamente la desaparición de Jules

Dubois, porque con él han perdido uno de los más distinguidos luchadores en favor de la libertad de enseñanza, a la cual consideraba, con visión, imprescindible para la democracia. Así interpretaba Jules Dubois que no tenían derecho a llamarse democráticos los regímenes que atentaban contra la libertad de enseñanza y la libertad de prensa.

La experiencia mundial le había demostrado que la extinción de una de estas libertades es prólogo de la desaparición de la otra y la destrucción del sistema de vida libre de los pueblos.

Con esta clara visión del problema supo convertirse en un valiente y activo luchador en beneficio de las escuelas independientes y contrario a la acción de los estados monopolizadores que con medidas restrictivas paulatinamente se apoderan de las conciencias de los niños y de la formación de los ciudadanos.

La Asociación Interamericana de Educación tiene contraída una deuda de gratitud eterna por la valiosa acción que generosamente le brindara este amigo de la educación americana, que supo prestar todo su apoyo en las primeras horas de nuestra organización, tendiendo su mano para convertir en realidad la unión de los periodistas y los educadores de América. (Applause)

MR. HOWARD: I will now call on Mr. George Westerman.

MR. GEORGE WESTERMAN (The Panama Tribune, Panama):

With the passing of Jules Dubois last August a most distinguished figure in American journalism went from the hemispheric landscape. He died as he had lived--in search of the news behind the news, as perilously as the assignment might have been.

He had covered the 1948 Costa Rican revolt; the Bogota Conference where the Charter of the Organization of American States was launched; the 1952 uprising in Bolivia; Guatemala's rebellion against a Communist regime in 1954; the 1955 political upheaval of Peronism; the 1955 Meeting of Hemisphere Presidents held in Panama; the Castro revolution against Batista; the birth of the Alliance for Progress in 1962 at Punta del Este, Uruguay; the 1964 overthrow of the Juan Bosch Government in the Dominican Republic.

Now he was again in Bogota, Colombia, this time to cover the "little summit" conference of leaders from Chile, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela and Colombia. Thus, when death struck, he was in his favorite role of covering on-the-spot another historic event in Latin America.

The death of Jules Dubois has cast a pall of gloom over the press of the entire American Continent because, as his worthy successor John O'Rourke said a few days ago on opening the work of the Committee on Freedom of the Press: "All over this hemisphere there are tens of thousands of persons who knew Jules Dubois as a symbol of man's right to speak out without fear or reprisal."

Mr. Dubois went to Panama as a sports writer for the Panama American, then changed to The Star & Herald's editorial staff. Simultaneously he experienced his first taste as a foreign correspondent as a stringer for the old Universal Service.

As a reserve officer in the U. S. Army he was called to the colors of his country, in World War II, and after serving with distinction, he left active duty with the rank of colonel. For one year afterwards he was back working on the Isthmus of Panama before being hired as the Latin American correspondent for The Chicago Tribune.

For two decades he continuously visited every country outside of the continental United States, and kept himself in the vanguard of almost every notable event which transpired in the American Republics. This was also largely because of the fact that the management of his paper maintained the keenest interest in Latin American affairs, and permitted its columns to be widely used for the dissemination of news about happenings in this hemisphere.

He was decorated by the Governments of Peru, Brazil and Panama but defamed by many dictatorships. Yet his combative spirit and decisive manner won him the respect even of those whose causes suffered defeat by his prying mind and trenchant pen.

Col. Dubois was most conspicuously identified with the Inter American Press Association, which elected him in 1950 as Chairman of its Freedom of the Press Committee. In this post he was both valiant and persistent in his championship of press freedom and his denunciation of dictatorship. He gave himself, his time, his personal interest and his thoughtful advice to the constant defense of the essential rights upon which democracy is based. His fanaticism on some issues, while disturbing to many of his admirers, could be attributed to his sincerity in assuring that the rights of a free society were neither infringed nor imperiled.

No one will deny that Col. Dubois was a Titan with a Promethean interest in freedom of the press. He fought to inform the mind and awaken the conscience of the Inter American Press as to its mission in the Free World. He resisted with all the ardor of his soul the forces of tyranny which would attempt to throttle the news media in any form or endeavor to extinguish the fires of human liberty. He maintained, and rightfully so, that wherever there was freedom of thought and its expression, constitutional rule would inevitably emerge.

Our heads are continued bowed in sadness and our hearts still burdened with sorrow at the tragic news of his untimely death. But those of us who served with him in the IAPA realize that he would want us to go forward with the same fortitude and faith which he showed in the face of the pain and peril necessary to rid this hemisphere of all vestiges of tyranny, racism and disrespect for human dignity.

The numerous honorific awards of which Jules Dubois was recipient from international journalistic associations and institutions speak eloquently of his professional merits. They stand as irrefutable testimony of the prestige he achieved in orienting public opinion throughout this continent on behalf of the principles of the IAPA.

One month before he died Mr. Dubois was presented with the Golden Pen of Freedom for 1966 in Europe by the International Federation of Newspaper Pub-

lishers. Now, two months after his death, the IAPA is bestowing upon him posthumously in South America, a specially struck award. This testimonial is a fitting tribute to his 15 years of singular and dedicated services in defense of the democratic right of free speech while he headed the IAPA's Freedom of the Press Committee.

If there had been an Arthurian Round Table in our time, Jules Dubois would have deserved to sit at it for he loved chivalry, truth, freedom and liberty for all humanity. These thoughts should help comfort his Panamanian-born wife, present here with us today, and her family in the hour of their bereavement; these thoughts should inspire his colleagues to continue to pursue steadfastly the cause of freedom and social justice embodied in the IAPA Charter.

Jules Dubois left our organization a legacy of dedication and courage which I know will be preserved by all of us wishing to safeguard freedom's greatest force--the enlightenment of peoples' minds in a Free Society.

MR. HOWARD: Thank you, Mr. Westerman.

I will now call on Dr. Pedro Joaquín Chamorro.

SR. CHAMORRO: Sra. de Dubois, Sr. Presidente: Unicamente quiero someter al voto de esta Asamblea una moción que ha sido subscripta por casi todos ustedes. Voy a omitir los nombres porque sería muy largo enumerarlos. La moción dice:

"Se propone a la Asamblea General: (1) Que la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, en nombre de los periódicos de la América Latina por cuya libertad luchó el periodista Jules Dubois, coloque, de acuerdo con los reglamentos del cementerio de Arlington, lugar en donde descansan los restos mortales del Sr. Dubois, una placa conmemorativa de la honrosa y larga lucha sostenida por él.

"(2) Que se exprese en la citada placa el reconocimiento de los periodistas libres de las 21 repúblicas de América al Sr. Dubois.

"(3) Que la fotografía del Sr. Dubois se coloque en las oficinas de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa."

Pido a la Asamblea un voto unánime y por aclamación para esta moción subscripta por la mayor parte de ustedes. Gracias. (Applause)

MR. HOWARD: The motion has been passed by acclamation.

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

Sr. Presidente, Sra. de Dubois: La voz de Cuba libre en el exilio no podía faltar en este noble y ejemplar torneo oratorio como tributo a la memoria de nuestro inolvidable colega Jules Dubois. Pero sin el ánimo de agregar nuevos elogios a los que ya merecidamente han sido tributados, voy a limitarme en esta ocasión a anunciar a los presentes que la Agencia de Informaciones Periodísticas, dirigida por un cubano distinguido, el Dr. Fernando Carrandi, ha tenido la iniciativa de crear un premio con el nombre de Jules Dubois para el trabajo periodístico publicado en nuestra América que defienda en manera más

efectiva la libertad de expresión, de la cual Jules fué un paladín denodado.

La Agencia de Informaciones Periodísticas donará 500 dólares para premiar este artículo. Y de esta manera, muy modestamente, por medio de la Agencia de Informaciones Periodísticas los periodistas cubanos en el exilio contribuimos a perpetuar la memoria de aquel gran luchador que tanto combatió por la libertad de Cuba. Muchas gracias. (Applause)

MR. HOWARD: Thank you, Dr. Martínez Márquez. I will now call on Dr. Germán Ornes.

SR. GERMAN E. ORNES: Sr. Presidente, Sra. Dubois, compañeros:

Es imposible, en un momento en que se rinde homenaje a Jules Dubois, que la voz de los periodistas dominicanos no se una a ese homenaje.

Para el periodismo dominicano el nombre de Jules Dubois tiene una significación especial. El nombre de Dubois estuvo ligado a todas las luchas del periodismo dominicano por recobrar su libertad, y cuantas veces tuvimos necesidad de apoyo, tuvimos necesidad de alguien que luchara por nosotros, encontramos a Jules Dubois.

Yo no quiero extenderme ni hacer muy largo este homenaje, pero sí quiero dejar constancia de que los periodistas dominicanos nos unimos de todo corazón y guardaremos por siempre la memoria de Jules Dubois. Muchas gracias. (Applause)

MR. HOWARD: Thank you, Dr. Ornes. Mr. Horacio Aguirre.

SR. HORACIO AGUIRRE (Diario Las Américas, Miami, Florida): Sra. Dubois, Sr. Presidente, señoras y señores:

Anoche, en la recepción ofrecida en el cálido hogar del Dr. Cisneros y señora, un ilustre periodista que hizo uso de la palabra esta mañana, el Dr. Guillermo Martínez Márquez, me decía con sinceridad y emoción que seguramente todos los miembros de esta Asamblea General desearían acudir a esta tribuna para rendir su merecido tributo de admiración y simpatía por la memoria del ilustre e insigne periodista fallecido, Jules Dubois, noble amigo y batallador infatigable por la causa de la libertad de prensa.

Estoy plenamente seguro de que todos y cada uno de nosotros quisiera decir algo en homenaje a la memoria de Dubois. Seguramente eso no será posible, pero quiero estar yo entre los muchos que quieren hablar y los pocos que posiblemente tendrán oportunidad de hacerlo.

Estoy convencido de que en las palabras de cualquiera de nosotros se interpreta el sentimiento de gratitud, de admiración y de respeto por la memoria de ese gran hombre de Estados Unidos, de Iberoamérica y del mundo libre que fue Jules Dubois, cuyas ejecutorias serán reconocidas siempre por todos los que se preocupen por investigar quiénes han sido los verdaderos baluartes de la lucha de la libertad de América y del mundo.

La placa que en el cementerio de Arlington, en medio de los héroes de ese gran cementerio, habrá de recoger el homenaje de la SIP, placa cuya colocación ha sido sometida a la consideración de esta Asamblea y aprobada ya plenamente, recogerá, repito, el testimonio y el homenaje de quienes - para decirlo con las palabras inmortales de José Martí - se van a honrar, porque honrar honra. Y nosotros, al dejar constancia de nuestra gratitud y de nuestra admiración, no solamente vamos a honrar la memoria de ese extraordinario valor que fue Jules Dubois, sino también vamos a honrar todo lo que representa la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, a la cual él le dio sus más nobles empeños, sus más generosas preocupaciones.

No quiero terminar sin rendirle tributo de respetuosa simpatía a la viuda del esclarecido paladín de la libertad de prensa, Jules Dubois, doña Lucila de la Guardia de Dubois, quien ha venido esta mañana en una demostración de que ella sigue siendo lo que fué a su lado, una mujer ejemplar, una mujer de talla bíblica, de reciedumbre espartana, que puede semeter toda la emoción que este momento produce para compartir con nosotros estos instantes que son tristes, pero que dentro de su tristeza nos producen una profunda satisfacción espiritual. Muchas gracias. (Applause)

MR. HOWARD: Thank you. And now I would like to call on Mr. Harold Fitzgerald.

MR. FITZGERALD: Surely, it's appropriate to follow this magnificent recognition of a great companion by a significant corollary.

Few organizations anywhere would have granted Jules Dubois such freedom and latitude with time and funds. He advanced our causes through an extended span of years and over a wide territory.

The Chicago Tribune underwrote his achievements throughout. Otherwise, his actual accomplishments would have been tremendously circumscribed.

George Westerman, of Panama, suggested we take due recognition of this liberality and introduced such a motion.

His idea was adopted unanimously.

Hence, today, we take pride in presenting this plaque to The Chicago Tribune, as a tangible token of our appreciation.

We present this to Mr. W. D. Maxwell, who is one of the hemisphere's great editors. The Tribune's fearless and outstanding journalistic procedures have earned world-wide recognition.

The almost 800 members of the IAPA in North, Central and South America are happy to present something tangible to this newspaper in specific recognition of its important role.

And I assure all of you we couldn't give it to a finer representative of courageous, constructive journalism. Mr. Maxwell and Mr. Wood are both here today, and Mr. Maxwell tells me he plans to attend our meetings henceforth.

We are happy -and proud- to salute The Chicago Tribune.

If Mr. Maxwell will come forward I will read this plaque.

"The Inter American Press Association hereby conveys its sincerest thanks and appreciation to The Chicago Tribune for staunch and loyal support that stand unsurpassed in our everlasting fight for the freedom of the press and the integrity and unity of this hemisphere." I hand you this, Mr. Maxwell, and I will allot you thirty seconds for a rebuttal. (Applause)

MR. WILLIAM D. MAXWELL (The Chicago Tribune, Chicago, Illinois): Mrs. Dubois, Mr. President, distinguished Board of a distinguished group:

The Chicago Tribune was very much honored to have on its staff a man of great integrity, great ability and absolutely fearless, Jules Dubois.

We are honored today in being recognized as having had such a distinguished person on our staff, and to all of you I give the thanks of my colleagues, the thanks of all of us back home in Chicago, who feel very much honored at your recognition. Thank you.

MR. HOWARD: Thank you, Mr. Maxwell.

I have an announcement about the briefing at the Embassy. This will be at 3:30 this afternoon, and if those who plan to attend will give their names to Ed Harte, he will be able to facilitate this whole matter.

I might again remind you that the ballots are in the ante-room, on the other side of that wall, and the voting is from 12 until 6 today, with the report to be made tomorrow.

And also perhaps I should remind you that Associate members are not entitled to vote. There will be no roll call. Each member representative must go by himself to the balloting place, identify himself and cast his ballot.

No individual shall cast a ballot or ballots as a 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 will be held invalid. And, needless to say, one ballot per customer.

SR. JIMENEZ: Perdón, Sr. Presidente, pero ha habido quejas de que se oía mal en los audífonos de la interpretación simultánea. Los técnicos de Philips nos comunican que los audífonos tienen que estar en un volumen entre dos y tres. Cuando se sube, y particularmente cuando el volumen pasa de cinco, se satura el aparato y no funciona bien. Entonces, la recomendación es ponerlo entre 2 y tres.

Quiero recordarles también que todos, aunque no hayan recibido invitación, están invitados a la recepción en el Palacio Presidencial. Esta noche

salen los autobuses a las 7:45. Sin embargo, es necesario que todos lleven sus tarjetas de identificación, las divisas de la SIP, porque de lo contrario no serán admitidos.

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

MR. HOWARD: I will now call upon Dr. Guillermo Martínez Márquez, please, to assume the chair.

DR. MARTINEZ MARQUEZ: Va a comenzar el Foro organizado por la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa para fijar la posición de nuestra Sociedad respecto a la prensa cubana el día de gloria que caiga la dictadura de Fidel Castro.

Es natural que después de haber rendido emocionado tributo a la memoria de Jules Dubois, tratemos el caso de Cuba, donde vamos a extrañar de manera extraordinaria la presencia de ese bravo e infatigable paladín que fue nuestro colega Jules Dubois.

A los efectos de este Foro, vamos a dividirlo en dos partes. En la primera, el que os habla y un grupo de distinguidos colegas de América Latina y Estados Unidos vamos a exponer nuestros puntos de vista.

Como una circunstancia común a todos los miembros latinoamericanos es preciso señalar que cada uno en su momento fué víctima de una situación parecida a la que confronta en general la prensa cubana. Son ellos: Alberto Gainza Paz, director de La Prensa de Buenos Aires; Guillermo Gutiérrez, ex director de La Razón de Bolivia, que aún no ha logrado reanudar su publicación; Pedro Joaquín Chamorro de La Prensa de Managua, Nicaragua; Germán Ornes de El Caribe, Santo Domingo, República Dominicana; y John O'Rourke, quien naturalmente, como norteamericano, no ha sufrido eclipse en la libertad de expresión, pero que concurre aquí como Presidente de la Comisión de la Libertad de Prensa.

Falta en este momento la voz de Jules Dubois. Y quiero recordar que cuando discutíamos este asunto en el Comité Ejecutivo de nuestra Sociedad, Jules, que estaba sentado junto a mí, al ver que su nombre no aparecía entre los primeros que se habían pedido para que figuraran en este foro, me agarró fuertemente por el brazo y me dijo: "¿Por qué me han quitado a mí?"

Lamentablemente, después de haber sido incluido, como era lógico, Jules Dubois no está aquí, pero su espíritu nos animará.

Finalmente, los organizadores del Foro quieren tener alguna conclusión de las palabras de los distintos colegas aquí presentes, y a este efecto hemos designado a un gran periodista y gran jurista peruano, el Dr. Manuel Cisneros, para que él haga un resumen.

Cada uno de nosotros va a consumir un turno ahora por su orden, y al terminar esta parte del Foro todos los miembros activos de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa aquí presentes y que deseen hacerlo podrán formular preguntas a los que hayamos hablado o expresar sus opiniones, con una sola limitación muy comprensible: nadie podrá hablar más de cinco minutos ni más de una sola

vez. Muchas gracias.

Y ahora voy a leer la exposición inicial de este foro.

Los que idearon este foro quisieron anticipar el criterio de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa ante los problemas de la prensa de Cuba el día de gloria para la causa de la democracia en que caiga Fidel Castro. Pudieron imaginar que los nuevos gobernantes cubanos caerían en la tentación de querer prolongar el predominio oficial sobre los órganos de expresión pública tal como ha ocurrido en otros países; pensaron que abundarían los pretextos para dilatar el restablecimiento íntegro de la libertad de prensa, y creyeron, y estoy seguro que creyeron bien, que sería conveniente precisar la conducta de nuestra sociedad.

El tema así enunciado podría ser tachado de un poco hipotético. Todo quedaría supeditado a circunstancias imprevisibles. En la medida que se dudara de su ocurrencia, parecería como si nos deslizáramos por el plano inclinado de la fantasía. "Cosas de la imaginación de los exilados cubanos", podría decirse con lógico escepticismo.

Realmente no es así. El caso no es tan utópico como a primera vista -y desde la distancia- pudiera creerse. Los cientos de cubanos que a diario logran huir del infierno rojo, al igual que los diplomáticos que regresan a sus países, y muchos de los extranjeros que visitan la isla sin el preconcebido propósito de alabar el "paraíso marxista del Caribe", están de acuerdo en señalar que la situación del régimen castrista es insostenible, que el descontento se ha transformado en desesperación, que las rivalidades entre los grupos que todavía apoyan al dictador comunista han derivado hacia una lucha a muerte por el poder absoluto, y que estas circunstancias integran una crisis que se agrava sin solución visible. Todos parecen coincidir en que "algo" se está preparando en Cuba, y aunque no es prudente, y los periodistas no acostumbramos hacer predicciones ya, señalar fechas, puede asegurarse la proximidad de "un cambio". Frente a ese cambio, la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa necesita estar preparada.

Pero hay más. El caso de Cuba no debe ser considerado como algo que atañe exclusivamente a los cubanos, porque Castro no ha limitado su actuación a la isla nativa. Lo que en sus inicios pudo ser visto solamente como una desgracia para sus compatriotas, se ha convertido en peligro para los pueblos del sur y amenaza para sus vecinos más próximos. Castro se ha situado oficialmente en el campo llamado socialista que sirve a Moscú. En octubre de 1962 se comprobó que había instalado bases para cohetes capaces de alcanzar a Washington en el norte y a Lima en el sur. En enero de este mismo año se dio al público el anuncio de que la Conferencia Tricontinental de La Habana había acordado extender la subversión marxista al resto del hemisferio. Nadie podría afirmar en estos momentos que las bases para cohetes han sido desmantelados, porque Castro no ha permitido la comprobación; en cambio, abundan las demostraciones visibles de que el plan de la Tricontinental está realizándose.

Pese a su importancia y actualidad, estas consideraciones no deben ser analizadas en este foro. Lo que importa es la prensa -la prensa de Cuba, y natu-

ralmente la del resto del hemisferio también. De ahí que debemos analizar, primero, la situación de la prensa cubana a la caída de Castro, y luego los reflejos de lo que ha ocurrido en Cuba en el resto de las Américas.

Cuando caiga Castro, los marxistas y los demagogos de nuestros pueblos -que desgraciadamente abundan-, tratarán de inventar algún ardid para perpetuar la esencia del sistema imperante en Cuba. Repetirán aquello de que la historia no retrocede, que es imposible volver las cosas al sitio donde estaban. A nombre del nacionalismo de moda, hablarán de la necesidad de que el Estado conserve las empresas de servicios públicos y los grandes medios de producción. No se mencionará entonces el control de las entidades periodísticas. Pero se multiplicarán los pretextos para demorar la devolución de sus propiedades y talleres a las compañías publicitarias. A esta reacción en cadena de demagogos y marxistas del Norte y el Sur de nuestro continente, corresponderá un propósito idéntico por parte de los nuevos gobernantes cubanos. En tal oportunidad, los voceros de las tesis socialistas que abundan en nuestro continente se desplegarán en frentes cerrados para cubrir el campo de la opinión pública. A los intelectuales, a los profesores universitarios, a los cientos de entidades organizadas para estos menesteres, se sumarán numerosos políticos. Sus consignas serán repetidas en las cátedras y en los liceos, se multiplicarán en las calles, y penetrarán en las páginas de los órganos de expresión, de nuestros propios órganos de expresión de origen capitalista, como ha ocurrido en situaciones semejantes. Una vez más, el imperialismo norteamericano será presentado como el gran culpable de la tragedia cubana. Los norteamericanos tienen la culpa de todo lo malo que ocurre en el continente para esta propaganda. Y a pesar de que nadie, ninguna persona ni entidad alguna en el resto del continente, se adelantará para ayudar con su dinero a la reconstrucción de la isla asolada por el comunismo, se dirá que Wall Street ha tendido de nuevo sus garras feroces sobre el desamparado pueblo cubano. Si los miembros de nuestra Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa no tiene en esos momentos una idea muy clara y precisa de lo que está ocurriendo, la confusión será terrible, y en la confusión prevalecerán las voces organizadas de los comunistas y sus agentes. Pronto se integrará una imagen como la de la República Dominicana, donde se dijo que las Fuerzas Interamericanas de Paz querían quedarse en el país, o como la de Viet Nam, donde parece que los invasores del norte son los libertadores, mientras los defensores de la independencia del sur son presentados como pretensos conquistadores.

Como veterano de esta organización, sé que nuestra Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa no acostumbra inmiscuirse en el terreno reservado a la política. Pero en el caso concreto de la prensa de Cuba a la caída de Castro, no se trata de una cuestión ideológica, sino de la libertad de expresión, nada menos que la libertad de expresión.

Por eso, y desde ahora, debemos adelantarnos a precisar que la socialización de las empresas periodísticas es incompatible con la esencia de la libertad de expresión que la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa ha defendido y está dispuesta a seguir defendiendo contra cualquier contingencia o subterfugio que ocurra en el futuro, en Cuba o fuera de Cuba.

Al llegar a este punto puede verse con claridad que el caso que estudiamos debe extenderse al resto de las Américas, y no para cuando caiga Castro, sino

para el momento en que las tortuosas maniobras de los gobernantes que proyectan apoderarse del control los medios de expresión, comiencen a dar las primeras señales de sus propósitos. Bien conocidos son los métodos empleados hasta el presente para tales fines. Ahí están, en los anales de estas reuniones, nuestras reiteradas protestas contra las restricciones a las importaciones imprescindibles a nuestra industria, los crecientes impuestos - a veces con carácter retroactivo -, las restricciones a la circulación, las presiones sobre los avisadores, el aliento a las demandas excesivas de los trabajadores, la compra de acciones, o la confiscación de las propiedades bajo pretextos ideológicos o falsos motivos de orden público. Sería ingenuo pensar que sólo la censura previa limita la libertad de expresión. Ese era el método preferido de los dictadores a la antigua usanza. Los de ahora no recurren a la censura, ni amedrentan a los periodistas. Compran la propiedad, la confiscan o la socializan. A los efectos de controlar los medios de expresión, todos estos métodos pueden considerarse iguales.

Es fácil anticipar que siempre habrá voces discrepantes. Después de todo, la democracia es eso: disenso, polémica viva... Pero la democracia no debe suicidarse. En otras palabras, no puede haber libertad para matar por la espalda a la propia libertad. No existe el derecho a arruinar el derecho.

Ante las veleidades de algunos órganos de expresión democráticos, con frecuencia he pensado que no es fácil comprender la intención política de aquellas empresas periodísticas de origen capitalista que favorecen la implantación de medidas socialistas. Podría sospecharse que simplemente tratan de ganar lectores, sin comprender que cuando logren esto, su éxito será el principio de su ruina, porque la corriente de opinión socialista que hayan contribuido a forjar no se detendrá en las empresas de servicios públicos, ni en la propiedad rural, ni en otros medios de producción sino que caerá también sobre los órganos de expresión que la han defendido. Al perder la propiedad de sus edificios y talleres, habrán perdido también la libertad de expresarse, es decir, la razón de su existencia en una sociedad democrática.

Debemos estar preparados para la situación que enfrentará la prensa de Cuba a la caída de Castro, pero debemos estar alerta también contra los que intenten desde ahora imitar al régimen castrista.

Desde ahora debemos establecer que el control de la propiedad de los medios de expresión por los gobiernos -sea bajo el sistema socialista, sea bajo otro sistema, es contraria a los principios de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa.

Durante seis años terribles, lo ocurrido en Cuba ha sido una tentación para los demagogos y ambiciosos del Poder absoluto de las más variadas ideologías. De una u otra manera han pretendido influir en el pensamiento, o adueñarse de la propiedad de los medios de expresión.

Frente a esta tendencia, que ya aparece claramente en los caminos del futuro, la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, en mi opinión, debe anticiparse a dar un paso al frente, no sólo para que a la caída de Castro no perdure el régimen socialista de propiedad sobre las empresas periodísticas cubanas, sino para evitar que en otros países, antes o después de la caída de Castro, puedan establecerse situaciones semejantes.

Si así lo hiciéramos, y con muestra actuación despejáramos el futuro de tan grave amenaza, podríamos convenir en que el alto precio pagado por los periodistas cubanos no ha sido completamente inútil. La tragedia de Cuba tendría entonces un valor inestimable en la consolidación de una verdadera prensa libre e independiente en las patrias americanas.

La lucha por la libertad de prensa, en estos momentos, tiene que cubrir con claridad la defensa íntegra de la propiedad privada de los medios de expresión. A la socialización del agro en Cuba, siguió la de los medios de producción. Luego Castro completó la socialización de las empresas periodísticas que aún no habían caído en poder del gobierno. Cuando terminó esta tarea, su misión había sido cumplida.

Cuba se había convertido, al propio tiempo, en la primera república socialista de las Américas y el satélite número trece del imperio soviético.

Para evitar estos males terribles, tenemos que empezar por el principio. Tenemos que atacar el mal por su raíz. Tenemos que erradicar las tendencias socializantes y actuar ahora mismo. Muchas gracias.

Voy a tener el honor de conceder la palabra al Dr. Alberto Gainza Paz, que un día fué despojado de la legítima propiedad de su gran diario, La Prensa de Buenos Aires.

DR. ALBERTO GAINZA PAZ: Muchas gracias, Dr. Martínez Márquez.

Cuando fui invitado a participar de esta reunión organizada por la SIP, para discutir y examinar las situaciones y problemas que se presentarán después del derrocamiento del régimen castrista, pensé, en el primer momento, que el tema, de gran importancia por cierto, podía parecer algo prematuro, algo así como vender la piel del oso antes de cazar la bestia, pues las noticias, incompletas y muchas veces contradictorias, que llegan de Cuba no permiten prever la caída a corto plazo de la dictadura comunista que esclaviza a ese desgraciado país.

Sin embargo, presenciamos a diario tantos hechos inesperados, tal encadenamiento de sucesos que conducen a las situaciones más imprevistas, que considero útil e imprescindible examinar cuidadosamente todas las posibles consecuencias de una súbita desaparición del castrismo y del posible cambio de orientación política que sigan sus sucesores.

Este examen debe ser hecho con criterio realista y con el objeto de interpretar su significado y alcances.

Conocemos la suerte que sufrió el periodismo de Cuba desde el día en que el comunismo se apoderó del gobierno. Pero, a principios de 1959, a pesar de las voces de alerta de muchas personas evidentemente bien informadas y sagaces, había derecho de dudar respecto del carácter de ese régimen.

El 24 de Abril de ese año tuve ocasión de entrevistar, como presidente de la SIP, al entonces comandante Castro, de paso por Nueva York. Hablamos de libertad de prensa y escuché de él las siguientes palabras:

"Respeto y respetaré la libertad de prensa porque considero que el periodismo desempeña un servicio público."

Agregó: "La SIP, mientras yo esté en gobierno, jamás tendrá ocasión de quejarse por falta de garantías a la libertad de prensa."

Sin embargo, 24 horas más tarde, en una reunión del Comité Ejecutivo de la SIP, fueron dadas a conocer dos denuncias documentadas de ataques a periódicos, inspirados y organizados por el gobierno del comandante Castro.

Esta fue una nueva prueba de lo que vale la palabra de un comunista.

¿Que sucederá el día en que Fidel Castro desaparezca de la escena? Debemos, lógicamente, descartar la posibilidad de un alzamiento popular. Las reacciones desesperadas de los pueblos no tienen éxito en los estados totalitarios, fuertemente armados y resueltos a aplastar cualquier tentativa de rebelión de la manera más despiadada.

En cambio, cabe imaginar una conmoción, una alteración dentro de la jerarquía gobernante que lleve al poder a otros hombres o dirigentes.

Si esto sucediese no tenemos necesidad de forzar mucho la imaginación para ver que esos hombres ensayarán una política de acercamiento hacia los países del hemisferio. Razones económicas y de táctica les inducirían a hacerlo.

Por su parte, muchos gobiernos americanos podrán sentirse inclinados a aceptar esa política y a reanudar las relaciones diplomáticas y comerciales.

No sería extraño, además, que el nuevo gobierno cubano simulase un enfriamiento en sus relaciones con el mundo comunista, ya sea el chino o el ruso o los dos a la vez. Ante esa eventualidad debemos evitar caer en la trampa. El comunismo utiliza el engaño como arma en la lucha sin tregua que libra contra el mundo libre. En 1930, Dimitri Z. Manuilsky, hablando como secretario general del Partido Comunista en la Escuela de Estudios Políticos Lenin en Moscú, dijo: "La guerra entre el capitalismo y el comunismo es inevitable. Hoy, naturalmente, no somos lo suficientemente fuertes para atacar. Nuestra oportunidad tendrá lugar dentro de 20 o 30 años, y para ganar necesitaremos del elemento sorpresa. La burguesía tendrá que ser puesta a dormir. Así, comenzaremos por lanzar una espectacular ofensiva de paz, la más espectacular que se haya conocido. Habrá acercamientos electrificantes y un sinnúmero de concesiones. Los países capitalistas, estúpidos y decadentes, se regocijarán por cooperar a su propia destrucción. Ellos irán en busca de oportunidades para ser amigos. Tan pronto como bajen la guardia, los haremos polvo con nuestros puños cerrados."

Los acontecimientos ocurridos desde entonces confirman que la política del engaño sigue siendo el arma preferida más constante y eficaz del comunismo para extender su dominio y avasallar a los pueblos.

Los dictadores especulan con la fragilidad de la memoria de pueblos y gobiernos y es deber irrenunciable nuestro contribuir a apuntalar esas memorias a fin de que el olvido no contribuya a facilitar esos designios siniestros.

Tenemos -en el caso que motiva nuestra conversación de hoy- que partir de algo que es evidente y fundamental: en Cuba no habrá libertad, ni democracia ni vida civilizada, si no se restablece el pleno respeto de los derechos individuales y en primer término el derecho de propiedad y la libertad de prensa. Y el primer paso para que esto suceda deberá consistir en la inmediata devolución de los diarios y periódicos confiscados y su publicación libre de limitación alguna.

Abona lo que acabo de expresar mi experiencia personal de lo que sucedió en mi país cuando la dictadura peronista fue derrocada en 1955. Había triunfado la revolución libertadora y sin embargo fueron muchos los obstáculos que se opusieron para impedir la lisa y llana devolución del diario La Prensa.

Aparecieron pretextos de carácter legal, argucias procesales, declaraciones ambiguas y hasta algunas bastante claras que denunciaban la existencia de fuerzas, fáciles de individualizar, empeñadas en seguir usufructuando lo que los peronistas habían robado.

Un funcionario importante del gobierno de entonces llegó a decir, urgido por el reclamo interno e internacional, que el "caso de La Prensa había entrado en una vía muerta."

Pero el periodismo continental y el clamor en el país movieron al presidente Aramburu a firmar el decreto-ley que devolvió el diario a sus legítimos propietarios y permitió su reaparición el 3 de Febrero de 1956.

Mientras esto no había sucedido, la prensa del hemisferio no podía admitir que en la Argentina había desaparecido la dictadura.

Estemos, pues, alerta. Sin libertad de prensa, sin el pleno respeto de todos los derechos individuales Cuba seguirá siendo una avanzada del comunismo y una amenaza a la seguridad del continente.

SR. MARTINEZ MARQUEZ: Y ahora voy a tener el gusto de ceder la palabra a un veterano de la letra impresa de los Estados Unidos, a quien le ha tocado la tarea difícil, pero que él está llenando a cabalidad, de seguir el camino iniciado por Jules Dubois. Me refiero al distinguido Presidente del Comité de la Libertad de Prensa de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, John O'Rourke.

MR. JOHN T. O'ROURKE (Scripps-Howard Newspapers, U.S.A.): Thank you, don Guillermo.

If and when the communist dictatorship in Cuba is overthrown, things won't return to where they used to be. And they shouldn't. There were a lot of things that were very bad about the pre-Castro Cuban press.

It was frequently subsidized by the Cuban government, and subsidized in a shabby way. Many reporters and editors were, as they say, "on the take." Not all, but many. So many, that year after year it was one of the major exposés in the Freedom of the Press reports of this Association. The corruption, where it occurred, was vertical. It reached from top to bottom.

I recall William Pawley, financier, former U. S. Ambassador to Brazil and

something of an international business pirate in his own right, telling me how several publishers tried to blackmail him when he made the deal with Havana's city fathers to scrap its ancient street cars and motorize the traffic system.

He told me he was waited upon by a junta of certain newspaper owners, who put it to him that unless he cut them in they would wage a campaign against him claiming that the deal was a sinister plot to sell motor buses, and force the poor people of Havana to pay for them by raising the fare.

Mind you, this wasn't one isolated newspaper proprietor, but a group.

I'm sure we don't pray for the return of that sort of thing.

As to the "botella" system of government pay-offs, it was so general it was simply a fact of life. Newspaper salaries were low, and that was the way a reporter, if he was lucky, made enough to raise his family decently.

All this is in the records of the IAPA.

One reason for this situation was the extraordinary number of Havana newspapers, which had proliferated in the previous three or four decades to a number too large for the city to support in the usual way. Why this happened is an interesting story and the United States was partly responsible, but it would take too long to tell it here.

The only reason I bring it up is because if the opportunity comes to try to re-establish a free society in Cuba, the same mistake may be made again.

More papers might be re-established, possibly with United States underwriting as happened before (and let us not overlook the fact that we now have, today, established vast international bureaucracies to finance things like that) and once again the temptation to corruption might be all too frequently successful.

And so, if the happy day comes when Cuba has a free press -- and a free people, and it can't come too soon for me -- I hope it will not have any more papers than it can honestly support.

How one would select which papers to re-establish is beyond me. The Cuban newspapermen have proved certainly to us that their ranks contain some of the bravest and most tenacious men in this hemisphere's unending struggles for liberty. It would be an evil thing to tar them with the black that others merited, merely because they found themselves in the same historic time and place.

This leads me to another observation. I don't think the old life of Cuba, the old ways, the old business and political structure, will ever return, but I do think there are a good many who hope it will, and will try to bring it back again. I don't think it can be done.

Whether we like it or not, there are certain changes which have been made in the Cuban political economy which I think can't be dismantled, although in

time they will alter, of course, as all things do.

These changes are, it seems to me, a permanent charge on the public treasury set up by the Castro government and for good or ill are there to stay for all practical purposes, because they seem to so many propagandized Cubans to be better than the old ways.

And so the old editorial policies won't work either.

I hope in making these remarks I haven't given the impression that I'm a socialist, or a fuzzy-headed do-gooder.

I may be fuzzy-headed (metaphorically speaking, that is) but I'm not a left-winger or a professional sharer of other people's burdens.

In any event, I may be wrong. I haven't been in Havana since 1959 when Castro made his triumphal entry and Jules Dubois and I interviewed him in the little village of Celimar and invited him to come to Washington to the meeting of the American Society of Newspaper Editors and try to sell his political nostrums to that group. I'm sure Mr. Maxwell of the Chicago Tribune, who is here with us, remembers all this with a sorrowful shake of his head.

Anyway, I haven't seen Cuba since. They won't let me in. And so all I know is what I read in the papers and what I hear from the exiled Cubans, who have their own means of keeping in touch with things, which they quite properly keep secret.

Don Guillermo Martinez Marquez, of El Pais in exile, our chairman, is one of these and knows far more about Cuban journalism then and now, than I ever will.

If I err here, I hope he will correct me.

DR. MARTINEZ MARQUEZ: Y ahora voy a tener el gusto de ceder la palabra inmediatamente, y precisamente por el triste privilegio de que aún no le han devuelto la propiedad que él dirigiera, que no ha podido recibir íntegramente el derecho a ejercer la libertad de expresión en su país, a mi querido compañero y tocayo, Director del Centre Técnico de la SIP, el Sr. Guillermo Gutiérrez:

SR. GUTIERREZ: Muchas gracias, don Guillermo.

Creo que como un preámbulo a mis breves notas es preciso que aclare que en este momento, por razones que son perfectamente obvias, entre otras por desempeñar una función en la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, me encuentro totalmente desvinculado de la Empresa Editora La Razón.

Inevitablemente, en el transcurso de nuestras exposiciones se tienen que producir repeticiones porque no nos hemos puesto de acuerdo para presentar un cuadro especial a la distinguida audiencia.

Yo comienzo por preguntar por qué la SIP se preocupa desde ahora del prob-

lema de lo que puede ocurrir con los diarios de Cuba a la caída del régimen de Castro. La respuesta mía, anticipándome a las expresiones de algunos colegas y siguiendo la línea de otros que me han antecedido en el uso de la palabra, es que a los gobiernos provisorios, y aún a los constitucionales que siguen a una dictadura, les es muy difícil sustraerse a la tentación de mantener el control de uno o varios órganos de expresión para respaldar sus programas y para beneficiarse con la fuerza y el valor intrínseco del cuarto poder del estado.

En otras palabras, la devolución de libertades está sujeta al capricho de los nuevos gobernantes, con discriminaciones injustificables, con excusas y pretextos que carecen de lógica y de fundamento jurídico.

Otra interrogante con relación a este foro: ¿por qué adelantarse a los acontecimientos que parecen estar todavía en el esférico de cristal de los adivinos? Simplemente porque las tiranías, y muy especialmente las que logran sentar sus reales en los palacios presidenciales de nuestra América, unas veces con descaro y las más con relativa discreción, anuncian que su permanencia en el poder durará tanto como lo demande el bienestar de la nación, pero afortunadamente casi nunca llega a cumplirse el plan de los 20 o 40 años en el mando, punto en el que coinciden las dictaduras de hombres fuertes militares o civiles y las que se presentan con la máscara de la democracia progresista o del liberalismo caprichosamente interpretado.

Pues bien, el régimen de Cuba no es tampoco excepción a estos planes de tres o cinco lustres, y aunque parezca sólidamente atrincherado detrás de los cañones de Moscú, no podemos ignorar que el pueblo cubano, dentro y fuera de la isla, continúa trabajando afanosamente para restaurar las libertades y la democracia en la patria de Martí y para dar fin a este ciclo pasajero -- así le espero -- de oprobio.

Cuando llegue ese momento, como guardián de la libertad de prensa y con gesto de generosa solidaridad, la prensa de las Américas deberá estar preparada para extender la mano a sus hermanos de la "Perla del Caribe."

Con los ojos puestos en ese futuro, quienes integramos este foro hacemos una primera contribución, ofreciendo el cuadro de nuestras experiencias como víctimas de la dictadura.

En el mío específico, me refiero a la vía crucis del gran diario boliviano La Razón, del cual tuve el honor de ser gerente y director. Después de 13 años de clausura, luego de haber sido sometido al impío saqueo, ya arrojado del país el dictadorzuelo, parecía, y había razones para así pensar, que se había llegado a la última estación de ese penoso recorrido que le impusiera la tristemente famosa dictadura que sometió a mi patria durante más de 12 años.

Pero cuando brilló la luz de la libertad para una gran mayoría, para La Razón sólo hubieron vagas promesas, y hasta este momento no ha sido devuelta a sus legítimos dueños. Han pasado dos años sin un solo indicio, sin un sólo gesto que justifique el aliento de esperanzas, aliento de esperanzas que mencionó ayer el Excelentísimo Presidente de la República del Perú, Arquitecto Belaúnde.

Y al margen de todo esto, en diferentes latitudes, con matices distintos y en

todas las épocas, podemos apreciar actitudes similares donde el apetito del poder puede más que la prédica democrática.

Yo personalmente pienso que siempre existen poderosas razones para eludir el compromiso de brindar sincera e irrestricta libertad. ¿Cómo no tentarse a mantener el control estatal si ya se ha conocido y se ha saboreado, concupiscente, el poder de un órgano de expresión? Dictadores y progresistas por igual deben tener conocimiento directo, o por lo menos reacción intuitiva, sobre algo que dije en Inglaterra Sheridan: "Otórquese sólo la libertad de prensa y yo le daré al Primer Ministro una Cámara de los Lores venal y una servil Cámara de los Comunes. Yo le daré todo el poder que su cargo le pueda significar para someter a la oposición. Mientras tanto, yo, con la sola arma de la libertad de prensa, atacaré todo el sistema que él pueda erigir y lo enterraré en las ruinas de los abusos que pretendió consagrar."

Quizás también leyeron algo que George Bernard Shaw escribió: "El desarrollo de la prensa elevó a la humanidad a la edad de la discusión, logrando en esta forma la democratización de las estructuras más totalitarias. Pero lo que es peor, quizás, muchos de esos gobernantes nunca leyeron las citas anteriores, y simplemente tienen miedo a la verdad."

Muchas gracias. (Applause)

DR. MARTINEZ MARQUEZ: Y ahora voy a tener el gusto de ceder la palabra a un joven paladín de la libertad de expresión en su patria, un luchador incansable a quien hemos visto aquí dar reiteradas demostraciones de su coraje. Me refiere a Pedro Joaquín Chamorro de La Prensa de Managua, Nicaragua.

SR. CHAMORRO: Muchas gracias, don Guillermo, por su presentación y sus alabanzas.

Para discutir lo que va a ocurrir en Cuba cuando el régimen comunista desaparezca, debemos adentrarnos en una zona de imponderables, difícil y misteriosa.

Desde luego, los periódicos cubanos confiscados por la tiranía roja, tema de este Forum, tendrán que volver a manos de sus legítimos dueños, como han vuelto a sus propietarios en otros países oprimidos por dictaduras pasajeras otros periódicos, incautados brutalmente.

Este es un asunto de simple lógica o por lo menos así nos parece a nosotros ahora, pero en el fondo el caso de Cuba es muy distinto. Existen junto a esa conclusión implicaciones mucho más serias, mucho más profundas. Estas implicaciones se presentan cuando se considera un punto:

--La propiedad privada.

Porque en Cuba (y no hay razón alguna para sustraer a los periódicos de lo demás) la disputa principal es la propiedad privada, o para hablar más técnicamente, la propiedad de los medios de producción, entre los cuales los diarios dedicados a tareas informativas o de orientación están en primera línea.

El comunismo es la apropiación por el Estado de todos los medios de pre-

ducción en una sociedad, y los periódicos son esencialmente eso, un medio de producción, porque producen ideas, controversias libres, y orientación, causan o generan satisfacciones o insatisfacciones sociales y comunitarias, razón por la cual un régimen comunista no puede coexistir plenamente con una sociedad en la cual se editen periódicos por manos de particulares.

El problema, por consiguiente, es profundo, y la respuesta no debe agotarse en el qué va a pasar con los periódicos de Cuba, cuando el régimen comunista sea sustituido por otro, sino que debe irse a una dimensión más sustancial como sería la de examinar qué régimen de propiedad y qué filosofía política, se irán a instalar en Cuba después del comunismo castrista.

De ello depende la suerte de los diarios cubanos, de los viejos colegas El Mundo, Diario de la Marina, El País, Prensa Libre, etcétera, porque la suerte de los periódicos está siempre ligada, invariable y estrechamente, a la modalidad política que se adopte un régimen de gobierno.

Si la modalidad es comunista, no habrá periódicos libres ni periódicos en manos de particulares, siga o no siga Castro.

Si la modalidad es fascista, por ejemplo, tampoco habrá periódicos libres, con Castro o sin Castro, pues no se puede desligar --insisto-- la propiedad de los medios de difusión del resto del problema, es decir, del concepto propiedad o del concepto filosofía política tomados en términos generales.

Veamos ahora el caso bajo un punto de vista positivo.

La propiedad tiende en nuestra época a ser cada día más limitada por una función social, y yo entiendo esa función social diferente para cada tipo de propiedad.

Por ejemplo, la propiedad rural debe de ser limitada por los conceptos producción y extensión.

Producción, porque no puede aceptarse ni el extremo de convertir todo en parcelas o minifundios que disminuyan la productividad de un país, ni el otro extremo que permite una posesión minoritaria de la tierra con el pretexto de obtener una producción más amplia.

Extensión, porque no es justa la existencia de inmensas cantidades de tierra en pocas manos, mucho menos si esas extensiones permanecen incultivadas.

La propiedad urbana debe ser limitada por una regla que nivele las oportunidades en beneficio de la persona humana. Es decir, limitada por condiciones que van desde la higiene, pues nadie tiene derecho a ser millonario con el expediente de rentar tugurios, cuarterías, etc., hasta la de una norma de bien común, que ordena a quien tiene la fortuna de poseer dinero invertido en varias casas, por ejemplo, aceptar una limitación de su renta, en beneficio de quienes no tienen techo donde cobijarse.

Y así podríamos seguir poniendo ejemplos, hasta llegar a decir que incluso el patrimonio de una profesión, como envuelve cierto concepto de propiedad en

el ejercicio de ésta, está limitado por factores sociales.

El médico debe parte de sus conocimientos, que son capital formado a través de un largo estudio, a la sociedad en que vive, y el abogado no puede evadirse de prestar un servicio gratuito en beneficio de una norma elemental de justicia: dar a cada quien oportunidad de defenderse.

Pero estos ejemplos no vienen sino a ilustrar el tema principal de este Forum, que es la propiedad de los periódicos, tema apasionante y muy discutido, pues los diarios, como otros medios de información y difusión de las ideas, son verdaderas fuerzas capaces de influir definitivamente en un país, son armas con las cuales se habilita a ejércitos, a veces muy poderosos, y este tipo de propiedad, la de los periódicos, debe, a mi juicio, dividirse en dos partes:

A) la material, o sea la que representa una inversión igual a la efectuada en una fábrica y que está únicamente limitada por el bienestar económico-social como en toda empresa, con idénticos gravámenes establecidos por la función social de la propiedad, y por las regulaciones en beneficio de quienes dan su trabajo a la empresa, y

B) la que podríamos llamar "propiedad intelectual", es decir, la producción del pensamiento impreso, que debe ser absolutamente libre y ejercerse, como un atributo social, regulado únicamente por la aceptación de los lectores y las limitaciones morales, exigidas en una sociedad, ordenada dentro del mundo occidental y la civilización cristiana.

En este aspecto no se puede olvidar que el diario es, en nuestros días, además de un informador, un promotor social, un orientador. Y si bien se argumenta que la irrestricta libertad de prensa puede conducir a extremos de agitación, también es verdad que el crecimiento cada vez mayor del nivel educacional de nuestros pueblos contribuye a que estos puedan discernir mejor acerca de lo que leen en los diarios y así, con su aceptación, limitan o estimulan el crédito de que estos viven.

Aquí debemos insistir mucho, sobre todo para reflexión de los dictadores, o los aspirantes a serlo, en que nosotros los periodistas tenemos, en la libertad, la más tremenda y al mismo tiempo la más hermosa de todas las limitaciones, pues diariamente nos sometemos a un plebiscito popular.

Nosotros ganamos o perdemos elecciones todos los días, según gane o pierda aceptación pública nuestro periódico, y ni siquiera disponemos, como los gobernantes, de cuatro, cinco o seis años de descanso, sino que cada veinticuatro horas volvemos a estar sometidos a una nueva votación popular.

Todas estas digresiones sobre la propiedad nos llevan a un punto: aunque aparentemente la propiedad de un diario sea igual a la de una casa o una fábrica, y el sentido de propiedad dentro de un régimen político deba aplicarse por igual a todos, existen diferencias por la naturaleza misma de cada bien objeto de propiedad, diferencias marcadas por el sentido social que el uso de los bienes implica.

Después de aclarado este punto, volvamos concretamente al tema:

¿Qué va a pasar con los diarios cubanos cuando Castro termine...?

Deben ser reintegrados a sus dueños, claro está, pero además de eso es necesario advertir desde ahora, que comenzarán a operar si ocurre aquel acontecimiento cuando la atmósfera cubana esté aún llena de los gases venenosos del comunismo, y tendrán forzosamente que contribuir a crear un ambiente en donde la propiedad se respete, pero se respeten también las limitaciones sociales y económicas que ésta tiene.

En otras palabras, el cómo volverán los periódicos cubanos a sus legítimos dueños una vez terminado el comunismo en Cuba, no debe preocupar tanto como la inmensa labor, la durísima obra que espera a esos diarios cubanos, actuando en una sociedad de post-comunismo, con problemas difícilísimos jamás afrontados por una Nación, pues no se sabe todavía de país alguno que haya reternado del comunismo a la libertad, como tampoco se sabe de alguien que haya regresado del infierno.

Encima de esta preocupación hay otra respecto del régimen comunista cubano, otra más inmediata y real:

¿Cómo y cuándo va a terminar eso...?

DR. MARTINEZ MARQUEZ: Inmediatamente después voy a ceder el uso de la palabra a un periodista que, a pesar de su juventud, ha tenido el triste privilegio de luchar durante años por la devolución de su periódico y que luego de haber logrado este éxito ha tenido que afrontar distintas asechanzas en su propio país. Me refiero, con todo agrado, al Sr. Germán Ornes, Editor de El Caribe de la República Dominicana.

DR. ORNES: Antes que nada permítaseme felicitar al doctor Guillermo Martínez Márquez por su iniciativa al proponer la celebración de este foro en que examinamos la posición que, como periodistas libres de este Continente, deberemos asumir en el caso de que se produzca, en un futuro más o menos próximo, un cambio radical en la situación cubana actual.

Esta felicitación no es un simple deber de cortesía. Nace, más bien, del reconocimiento de que al traer al seno de esta asamblea una cuestión de tanta trascendencia, el doctor Martínez Márquez no sólo ha dado muestras de extraordinaria previsión y sensibilidad, sino que también ha hecho posible, desde el punto de vista práctico, que empecemos a prepararnos a formular normas precisas encaminadas a orientar las actuaciones del periodismo hemisférico, en general, y de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, en particular, en la dura batalla que libramos por mantener incólumes las instituciones básicas que informan un periodismo genuinamente libre, independiente y responsable.

En una palabra, al enfocar este tema y abordarlo resueltamente, nos apartamos de la práctica, seguida hasta ahora, de asumir posiciones, de día a día, de acuerdo con las circunstancias. Nos apartamos de la norma de enfrentarnos con los problemas y con las crisis solamente después que éstos se han presentado.

Este foro marca, pues, a mi entender, una nueva modalidad, al plantear con

antelación situaciones que habremos de afrontar como parte de nuestro esfuerzo, siempre inconcluso, por lograr el establecimiento de condiciones que hagan posible en América la existencia, sin limitaciones de ninguna especie, de una prensa libre.

Todos los periodistas aquí presentes estamos concientes, unos por propia experiencia y otros por esa sensibilidad extraordinaria que da el ejercicio de esta profesión, de los peligros que representa y los daños que ocasiona el control dictatorial de los medios de expresión del pensamiento.

Como ustedes ya habrán advertido, los participantes latinoamericanos en este foro somos periodistas que, de una manera o de otra, hemos padecido en nuestra propia carne, y algunos aún padecemos, el hierro ardiente de los abusos que cometen con la prensa las dictaduras de este Continente. Nuestras respectivas experiencias varían, tanto cuantitativa como cualitativamente, podríamos decir; pero hay también en ellas mucho que es común. Hemos sido perseguidos arbitraria y despiadadamente por dictadores. Hemos sufrido la pérdida de nuestros periódicos, exilio y persecuciones.

Eso, por supuesto, es sólo al anverso de la medalla. En el otro lado hemos tenido la satisfacción de encontrar abiertos, en nuestro exilio y en nuestra lucha, los brazos fraternos de nuestros colegas libres de todo el Hemisferio así como los de esta poderosa e influyente asociación de hombres dignos que es la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa.

Todos podemos aportar un enorme acervo de experiencia en la lucha contra los enemigos de la libertad en este Continente. Cree, sin embargo, que antes de seguir adelante es pertinente hacernos estas preguntas:

¿De cuánto vale, frente a la existencia de un régimen comunista en Cuba, nuestra propia experiencia?

¿Cómo podemos emplear esa experiencia para orientar a quienes buscan fórmulas seguras que los capaciten para rechazar con buen éxito cuantos esfuerzos se hacen hoy, y puedan hacerse en el futuro, para controlar, y poner al servicio de gobiernos e ideologías, los medios de expresión del pensamiento?

Tengo la impresión de que a medida que pasa el tiempo la lucha entre quienes buscan la libertad y quienes tratan de destruir la libertad se plantea en términos cada vez más complejos de los que ahora hemos tenido la oportunidad de conocer. En otros días, que afortunadamente ya han quedado atrás, hemos sufrido las maniebras y maquinaciones de tiranos tales como Juan Perón y Rafael Trujillo por imponer, mediante el uso de los vastos recursos del totalitarismo moderno, un control absoluto de la prensa. Esos hombres no sólo buscaban silenciar a los periódicos y periodistas independientes, sino también utilizar los medios de expresión como el vehículo más seguro de lograr sus afanes de autoglorificación. Pero aun los más absolutos de los tiranos tradicionales de la América Latina se quedaban cortos, si se comparan con las formas más modernas, ya implantadas en Cuba, de lograr el control totalitario de la prensa.

Los dictadores de épocas pasadas, pese a su record, bien negro por cierto, de supresión de periódicos, censura, confiscaciones y otros medios de destrucción de la libertad de prensa, mantuvieron, sin embargo, una organización

social tradicional --en muchos casos sus constituciones eran tan democráticas como la del estado más democrático del mundo-- y eso hizo posible, con mayor o menor grado de dificultad, el restablecimiento de las libertades públicas y la devolución de las empresas periodísticas confiscadas a sus legítimos dueños, una vez desaparecidos los dictadores.

En Cuba tenemos hoy una situación diferente. El estado cubano, siguiendo las normas totalitarias del marxismo-leninismo, no sólo ha silenciado la prensa, confiscado las empresas periodísticas y cerrado toda posibilidad de oposición, sino que también ha implantado nuevos procedimientos tendientes a dar condición de permanente al control absoluto de los medios de difusión del pensamiento.

Estas nuevas modalidades y procedimientos es lo que nos toca examinar aquí, con el objeto de estar preparados, ahora y en el futuro, para luchar contra ellos con posibilidades de triunfo. Y las debemos examinar no sólo por lo que significan para los periodistas cubanos, sino también porque se basan en premisas filosóficas que, de una manera encubierta, están siendo imitadas por regímenes que se proclaman anticomunistas.

La prensa cubana de hoy -- como la prensa de los demás países de la órbita socialista -- es diferente de la prensa democrática. La prensa cubana, especialmente los periódicos, retiene sólo unas pocas de las características de la prensa tradicional. El contenido, el tratamiento del acontecer diario, los métodos de informar y de redactar las noticias, y algunas veces hasta el propio lay-out de los periódicos, destacan las diferencias entre esa prensa y aquella con la cual están familiarizados los lectores en las sociedades democráticas.

La agitación y la propaganda -- tanto políticas como económicas -- colorean cada artículo y fotografía que se publica. Y puede afirmarse, como consecuencia, que la prensa cubana se ha tornado de un vehículo de información e ilustración objetivo en un brazo de la maquinaria de propaganda de un estado totalitario comunista.

Esos son los rasgos esenciales de la prensa castrista. El estado comunista cubano, y sólo el estado, decide lo que los periódicos deben publicar y cómo deben publicarlo. Ejerce, además, control absoluto sobre la prensa mediante el nombramiento de directores, redactores y otros miembros del personal de los periódicos, así como a través de la asignación de fondos, materiales, equipo de imprenta y papel. De ese modo todos los periódicos están bajo el más absoluto control estatal, y las viejas empresas periodísticas privadas no sólo han sido confiscadas sino que en muchos casos han desaparecido como entidades legales y sus equipos y talleres físicamente removidos.

Dadas las condiciones existentes en Cuba, me parece que no es arriesgado afirmar que la simple desaparición de Fidel Castro sería insuficiente para crear las condiciones para un retorno a las condiciones de libertad. Esas condiciones tampoco aparecerían con simples modificaciones formales en la estructura del actual régimen comunista, para hacerlo aparecer más aceptable a los ojos de quienes buscan una acomodación, dentro de la teoría de la coexistencia pacífica, entre el bloque comunista y el mundo democrático.

Para que en Cuba, o en cualquier otro país, existan condiciones propicias a la libertad de prensa, es preciso que desaparezca todo vestigio de control estatal y que los órganos de prensa estén en manos de periodistas independientes que puedan actuar independientemente de quienes tienen en sus manos el control de la maquinaria gubernamental.

Si queremos vivir en libertad no debemos aceptar que hay libertad en ningún país en el que el Gobierno, o el partido oficial, se haya apoderado, haciendo uso del poder que le da su posición predominante, del control de la totalidad -- o tan siquiera de una parte mínima -- de los órganos de difusión del pensamiento.

Esto es lo que nos enseña la experiencia cubana, superpuesta a nuestra anterior experiencia en la lucha contra las dictaduras. Y las lecciones que se derivan no deben ser olvidadas ni por la SIP ni por los periodistas libres de este Continente.

DR. MARTINEZ MARQUEZ: Voy a tener el honor de concederle la palabra a un veterano de la letra impresa en nuestro Continente, un veterano que también ha sufrido la dolorosa experiencia de haberse visto privado de su periódico y de la manera de ejercer la libertad de expresión. Me refiero a un distinguido colega, que seguramente recibirá en esta propia Asamblea un cargo importante de nuestra Sociedad. Estoy hablando del Sr. Julio de Mesquita Filho, editor de O Estado de São Paulo.

SR. MESQUITA FILHO: Invitado para decir algo sobre lo que se debe hacer cuando vuelva a la libertad el pueblo cubano, vacilé porque no había reflexionado suficientemente sobre la cuestión para decir algo que pudiera ser útil para la solución del problema. Pero pensando mejor, acabé por aceptar, porque puedo traer a la discusión la experiencia que tuve yo personalmente durante cerca de nueve años en el exilio, en las cárceles y lejos de mi país durante la dictadura terrible de Getulio Vargas.

Lo principal de esta experiencia es que llegué a la conclusión de que nada es más fácil que el cambio total de la mentalidad de una colectividad social cuando es sometida a un régimen de falta de libertad de prensa, es decir, de libertad de pensamiento. Poco tiempo después de ser enviado al exilio yo empecé a notar que el cambio que se producía era rápido, y las personas que habían quedado en el país, que no tenían contacto con lo que pasaba afuera de sus fronteras -- mis mejores amigos, aquellos que habían luchado conmigo durante 20 o 30 años por la implantación definitiva de una libertad total, de una democracia total en mi país -- ya no veían el problema de la misma manera en que lo veía yo bajo la influencia de lo que pasaba en el mundo.

En ese entonces se preparaba primero la guerra del 39, lo que pasó a modificar también la situación mundial. Me acuerdo de que una de las impresiones más fuertes que yo tuve fue, por ejemplo, lo que sucedió en Inglaterra después de la guerra. Un pueblo como el inglés, que había presenciado la labor maravillosa, incomparable de Churchill, luego de producirse la paz lo echó a un lado, dejando que esa magnífica inteligencia no pudiera más seguir dirigiendo a su país.

En mi país, cuando yo decía por carta a mis amigos lo que podría pasar después de que la dictadura cayera y les mostraba lo que había pasado en Inglaterra, donde un hombre como Churchill había sido echado del poder, mis amigos volvían siempre a decir que lo que teníamos que hacer era exactamente lo que habíamos hecho antes de todo lo que había pasado en el mundo y en mi país con la dictadura Vargas.

La mentalidad de nosotros había cambiado totalmente. La mía, por la acción constante de los hechos que yo seguía en libertad afuera de mi país. Y la de mis amigos, por la influencia directa de los medios de acción que una dictadura tiene para modificar la mentalidad de los ciudadanos.

Acá, ya varios oradores han hablado superficialmente de ese problema, y creo que eso es lo más importante por ser estudiado. Muy probablemente el pueblo cubano va a salir de la dictadura marxista con una mentalidad completamente diferente de aquella que los exiliados actuales han conocido y han conservado. Los que quedaron han sido trabajados todos los días por una acción drástica del gobierno sobre los chicos y sobre la juventud en general. Tendrán del mundo una visión totalmente diferente de aquella que tienen sus padres o sus amigos que han salido de Cuba por la dictadura.

De manera que es necesario que los exiliados no se olviden de ese hecho. El choque entre ellos y sus compatriotas va a ser, seguramente, muy fuerte, y va a ser extraordinariamente difícil conciliar los dos puntos de vista -- de aquellos que han quedado allí, y que han sido trabajados profundamente por la dictadura, y ellos que saben de un mundo libre. El universo de los cubanos que han quedado allí va ser uno, y el universo de aquellos que van a entrar en su país después de muchos años en el exilio va ser otro completamente diferente.

Si algo yo puedo aconsejar a mis compañeros de desgracias políticas es que una vez que vuelvan a su país tengan el mayor cuidado, que vayan con la intención de experimentar una impresión totalmente diferente de aquella que podrían tener sobre lo que van a encontrar. Muchas gracias. (Applause)

DR. MARTINEZ MARQUEZ: Antes de seguir adelante quiero anunciar que los autobuses para la recepción del Presidente Belaúnde saldrán a las 7:15, no a las 7:45 como se anunció anteriormente. Repito, los autobuses saldrán para la recepción en el Palacio a las 7:15 de esta tarde, porque la recepción comenzará a las 7:45.

Y ahora, para cerrar brillantemente la primera parte de este foro, voy a tener el honor de concederle la palabra al distinguido colega designado por los organizadores de este mismo foro para que haga el resumen del mismo. Me refiero al responsable principal de todos los agasajes y de la excelente organización que hemos disfrutado en esta reunión memorable de Lima, a mi querido amigo y colega don Manuel Cisneros.

Antes de que él haga uso de la palabra quiero decir que inmediatamente después que el Dr. Cisneros haga la síntesis y las conclusiones de la primera parte de este debate, tendré el gusto de conceder la palabra a todos aquellos miembros activos de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa que deseen intervenir

en el debate.

DR. CISNEROS: Es muy interesante el debate que se ha producido y hay que felicitar a don Guillermo Martínez Márquez por haber organizado este foro.

La tarea de resumir resulta difícil, no por las ideas debatidas, en realidad, porque los siete oradores, en esencia, han estado absolutamente conformes con el problema, sino porque cada uno de ellos ha expuesto, con su experiencia, su talento y su amor al periodismo, ideas profundas que tendrían que meditararse porque ellas son, realmente, lecciones que todos debemos utilizar.

Yo, en el curso del debate, me he permitido hacer algunas anotaciones que voy a leer, pensando en que pueden ser el resumen de lo que aquí se ha dicho.

El caso de Cuba no es el caso exclusivo de los periodistas cubanos. Es también el caso de la prensa de toda América. Los precedentes americanos no sirvieron al gobierno de Cuba, pero el precedente cubano ha servido, y sigue sirviendo, de tentación a los demagogos de todo el Continente.

Si queremos vivir en libertad no debemos aceptar que hay libertad en un país en que el gobierno o el partido oficial se ha apoderado, haciendo uso del poder que le da su posición predominante, del control de la totalidad, o de una parte mínima, de los órganos de difusión del pensamiento.

Y sobre estas bases las dos conclusiones a las que se puede llegar son que:

(1) tenemos que proclamar que el control de la propiedad de los medios de expresión por los gobiernos, sea bajo el sistema totalitario socialista o bajo cualquier otro sistema, es contrario a los principios de la SIP, paladín de la libertad de expresión y de información.

(2) En el caso concreto de Cuba hay que estar alerta con lo que sucederá a la caída del régimen totalitario de Fidel Castro. En Cuba no habrá libertad, ni democracia, ni vida civilizada si no se restablece el pleno respeto a los derechos individuales y, en primer término, el derecho de propiedad y de libertad de expresión. Para que ella brille nuevamente, será necesaria la inmediata devolución de los diarios y periódicos confiscados, y su publicación libre de limitación alguna. Si esto no ocurre, Cuba seguirá siendo una avanzada del comunismo y una amenaza a la seguridad del Continente.

Creo que con estas palabras he resumido lo que siete brillantes oradores han dicho a ustedes hace breves momentos. Muchas gracias. (Applause)

DR. MARTINEZ MARQUEZ: Ahora vamos a empezar la segunda parte de este foro. Han solicitado la palabra, hasta este momento, el Sr. Salvador Díaz Versón, el Sr. Napoleón Viera Altamirano, el Sr. Antonio Puga y la Sra. Miriam Beltrán.

Voy a permitirme ceder el primer turno, naturalmente, a nuestra muy distinguida compañera, Miriam Beltrán, que tantas muestras de actividad y de cortesía ha tenido para con nosotros, en unión de su esposo el distinguido colega Pedro Beltrán.

SRA. MIRIAM K. de BELTRAN (La Prensa, Lima, Perú): Quisiera solamente decir que muchas personas han manifestado interés por conocer nuestra casa en Lima, que es aquí a dos cuadras del hotel. Es una de las pocas casas de su época que existen todavía, y todos serán muy bienvenidos si quieren ir allá hoy día por la tarde o mañana por la tarde. Entre las 12 y las 6 de la tarde la casa estará abierta para todos.

Saliendo del hotel, si se dobla a la izquierda, se encuentra la misma Calle Rufino Torrico. El número de la casa es 590, y como dije, está a solamente dos cuadras del Hotel Crillon. Pasando por una iglesia antigua, verán una casa con un balcón muy largo. Tocaban a la puerta, y allá tendrán su casa. (Applause)

DR. MARTINEZ MARQUEZ: Y ahora, para iniciar la segunda parte de nuestro debate, voy a tener el gusto de cederle la palabra a un distinguido compatriota mío, gran periodista, veterano de las luchas por la libertad de expresión en Cuba y en el Continente y reconocido anticomunista, Salvador Díaz-Versón.

SR. SALVADOR DIAZ-VERSION (Occidente, La Habana, Cuba, en el exilio):

Señoras y señores: Confieso que en mi larga vida pública nunca he venido a una tribuna sintiéndome tan mal como en la mañana de hoy. Y me siento mal por dos conceptos: porque se ha limitado a cinco minutos exclusivamente el uso de la palabra, y en segundo lugar por el desagrado con que he visto determinadas expresiones manifestadas esta mañana en el uso de este Foro.

El Presidente de la Comisión de la Libertad de Prensa, Sr. John O'Rourke, lanzó paletadas de fango sobre los periodistas cubanos. Desconoció que en esta organización existen distinguidos directores de periódicos: el propio Guillermo Martínez Márquez, que ha convocado este Foro, Sergio Carbó, J. Ignacio Rivero, el Sr. Barletta. Sin embargo, el Sr. O'Rourke habló exclusivamente de lo que utilizó Fidel Castro para incautarse de los periódicos en Cuba.

El día 23 de enero de 1959, cuando se celebraba la Operación Verdad en La Habana, mis talleres de la revista Occidente fueron asaltados por los comunistas e inmediatamente se inició una campaña en esa reunión de periodistas extranjeros celebrada en el Hotel Riviera de La Habana, asegurando que todos los periódicos de Cuba eran corruptos; que los gobiernos subvencionaban a los periodistas; que los directores de periódicos estaban vendidos a los gobiernos; y no se habló de la grandeza de los periodistas, de esos hombres dueños de grandes empresas que lanzaron todo por la borda para no hacerle el juego al comunismo, y que se enfrentaron valientemente en defensa de la libertad y la dignidad humana.

Jamás había producido el universo un reto en masa de una clase como la que se produjo en Cuba con la clase periodística. Y este hecho, que debía ser la glorificación de los hombres de pensamiento, recibe en la mañana de hoy aquí una acusación que marcha paralela con la línea que está trazando el comunismo actualmente, de decir que si regresamos a Cuba no podemos volver a lo de antes.

¿Y qué era lo de antes? Cultura, dignidad, lucha por la libertad.

¿Qué era lo de antes? Grandeza de nuestro periodismo. Hombres que a través de los años tuvieron que sufrir distintos exilios; que supieron de las prisiones; que supieron de la rebeldía.

Sergio Carbó, director de Prensa Libre, encabezó la expedición que desembarcó contra el Presidente Machado en Jibara. Yo sufrí 40 arrestos en aquella época por mis publicaciones y mis luchas en la prensa. Y esta historia viva, escrita con sangre y dolor de un pueblo que quiere mantenerse libre, tiene que soportar y tiene que permitir que se diga esta mañana hermosa, en una reunión de periodistas en que se habla de la libertad, que el periodismo de Cuba de antes era un periodismo venal, era un periodismo vendido, era un periodismo al que no podemos regresar, y que había demasiados periódicos; que tenemos que regresar a un pequeño número de periódicos, bajo la dirección y protección y ayuda de los Estados Unidos, no por nuestra propia iniciativa.

Yo, como periodista combatiente, que lleve 38 años defendiendo la libertad, que vive miserablemente en el exilio, atendiendo a mi familia, quiero dejar constancia en esta reunión de mi protesta como cubano, como periodista y como hombre amante de la libertad. Muchas gracias, señores. (Applause)

DR. MARTINEZ MARQUEZ: El Sr. Napoleón Viera Altamirano, editor de El Diario de Hoy, y bien conocido por todos nosotros por su constante campaña en favor de un interamericanismo superior.

SR. NAPOLEON VIERA ALTAMIRANO (El Diario de Hoy, San Salvador, El Salvador): Sr. Presidente, realmente, después de la alocución del caballero Díaz-Versón, reconozco que el tono de mi palabra pasa a un plano enteramente distinto, porque vengo aquí sencillamente a hacer el llamamiento a la razón tranquila, que es el único camino que tenemos para poder, siquiera ligeramente, abordar lo que nos viene.

En la reunión última de Caracas, como en otras anteriores, abordamos el problema de lo que pasa a los periódicos cuando, después de un largo período de tiranía, vuelven más o menos a libertad. Y recuerdo que uno de los temas tratados con más detenimiento y actitud reflexiva fue el caso boliviano.

En mi opinión, que sostuve después de una manera sistemática en mi periódico, en un país puede considerarse vigente la libertad de prensa cuando los periódicos destruidos, empastelados y dominados, vuelven a manos de sus dueños. Y si en Bolivia había dos periódicos que no habían regresado, aunque existiese en apariencia libertad de prensa, allí había una restricción.

Recuerdo que más de una vez, cuando nuestra Sociedad hacía llamamientos a la cordura al dictador Paz Estenssoro, él nos contestaba que La Razón, por ejemplo, podía perfectamente bien salir a luz, pero que el gobierno no podía responsabilizarse. Y a mi juicio la respuesta era una confesión palmaria de que allí no existía un orden de derecho, porque donde no existe autoridad, no existe libertad; como igualmente podemos decir que donde no existe libertad, no existe autoridad, sine usurpación.

Traigo a colación este pequeño detalle por lo de Cuba, que es el tema cen-

tral del foro. En Cuba no podremos decir que ha vuelto la libertad de prensa si no vuelven los periódicos a manos de sus propietarios. Pero temo yo, y en esto el distinguido colega del Brasil nos ha hecho una señal inteligente, que lo que en Cuba pueda venir no va depender solamente de lo que en Cuba habrá, porque si en ese momento nuestra América ha llegado ya al extremo al cual la vamos empujando y llevando, Cuba no podrá realizar su rehabilitación democrática en un Continente ya, en principio, mentalmente en camino de ser encadenado.

Y digo esto porque todos podemos advertir -- y es algo que hemos denunciado de una manera constante -- que toda nuestra América viene siendo sometida a un adoctrinamiento de carácter socialista. Y todos sabemos perfectamente bien que no hay un sólo país en el mundo bajo el régimen socialista que conozca la libertad de prensa, como no hay ningún país socialista en donde tenga la más pequeña vigencia la libertad de sufragio, que es, como la flor, digamos, que brota de la libertad de prensa.

Adviértase bien que mientras estamos nosotros queriendo libertar a Cuba, estamos permitiendo, de una manera irreflexiva, el gradual encadenamiento de todo el Hemisferio.

Hoy podemos decir que hablamos ya de una transformación social. Y sólo este concepto de la función social de la propiedad nos está indicando cómo, de una manera casi inadvertida, estamos cayendo en la línea socialista.

Se habla de justicia social, y pocos advierten que el apéndice social no es más que el que le puse la mano del socialismo.

Se habla de democracia popular, y, advirtiéndolo o no advirtiéndolo el absoluto error de la expresión, se olvida que la democracia en sí misma es una cosa del pueblo, porque su nombre lo indica.

Se habla de una justa distribución de riqueza, y no se advierte que estamos dentro de un orden de derecho y se olvida que a la vez de hablar de una justa distribución de riqueza nos olvidamos de una justa producción de riqueza.

De esta manera nosotros vamos como acufiando, autorizando una serie de falacias económicas; una serie de errores de carácter económico que a la larga van a marcar por completo la mentalidad de las nuevas generaciones, a tal punto que, cuando llegue un día en que un país como Cuba pueda resurgir a la libertad, vamos a encontrar una América socializada que no podrá conocer la libertad.

Y no es únicamente un problema de valores económicos, es también un problema de valores espirituales. Cuando esta mañana se ha hecho referencia a la labor constructiva de las asociaciones educacionales de América, hemos tenido que recordar precisamente que una de las maquinaciones sistemáticas del socialismo es coger no solamente al periódico que orienta, sino también a la escuela que educa.

Amigos, periodistas americanos, periodistas de Hispanoamérica y del resto

del Continente: yo pido en este momento que pongamos mayor atención, y no olvidemos nosotros que mientras estamos defendiendo la libertad de prensa hemos cometido el error de que de una manera sistemática y simultánea, abrimos las puertas a la tendencia totalitarista. Por ese camino estamos empujando a las generaciones futuras en una dirección equivocada.

Nosotros vemos cómo, de una manera continua, a las propagandas de Fidel Castro se unen unas propagandas todavía más peligrosas. Porque si bien los discursos del dictador cubano pueden interesar a las multitudes, por otra parte tenemos que la constante infiltración de errores de esta naturaleza están también causando el deterioro básico de la democracia americana. Muchas gracias. (Applause)

DR. MARTINEZ MARQUEZ: Ha solicitado la palabra el colega Antonio Puga, de El Día, de Chile.

SR. ANTONIO PUGA (El Día, La Serena, Chile): Sr. Presidente, en esta reunión los oradores que me han antecedido en el uso de la palabra, se han referido a lo que sucederá cuando caiga el régimen cubano, pero también ha sido unánime el parecer de que esta caída puede prolongarse mucho.

Creo que nosotros, los que tenemos este poder tan importante que es la prensa, debemos contribuir con todos nuestros medios para acelerar dicha caída. Desgraciadamente, como ayer lo hacía notar un orador, muchas veces nosotros, inconcientemente o concientemente, estamos rodeando a Fidel Castro de una aureola que lo convierte en una especie de héroe popular, al reproducir todas sus actuaciones, al destacar todos sus ataques en contra de los gobiernos democráticos.

El Sr. Martínez Márquez ayer se refería, con mucha razón, a que un acuerdo adoptado en una asamblea anterior por la SIP, de contribuir mediante publicaciones a la caída de este régimen, no había sido respetado sino por dos o tres miembros de la SIP.

Creo que nosotros, con esta terrible lección, debemos no solamente precavernos, sino que también debemos ayudar con toda nuestra fuerza, con esa tremenda fuerza que nos da la prensa hablada y la prensa escrita, para luchar en contra de este régimen que es un oprobio para América; y no solamente un oprobio, sino un peligro para todos nosotros. Eso es todo, señores. (Applause)

DR. MARTINEZ MARQUEZ: Y ahora voy a conceder la palabra al Sr. Schouten, del NEWS de Aruba.

MR. SCHOUTEN: Mr. Chairman, as I have been murdering the English language and the people have borne with me, allow me this morning, as we are speaking about Cuba, to murder the Spanish language.

Con entusiasmo he oído yo todo lo que piensan cuando caerá Fidel Castro. He oído el entusiasmo con que los periodistas en el exilio están hablando de regresar a Cuba, y qué harán en Cuba.

Yo quiero agregar algo sobre eso: hay que unirse de una vez, ahora, para

estar preparados cuando caiga Fidel. Que los cubanos entren unidos, aunque sea con una pequeña prensa para empezar, para que el pueblo de Cuba pueda leer lo que imprimen en Cuba.

El debate sobre Cuba esta mañana me ha asustado enormemente. Yo no me asusto muy ligero, pero cuando oí el debate sobre Cuba comprendí que cuando uno pierde su derecho uno tiene que sufrir. Por eso quiero citar condiciones de las Antillas Holandesas que yo no pensaba citar aquí en la SIP.

En Junio 16, después que tuvimos nuestras elecciones en las Antillas Holandesas y después que el gobierno holandés, o mejor dicho los políticos holandeses, se habían apoderado de todos los periódicos grandes, me dejaron a mí sólo allí para seguir con la lucha, pero yo no tenía miedo porque pensaba que estaba viviendo en una democracia.

El susto que me dió fue cuando después de las elecciones, que ganó el partido del gobierno, sacaron un panfleto con el siguiente contenido -- y yo no comprendí que esto era tan importante hasta que esta mañana en el foro sobre Cuba:

"Porque ustedes dan pan ¿creen que tienen que votar por ustedes?

"Porque ustedes dan trabajo a sus esposos ¿creen que pueden entrar en las casas y abusar?

"Pueblo de las Antillas: ¡Alerta! Ejemplos como otros anteriores están surgiendo ahora en las Antillas -- como Hitler en Alemania, Franco en España, Fidel en Cuba, Duvalier en Haití y Trujillo en Santo Domingo, Pérez Jiménez en Venezuela.

"Pueblo de Aruba ¡levántate ahora!"

Yo creo que están robando nuestra libertad porque tienen ahora en sus manos todos los periódicos.

Pueblo, antes que sea tarde ¡levántate!

Para que ustedes sepan lo que es luchar, quiero leerles lo que dice un gran periodista venezolano en contra de Pérez Jiménez en Venezuela. Es lo siguiente:

"No sé qué curso tomarán los otros, pero dénnme libertad o dénnme la muerte."

Y yo agrego lo siguiente:

A los políticos de Aruba les digo, usando la gran frase de Aristóteles: "Nadie puede querer a la persona a quien le tiene miedo."

Voy a pedir a los cubanos en el exilio que me hablen un poco más en serio sobre lo que pasa cuando uno pierde su libertad, porque yo soy el único libre ahora en Antillas Holandesas. Gracias. (Applause)

DR. MARTINEZ MARQUEZ: Mi estimado colega, John O'Rourke, Editor Emeritus del Washington Daily News, solicita la palabra para contestar al colega muy distinguido de Cuba, Salvador Díaz-Versón.

MR. O'ROURKE: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Not to debate with Mr. Salvador Díaz-Versón at all. I believe he must have failed to hear one sentence which was in my comments and, therefore, I would like to read it again.

"The Cuban newspapermen proved that their ranks contain some of the bravest and most tenacious men in the Hemisphere's unending struggles for liberty. It would be an evil thing to tar them with the black that others merited."

That is all. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

DR. MARTINEZ MARQUEZ: Muchas gracias, Sr. O'Rourke.

DR. FERNANDO J. CARRANDI (Agencia de Informaciones Periodísticas, Inc., Miami, Florida): Sr. Presidente y señores miembros de la SIP:

Sinceramente, después de las palabras de nuestro compañero, Dr. Díaz-Versón, un poco emocionadas por la confusión que tuve con las palabras del Presidente del Comité de la Libertad de Prensa, yo quería decir algo para aplacar los ánimos, y es que nosotros los cubanos estamos padeciendo, como decía el Sr. Goffi de Chile, de enfermedad cardíaca, y cada vez que hay una palabra que no entendemos bien, nos emociona.

Sinceramente, como periodista cubano me siento muy emocionado porque los grandes de la prensa de América participan en este Foro sobre el futuro de la prensa en Cuba.

Yo temía, por ese escepticismo que llevamos los cubanos en el corazón, que la causa cubana y el dolor de Cuba vivían nada más escasas horas en la mente de los periodistas de América; las horas en que se celebran cada año las Asambleas de la SIP. Pero hemos presenciado aquí algo muy distinto. Hemos recobrado la fe al ver que personas a quienes siempre consideramos, no sólo maestros del periodismo, sino orientadores americanos democráticos, han estado aquí presentes en el Foro.

Yo dirijo una modesta agencia de noticias, profesionalmente organizada y con periodistas responsables y series: la AIP. Ese organismo está remitiendo a cientos de periódicos de este Continente boletines de noticias sobre el comunismo que hoy esclaviza a Cuba y sobre el dolor de mi patria.

Cree antes que había encontrado poco eco en la prensa de mi Continente. Ya muchos hablaban de que los cubanos, y en especial los periodistas, exageraban la cosa cubana.

Nosotros en el exilio alertamos al mundo acerca del poder comunista. Decíamos que Cuba bajo Castro era comunista, y nos hablaban de exageración.

Decíamos de la ocupación de Cuba por soldados soviéticos, y contestaban que estábamos exagerando. Luego fue comprobado.

Hablábamos del peligro tan inminente, como el de los cohetes en el medio de América, y nos decían que estábamos exagerando, y los periodistas cubanos tenían razón.

Nosotros, en esa prensa de América en que muchas veces escribió nuestro apóstol, José Martí, pensábamos que no teníamos ningún eco. Sin embargo, ruego a todos que comprendan que si teníamos alguna vez escepticismo en nuestro pensamiento -- pues casi todos los exiliados hemos sido calificados de cardíacos o con exilismo exagerado-- quizás hoy lo erradiquemos de nuestros corazones al presenciar personalmente que las primeras plumas de la América siguen defendiendo nuestra causa.

Hace pocos minutos le decía a don Pablo Vargas Badillo que tenía yo una opinión injusta de su posición en cuanto a Cuba porque se me había alegado que no se preocupaba por la situación de nuestros compatriotas en su periódico en Puerto Rico. Le oí hace días referirse a sus preocupaciones en relación con el caso de Chile, y no podía irme de Lima sin hablar con él.

Ya el Dr. Aguirre nos había señalado la conducta democrática de este hombre, y puedo decir aquí que tanto en el caso de don Pablo como en el de otros periodistas de América, muchos cubanos hemos estado equivocados en relación a su posición y al poco interés que mostraba en el grave peligro que significa el establecimiento de un estado comunista en el medio de América.

Muchos de ustedes que han sufrido como nosotros esta enfermedad que se llama "exilismo" nos comprenderán. Habrán sufrido cuando no veían una sola pulgada en los periódicos de América hablando de la desgracia de su país. Y en el caso nuestro, que brindamos casi en forma gratuita en Nueva York esa información sobre lo que está ocurriendo en Cuba, más lo hemos sufrido.

La prensa cubana exiliada tiene que agradecer mucho este espacio que nos ha concedido dentro de sus sesiones la SIP. Y ojalá que del seno de este Foro no sólo salga el apoyo a la prensa libre que se implantará en la Cuba del futuro, sino que se nos apoye y se divulgue nuestra gran tragedia, que es la antesala de la tragedia de cualquier país o pueblo que caiga dentro de las garras del comunismo en el presente momento. Y que cada periódico integrante de la SIP dedique aunque sea una pequeña pulgada diaria a señalar la triste y desastrosa situación en que vive un país como Cuba bajo las garras del comunismo internacional, cercenador de todas las libertades humanas.

Ojalá que la SIP y sus miembros amortigüen un poco el escepticismo que tenemos muchos cubanos en relación con la solidaridad hemisférica, o mejor aún, que desaparezca definitivamente todo escepticismo de nuestro pensamiento y recibamos, como lo estamos recibiendo hoy, la solidaridad de ustedes.

La Agencia de Informaciones Periodísticas (AIP), que se siente orgullosa hoy más que nunca de pertenecer a esta extraordinaria institución defensora de las libertades humanas que es la SIP, así le pide.

Y pueden estar seguros de que nuestra prensa libre responderá en la Cuba del futuro a la situación y orientación democrática que el momento exigirá. Muchas gracias. (Applause)

DR. MARTINEZ MARQUEZ: Algún otro colega desea hacer uso de la palabra?

Nunca, como hoy, he sentido la responsabilidad de un cargo. Para mí, como ustedes comprenderán, este Foro formaba parte de mis mejores intenciones como periodista y como cubano, pero al tomar el acuerdo de celebrar esta reunión, el Comité Ejecutivo de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa acordó que el resumen lo hiciera el Dr. Manuel Cisneros. De veras pueden ustedes creerme que siento mucho esta contingencia, porque me hubiera sido grato, y para mí, necesario, decir algunas otras palabras.

Pero disciplinado como soy con los acuerdos de nuestra Sociedad, voy a puntualizar nada más la imparcialidad con que se ha llevado a cabo este Foro; la libertad absoluta que ha permitido la expresión de los más diversos criterios; y al propio tiempo expresar mi gratitud personal y la gratitud de todos los cubanos y de los periodistas libres del Continente en general por la atención que ustedes nos han prestado. Muchas gracias. La sesión ha terminado. (Applause)

(The meeting adjourned at 1:00 P. M.)

GENERAL ASSEMBLYFOURTH MEETINGThursday, October 27, 1966

The fourth meeting of the XXII Annual General Assembly of the Inter American Press Association convened at 10:00 a.m. in the Salon Perú of the Hotel Crillon in Lima, Perú, with Mr. Jack R. Howard, President, as Chairman.

MR. HOWARD: The meeting will please come to order.

Mr. Jiménez, have we any messages this morning?

SR. JIMENEZ: Del Sr. Riobó Caputto, en contestación al telegrama enviado por el Presidente, Sr. Howard, el otro día para desearle que se repusiera pronto:

"Estimado Señor Presidente y amigo: razones de salud impiden este año mi presencia en la XXII Asamblea Annual de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa. Un gran abrazo a todos. Viva la hermandad americana, viva la libertad, que es decir, viva la SIP! Cordialmente suyo. (Firmado) Riobó Caputto."

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

MR. HOWARD: Thank you very much.

Ladies and gentlemen, the international figure who is our first speaker this morning, shares one thing with me. We were both born in New York City, and our paths separated only to converge here in Lima.

Our speaker attended the University of California, was graduated from the University of Maryland and studied at the Foreign Service School at Georgetown University.

In 1936 this man who describes himself as a "farmer" began a distinguished political and diplomatic career when he was elected Mayor of Quito, Ecuador.

Two years later he became Ecuador's Minister of Defense, and in 1940 went into private business for four years, emerging to become his country's Ambassador to the United States.

During this period he was Ecuador's delegate to the San Francisco Conference. He returned home in 1946 and in 1948 was elected President of Ecuador, an office to which, under Ecuador's Constitution, he was ineligible for immediate re-election.

In 1958 he was the United Nations observer in Lebanon; in 1960 the United Nations sent him to the Congo; in 1964 he was the United Nations mediator in Cyprus; in 1966 we have the honor of having him with us. Dr. Galo Plaza Lasso. (Applause)

LA EDUCACION Y EL DESARROLLO

Conferencia pronunciada por el Dr. Galo Plaza Lasso

Las palabras mágicas en la América Latina que sintetizan las aspiraciones de las grandes masas, que principian a despertar de su letargo de siglos, son "desarrollo económico" y "justicia social". Pero yo me pregunto si la educación no será el único camino que pueda llevar a los pueblos hacia esas metas.

Estamos viviendo en la América Latina una era de transición, en la que millones de personas habituadas a vivir de acuerdo con las viejas costumbres de la sociedad tradicional deben amoldarse a las exigencias de la vida moderna. No hay la menor duda que la gradual liquidación de la sociedad tradicional es un movimiento irreversible y que el nuevo orden de cosas demanda cambios estructurales profundos en lo económico, en lo social y en lo político.

El objetivo fundamental de estos cambios es crear las condiciones favorables para el mejor aprovechamiento de los recursos naturales, para una más amplia y equitativa distribución de sus frutos, entre sectores cada vez mayores de la población, que aspiran a ser dueños de su propio destino.

Uno de los recursos más valiosos en el proceso económico es el hombre mismo. Mientras una creciente población analfabeta o semi-educada es una carga más, como lo son el hambre y la enfermedad, que pesa sobre los pueblos pobres, en cambio el hombre educado se convierte en un recurso natural de primera magnitud. Es así como el educarlo se convierte en una función económica, además de ser una función social.

Es sorprendente que no hace mucho los economistas recién principiaron a darse cuenta de la vital importancia de la educación en el campo del desarrollo económico y están hablando ahora de inversiones en capital humano. Ya todos reconocen que el factor limitante del crecimiento económico es la ausencia de un sistema educacional eficiente, orientado hacia la producción. Theodore Schultz, de la Universidad de Chicago, ha realizado estudios que demuestran que inversiones en educación pueden traer grandes aumentos en la producción, que un dólar o un peso invertido en educar un ser humano muchas veces contribuye a aumentar el ingreso nacional en mayor escala que un dólar o un peso dedicado a vías de comunicación, o a represas, o a maquinaria u otros bienes tangibles de capital.

Planteado en estos términos el problema de la educación adquiere una dimensión económica y debe tratarse como una inversión reproductiva de alta prioridad.

Por cierto, es del caso notar un aparente conflicto filosófico, que existe en potencia, entre el concepto de educar en función de desarrollo económico y el cumplimiento de su función social, en una sociedad libre en la que el individuo tiene el derecho de realizar sus potencialidades humanas de acuerdo con sus propios intereses. Pero la verdad es que no existe contradicción, ya que puede una política acertada en materia de educación llenar los dos objetivos. Si se respetan plenamente las libertades individuales, poniendo la

educación al alcance de todos, sin distinción y de acuerdo con las inclinaciones de cada persona se cumple la función social, y se lograría el otro objetivo, sincronizando la educación con las necesidades que señalen los planes para el desarrollo económico.

En países de recursos limitados, sólo se justificaría distraer recursos, siempre escasos, de otros campos de inversión urgente, dando máxima prioridad a la educación, si ésta necesariamente se pone al servicio del desarrollo económico, sin que esto signifique que tenga que renunciar a su misión social. De manera que no hay razón de suponer que un sistema educacional productivo no pueda ser también un sistema democrático dedicado a pulir y elevar los valores humanos. No hay, de consiguiente, contradicción entre los fines económicos de la educación y sus fines humanos.

Planteadas estas verdades, cabe preguntar si la educación en América Latina está preparando a las nuevas generaciones y a la presente para manejar una estructura socio-económica más compleja.

El cimiento sobre el que debe descansar todo el edificio educacional es la escuela primaria; de su eficiencia y de su universalidad depende la calidad de lo que venga después. En todas las constituciones de las Repúblicas Americanas se declara que la educación elemental es gratuita y obligatoria, que toda la niñez, sin consideración de raza, de sexo, de credo, o de posición social, tiene derecho a una educación primaria. Pero en la práctica este fundamental principio no siempre se cumple. Los demuestran las alarmantes cifras estadísticas referentes a niños de edad escolar a los que no llega la escuela.

Hacen falta maestros y faltan aulas y no siempre los métodos y los programas de estudio son los más apropiados para que el niño desarrolle su talento creador y aprenda a conocer las importantes características de su hogar, de la comunidad en la que vive y del medio ambiente que le rodea. Sobre todo en los sectores rurales, que son los mayoritarios, prevalecen las ideas y las prácticas tradicionales y los niños no van más allá del tercero o cuarto grado.

En muchos países de nuestra América se ha progresado, a este nivel, de manera notable en los últimos años. En todos los países hay conciencia de la gravedad del problema y se realizan los mayores esfuerzos para resolverlo, pero queda aún mucho por hacer para poder alcanzar las metas que un acelerado desarrollo económico y social demanda.

El eslabón más débil en todo el sistema educacional es el secundario. A pesar de que algo se ha logrado en las últimas décadas para que la educación al nivel medio prepare para la vida y eduque para la democracia a la totalidad de una población heterogénea, todavía prevalece en la práctica la influencia de una filosofía de la educación que fue traída a la Colonia y continuó en la República, cuya finalidad era desarrollar una élite intelectual capaz de apreciar las artes, las letras y las ciencias, para lo cual impartía una cultura general, con énfasis en las materias clásicas y poca atención a las ciencias aplicadas y a materias vocacionales, y cuyo objetivo principal era preparar para la universidad.

La necesidad de educar para el desarrollo económico y social no sólo se refiere a las disciplinas universitarias sino también a todas las profesiones en la escala económica, desde albañiles, electricistas y obreros especializados, hasta médicos, ingenieros e investigadores, pasando por jefes de taller, contabilistas y secretarías, y tantas otras profesiones a todos los niveles. Todos los peldaños de esta escalera son de igual importancia para llegar a las metas que nos proponemos.

Mientras que la educación vocacional, indispensable para la industria y el comercio, no sea parte integral de la educación secundaria académica y continúe siendo el pariente pobre del sistema educacional, no habremos incorporado a la vida útil a un sector numeroso de la población que no llega a completar todo el proceso educacional.

De consiguiente, una de las inversiones para el desarrollo económico de mayor prioridad debería ser en el campo de la educación vocacional, a nivel medio.

William Benton, en un artículo en el Tomo anual de 1961 de la Enciclopedia Británica, expone que a principios del Siglo XIII en Europa se desarrollaron dos tipos de universidades, la una en París y la otra en Bolonia. La de París era una corporación de profesores que imponía las regulaciones que ellos habían establecido y se encargaba de la defensa de los derechos de la universidad frente a la Corona y el Papado, mientras que en Bolonia, fue una corporación de estudiantes la que se encargó de organizar la universidad y contratar a los profesores. Instituciones de este segundo tipo duraron poco en Europa y ahora todas las universidades de Europa y Estados Unidos son descendientes de la Universidad de París, mientras que la mayor parte de las universidades de América Latina han seguido en mucho la antigua línea de Bolonia.

En verdad, los estudiantes universitarios en América Latina siempre han participado activamente en la lucha por la libertad de acción e independencia de la universidad frente a la Corona y al Poder Clerical, que la dominaban totalmente, durante la Colonia y después, contra las tiranías y toda clase de opresiones hasta lograr su autonomía política e intelectual que continúan defendiendo con mucho celo. Tienen orgullo de su espíritu libertario, de su rechazo a las dictaduras y de su permanente preocupación por las reformas sociales. Sin embargo, en su afán de proteger a la universidad de la inestabilidad política que tan frecuentemente la rodea, muchas veces han logrado el efecto contrario y han llevado la política a las aulas de estudio. En todo caso, existe un ambiente altamente politizado que no siempre favorece la dedicación al estudio, ni conduce al mejoramiento de la calidad de la enseñanza. Además, la significativa participación del estudiantado en el gobierno de la universidad a veces revive situaciones que ya aparecieron en la Universidad de Bolonia a principios del Siglo XIII.

A pesar de que tienen acceso a la universidad personas de todas las escalas económicas, ya que generalmente la universidad oficial es gratuita, ésta es más bien una torre de marfil que una institución dedicada al servicio del pueblo. Se pudiera creer que la saludable influencia de estudiantes proveniente de sectores mayoritarios llevaría a la universidad hacia el pueblo, pero sucede que al llegar aquellos estudiantes a la universidad, ellos también ingresan a la intocable torre.

No todos los profesores, ni la mayor parte de los estudiantes, lo son a tiempo completo. Una cátedra universitaria es un honor al que raras veces se le asigna una remuneración que guarde relación con su alta categoría y tiene necesariamente el catedrático que completar su presupuesto vital en actividades profesionales ajenas a la universidad. Por esta razón no existe por lo menos un núcleo que viva, piense y sueñe en la universidad de manera permanente, para darle el espíritu creador y la dinámica que deben caracterizarle en una sociedad en proceso de transformación. En la mayoría de los casos, la universidad es una estación de paso para todos, tanto profesores como alumnos, ya que sus intereses primordiales están en otros campos.

Los recursos económicos generalmente son limitados en relación con las crecientes necesidades y por fallas tradicionales de organización muchas veces existe una increíble dispersión y duplicación de recursos siempre insuficientes.

Existen ejemplos admirables en América de cómo la universidad, luchando contra toda clase de limitaciones y sobreponiéndose a las fuerzas de la tradición, se ha puesto al servicio de la comunidad, pero en la mayoría de los casos todavía los estudiantes no están adquiriendo las necesarias disciplinas intelectuales y morales que les prepare para asumir responsabilidades futuras en el manejo de una nueva realidad socio-económica a la que tendremos que llegar, como única solución para los problemas fundamentales de la región.

El objetivo principal, en el proceso del desarrollo económico, es poner a la universidad al servicio de la comunidad. Sus programas de estudio deben ampliarse para atender las múltiples demandas de la sociedad moderna. La investigación, tanto básica como aplicada, debe ser parte integral de la tarea universitaria, como también la labor de extensión que haga llegar, a toda la población, conocimientos útiles para la vida práctica.

Desgraciadamente, por la limitación de recursos, tanto humanos como económicos, la mayor parte de las universidades de América Latina no ofrecen la enseñanza necesaria en muchos campos tecnológicos, ni se realizan suficientes investigaciones dirigidas a acelerar el proceso del desarrollo. Se necesita más personal preparado, mayores facilidades para la investigación, más y mejores laboratorios, como también una organización más ágil y eficiente.

El equipar adecuadamente a todas las universidades de América Latina demandaría recursos económicos tan vastos que pecaríamos de visionarios si creyéramos que ahora o en un futuro próximo se podría contar con ellos. En cuanto a personal científico y técnico preparado para la enseñanza en todas las universidades, simplemente no existe en la proporción que se lo necesita. ¿Cómo, entonces, resolver a corto plazo problema que demanda tan urgente solución?

Una solución factible, a plazo relativamente corto, sería aunar esfuerzos para crear centros regionales de educación superior. Los que fuesen necesarios y su apropiada ubicación, sería materia de subsiguiente estudio.

Ya la Conferencia de Bogotá, a la que asistieron los Presidentes de Colombia, Chile y Venezuela y los representantes de los Presidentes de Perú y

Ecuador, propuso que la Conferencia Hemisférica, al más alto nivel, que se proyecta para el año próximo "adopte medidas para dar más activa cooperación internacional en el campo de la investigación y de la enseñanza científica y tecnológica, a todos los niveles." "Es de especial importancia," declaró, "la creación de centros académicos regionales especializados de formación superior".

Estos Centros Regionales Académicos de Formación Superior contarían con los recursos económicos que aportarían proporcionalmente los gobiernos. Su papel en el desarrollo les abrirá las puertas a la financiación internacional por medio de la Alianza para el Progreso, y además las Fundaciones estarán mejor dispuestas a hacer aportes significativos a pocos centros de enseñanza superior y no diluir sus contribuciones entre más de 120 universidades del continente.

A estos centros académicos de educación regional, o como quiera llamarlos, tendrían derecho a concurrir todos los estudiantes universitarios, durante los dos años previos a la obtención del título profesional, en aquellas disciplinas que exigen costosas inversiones en equipo y personal. Ofrecerían además estos centros facilidades amplias para estudios post-graduados y para la investigación científica. Aunando recursos económicos y reuniendo el elemento docente más capacitado del hemisferio, además de atraer los más altos valores de otras regiones podrían estos institutos ponerse a la par de las más prestigiosas universidades del mundo.

El universitario latinoamericano dispondría de las mejores y más modernas facilidades para sus estudios y luego podría continuar estudios avanzados en su propio idioma y en su propio medio. Hoy en día, la mayoría de los estudiantes y profesionales de América Latina deben ir a Estados Unidos o Europa para realizar estudios de post-graduados en idiomas que no son el propio y hacer investigaciones en un medio distinto al suyo, cuyos resultados no son siempre aplicables a su propio medio, o deberán ser interpretados a realidades distintas. Tarea bien compleja, como lo explica el doctor Max Millikan, del Instituto Tecnológico de Massachusetts, cuando dice, poniendo ejemplos, que aunque las leyes fundamentales de la física son universales, el adaptarlas al diseño de una pieza para un uso específico en un medio dado, con recursos que le son propios, en un ambiente cultural distinto y frente a reacciones psicológicas peculiares, requiere un esfuerzo tan importante como el que fue necesario para el descubrimiento de la ley fundamental misma. Dice también que hay problemas de la filosofía de la educación que son universales, pero el planear técnicas educacionales eficientes y apropiadas para un medio ambiente dado, requiere un acto específico de inventiva, para acomodar la educación a las limitaciones y a las oportunidades que ofrece ese medio ambiente.

Aquellos estudiantes que mejor se adaptan al medio extranjero y que más aprovechan esas nuevas experiencias, en muchos casos no regresan a su país de origen, donde se los necesita y tanto ha costado el educarlos, ya que encuentran trabajo, debidamente remunerado, en medios de más amplias posibilidades. La prensa en estos días nos dice del alarmante éxodo de científicos y técnicos, precisamente de la América Latina, hacia los países más desarrollados. Este muy serio drenaje del capital humano de la región, podría re-

ducirse en gran parte si los estudios especializados se realizasen en la región misma.

Las universidades locales también se beneficiarían de este plan, porque podrían concentrar sus limitados recursos en mejorar la calidad de la enseñanza en aquellas disciplinas que no necesitan de grandes inversiones y que continuarían siendo su responsabilidad, como también preparar mejor a aquellos estudiantes que completarían su educación en el centro regional.

Había dicho que, con el proceso del desarrollo, no sólo sería necesario preparar a las nuevas generaciones, sino también a la presente. Me refiero específicamente a la fuerza laboral que ya está participando, aunque ineficientemente, en el proceso económico.

Aunque en verdad existen muchas oportunidades para que los profesionales en general mantengan al día sus conocimientos en la forma de publicaciones técnicas, cursos rápidos en distintas especialidades y ciclos de conferencias, poco se ha hecho para aprovechar un gran filón de capital humano inexplorado y prácticamente desperdiciado. Me refiero al trabajador común, que por falta de oportunidades no ha podido desarrollar sus capacidades potenciales en alguna artesanía útil. Para ellos, una escuela de capacitación de enseñanza práctica, de corta duración, los convertiría en obreros especializados en muchas ramas de la actividad económica a donde tanta falta hace.

Resumiendo, considero que los planificadores de los programas de desarrollo y los gobiernos responsables de su ejecución deberían dar una muy alta prioridad a la inversión para tal objeto en tres campos de la educación, que constituyen obstáculos al proceso del desarrollo:

Escuelas de capacitación, para preparar obreros especializados entre aquellos que ya están participando en el proceso económico.

Educación vocacional al nivel medio, para convertir en elemento útil a la economía, a aquel sector que se quedó a medio camino y que, frustrado, habita una especie de limbo educacional que le conduce muchas veces hacia los extremos en inútil búsqueda de soluciones a su trágica situación.

Finalmente, los centros académicos regionales especializados de formación superior, los mismos que he procurado describir en algún detalle.

Ahora se me preguntará por qué una disertación sobre temas educacionales y económicos en una conferencia de periodistas. Precisamente para que ellos cuya misión es informar, que es una forma de educar, lleven a todo el ámbito de América estas sugerencias, si es que en verdad creen que tienen alguna validez.

MR. HOWARD: Dr. Plaza, we certainly appreciate that most interesting, stimulating address. I understand that you would be happy to answer any questions that anybody has, and fortunately you can give them in either Spanish or English. Does anybody have any questions?

VOICE FROM THE FLOOR: Will Dr. Gale Plaza discuss for a moment his ideas

as to how such a regional university could be financed?

DR. GALO PLAZA: As I said in my talk, it is practically impossible to find the human elements in sufficient number to man all of these essential posts in our universities, and our economic resources are very limited. So it would be for the governments, in the first place, to pool their resources to finance these regional institutes.

Again, they would be eligible to international financing because of their direct importance to economic development. And finally, I would believe that it would be far more attractive to the international foundations to make substantial contributions to such a regional educational institution instead of diluting their contributions among many, many local universities.

MR. HOWARD: Does anybody else have any questions?

If not, we will proceed.

Our second speaker is also a born New Yorker, and presumably lives there. He was graduated from Harvard University, has a degree from the London School of Economics and a Ph. D. from the University of Chicago.

He is a humanitarian, a devotee of literature and the arts; he is also a banker. Specifically, he is the President of the Chase Manhattan Bank, the second largest bank in the United States (I guess they try harder), which he joined in 1946. In 1957 he became Chairman of the institution and in 1961 its President.

His interest in international affairs, and particularly those of Latin America, is a reflection of his efforts to promote the Bank's international operations. Perhaps I would be stating the case more accurately if I turned that statement around.

If you expect to see the traditional cold-eyed, stone-hearted banker, you will be disappointed, for you will see an affable, warm-hearted, knowledgeable man who is the IAPA's "friend at the Chase Manhattan"-- David Rockefeller. (Applause)

MR. DAVID ROCKEFELLER: Thank you, President Howard, ladies and gentlemen. I would like to just say how greatly honored I feel at having been invited here today by the Inter American Press Association. I have known of your work for a long time and have admired it greatly. I think you have made an enormous and very important contribution to inter-American understanding.

I also feel most particularly proud and honored to be on the same platform with my good friend Galo Plaza, who, in my judgment, is one of the great men of this Hemisphere; I extend that to the world, as a matter of fact. (Applause)

DECEPTIVE LABELS THAT BLOCK THE ALLIANCE'S PROGRESS

Address by David Rockefeller

As one whose family has spent some years under the friendly but inquisitive surveillance of the press, I find it a pleasant switch to stand up here today and look right back at you.

It is not often that an inveterate newspaper reader has a group of editors and publishers temporarily at his mercy. More than that, a group which, even while insisting on freedom of the press, has voluntarily relinquished its freedom from speech!

You can appreciate, I am sure, how great is the temptation to deliver an open "Letter to the Editor". But in view of the imposing array of editorial talent assembled here, I think a banker would be well-advised to stick instead to Letters of Credit!

Nevertheless, there is one topic in which your profession and mine -- along with millions of our fellow countrymen on both sides of the Rio Grande-- have a consuming interest and a common objective. This topic is the Alliance for Progress. In the five years since its inception, the Alliance has become a central force in the developing history of Latin America. Where it succeeds, all the Americas are succeeding. Where it fails, all the Americas are failing.

The Alliance expresses, in concrete form, the hopes of my own country for Latin America's future. There is, in the United States, a universal desire that Latin America develop and grow, that a decent life, good health, honorable work, adequate education and respectable shelter be the lot of more and more of the people, and that the nations of this hemisphere become increasingly able to provide for their citizens the opportunities they demand and deserve.

The Alliance has taken encouraging strides toward many of these objectives. Savings and investment levels are rising. Per capita production increases have exceeded the 2.5% goal of the Charter of Punta del Este. Sound reforms in agriculture, taxation and education are underway. U. S. Alliance aid -- with local matching contributions -- has helped with the construction of 28,000 new classrooms, the irrigation of a million acres of land, the distribution of 14 million textbooks. As a result of this effort, fifteen Latin American nations now have self-help housing projects, and some 20 million more Latin Americans have assured supplies of potable water than was the case before the Alliance came into being.

But statistics can be grossly deceptive, as anyone in my profession can testify with special fervor. The fact is that, in many respects, the Alliance is not yet close to success. One of the objectives set forth in the Charter of Punta del Este, for example, was the achievements of stable prices and the avoidance of either inflation or deflation. Yet inflation remains a central problem in several countries including Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil and Chile. More important than any specific failures, of course, is the inescapable fact that, even with the vast capital inputs provided by the Alliance, Latin America as a whole is still far from reaching Walt Rostow's "point of economic take-off."

So what must concern us now are the patterns of Latin America's future, and it is to these that I wish to address myself today.

While there is more or less general agreement on the broad nature of the problems confronting Latin America, there is a remarkable lack of unanimity on just what to do about them. There are, in fact, almost as many suggestions about where the Alliance for Progress should go from here as there are students of Latin American affairs. The result has been the emergence of a lively-- and, I think, generally useful-- public dialogue on the future course of the Alliance. One of the most ambitious and, in many respects, excellent contributions to this dialogue was the speech made on the floor of the Senate last spring by Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

After close study of the various proposals put forth by distinguished observers of the Latin American scene, I have come to the conclusion that there are at least four major questions about the proper development of the Alliance which seem worthy of further exploration. These questions are:

1. What are the chief impediments to achievement of the goals of the Alliance?
2. What should be the primary economic tools employed in pursuing the goals of the Alliance?
3. Who should handle the tools?
4. How should the tools be used? Or, to put it another way, which should get top priority: social reform or economic growth?

In one way or another, nearly every debate about the Alliance these days focuses on these four questions. Perhaps inevitably, the answers often consist of the reiteration of a series of what I would call deceptive labels. George Orwell, in one of his essays, develops the thought that we tend to let words do our thinking for us. In many cases, he says, the dialogue of public affairs has become a process of pushing word buttons which evoke established responses.

As members of the press, all of you live by words and, hence, are more familiar than most people with their uses and abuses. As a general proposition, most of you would probably agree that one of the surest ways to obscure the substantive aspects of any problem -- and one of the worst ways to make progress towards its solution -- is to discuss it in polar words: words that have acquired so much emotional content that they fall into the category of invective. Yet in far too many discussions of Latin America, such terms are the accepted currency of debate, even among well-intentioned and otherwise responsible men.

Take the first of our questions: What are the chief impediments to achievement of the goals of the Alliance? In many quarters, the automatic answer to this is: "The Oligarchs."

This expression appears frequently, with little or no explanation, in news reporting out of Latin America. Yet surely this is a term that cries out for definition. If by "oligarchs" one refers to persons who, with inherited or achieved wealth, are contributing to the over-all development, through efficient operation of productive enterprises, this would seem to be a socially useful -- and, in fact, indispensable -- class of men. If the word "oligarch" is

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used to suggest that political power rests in the hands of people of inherited wealth who are concerned solely with preserving their own privilege, who oppose and evade the equitable taxation of their wealth, and who make no contribution to the economic and social progress of the community, that, admittedly, would be a bad thing.

But in how many countries of Latin America is that, in fact, the case? My Latin American friends tell me -- and my own observations confirm -- that the stereotyped Latin American oligarch, the landed aristocrat who seeks to maintain a semi-feudal social order, is giving way to a new group of men in the politics of most Latin American nations.

Quite clearly, one of Latin America's primary challenges in the field of human resources is to promote social mobility and thereby insure that every man of talent is able to give the community the full benefit of his abilities. Still it is no less important, in my opinion, that Latin America's men of wealth be encouraged to make the fullest economic and social contribution to the community of which they are capable. To an increasing degree, this is occurring. I think specifically of my friend Eugenio Mendoza of Venezuela and all his socially useful contributions, including his Dividendo Voluntario de la Comunidad. Under this program, many of Venezuela's largest companies have pledged to devote a fixed percentage of their annual profits to projects for community betterment. If the men who run these firms are "oligarchs," then Latin America needs more of them.

Another label which disfigures the debate is "military rule." In the minds of many North Americans, that phrase conjures up images of hard-faced, bemedaled men with little interest in or understanding of the aspirations which the Alliance seeks to promote -- men concerned only with their own power.

This concept does a disservice to many members of the armed forces in Latin America. The current generation of military leaders includes men with considerable sophistication in economic and social matters, and a sincere desire to improve the lot of the poor and quicken the pace of economic growth. The civic action programs of the armed services in Peru have demonstrated the contribution which the military can make -- not only within their own borders, but as a show case for others as well. Similarly successful programs in Colombia and Bolivia have added greatly to this overall constructive effort advancing the objectives of the Alliance.

Some North Americans entertain such a repugnance to the Latin American military, however, that they have suggested an automatic moratorium on Alliance aid to any nation subjected to military government until there is a commitment to return to civilian rule. Of course, no one could commend irresponsible seizure of political power by the military. The establishment of true constitutional government with effective democratic participation in every nation of the Hemisphere is an ideal which all of us unreservedly endorse.

Regrettably, though, constitutional processes have on occasion been perverted for narrow, personal purposes, as was the case in Brazil under ex-President Goulart. On occasion, too, military intervention may serve the broader purposes of the Alliance, as in the evident support of President Humberto Cas-

telo Branco for the desperately needed economic reforms that were proposed when he took over the helm in Brazil. Our preference, naturally, is for civilian, democratic, constitutional processes. But I would suggest that, instead of labeling Latin American governments with catch phrases based on abstractions, we judge them as all governments deserve to be judged -- according to their success in promoting the individual welfare of their citizens and overcoming the fundamental impediments to progress. These impediments in Latin America, as in so many other developing areas, are a lack of adequate educational facilities, as President Gale Plaza has just indicated, of trained management, of capital, and, too often, of a business climate that would encourage the investment of capital, both domestic and foreign.

Of equal importance to the identification of impediments to progress is the second of our four critical questions: What should be the primary economic tools employed in pursuing the goals of the Alliance for Progress? In practice, this question generally reduces itself to a debate about the relative merits of industrial and agricultural development.

Here, one of the most deceptive labels is "economic independence." This is a shibboleth generally invoked by those Latin Americans who fear that the United States is determined to keep the rest of the hemisphere in a state of economic servitude -- a kind of neo-colonialist arrangement under which Latin America would function indefinitely as a supplier of raw materials to U. S. industry and a captive market for U. S. manufactured goods.

This fear, of course, is utterly belied by the facts. Three of the major steel and aluminum complexes of western Venezuela will be built with the active participation of North American companies. Yet despite these and other examples of U. S. readiness to foster sound projects for the industrialization of Latin America, the voices of economic nationalism remain loud. The course of action they recommend is invariably the same. The nations of Latin America, say the proponents of economic independence, must concentrate their investment on the manufacture of everything from television sets to newsprint. A corollary of this proposition is that agriculture must be left to shift for itself.

However, the history of the world's developed nations strongly suggests that the modernization, diversification and expansion of a nation's agricultural base is indispensable to healthy industrial growth. In cold fact, a country in the process of development often has less immediate need of a steel mill than it has of increased food production. This is a conclusion which the government of India, after years of putting primary emphasis on industrial growth, has now been forced to accept under the sheer pressure of mass hunger. Nowhere does it hold true more than in Latin America where, according to recent studies, some 85 million acres of virgin land must be brought under cultivation within the next fourteen years if food production is to keep pace with the world's fastest rate of population increase. Moreover, if the diet of Latin Americans is to be substantially improved, the productivity of land already under cultivation must be vastly increased.

All this suggests to me that far more effort should be devoted to agriculture -- and to industrial projects with a direct impact on agriculture.

One reason for the relatively low productivity of much of Latin America's arable land is that, on average, the growers of Latin America's principal crops use about one-eighth the amount of fertilizer which agronomists consider to be ideal for these crops. A major cause of this situation lies in the fact that many Latin American nations are obliged to import most of their fertilizer. Surely, in countries where this is true, building a steel complex or even a metal fabricating industry should rank well below development of fertilizer production in the order of priorities.

In too many Latin American countries, agricultural research, extension services and credit facilities for farmers are notable chiefly for their inadequacy. Far more emphasis should be placed on various forms of aid that would give Latin American farmers the skills, facilities and incentives so many of them now lack. Once raised from a mere subsistence level, these farmers will in turn - with their higher earnings thru increased productivity - become an important and much needed new market for the goods and services of the industrial sector. Such a program -- a kind of international extension-service on a grand scale -- might also help to take some of the fearfulness out of another catchword which, insensibly, leads many students of Latin American affairs to overemphasize industrialization at the expense of agriculture. Here I am referring to the phrase "one-crop economy."

Quite clearly, too many Latin American nations do possess one-crop economies, particularly if one regards mineral products as a "crop." Equally clearly, the fluctuations in world commodity prices make such dependence dangerous. The U. S. has recognized this by trying to soften the impact of such fluctuations through arrangements such as the International Coffee Agreement.

Yet, although it describes a reality, the phrase "one-crop economy" is, in a sense, a deceptive label. Too often, those who use it seem to feel that the existence of a one-crop economy in a particular nation is either something imposed upon that nation from the outside or else the consequence of some inexorable law of nature. Again, the solution most commonly proposed is rapid and diverse industrial development, although some suggestions have been made lately-- and in my judgment, a bit naively -- that the U. S. undertake to support the prices of the "one-crop" economies. In many areas of Latin America, however, intelligent diversification of agriculture and improvement of marketing techniques would pay more immediate dividends than industrialization, both in terms of the domestic standard of living and in terms of exports. And I must say that I think Peru has been an outstanding example of doing exactly this. Peru probably is less of a one-crop economy owing to her intelligent efforts than almost any other country that I can think of in Latin America.

In all of this, I am not, of course, implying that agricultural development should be pursued to the exclusion of industry. Latin America should, by all means, expand its already substantial industrial base so it can compete more effectively in world markets. It seems to me imperative that Latin America should be developed industrially as rapidly as is consonant with the expansion and diversification of its agricultural base -- and I have been encouraged lately to see some governments giving a more serious emphasis to agriculture.

This brings me to the third of our four basic questions: Who is to play the primary role in the development of Latin America - government or private enterprise? Here the labels fly thick and fast: "dollar imperialism," "neo-colonialism," "foreign exploitation" and many more.

All of these hoary bits of invective rest on a single premise: that because private business seeks to make a profit, it is a less effective vehicle for economic development than government -to- government aid. Profit is thought of by many as morally indefensible and socially undesirable. In conscious or unconscious acceptance of this premise, many observers have argued that government should play the major role in accelerating the economic development of Latin America under the Alliance. To their way of thinking, private business, insofar as it has any role at all, should function essentially as a milk cow with many responsibilities and precious few privileges. The role of profit in capital formation and economic growth is either misunderstood or ignored.

Thus, in his Congressional address, Senator Kennedy urged the adoption of a kind of "fair practices code" by U. S. business operating in Latin America, but offered no proposals at all for the creation, by Latin American governments, of a climate more encouraging to foreign investors. I hasten to add that Senator Kennedy conceded in his speech that "without sustained private investment from abroad, the aims of the Alliance will be far more difficult - perhaps even impossible - to achieve."

Personally, I should amend that statement to say flatly that the goals of the Alliance cannot possibly be achieved without substantial foreign investment. In my judgment, such investment was retarded by what I believe to have been an excessive emphasis on government-to-government aid in the early years of the Alliance. This early failure, on the part of both U. S. and Latin American officials, to recognize the importance of creating conditions which would stimulate foreign investment accounts for the fact that U. S. private investment in Latin America has yet to hit the Punta del Este target of \$300 million a year. In 1965, foreign investors as a whole actually withdrew \$95 million from the area. By the same token, emphasis on public investment has, by the testimony of the Economic Commission for Latin America, resulted in a relative contraction of private investment in Latin America by Latin American businessmen since 1960. These are distressing phenomena for we must not lose sight of the fact that government investment is not an adequate substitute for private investment.

Obviously, there are many tasks which government must perform. It must shoulder the major burden for providing education on which so much of the Alliance's success depends. It must also furnish highways, hospitals and other basic facilities which are the prerequisites to progress.

Yet the fact remains that private enterprise accounts for roughly four-fifths of Latin America's gross national product. And a substantial share of this is directly attributable to U. S. investment. One-tenth of Latin America's total output of goods, in fact, is produced by U. S. firms operating in the area. The same firms, moreover, pay one-fifth of all Latin American taxes and account for a third of all Latin-American exports.

Admittedly, U. S. investment in Latin America, which now approaches \$10 billion, has generally been profitable for the companies concerned. But it cannot reasonably be called "exploitative" either in terms of profit margins or, more important yet, in terms of its total impact on the Latin-American economy.

Perhaps nothing better illustrates the generative and creative role of U. S. business in Latin America than the program to which the U. S. copper companies in Chile have committed themselves. A great deal of attention has been given to the fact that copper companies have agreed to sell to the Chilean government a substantial interest in their operations -- an interest which, in the case of Braden Copper, a Kennecott subsidiary, actually amounts to 51 per cent of its stock. This is, indeed, a historic move and one likely to have profound impact on the political climate in Chile. But, although it has aroused less public comment, I find equally important the decision by Braden Copper, Anaconda Copper, and Cerro de Pasco to invest half a billion dollars of new money in Chile over the next four years. That amount of investment in a nation of 8 million people cannot fail to act as a major stimulant to economic growth -- a stimulant which could not be matched, in my opinion, by any program of government aid which Washington might find economically and politically feasible.

I am happy to report that several other companies -- both North and South American in origin -- have shown increasingly intense interest in developing community action programs in those Latin American countries where they have operations. Under the guidance of the Council for Latin America, which was set up to assist private enterprise to play a more constructive role in economic development, these companies, jointly or individually, have embarked on a broad range of useful endeavors. These extend from such emergency measures as aiding flood victims to such longer-range programs as providing skilled technical advisers to small businesses, training local leaders for community development projects, furnishing educational materials and scholarships, and advising student groups.

What all of this suggests to me is that there is no more urgent task facing the governments of Latin America than the encouragement of private businesses, both domestic and foreign. This cannot be accomplished by mere lip service. The private capital which Latin America so badly needs will be attracted to the area only if it is given credible guarantees against expropriation and discriminatory treatment as well as credible assurances that equitable repatriation of profits will be possible. In short, the indispensable precondition for increased foreign investment is confidence in the prospects of fair treatment of private capital.

This brings us to the last of our four underlying questions: Should the Alliance put its primary emphasis on social reforms or on economic growth? Essentially, this question seems to me to rest on a fallacy -- namely, that these two goals are separable. This fallacy is apparent in the overtones commonly given to that familiar phrase "land reform."

Too often, the proponents of land reform in Latin America are concerned entirely with social and political objectives. With at best a passing nod

to its economic implications, they present land reform as a sure-fire means of giving new independence to the masses of under-privileged peasants.

No one, of course, can deny that if a man feels that all roads to social and economic advancement are barred to him, he has every cause to be resentful. It is obvious that if a man who works the land sees some prospect that he may one day own that land, he is apt to work harder and more efficiently.

But it is also true that land reform, if badly executed, can actually perpetuate the very evils it is designed to cure. If, for example, it simply results in the division of latifundios into uneconomic minifundios, land reform becomes an active cause of social and economic immobility. Nor is it automatically possible -- as the experience of Mexican ejidos has demonstrated -- to improve the lot of farm workers by giving them titular ownership of land which they do not have the resources and managerial skill to exploit.

It seems to me self-evident that, to a major extent, significant social reform flows out of economic growth. This, in turn, means that any effective land reform program must be carefully tailored to the economic realities of the land to which it is being applied. Coffee-farming in Brazil is essentially different in its economic structure from banana-growing in Central America. A program which might make sense when applied to the vegetable farms of Chile would be nonsense if applied to the cattle ranches of Argentina.

It may, indeed, be that, more often than not, large-scale agricultural operations will contribute most to the general economy of Latin American nations. If that is the case, the essential problem would seem to me to be how to retain the economic advantages of large-scale operations while overcoming their social disadvantages.

There are, happily, signs that such an approach is getting wider consideration. For example, Chile's planners hope to bring more land into productive use by imposing particularly heavy taxes on acreage that is being used at less than its full potential. They have also indicated that they see scant sense to breaking up large, privately-owned farms which are currently operating efficiently. And it is their avowed intention not to divide up even expropriated farms until the people who work them have operated them for some period as a unit with ample government technical assistance.

Such caution is clearly vital because, to repeat, so-called social reforms which are carried out at the expense of economic productivity are a cruel delusion. There is sobering food for thought in the fact that, although a sweeping program of land reform was one of the first acts of the Mexican Revolution, the stagnation of its rural populace remains Mexico's greatest problem. I know of no more dramatic proof of the proposition that social and economic reforms cannot be separated -- that they must, in fact, be given equal emphasis.

So much for the deceptive labels which obscure the current debate on Latin America and block the Alliance's progress. I fear that I have sounded more like a semanticist than a banker. If so, I assure you that it was not out of any didactic impulse. You are the professionals in this field, not I.

My purpose has been simply to appeal to you to put all your skill and power into the task of illuminating the substantive problems which face the Americas, both in your own nation and throughout the hemisphere. In recent years, in my opinion, the press of both North and South America has done a steadily more effective job of covering the news of this hemisphere.

Today, the opportunities open to the hemispheric press are unparalleled. Such developments as the establishment of the Center for Inter-American Affairs in New York have helped to focus greater public attention on Latin American concerns. Never before has the truth about hemisphere affairs been so important. Never before have so many needed to keep posted on so much. Never before has a free press been so indispensable. If ignorance and apathy are indeed the greatest enemies of democracy -- as James Bryce suggested -- then it is up to a free press to help us on both counts. Otherwise, neither democratic government nor a free press can be sure of survival.

By and large, the governments of the Alliance nations are dedicated to the principle that knowledge decides, and the surer the knowledge, the surer the decision. You gentlemen now have, both in terms of facilities and in terms of audience, more opportunities than ever before for putting the great issues before the hemisphere in clear enough perspective to ensure informed democratic debate throughout the Americas. On your success in so doing rests much of our hope for progress in the years ahead.

MR. HOWARD: Thank you, Mr. Rockefeller. You have certainly given us all a great deal to think about.

If anybody would like to ask a question, he will please identify himself.

SR. ANTONIO PUGA (El Día, La Serena, Chile): En su interesante disertación el Sr. Rockefeller justificó que en determinadas oportunidades existieran en América, en nuestra América, regímenes militares. En el hecho también, y de pasada, alabó un sistema militar que existe en América.

Yo estimo que esto es peligroso. Nosotros, bajo ningún punto de vista, bajo ningún argumento podemos aceptar que en América se dé patente de legalidad a los regímenes militares.

Desgraciadamente nuestra América ha sufrido demasiado ya. El prestigio de América Latina está muchas veces sujeto a estos golpes militares que se dan invocando los más altos principios de libertad, de democracia, atentando justamente contra esta libertad y esta democracia. Por eso es que yo lamento que una alta personalidad como el Sr. Rockefeller acepte que se dé un golpe militar, aún cuando sea, como digo, invocando principios altos.

No hay ningún principio alto cuando el poder se ha tomado por la fuerza.

Eso es todo, Sr. Presidente. (Applause)

MR. ROCKEFELLER: I don't know that that was a question, but I would just like to say a word about it.

I think the very able statement of the gentleman is not really in conflict with my statements. I merely said that we all agree that what we want is democratically elected governments. But it seems to me that rather than use the label of military government when there are military people involved, it was more important to judge the government by what it has accomplished for the people of the country. And I do feel myself that we are too quick to see in strictly black and white terms the difference between democratic and military governments. I don't think that things are always quite that black and white. I think there are some grey areas and that it is worth examining those grey areas with a little more open mind than some of us have tended to in the past. (Applause)

MR. HOWARD: Mr. Heiskell, I believe I saw you rise. Would you mind coming up here please, sir?

MR. J. N. HEISKELL (Arkansas Gazette, Little Rock, Arkansas): Nelson Rockefeller is Governor of New York and Winthrop Rockefeller is running for Governor of Arkansas with strong democratic support, including that of the Arkansas Gazette, and I should like to ask David Rockefeller what state he is going to be governor of. (Laughter)

MR. ROCKEFELLER: I very much appreciate the plug for my brothers. I hasten to advise you that I am not running for anything, but I am planning to vote for my brother Nelson in New York before long, and fly out the same afternoon to be with my brother Winthrop, hopefully to celebrate with him. (Applause)

MR. HOWARD: I was a little fearful there for a minute that Mr. Rockefeller was going to fly out to Arkansas and vote there too. (Laughter)

Dr. Galo Plaza would like to say a word.

DR. GALO PLAZA: Gentlemen, I am going to speak in Spanish in a few minutes because I would like to clarify some of the things that David has just said that might be misunderstood by the Spanish-speaking people here.

Me voy a permitir explicar cómo yo entiendo las palabras del Sr. Rockefeller, porque mucho me temo -- no quiero criticar la traducción simultánea, por que no la he oído -- que en un discurso como éste puedan sus palabras ser mal entendidas por todas aquellas personas que no oyeron el discurso sino a través de la traducción.

Puede dejar la impresión de que el Sr. Rockefeller estuvo defendiendo a las oligarquías. Encontraba el punto positivo de sectores de privilegio que manejan las cosas en nuestro medio y que tienen una situación de privilegio en lo político, en lo económico y en lo social.

Puede que haya parecido, como que en verdad pareció, que el Sr. Rockefeller defendía las acciones positivas de gobiernos de carácter militar.

Puede que también dé la impresión de que la Reforma Agraria pueda tener sus dificultades desde el punto de vista económico en su aplicación, y que, finalmente, defendía la intervención de la inversión privada frente a la inver-

sión gubernamental.

En verdad, si se escuchó bien, y si la traducción fue precisa, estas preocupaciones no son del caso. Pero para aquellos que tengan una duda de qué fue lo que dije, quisiera yo simplemente decir que en cuanto a las oligarquías, se expresó en términos de cuál sería la definición de la oligarquía. Si oligarquía era aquel sector que defendía sus privilegios y quería mantener la sociedad semi-feudal que era el mayor obstáculo para el desarrollo y para la mejor distribución de ingreso, él estaba definitivamente contra aquellas oligarquías.

Pero reconoció que en una sociedad moderna, de alta movilidad, de mucha mayor sofisticación que la actual, era indispensable la presencia de grupos capaces, dinámicos y resueltos a actuar, y que si eso se llama oligarquía, pues en buena hora que tengamos oligarquías.

Es simplemente una definición del término.

En cuanto a la aprobación de los militares, citó un ejemplo que clarificó lo que dije, y que a mí me preocupó. Habló de la acción cívica; habló de las fuerzas armadas en la América Latina, que en lugar de armarse a costa de inversiones necesarias para muchos campos del mejoramiento social y económico estaban dedicadas en muchos países a servir el desarrollo económico y social, y mencionó el programa de acción cívica. De esa manera me parece que su aceptación calificada de los beneficios de un sector militar en función del desarrollo económico y social, nada tiene que ver con aprobar gobiernos militares por bien intencionados que sean, porque todos nosotros tenemos el convencimiento de que el único camino que se ofrece a estos pueblos es el gobierno libre, democrático y representativo, y que de consiguiente cualquiera política económica en este Hemisferio, en el campo internacional, debe ser para fortalecer los gobiernos democráticos; para ayudar a los gobiernos democráticos; y para hacer menos atractivos los elementos de fuerza que pretenden hacer el bien contra la voluntad de los pueblos.

No creo que él se oponía a esta teoría de ninguna manera.

Y en cuanto a la reforma agraria, creo que todos estamos de acuerdo en que no sólo debe tener una función social, sino que debe tener una función económica; que la reforma agraria sin aumentar la producción no va a resolver ningún problema, ni siquiera el problema social. Y que son inseparables los dos términos: no se puede hablar de dedicar esfuerzos a la reforma social o a la reforma económica. La reforma económica trae bienestar y reforma social.

Me permito hacer estas aclaraciones únicamente por el temor de que el excelente discurso del Sr. Rockefeller, tan interesante, tan nuevo, tan clarificador, podría, a través de la traducción, ser mal entendido. Muchas gracias. (Applause)

MR. ROCKEFELLER: Thank you very much, Galo, for that excellent interpretation and amplification of my talk. I just wish that I could persuade you always to be my "platform partner." I am sure I would do better.

SR. ANNUAR JORGE (Diario Pregón, Jujuy, Argentina): Quiero felicitar al Sr. Rockefeller por el brillante discurso pronunciado, pero más que por el discurso, debemos felicitarlo como hombre joven, pues los hombres norteamericanos jóvenes son los que a nuestro juicio nos van a entender mejor en el futuro, especialmente a los latinoamericanos, porque actualmente se dedica mucho tiempo a llevar ese entendimiento solamente a otros países lejos de América. Y luego tenemos las condiciones pésimas y el desastre en la misma América, como ya las tenemos en algunos países.

Para erradicar ese problema de Latinoamérica, necesitamos que estos hombres jóvenes sean los que vean bien el futuro, porque ellos son los que tienen que ayudarnos a levantar a estos países.

Ahora, yo no sé si por la traducción no entendí bien lo que dijo el Sr. Rockefeller al hablar de inversiones en Latinoamérica, pero no debe pensar que cuando se hace una inversión en Latinoamérica, contribuyendo a levantar los niveles de vida, se va a criticar como opresión, según dijo, o como dominación o colonialismo. No; lo que pasa es que esas inversiones a las cuales se refirió su discurso, se hacen muchas veces para prestar a gobiernos, sean militares o no, para invertir en una empresa estatal para luego aumentar los déficit estatales. Y ellos saben muy bien que la mejor empresa es la que está manejada por la actividad privada, porque esa actividad privada es la que va llevar en el futuro a contribuir con sus impuestos, porque esa es siempre la mejor administración.

El hombre de la calle, y yo como hombre joven y el Sr. Rockefeller-- que por su brillante discurso veo que entiende muy bien los problemas latinoamericanos -- queremos que todas las inversiones en el futuro lleguen al pueblo; es decir, que lleguen a la actividad privada en su inversión.

Quiero agradecerle la atención y la amabilidad de haberme permitido contestarle, y más que contestar, agradecer el brillante discurso que pronunció. Pero más que eso quiero que sepan, especialmente los hombres de Norte América, que aquí en Latinoamérica estamos esperando una máxima asistencia, pero que venga a ayudarnos realmente -- no quiero volver a hablar de la opresión porque posiblemente lo entiendan mal --, que venga a ayudarnos para que llegue ese dinero a desarrollar estos países y para que nosotros podamos colaborar con nuestros gobiernos y a la vez colaborar con los norteamericanos mismos. Nada más. (Applause)

MR. ROCKEFELLER: Those were very friendly comments and I appreciate most particularly your including me in your category of a young man. Thank you.

DR. JULIO DE MESQUITA FILHO: No quiero prolongar los debates que se han iniciado a propósito de la magnífica conferencia que ha producido el Sr. Rockefeller sobre la problemática de la América Latina.

Quiero contribuir solamente con una observación que hago todos los días. En general hoy día los hombres hablan idiomas completamente diferentes. Para unos una palabra tiene un significado; para otros, un significado completamente distinto. Seguramente es uno de los frutos de la introducción del marxismo en el pensamiento moderno. Ellos, con habilidad extraordinaria, usan ese pro-

cedimiento para confundir a los demócratas.

Voy a dar un ejemplo concreto que me ha preocupado desde hace ya mucho. Se trata, como dice el Sr. Rockefeller, del significado que tienen ciertas palabras para unos y para otros. La principal de esas palabras me parece ser el concepto de democracia. ¿Qué es la democracia?

Para la mayoría la democracia es un régimen político que los pueblos adoptan cuando quieren; basta que una nación desee ser demócrata para serlo.

Bueno, la observación que hice durante mis 50 años de lucha por la democracia me ha conducido a una concepción completamente distinta. Me parece que una equivocación sobre el problema latinoamericano hace a los Estados Unidos creer que basta que un país quiera ser demócrata para que con un poco de esfuerzo se llegue a ese resultado.

Para mí eso es totalmente errado. Es un error completo. La democracia, para mí, es una fase de la evolución de ciertos pueblos. No todos los pueblos tienden a la democracia, y el ejemplo mejor que se puede dar para eso es el ejemplo alemán.

Ustedes todos han visto la terrible catástrofe que fue la intervención del régimen de Hitler en Alemania para el mundo todo. Bueno, al fondo de la cuestión está seguramente la tendencia del pueblo alemán para no regirse por un régimen demócrata, sino por regímenes de fuerza. Toda la evolución de Alemania caminó en ese sentido. Siempre que pudo llegar a satisfacer sus ideales llegó a un gobierno fuerte.

Nosotros, los latinoamericanos, tenemos una tendencia absolutamente diferente. Queremos llegar a la libertad total, que sólo se puede conseguir con la democracia, pero olvidamos que no se llega a la democracia porque uno quiere, pero con un esfuerzo de muchas, muchas generaciones.

Si un país como los Estados Unidos ha llegado rápidamente a la democracia, de allí no se sigue que tenga cualidades superiores a las nuestras, sino solamente que el problema norteamericano fue siempre muchísimo más simple que los nuestros en la América Latina.

He dicho una vez que Estados Unidos no es una nación como las otras, sino la resultante de un boleto premiado que Dios ha puesto en las manos de los norteamericanos. Ellos han tenido facilidades económicas y de desarrollo incomparablemente mejores que las nuestras. Nosotros en la América del Sur, para hacer lo que uno en los Estados Unidos puede hacer, tenemos que realizar un esfuerzo extraordinariamente mayor. No es que seamos inferiores a los norteamericanos; de ninguna manera, somos iguales a ellos y quizás en muchos aspectos todavía superiores, pero tenemos dificultades enormes. La principal es que el desarrollo económico en América del Sur es muchísimo más difícil que el desarrollo económico en los Estados Unidos o en cualquier otro país.

Si nosotros no arribamos a la concepción de que sólo con una constancia extraordinaria, con un esfuerzo enorme llegaremos un día a poseer un régimen totalmente democrático, nunca llegaremos allí.

El problema nuestro es muy diferente del problema de los Estados Unidos. Creo también que una de las causas es que la evolución social de América del Sur se desarrolló de una manera muy diferente que, por ejemplo, en Europa Occidental. Europa Occidental ha pasado, como nosotros, períodos muy difíciles pero tenía regímenes apropiados para ese estado de evolución en que se encontraba.

Nosotros hemos querido, como se dice en francés, "brûler cette étape," hemos querido pasar de un estado social primario de una manera extraordinariamente rápida a un estado de desarrollo orgánico que no tenemos todavía.

El mejor ejemplo que les puedo dar de este fenómeno es lo que pasó en Brasil. Brasil, como ustedes saben, estuvo durante 80 años bajo un régimen monárquico, y durante esos 80 años gozó de un régimen muchísimo más democrático que otros regímenes que hemos tenido después con la república. ¿Y por qué? Porque la monarquía era una forma de gobierno mucho más apropiada para el estado social del Brasil de ese tiempo que la república.

Durante la monarquía el Brasil se desarrolló magníficamente y de acuerdo con el progreso de la humanidad occidental en el aspecto económico. Y al mismo tiempo supo crear una élite política magnífica. Cuando cayó la monarquía pasamos inmediatamente a percibir que el pueblo brasileño no estaba todavía maduro para la república. Y lo que sucedió fue que en pocos años perdimos toda la tranquilidad que teníamos durante la monarquía, y, lo que es mucho más importante, toda la libertad que teníamos bajo la monarquía.

Eso no quiere decir que yo sea monárquico -- de ninguna manera -- pero es una observación objetiva que la historia de mi país me ha enseñado, y de allí yo he llegado a esta concepción: la democracia, en su mayor desarrollo, no es una forma de gobierno que un país pueda adoptar cuando quiere; la democracia es un estado de la evolución social de determinados países. Y es necesario que nosotros los sudamericanos tengamos siempre esto en cuenta para poder resolver nuestros problemas.

Yo me acuerdo siempre de una frase de Mitre, del gran hombre de estado argentino, que cuando supo que la monarquía había caído en Brasil, dijo:

"Es lamentable, pero la única democracia de la América del Sur acaba de caer."

Eso es una conclusión a la que llegué. Desgraciadamente los hombres no usan la razón para estudiar los problemas políticos. Cuando llegamos al terreno de la política nosotros abandonamos totalmente la razón por la emoción. No es la razón, sino el efecto que un régimen o el otro puede causarnos que nos conduce a la tentativa de resolver los problemas políticos.

Ustedes pueden ver, sobre todo cuando hablan con un marxista, que ellos tienen por nosotros un desprecio total, de la misma manera que nosotros no podemos de manera ninguna aceptar su punto de vista. ¿Por qué? Porque cuando se trata de esa cuestión, no es la inteligencia, no es la observación directa que conduce a los hombres, sino la emoción.

Señores, muchas gracias. (Applause)

DR. HORACIO AGUIRRE (Diario las Américas, Miami, Florida): Señor Presidente, señores delegados, damas y caballeros:

En breves palabras quiero hacer una observación acerca del interesante discurso del Sr. Rockefeller, quien ha honrado esta mañana a la Asamblea de periodistas con su disertación, de la misma manera que la honró el ilustre expresidente del Ecuador, Sr. Galo Plaza.

Mi observación es con respecto a la acción cívica de las fuerzas armadas, o a la llamada acción cívica de las fuerzas armadas. En primer término quiero decir que es cierto que en muchas ocasiones las fuerzas armadas son objeto de críticas indebidas, exageradas, y son también víctimas de sus propios elementos, de sus propias filas, que se dedican a controlar en altas jerarquías su funcionamiento para beneficio propio. Las fuerzas armadas son en este caso víctimas también de gente de sus propias filas.

Ahora bien, con respecto al caso de la acción cívica, voy a expresar aquí un concepto que emití en comentario editorial en el periódico que dirijo en la ciudad de Miami, el Diario las Américas, en el sentido de que es sumamente peligroso que en circunstancias normales, cuando un país se rige en forma institucional seria y democrática, las fuerzas armadas realicen una misión que puede ser muy noble, pero que no es la que les corresponde.

Hay muchas acciones nobles que pueden y deben realizar las fuerzas armadas dentro de la institucionalidad de la república, y que no son precisamente las llamadas acciones cívicas que yo quiero definir en esta forma: construcción de caminos, de puentes, de carreteras, de escuelas, de dispensarios.

Y la razón es la siguiente: ¿con qué fondos se realizan esas obras? Con fondos del poder ejecutivo. ¿Por qué el poder ejecutivo no destina esas partidas al Ministerio de Salubridad Pública, por ejemplo, para que a través de esa cartera se realice dicha misión? ¿Por qué no destina fondos para el Ministerio de Obras Públicas para que a través de esa cartera se realice dicha misión?

Lo grave y peligroso de esto es que en nuestra América Latina la función militar y la función política se combinan en muchas circunstancias para perjudicar la vida democrática del país, y entonces ocurre que en una comunidad cuyas autoridades civiles quizás pueden ofrecer, pero no pueden cumplir, la construcción de un puente, el jefe militar que tiene ciertas conexiones con la alta jerarquía militar -- no con la alta jerarquía civil -- de la república, ofrece el puente y 15 días más tarde está el puente.

Lo mismo ocurre con una escuela o con un dispensario.

Pero lo que se está haciendo es invirtiendo el orden de los factores. Alterar el producto en este caso es una violación de la regla aritmética. El pueblo se acostumbra a ver que lo que no consigue a través de las autoridades civiles, sí puede conseguir a través de los agentes militares que realizan esa labor, no en nombre de la república y para bien de la república, sino en nombre de uno, o dos, o tres jefes determinados de cada país para beneficio político, no social, de esos uno, dos o tres jefes militares.

Desde luego, hay excepciones. En una tragedia, frente a un ciclón, frente a un terremoto, nadie va a objetar que las fuerzas armadas realicen una labor de salvamento, realicen una labor de construcción de puentes o de habilitación de hospitales o puestos de socorro, porque en esas circunstancias no solamente es admisible, sino recomendable y exigible. Pero ésa es una circunstancia distinta.

Desde luego, me estoy refiriendo a la acción cívica de carácter ordinario. Yo no estoy enjuiciando en este momento la existencia o no existencia de regímenes militares, su justificación o no justificación, ni la justificación o no justificación de la mala conducta de muchos gobiernos civiles que no saben dignificar su misión y consolidar su prestigio. Pero como cuestión de norma, como cuestión de principio, creo que es peligroso que se estimule esa llamada acción cívica de las fuerzas armadas, cuyo presupuesto no debe dar margen para otras labores que no sean las del indispensable funcionamiento de los cuerpos militares, a los cuales hay que ver con simpatía, con respeto, y como una necesidad dentro de una república, cuando esas fuerzas realizan su misión con respeto al poder civil, que debe ser la máxima autoridad en una sociedad civilizada. Eso es todo, Sr. Presidente. (Applause)

MR. HOWARD: I would like to remind everyone who wishes to speak to please identify himself. And also, if I may, I would like to suggest that in the discussion which these two splendid addresses have started, we not devote too much time per person, or otherwise some of those who have good comments and questions won't have an opportunity - it will be too late. Thank you.

SR. CHAMORRO: Mi compatriota, el Dr. Aguirre, expuso a mi juicio el punto muy bien. Yo vengo únicamente a reforzarlo, y vengo a reforzarlo citando la experiencia de mi propio país, en donde, como dijo él, para la llamada acción cívica se toman dineros que pertenecen, por ejemplo al Ministerio de Fomento y se contruye un camino que ofrece el caudillo militar; en donde se toma dinero del Banco Central y se organiza un programa ganadero ofrecido, desde luego con una intención política, por el caudillo militar; en donde, para decirlo en una sola frase, se está subvirtiendo el valor de las instituciones.

Se subvierten porque se toma como cívico lo que no es cívico, y se hace así para beneficio político directo de un personaje, o dos, o tres, o un círculo de personajes y militares que quieren, en esa forma, comprar la buena voluntad de los pueblos.

Teóricamente no se puede objetar, como dijo muy bien el Sr. Aguirre, que los ejércitos quieran hacer una obra cívica, pero en la práctica esas llamadas acciones cívicas muchas veces, como ocurre en mi país, únicamente son una máscara. Y si los norteamericanos, que han apoyado mucho estas llamadas acciones cívicas, creen que esa es una forma de limarles los dientes a los tigres, yo les digo que están muy equivocados. Es al revés: les están dando a los tigres colmillos de repuesto. Gracias. (Applause)

DR. MARTINEZ MARQUEZ: Hace unos momentos un joven colega argentino dijo palabras de enhorabuena para el Sr. David Rockefeller a nombre de la juventud latinoamericana. Yo voy a sumarme a esa felicitación a nombre de los más viejos representantes del diarismo latinoamericano. Quiere decir que en esta

tribuna esta tarde nos estamos uniendo para felicitar al Sr. David Rockefeller los más jóvenes y los más viejos de la América Latina.

Regreso de todos los caminos de la vida. A mi edad ya no se pueden emprender nuevas empresas, y el único regreso que aspiro es el regreso a mi patria, cuando mi patria pueda ser otra vez libre.

Como decía muy bien el Sr. Rockefeller, a veces los temas que debatimos son cuestiones de palabras. Y es lamentable que las más de las veces estas palabras estén influenciadas por circunstancias políticas que hacen, con gran frecuencia, que los hombres piensen una cosa y digan una cosa distinta.

Voy a referirme nada más que a dos cuestiones bien precisas: a la intervención de las fuerzas armadas y a la integración económica latinoamericana.

Sobre las fuerzas armadas, yo tengo una idea muy personal. Creo que todo lo que se dice sobre las fuerzas armadas es cuestión de circunstancias. Y voy a explicar: hay en la historia americana las fuerzas armadas que lucharon por la libertad en el norte y en el sur de nuestro continente; los ejércitos de Washington, de Bolívar, de San Martín, de Maceo y Máximo Gómez de mi patria. Y creo que ningún hombre libre en este continente puede denostar a estos institutos armados que nos legaron la libertad que tenemos. (Applause)

Pero hay otras fuerzas armadas que desgraciadamente se sucedieron en la historia de nuestro continente. Me refiero a los jefes, a los mandones militares que, con ambiciones políticas, un día cualquiera, abusando de la fuerza que su patria había puesto en sus manos, echaron abajo las instituciones democráticas y durante años, muchos años, gobernaron despótica y personalmente su país.

No creo que en esta Asamblea de periodistas libres exista una sola voz que intente justificar, o disculpar, y mucho menos alabar, a estos mandones militares. Pero hay en este momento, en esta etapa de transición que está viviendo la América Latina, una confusión sembrada por los demagogos, que le hacen más daño a la América Latina que los llamados oligarcas, una confusión que se extiende por el pueblo a veces y que conduce a la quiebra de la democracia.

No quiero referirme, porque no es mi objeto, a país alguno. Pero digo que cuando una patria libre está, en virtud de la obra de los demagogos, deslizando por el plano inclinado que conduce a la subversión y al comunismo, está justificado, plenamente justificado, que los hombres de uniforme, que no están al servicio de los gobiernos, sino al servicio de las instituciones libres, quiten a esos señores que hacen tanto daño como los anteriores mandones militares.

Por eso debemos observar cada caso a la luz de la experiencia de este caso, y no decir que no es posible en ningún momento justificar un golpe militar y no decir en ningún momento que es justificable rechazar la intervención provisional de los militares para restablecer lo que es esencial en las patrias americanas, que es la libertad y el progreso entre los hombres libres.

Se ha hablado también aquí de integración económica, de desarrollo económico. Es, como muy bien decía el ilustre ex presidente de Ecuador, mi amigo Galo Plaza, uno de los temas mágicos del momento. Todos, unos sabiendo a dónde vamos, otros sin saber a dónde se les lleva, hablamos de desarrollo económico. Pero el desarrollo económico requiere un ordenamiento, requiere una idea previa, requiere un plan preciso, y a veces me parece que no estamos siguiendo exactamente el plan más efectivo.

Por ejemplo, cuando se trata en momentos determinados de dar al estado excesiva intervención en los asuntos correspondientes al capital privado, estamos, sabiéndolo o sin saberlo, andando por el camino peligroso de la socialización de nuestro continente. Y yo creo que por eso se ha dado el caso que apuntaba el Sr. David Rockefeller, de que mientras nuestros vecinos del norte derramaban su dinero a través de los canales oficiales de algunos gobiernos, las empresas privadas de esos mismos países, y algunas empresas privadas del norte también, exportaban los capitales, con lo cual se neutralizaba de manera efectiva el desarrollo y se impedía la libre empresa, que es, a mi juicio, básica en el régimen de vida que hemos escogido.

El ex presidente Galo Plaza dijo aquí que a nosotros los periodistas nos correspondía una labor educativa e informativa, y yo quiero subscribir plenamente las palabras del Sr. Galo Plaza cuando decía esta oportuna verdad.

Y a propósito del ex presidente Galo Plaza, quiero decir que en el año 1949, cuando la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa tuvo su asiento en Quito, nos dijo unas palabras históricas que yo recuerdo. Habíamos celebrado hasta entonces cinco Asambleas Generales de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa. Habíamos tratado de hacernos cada día más fuertes y adquirir una idea de la solidaridad periodística. Y recuerdo que él, con esa clarividencia que le es habitual y que todos reconocemos en él, nos dijo: "Ya ustedes se han puesto los pantalones largos. Vayan ahora al norte, que ya son grandes para hacerlo."

Y así fue, efectivamente. Fuimos a Nueva York en el año 1950, y en Nueva York esta Sociedad, al amparo de las instituciones periodísticas norteamericanas, modelo y ejemplo del mundo entero, ganó la personalidad jurídica, la independencia de pensamiento, que hasta aquel momento efectivamente no habíamos tenido.

Incidentalmente, quiero recoger las palabras de mi ilustre colega Horacio Aguirre del Diario las Américas de Miami, para subscribir las íntegramente.

Y ya para finalizar quiero relatar una anécdota personal -- y perdonenme que lo haga, pero es ilustrativa -- que me ocurrió en Montevideo en el año 1961. Si lo hago es para que ustedes no me califiquen a mí demasiado apresuradamente.

Recuerdo que estábamos en el Ateneo de Montevideo, y estaban presentes, entre otros ilustres y distinguidos colegas, don Alberto Gainza Paz, editor de la Prensa de Buenos Aires, y don Luis Franzini, editor de El Día de Montevideo, ex presidente de la SIP, en este momento desgraciadamente desaparecido. En aquella oportunidad, yo, que iba como periodista a informarme, en virtud

de la triste actualidad de mi patria tuve que informar a algunos colegas. Estábamos en una rueda de prensa, entre compañeros, cuando por la puerta, un poco subrepticamente, entró un muchachito bajito, jovencito, mal encajado, el cual me pidió permiso para hacerme una pregunta. Y me preguntó a boca de jarro:

"Dr. Martínez Márquez ¿es cierto que está usted al servicio del imperialismo americano?"

Yo le contesté en tono menor: "Señor, hasta este momento, no estoy al servicio del imperialismo americano, pero si en el futuro la situación del mundo se vuelve dilemática, y hay que escoger entre el imperialismo americano, tal como lo presentan los comunistas, o el imperialismo ruso, tal cual yo lo he sufrido en Cuba, no dude usted. Yo ya he escogido. Soy servidor del imperialismo americano, y a mucha honra." (Applause)

SR. LUIS FELDMAN JOSIN (Jornada, Trelew, Argentina): Quiero expresar mis felicitaciones a la SIP por la elección de los dos extraordinarios expositores de esta mañana.

Yo habito el extremo sur de la Argentina y por lo tanto el extremo sur de América, y veo las cosas en perspectiva, en síntesis. Un político argentino, gran sociólogo, solía decir: "¡Guay de aquellos que creen que el mundo está parado porque ellos no tienen ganas de andar! El que se para en la estación y deja pasar el tren del progreso, lo pierde."

En América todos los pueblos, por la difusión de las intercomunicaciones, hasta las comunidades más aisladas, tienen impacencias. Esas impacencias trasuntan en afanes de progreso. Tengan ustedes la absoluta seguridad de que en toda América Latina se ha despertado ese afán de progreso; si bien en este momento está en pleno proceso se hará próximamente la síntesis, y esa síntesis será ineludiblemente la integración de los pueblos americanos en la libertad, en la paz, por el progreso, por el bienestar y por la felicidad del pueblo.

La SIP, con sus reuniones, al facilitar la exposición de extraordinarios oradores, hombres que quieren ese progreso, nos hace un gran favor. Muchas gracias. (Applause)

MR. EUGENE MIROVITCH (Graphic Arts Consultant, Hollywood, California): I enjoyed Mr. Rockefeller's conference tremendously. I wish Mr. Rockefeller would express his views, if possible, a little more specifically on one point which I consider important. I am referring to the industrial development, to the industrialization of Latin America.

I consider -- and I am basing my remarks on what I believe is an accepted truth -- that no country in the world has raised the standard of living of its population by the production of raw materials only. I think that is an accepted truth.

Now, industrialization is one path towards raising the standard, and I believe many of the political disturbances in Latin America are traceable to

the comparatively low standard of living; in other words, to the economics.

What are Mr. Rockefeller's views on industrialization in Latin America? Thank you.

MR. ROCKEFELLER: I think if you would look back at the text of my talk you would see that I said I thought industrialization was also important; that it was not contradictory; that there was no reason to have agricultural development and not industrialization.

But I do feel that there has been, perhaps, overemphasis in some countries in Latin America on industrialization, sometimes seemingly for the sake of prestige rather than thinking of the best balance, growth and development of the country and the people.

Therefore, I was putting particular stress on agricultural development and on industries that relate themselves to agriculture, because it seemed to me that this side had been under-emphasized.

But I think if you would look at the text again you would see that I made quite clear that in my judgment this did not mean we should do away with industrialization; quite the contrary, I think they should go hand in hand.

MR. HOWARD: This has been a most rewarding morning, and I certainly don't want to shut off this interesting discussion; however, I feel that I am going to have to limit the discussions to two more by people who have already indicated their desire to speak, and then we will have to close it.

DR. DIEGO ZAMIT (Crónica, Comodoro Rivadavia, Argentina): Voy a ser muy breve en honor del poco tiempo de que disponemos ahora.

Hemos escuchado dos brillantes discursos de dos distinguidas personalidades americanas, y también algunas observaciones muy atinadas a que dieron lugar ciertas frases del discurso del Sr. Rockefeller. Se me ocurre que quizás la observación del árbol nos ha hecho perder de vista el bosque, y creo que no fue ese el meollo del tema desarrollado por el Sr. Rockefeller cuando se refirió tan extensamente al papel de las fuerzas armadas en el progreso de América Latina.

Los dos discursos han versado sobre dos temas muy correlacionados; uno, el papel de la educación, y otro el análisis, a grandes rasgos, pero profundos, de la Alianza para el Progreso.

Pero pienso que hace falta una pregunta que me va, seguramente, a esclarecer perfectamente el Sr. Rockefeller. Es la interconexión que puede haber entre ambos temas. El Dr. Galo Plaza puso su énfasis en la necesidad de impulsar la educación como uno de los medios fundamentales para el progreso de nuestros pueblos. Y el Sr. Rockefeller, al hablar de la Alianza para el Progreso, también se refirió a distintos aspectos del progreso de nuestros pueblos americanos.

Yo le quisiera preguntar, ya concretamente, si es posible que ese acento

al que se refirió el Dr. Galo Plaza sobre la educación como medio más fructífero para el progreso de los pueblos de Latinoamérica puede obtenerse en breve plazo dentro de los planes de la Alianza para el Progreso, y en tal caso, qué posibilidades y por qué medios podría llegarse a ese énfasis en el aspecto educacional, que tan brillantemente expuso el Dr. Galo Plaza.

MR. ROCKEFELLER: I believe I understood your question directly. I was delighted by the emphasis that Mr. Galo Plaza placed on education, and frankly, if I had had more time than I had, this would have been a subject that I would have pressed, myself, more than I did. I did mention it, but frankly, I think my speech would have been better had I had more about it, because I completely agree with him as to the essentiality of the development of education at all levels in the Alliance. So, to my mind, the two fitted together very well. I was stressing more agricultural development and private enterprise because they are subjects that perhaps I know a little bit more about, but it wasn't to indicate that I was less conscious or impressed by the importance of education.

SR. MANUEL ULLOA (Expreso, Lima, Perú): Hay un aspecto en la intervención de David Rockefeller que ha sido comentada, pero que me da un poco la impresión de que no ha permitido que se interprete fielmente, y que en la medida de que no se interpreta fielmente puede también llevar a una impresión equivocada con respecto a lo que pensamos nosotros frente al problema de los gobiernos militares o frente al problema de la intervención de las fuerzas armadas en la vida de nuestros países.

Si me permite David Rockefeller, creo que su afirmación ha sido en el sentido de que frente a hechos históricos o políticos consumados no debemos prejuzgar o establecer juicios categóricos o condenas definitivas sobre los sucesos de un país o sobre las necesidades de un país frente a su problemática de desarrollo económico.

Yo no creo que David Rockefeller, en ninguna forma, ha querido sugerir o insinuar la conveniencia de soluciones militares frente a las soluciones democráticas. Al mismo tiempo, considero que, como Asamblea, debemos establecer en forma categórica -- y es una opinión muy personal, pero muy firme -- que no creemos en las soluciones militares como elementos posibles o convenientes para el desarrollo de nuestros países.

Respetando las instituciones armadas, reconociéndoles un papel muy importante en el desarrollo de nuestros países, creo al mismo tiempo que como hombres libres, como demócratas, como hombres de prensa, debemos poner el énfasis en el refuerzo institucional de nuestros países, en la movilización de nuestras clases dirigentes, para resolver los problemas económicos, sociales y políticos, a fin de evitar que en ninguna circunstancia y bajo ninguna forma puedan producirse aquellos sucesos que obliguen a intervenciones de tipo militar o armado.

Reconozco lo que decía el Sr. Martínez Márquez en el sentido de que frente al caos o frente a la posibilidad del desastre, puede explicarse una intervención militar, y en esto respeto opiniones, pero como felizmente en el Perú no estamos abocados a este tipo de problema, no puedo hablar sino en términos

del Perú. Para nosotros no existe ese problema, no existen esas alternativas ni posibilidades, y por lo tanto quiero simplemente hacer esta afirmación: por un lado aclarar y precisar lo que creo yo que ha sido la afirmación y la intención del discurso de David Rockefeller, y por otro lado, como miembro de esta Asamblea, afirmar en primer lugar la convicción de que no corresponde, ni es posible ni deseable, que nuestros gobiernos o nuestros objetivos políticos y sociales se encuentren a través de fórmulas militares. Y por otro lado, que nuestros esfuerzos como periodistas, o como hombres de empresa, deben estar dirigidos a la movilización de la opinión pública en nuestros países, de las clases dirigentes, de los escasos recursos humanos, para orientar y asumir las responsabilidades que eviten la posibilidad de soluciones militares o de golpes que desgraciadamente ocurren todavía en nuestros países. (Applause)

SR. ROCKEFELLER: I would like to thank Manuel Ulloa for those very helpful remarks, which, I hope, helped to clarify further what I think I said on the question of the military. And I would urge any of you who still have doubts on the subject as to where I stand in this regard, to be good enough to read over the text of what I said again, because I really do believe that from two or three of the remarks there was, in fact, a misunderstanding of my position on this point.

MR. HOWARD: Thank you very much, Mr. Rockefeller. I think this is a good point for me to advise you that copies of these two splendid speeches are available just as you leave the room.

Now, I want to thank all who participated in this stimulating discussion this morning, and particularly our two wonderful speakers. I hope they come every year. (Applause)

We have a little business to transact here, but I think it might be fair if we permitted our speakers to depart. They probably have other things to do. They are welcome to remain, but they are equally welcome to leave if they wish.

If Mr. Nores Martínez is in the room I would appreciate his coming forward to give us a report on the election of directors.

If you are interested in hearing the results of the election of directors, I think we can now hear this from Mr. Nores Martínez.

SR. ENRIQUE NORES MARTINEZ (Los Principios, Córdoba, Argentina): Voy a dar lectura ahora a los nombres de las personas que han sido elegidas directores para 1966-69:

AMADEO J. BARLETTA, JR., EL MUNDO, LA HABANA (en el exilio)
 GEORGE H. BEEBE, KNIGHT NEWSPAPERS, EE.UU.
 BRADY BLACK, THE CINCINNATI ENQUIRER, CINCINNATI, OHIO
 PEDRO J. CHAMORRO, LA PRENSA, MANAGUA, NICARAGUA
 JOSE DUTRIZ, JR., LA PRENSA GRAFICA, SAN SALVADOR, EL SALVADOR
 LUIS FELDMAN JOSIN, JORNADA, TRELEW, PROV. DE CHUBUT, ARGENTINA
 MARIAN HEISKELL, THE NEW YORK TIMES
 BERNARD KILGORE, THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, NUEVA YORK
 DAVID B. LINDSAY, JR., HERALD-TRIBUNE Y JOURNAL, SARASOTA, FLA.

ALBERTO LLERAS CAMARGO, VISION, NUEVA YORK
 CARLOS MANINI RIOS, LA MANANA Y EL DIARIO, MONTEVIDEO
 WILLIAM DONALD (DON) MAXWELL, THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE
 MONSEÑOR JESUS MARIA PELLIN, LA RELIGION, CARACAS
 PABLO VARGAS BADILLO, EL MUNDO, SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO
 WILLIAM P. WILLIAMSON, THE BRAZIL HERALD, RIO DE JANEIRO

MR. HOWARD: Thank you very much, Mr. Nores Martínez.

I will now declare the meeting adjourned until three o'clock this afternoon.

(The meeting adjourned at 12.50 P.M.)

GENERAL ASSEMBLYFIFTH MEETING

Thursday, October 27, 1966

The fifth meeting of the XXII Annual General Assembly of the Inter American Press Association convened at 3:00 p. m. in the Salon Perú of the Hotel Crillon in Lima, Perú, with Mr. Jack R. Howard, President, as Chairman.

MR. HOWARD: The meeting will please come to order.

Dr. Martínez Márquez, do you wish to say something before the meeting begins? You indicated this morning that you had something to say before we started this report.

SR. MARTINEZ MARQUEZ: Quiero hacer una breve aclaración a mi colega, John O'Rourke, quien habló del caso de Cuba en el forum que celebramos ayer.

Hablo a nombre propio, como director del diario de La Habana, Cuba, "El País", y en representación del distinguido colega habanero, Sr. Amadeo Barleta, Jr., editor de "El Mundo", ahora también en el exilio, pero podría agregar que mis palabras reflejarán igualmente el criterio de la mayoría de los periodistas cubanos dispersos en veinte patrias distintas en virtud de la tiranía del régimen que desgobierna, esclaviza y arruina a Cuba.

Quiero despojar a mis palabras de pasión, y si en algún momento pudieran herir en lo personal a los colegas a quienes he de aludir, deseo adelantarme a aclarar que ésa no es, ciertamente, mi intención.

Voy a referirme a los conceptos vertidos por mi estimado compañero en esta sociedad, el editor emeritus de "The Washington Daily News", a quien tuve el honor de traspasar la presidencia de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa y que hoy preside con acierto la Comisión de Libertad de Prensa: John O'Rourke.

Hubiera preferido no agregar una palabra a las que él dijera ayer, durante el Foro consagrado a precisar el criterio de la SIP cuando caiga Castro. Pero él dijo cosas con las que naturalmente yo no puedo estar conforme, porque las considero, además de injustas e inciertas, fuera de lugar. Y como los anales de nuestra Sociedad guardan cuanto él dijo, quiero que registren también lo que yo voy a decir, no sea que en el futuro pueda aplicarse a mi silencio el bien conocido concepto de que "quien calla otorga".

Sólo debo agregar, antes de entrar en la materia propia de esta aclaración, que si no intervine ayer mismo en el debate fue porque ello me hubiera situado en la desagradable posición de juez y parte.

Esta abstención me ha permitido apreciar la necesidad de aclarar los conceptos vertidos, porque manifiestamente han sido mal interpretados, tanto en las versiones del mismo publicadas en la prensa, como en los despachos divulgados por las agencias informativas. Una vez más, unas y otros han preferido

lo sensacional a lo justo, lo escandaloso a lo real.

Confieso mi sorpresa ante los puntos de vista de mi colega John O'Rourke. Confieso que tenía la seguridad de que lo que la SIP quería precisar era su posición frente a la posible desorientación de algunos de sus miembros ante la caída de Castro. En otras palabras, que trataba de ayudar a los colegas de Cuba -que tantas muestras ofrecieron siempre de su solidaridad con los periodistas en desgracia- en un momento difícil para ellos. Si esto era así, creo que los puntos de vista expuestos por el amigo O'Rourke se alejaban de este claro concepto de solidaridad. Por eso mi sorpresa fué extraordinaria. Mientras él hablaba, yo no sabía qué hacer. Durante algunos minutos tuve la desagradable impresión de que mi ilustre sucesor en la presidencia de la SIP me había dado un golpe bajo, fuera de las reglas de lo que parecía previsto y normal.

Hubiera podido entonces pedir a O'Rourke que trajera algunas pruebas de su aserto. Pero no lo hice y no lo hago ahora, por dos razones bien claras: primera, porque el caso fué bien esclarecido en Cuba y posteriormente en el seno de la SIP, tanto en la reunión de sus directores, en El Salvador, en la primavera de 1959, como más tarde en la asamblea anual de San Francisco, en el otoño del mismo año. En esta segunda oportunidad, ni el propio Castro se atrevió a insistir en sus absurdas e impropias generalizaciones, y todos los colegas cubanos pudieron regresar a su patria y seguir ejerciendo su ministerio.

Podría agregar que la Comisión que estudió las acusaciones formuladas con anterioridad a todo esto por el propio Castro, estaba presidida por el ilustre editor de "La Prensa" de Buenos Aires, doctor Alberto Gainza Paz, e integrada por otros distinguidos colegas, entre los cuales estoy seguro de que figuraba nuestro inolvidable Jules Dubois, y me parece recordar que también el propio John O'Rourke. El caso de Cuba fué ya visto y satisfactoriamente resuelto por la SIP. No creo que exista la intención de actualizarlo.

Debo agregar algo más. Temo que este enojoso incidente pueda ser utilizado por el propio régimen castrista, y sus seguidores más o menos encubiertos en Cuba y fuera de Cuba, como ya lo ha sido, en virtud de un irrefrenado afán sensacionalista, por algunos diarios y agencias cablegráficas.

Creo que el enemigo común, el enemigo más grande y peligroso que ha tenido la prensa americana, son el propio Castro y la funesta ideología que representa. Y creo que es contra él que debemos luchar.

Lo demás, todo lo demás, puede contribuir a dividir nuestras filas, es decir, a debilitar inoportunamente nuestra causa, que es la causa de la libertad de expresión, que mi colega John O'Rourke representa como digno presidente de nuestro Comité de Libertad de Prensa.

Es todo lo que debo decir en esta oportunidad. En cuanto al futuro, sería posible repetir unas palabras de nuestro José Martí: que nuestra vida nos juzgue. Estoy seguro de que el periodismo cubano cumplirá en el futuro, como siempre lo ha hecho, con su deber el día feliz en que caiga Castro.

MR. HOWARD: Thank you, Mr. Martínez Márquez.

Mr. O'Rourke would like to respond to that.

MR. O'ROURKE: My old and dear friend, don Guillermo Martínez Márquez, and I are not as far apart as we perhaps might seem to some listeners.

The corrupt press to which I referred was a part of the political system which existed before the Castro victory. The previous system in Cuba had collapsed. It collapsed because of corruption. Fidel Castro did not defeat Batista in the field. The original Castro revolution was a revolution of reform, which the communists seized. I think that don Guillermo will agree with this.

A large part of the Cuban press -- not all of it, of course, but a large part of the Cuban press was involved in this corruption. The records of this appear in previous records of this Association. I do not intend to repudiate these records. I think they are true.

I understood the subject under discussion yesterday was the problems that a free Cuban press would face when it had the opportunity of returning to Cuba when, and if, Castro was overthrown.

I do not think that the corrupt segment of the Cuban press that existed previous to Castro will help establish a free press. It did not do it before and I do not think it would be interested in doing it again. I think that it was, in part, responsible for the loss of faith in the Batista government. It was well known throughout Havana; it was well known throughout the whole United States that these men were cynical and comfortable.

As I said before, the Batista government was not defeated. The soldiers did not fight. Che Guevara, just as an incident, walked all the way across Cuba because he paid the general in charge of the army, the Batista army around Santiago, \$80,000.00.

All these things are in one place or another in the records of this Association.

There are, as I said yesterday, brave men. Some of them are dead. I knew them. Some of them are in prison still, I guess. They were friends of don Guillermo's, too. And I am with him to the very end of this situation. But the honest men are going to have a hard enough time without carrying the crooks on their backs.

If we stay together in this Association, we must be true to the purposes of this Association, which are truth and honesty, and this doesn't mean honesty with a hand extended towards some police chief, some governor, some mayor or the President.

We, in this Association, have passed resolutions and have denounced all sorts of compromising arrangements with various governments throughout this Hemisphere, whereby papers find a more comfortable way of life, or with govern-

ment corporations that buy newsprint and then give it to those who will print what the government wants them to print. Gentlemen, if we denounced this sort of thing, I do not believe that we can ever hope to win back Cuba as a free nation by embracing those who are comfortable under the rotten government that fell of its own weight.

Don Guillermo is glad this government fell. I am sure of it. His son fought for Fidel Castro. I am sure he is proud of his son. I know a young man his son's age, who is now dead, who fought for Fidel Castro. He was no more a communist than don Guillermo's son. But we can't betray these things because they are intimately involved in our principles. And I don't care how comfortable an exiled Cuban editor may be; I don't care how poor he may be. If he was honest under Batista, I hope I will live to see him go back to Cuba. And if he was dishonest under Batista's regime, I don't care whether he ever gets back there or not, because in a free Cuba he will have no place.

I hope, don Guillermo, that you and I stand together. (Applause)

MR. HOWARD: If you don't mind, Chairman O'Rourke, we have a short announcement here.

SR. JIMENEZ: El Dr. Cisneros me pide que les recuerde que la misa de Mons. Pellín en memoria de Jules Dubois se va a celebrar esta tarde a las 6 -- a las 18 horas -- en la Iglesia de los Jesuitas. Queda en la misma calle que el hotel. Saliendo del hotel, a la derecha, en la misma acera y a dos cuadras, o un poco menos de dos cuadras. Eso es todo, Sr. Presidente.

MR. O'ROURKE: Ladies and gentlemen, as Chairman of the Freedom of the Press Committee this year, it is my pleasure and honor to read you the Introduction to the Freedom of the Press Committee's Report.

This Report will not be read in its entirety, because it is too lengthy. However, you will find a copy of it at the rear of the hall as you leave, if you are interested in reading the entire Report itself. You can pick it up now or later. If you wish I will wait a minute and you can get it.

I will read the Introduction of this Report, which most of you now have, and I will ask Mr. Dutriz of La Prensa Gráfica of San Salvador to read the Conclusions.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

INTRODUCTION

The Committee on Freedom of the Press convened in Lima on October 21 and completed its deliberations on October 22.

The Report submitted here is divided into three parts: the Introduction, which I have the honor to present, the body of the Report itself, and the Conclusions.

Also derived from the Committee's work were certain suggested resolutions

which will be submitted to the Resolutions Committee in the usual way.

In the Introduction and Conclusions, there are references to data and documents accumulated during the year, and which are on file at IAPA headquarters.

Mr. President, events in the year past emphasize not only the need vigilantly to defend the right to free expression from overt attack. As this report will show, certain happenings emphasize also the urgent need to define it continually in the clearest terms possible and to scrutinize constantly how it functions. This report will show the way a free press can be undermined even though it may seem to be secure. Even though governments profess to respect it, this report will reveal how its essence could be lost, although its outward forms remain unchanged.

At the Board of Directors meeting in Caracas six months ago, and also at the meetings of the Committee on Freedom of the Press here last week, it was observed that the violence and brutality which were frequently visited on dissident publications, editors and newspapermen even as recently as ten or fifteen years ago, have diminished.

This report will show that open terror, as a means to control the press, is used today in comparatively few places in this hemisphere.

Undoubtedly, this is a reflection of the general public attitude. Increasingly, the average citizen is becoming aware of his own vital stake in the need for a free flow of news and critical opinion. As interdependence grows among the nations of the hemisphere, crude methods of suppression are self-defeating.

This is not to say that the totalitarian attitude has vanished from our continents; this report contains evidence that only the techniques to control the political adversary have become more subtle and more sophisticated.

True, this report will show that primitive terror still stifles free speech and press in Haiti; it will show that truth in Cuba is still drowned in a morass of neighborhood spies, incessant propaganda, militia and prisons.

It will show that while no one can pretend there is a free press in Paraguay, there are signs that the government there is aware of the changing times and would like to better its image in the growing world of free opinion.

Today there are military governments in Argentina and Brazil, which, until now, have exercised their powers of arbitrary decision with restraint. Consonant with growing hemisphere concern, both governments have made assurances that critical opinion is safe. However, this report will show that as long as freedom of expression is merely permissive, uneasiness, in greater or less degree, will be the portion of all dissenters.

This report will show that the same quality of unease manifests itself when, as in Chile, protests are made that a surreptitious attempt by the party in power was made to seize dominant control of a chain of newspapers of oppo-

site political conviction, thru coersive use of the credit facilities of the State Bank. This is still another way that press freedom may seem to be preserved but its essence lost.

Finally, this report will show that the threat to inhibit free comment still exists, altho hidden from the unaware, in the government control of newsprint, and the use of preferential and prejudicial taxes.

May I, Mr. President, express my thanks, and the Association's thanks to the members of this year's Committee of Freedom of the Press, for the patience and wisdom which they brought to the lengthy and sometimes complicated material with which they had to deal. We owe them much gratitude for the intelligence and thoughtfulness which they brought to these discussions.

I would particularly bespeak applause for Mr. Tom Harris, of the St. Petersburg Times, Florida, for Mr. William Dorvillier of the San Juan Star, Puerto Rico, and Mr. Amadeo Barletta of El Mundo of Havana (in exile), and Mr. Rodolfo Junco de la Vega, Jr., of El Norte of Monterrey, Mexico, who undertook the additional task of editing the body of the Report. as well as applause for Mr. José Dutriz of La Prensa Gráfica of San Salvador, Mr. Juan Valmaggia of La Nación, Buenos Aires, Mr. William Giandoni of Copley Newspapers, La Jolla, California, and Mr. William P. Williamson of the Brazil Herald, Rio de Janeiro, who wrote and edited the Conclusions.

Thank you, Mr. President.

II

THE STATE

OF THE PRESS

IN THE AMERICAS

ARGENTINA

There is freedom of the press.

It is worthy of note that press freedom continued after the June 28 revolution in a manner similar to that which existed under the constitutional government which was found at the Caracas meeting to insure freedom of the press.

There have been isolated incidents in various parts of the country under local governments which have infringed on the freedom of the press. All of these incidents were dealt with during the recent annual meeting of the Argentina Press Association (ADEPA) at San Miguel de Tucumán on September 22-23 at which time ADEPA issued a declaration that "in general there is freedom of the press, but the repetition of isolated cases, contrary to free expression, produces concern among members of the press who by the very nature of the task to be performed require the development of an atmosphere of total and genuine freedom." The same declaration stated that "the solemn promise made by the President of

the Republic to ADEPA permits us to trust that such incidents will not be repeated." ADEPA had reference to assurances given by President Onganía to Chairman John O'Rourke on a recent visit and repeated to the director of ADEPA that freedom of the press would be fully respected.

The Argentine press continues to seek relief from excessive custom duties and taxes which make it difficult to acquire modern equipment already available to neighboring countries. This cost continues to be a heavy burden to Argentine newspapers, not only because it places a prohibitive cost on new equipment but also because of its application to raw materials and indispensable spare parts, despite the fact that they are not manufactured in Argentina.

BAHAMAS

There is freedom of the press.

BERMUDA

There is freedom of the press.

BOLIVIA

There is freedom of the press.

The situation appears improved since the new government took over last August, when it immediately closed the official government newspapers La República of La Paz and El Mundo of Cochabamba on the grounds that the regime was opposed to organs of propaganda.

A request was made to the government in the Senate to look into the question of indemnization of the newspaper Los Tiempos of Cochabamba, whose plant and equipment had been destroyed in a former regime. The government replied that the documents connected with the situation had been destroyed or taken from the archives. The present government told Mr. Carlos Canelas, owner of Los Tiempos, that it is the desire of the government to take legal steps towards indemnization. Equitable settlement of the Los Tiempos case would conclude successfully a long-standing campaign by IAPA to win redress for the loss of the paper by its publisher.

BRAZIL

There is freedom of the press.

The existence of a free press is confirmed daily in all newspapers in the country. The military leaders who took over the government have shown resistance to any measure which would imply any restriction on freedom of the press.

However, it should be pointed out that this freedom is by consent -that is, it exists because the government permits it to exist. The government has the instruments to limit freedom of the press. It does not use them, has not yet used them, but they do exist.

In view of the fact that not only a new press law but a new constitution -which would affect the press- are expected before the present president leaves office in March, this committee suggests that the IAPA communicate to the government of Brazil its dedication to the principles laid down in articles III and IV of the IAPA Charter, incorporating also paragraph 3 of the second Resolution passed by the XXI Annual Assembly in San Diego in 1965. The articles state:

"Freedom of information is a right inherent in freedom of opinion. Information, whether national or international, should be received, transmitted and diffused 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."

"The exercise of journalism is free. Prohibitions, restrictions or permits to exercise it, whether they affect owners, editors, directors, contributors or employees of a publication, violate freedom of the press."

Paragraph 3 of Resolution II adopted at San Diego said:

"The Inter American Press Association strongly affirms its belief in the principle that there should be no restrictions on the right of free persons to publish in a free society, and that the exercise of journalism is free, therefore, prohibitions, restrictions or permits to exercise it, whether they affect owners, editors, directors, contributors or employees of a publication, violate freedom of the press."

BRITISH HONDURAS (BELIZE)

There is freedom of the press.

BRITISH WEST INDIES

In Barbados, the Leeward Islands, and the Windward Islands, as well as the British Virgin Islands, there is freedom of the press.

CANADA

There is freedom of the press.

The amendment to the income tax act is still a cause of concern to Canadian publishers, however. It stipulates that, and without changing the status of any existing newspapers in Canada, foreign interests must not have more than 25% participation in any Canadian paper. When originally proposed this act was the subject of a "serious protest" by the Canadian Daily Newspaper Publishers Association.

CENTRAL AMERICA

Costa Rica

There is freedom of the press.

El Salvador

There is freedom of the press.

Guatemala

There is freedom of the press.

Honduras

The existence of a law containing provisions unacceptable to the press is the only barrier to a declaration that freedom of the press exists in Honduras. The committee suggests that the government of Honduras be urged to repeal the law to permit a declaration by IAPA that press freedom exists. Despite this law the newspapers are exercising the right to criticize the government and to date have suffered no restrictions.

Nicaragua

There is freedom of the press.

CHILE

This report must begin by stating that there is the most complete freedom of the press in Chile. It is due precisely to this situation that great importance has been given to the events which might be interpreted as tending to curtail that freedom. Furthermore, it might be added that the debate of this problem has been carried out without restrictions of any kind. The independent newspapers have been able to report and comment on the SOPEPUR case freely and in a similar manner. So have the critics of certain official attitudes regarding that problem.

The background of the SOPEPUR case in Chile may be summarized as follows:

On July 20, 1966, the president of the Sociedad Periodística del Sur S.A. (SOPEPUR), proprietor of five independent newspapers in the southern part of the country, notified the National Press Association (a private organization grouping Chilean newspaper firms) that an affiliate of the Banco del Estado (State Bank), the Compañía Agrícola y Ganadera "Rucamanqui" S.A. (the Rucamanqui Agriculture and Livestock Production Company) had acquired an important packet of shares of the aforementioned newspaper chain. The accusation also added that after a Senator of the opposition party had made this charge, a great number of such acquisitions had been made, no longer in the name of "Rucamanqui" but rather in the name of Council members of the Banco del Estado, directors of that affiliate, and others.

The Board of Directors of the National Press Association ordered an investigation, which was conducted by the lawyer Patricio Figueroa Yañez, along with the acting notary of Temuco, lawyer Francisco Santibañez Campos. This was completed on August 20.

Attorney Figueroa reached the conclusion that the officials of the Banco

del Estado had made purchase offers and acquired shares; the Banco del Estado granting or denying credit according to the attitude of shareholders.

He also considers that it has been established that one of the principal purchasers is an official of the Banco del Estado, Mr. Teobaldo Acuña, who, he states, acted on behalf of the nominee of the government party for the deputyship of Cautín, Hector Fernandez de Miguel, and on behalf of the Banco del Estado council member, Julio Serrano Lamas.

Using these preliminary data, the Board of Directors of the National Press Association made a public declaration which established the following: a) that the sale and purchase of shares is an ordinary transaction when the free will of the parties is involved; b) that "officials of the Banco del Estado had exerted undue pressure on many shareholders" of SOPELUR; and c) that "this is an unusually serious matter which, if permitted to prosper, might be a coming menace to the freedom of the press." The Board of Directors, in view of these considerations, agreed to protest and demand sanction for the officials involved and to request officially an interview with the President of the Republic, His Excellency Eduardo Frei, to submit detailed records of the matter to him.

On August 29, President Frei granted a personal interview to the president of the National Press Association, Germán Picó Cañas, who delivered the records of the SOPELUR case to him. The President advised his visitor that he would order an investigation and that severe penalties would be imposed on any official involved.

At the formal request of SOPELUR, IAPA sent a cable to President Frei on September 9, expressing its concern with respect to these matters. The President replied, stating that IAPA had been ill-informed and that, in any event, he had already ordered an investigation. In turn, IAPA replied, rectifying certain statements of the cable from the President and expressing its satisfaction for the initiative taken in the investigation of the matter.

On September 23, President Frei received the delegates from the Journalists' Association (a professional guild). Unofficially, he advised them that the investigation which had been ordered was underway; that an office had been opened in Temuco to handle the claims of those who felt that they had been subjected to pressure by officials of the Banco del Estado; that this official organization would not purchase, and had not purchased, shares of any newspaper; that instructions had been given for "Rucamanqui" to dispose of all acquired shares; and that about 50 per cent of these had already been transferred to third parties.

On Monday, October 17, the General Shareholders' Meeting for SOPELUR was held to appoint the seven directors who would preside over the association for a period of two years. The Board members elected were two directors belonging to the government party, a now independent party Senator, and four senior directors of the Association, representing the traditional policy of SOPELUR.

On Tuesday, October 18, through a personal letter to the president of the

National Press Association from Bernardo Leighton, Minister of the Interior, the government presented the results of the investigation which had been carried out by the state attorney of the Banco del Estado.

In his report, the aforementioned attorney stated that his investigation had the purpose to establish: a) if the Banco del Estado had purchased SOPE-SUR shares; and b) if officials of that institution had taken part in these operations, exerting undue pressure designed to force and legally invalidate the consent of the sellers.

The investigation of the attorney for the Banco del Estado did not grant legal validity to the investigation made at the request of the National Press Association, since the statements of the witnesses upon which it was based, were obtained through private conversations without advising them that what they said would be converted to a notarized statement and without their knowing that Mr. Francisco Santibañez Campos was substituting for the notary when he attended. The latter fact is not particularly odd since this lawyer was the acting notary.

The attorney of the Banco del Estado established that the officials of the Bank in Santiago, Messrs. Teobaldo Acuña, Hugo Echenique, Luis Abalos and Juan Moscoso (the latter, a lawyer from the Bank) traveled to the southern part of the country during holidays or on leave; that Mr. Teobaldo Acuña took part in the purchase of SOPE-SUR shares with the participation of the aforementioned officials, one at the Temuco office and the other in Valdivia; that Mr. Teobaldo Acuña acted as legal agent of Mr. Hector Fernandez de Miguel, who was not connected with the Bank, and that his actions as representative authorized him to act on his own; that Mr. Hector Fernandez provided the funds for the purchases and the expenses related thereto; that the officials acted on their own without using the name of the Banco del Estado and without exercising pressure on the shareholders.

In his report, the attorney of the Banco del Estado cited several testimonials of those selling their shares to testify that there had been no pressure involved and that the sale represented a desirable transaction. Many of those who had been questioned by the National Press Association investigator denied having spoken with him or having made the statements appearing in the notarized proceedings -or corrected these appreciably.

The Minister of the Interior's letter to Mr. Picó Cañas, accompanying the report of the investigation, summarizes its findings and states that it has been shown that: a) the Banco del Estado does not possess nor did it purchase SOPE-SUR shares; and b) that in the purchases of shares in which officials of said Bank took part, they acted on their own and "through powers conferred by an individual not connected with the Bank;" and that no pressure was exerted upon the shareholders.

The Minister citing the text, states:

"Despite the fact that the findings of the investigation are conclusive with respect to the facts studied and although it is clear that there has been no infraction committed by the officials, who, as private parties, took

part in the purchase of the shares of the Sociedad Periodística del Sur, instructions have been given to the Banco del Estado to abstain, in the future, from taking part in activities of this nature, which may give rise to unbiased criticism or comments which adversely affect the prestige of an institution such as the Banco del Estado."

When the Board of Directors of the National Press Association met to hear the findings of the Government investigation, it resolved to publish the letter from the Minister of the Interior and a brief communiqué which read as follows:

"In today's session (October 18), the Board of Directors of the National Press Association considered the report of the attorney of the Banco del Estado on the investigation requested in the petition to His Excellency, the President of the Republic, with respect to the purchase of SOPEUR shares and the participation of officials of this Bank in these transactions.

"The Minister of the Interior, Bernardo Leighton, who submitted this report to the Association in a letter, which is published separately, expressed in one of the paragraphs that 'instructions have been given to the Bank so that in the future its employees will abstain from taking part in private transactions of this nature'."

The communiqué ends by stating that "the Association trusts that these declarations by the Minister represent the healthy policy to be followed in these matters."

COLOMBIA

There is freedom of the press.

CUBA

There is no freedom of the press.

In its report last year, the Committee informed that the situation of the Cuban press had no precedent in the history of the press in America. One might have thought it couldn't get worse, but this has not been the case. The most absolute control of the media and whatever is published by them has been followed by the closest watch kept on the extra-professional activities of journalists. The number of colleagues jailed has increased and the tortures to which they are subjected become worse and worse.

In accordance with information filtered through the thick curtain which covers truth regarding all that happens on the island, there is news about the jailing of 36 journalists although it is possible that their number may be much greater. Their names are: Alfredo Izaguirre Riva, Ernesto de la Fe Pérez, Mario Daniel Rivadulla Carcacedo, Emilio Adolfo Rivero Caro, Eugenio Sosa, Pablo David Menéndez Domínguez, Gustavo Jesús Pujals Rodríguez, Francisco Mico Urrutia, Francisco Antonio Ramírez Sainz, Pablo V. Castellanos Caballero, Raúl Alfonso Meitín, José L. Fernández Arenal, Arnaldo Ramos Yanis, Elio Santos Faría Rodríguez, Julio Lionel Rodríguez de la Torre, Luis de

Jesús Díaz Roca, Eugenio Yaniz Hernández, Rubén Ledo Collazo, Antonio Hernández Salmeron, Luis Ubeda, Gabriel Orozco Alcóber, Félix Picart Delgado, Arturo Casado, Ramón Perfecto Laurent Rojas, Luis de Posada, Carlos Betancourt Rodríguez, Enrique Canto Boris, Enrique Casanova Rodríguez, Pablo Méndez González, Fernando V. Miranda, Juan de Dios Pérez, Zenén Caravia, Gelasio Ortiz Columbié, Félix Odilio Melo, Tomás de Febles and Pedro A. Margolles.

Some of these colleagues have been cruelly mistreated, as in the case of Ernesto de la Fe; others, such as Alfredo Izaguirre Riva, have been held incommunicado for years on end; several have been sentenced to thirty years' imprisonment; many are being held under arrest for a long time without having been notified of the charges against them, and the physical and mental condition of most is terrible.

By a report obtained through the director of the Agency for Journalistic Information, Dr. Fernando Carrandi, the committee has learned that the body set up at the Tricontinental Conference held in La Habana in early January of this year has established a special committee to study the procedures which will be followed to confiscate and later organize the media of expression which may be taken over by the communist, as well as the attacks and acts of terrorism against periodicals and journalists of the continent in order to frighten them and thus make the task of subversion agents easier.

The commission also was made aware of the recent statements made by Fidel Castro himself to the Mexican magazine "Sucesos". These are as follows: "That's true, here in Cuba there is no freedom of the press. We have our reasons for it. Here we are building communism and cannot allow deviations."

Finally, when bringing all this information before the Committee, Dr. Guillermo Martínez Márquez pointed out that two years ago, during the general assembly in Mexico, it had been agreed to request Active members of our association to periodically publish the list of the names of imprisoned Cuban journalists, mentioning the length of time they have spent in prison, and requested that this agreement be ratified asking that it be complied with more fully.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

There is freedom of the press.

Dominican newspapers have published and circulated freely since the end of the civil war of 1965. The case of the magazine Ahora, which was dynamited in October, 1965, after the civil war had ended, has not yet been submitted to the courts but the provisional government reached an agreement with the publisher on the amount of indemnification for the losses suffered by the publication. Neither the terms nor the amount involved have been made public. Ahora is now publishing in its new plant and has established an afternoon daily, El Nacional. Indemnification for the daily Prensa Libre, destroyed at the start of the revolution in April, 1965, is still pending. The case is being considered, as are those of other companies, by a special war damage commission named by the government.

The publisher of Prensa Libre, Mr. Rafael Bonilla Aybar, continues to demand the right to enter the Dominican Republic, a right denied him by the provisional government and now by the constitutional government. This committee suggests that the IAPA seek to determine if Mr. Bonilla Aybar is being barred from returning to his country because he is a journalist and if the government's intention is to prevent him from resuming the publication of his newspaper. If this is the case this committee urges that he be permitted to return to his own country immediately.

A constitution now in the process of being approved includes a recognition of the right to free expression. The committee hopes the wording of the constitution in respect to a free press will be clear in its intent to avoid misinterpretations and misapplications by the judiciary of the country.

ECUADOR

There is freedom of the press.

The only incident which might be considered a violation of freedom of expression, during the present Government, is the jailing during a few hours of Mr. Agustín Cuesta Ordóñez, contributor to the weekly magazine "La Calle" and Channel 6 of television, which was satisfactorily settled after several newspapers took steps directed towards obtaining his liberty.

FRENCH TERRITORIES IN THE CARIBBEAN

There is freedom of the press.

GUYANA

There is freedom of the press.

HAITI

There is no freedom of the press.

Nothing is happening in Haiti now since everything has already happened. We are confronting one of those situations in which it is impossible to report on repressive acts against newspaper activities because the situation has become stabilized at the level of total terror. Possibly, all of this will continue as long as the tyrannical administration of François Duvalier lasts.

JAMAICA

There is freedom of the press.

As a result of political rivalries beginning to take an emotional turn leading to occasional acts of violence, and the tendency of certain criminal elements to capitalize on and take advantage of this situation, the Government on October 3, 1966, declared a state of emergency applicable to a small and defined portion of Western Kingston. The declaration was constitutionally

made by the Governor-General under the appropriate section of the Constitution (Section 26); and regulations were concurrently issued providing police and military authorities with powers of search, detention, etc. in the limited relevant area.

While there is no attempt to impose any censorship, nor to interfere with press or radio in any way, there are two matters giving cause for some concern and watchfulness, namely:

(1) The authorities will release no news as to the declared area except at conferences (twice daily) attended by the Chief of Staff and the Acting Commissioner of Police. This is suggestive of a possibility of managed news.

(2) One paragraph (No. 15) of the regulations makes it possible in certain circumstances for a publisher to be charged with an offence under these emergency regulations. This paragraph reads:

15. No person shall publish either orally or in writing any report or statement (whether true or false) which is intended or is of such a nature as to be likely to be prejudicial to the public safety, or to incite or provoke any person to commit a breach of the peace or contravene any provision of these Regulations or any order made or notice given thereunder.

To place this whole matter in proper context it is necessary to mention that the action of the Government is not regarded as repressive by the public generally. The most prevalent popular view is that the Government is quite right and should have taken this action earlier.

MEXICO

- I. There is freedom of the press.
- II. PIPSA, of debatable origin, continues to operate normally.
- III. The newspapers, "El Norte" and "El Sol", of the city of Monterrey, are being made the objects of a boycott which is exercising pressure on them through the Industrial-Financial group led by Messrs. Roberto and Eugenio Garza Sada.

The boycott consists not only of having withdrawn the ads placed by their organization, but rather, specifically, of having exercised pressure on the advertisers of firms with which they have business contacts, so that they would not advertise in these newspapers, and recommending to those who have relations with their financial institutions to withdraw their advertisements.

The boycott represents 22% of advertising space sales.

It would be well to warn our colleagues of Central and South American countries, towards which this powerful industrial-financial group is extending its activities, of the tactics which they are using.

NETHERLANDS TERRITORIES IN THE CARIBBEAN

There is freedom of the press.

However, the committee was informed that it is difficult to get the news since government officials have been forbidden to make releases except through an official information service. Under operation permits given to radio stations and television channels the government also has the right to censor news.

PANAMA

There is freedom of the press.

PARAGUAY

There is no freedom of the press.

Since the last March meeting in Caracas, however, events have occurred which are indicative of effective progress toward liberty of the press.

The Committee is following these closely with the hope that this liberty will shortly be definitely and completely insured.

PERU

There is freedom of the press.

Isolated incidents which have in some cases interfered with the access of the media to sources of information have been due to incompetence or misunderstanding of officials, but are no cause to change the concept that there is freedom of the press in Peru.

PUERTO RICO

There is freedom of the press.

TRINIDAD - TOBAGO

There is freedom of the press.

UNITED STATES

There is freedom of the press.

The constitutional guarantee of a free press was reemphasized by both the congress and the courts in the past year but there still were some threats.

Congress passed, and the president signed on July 4 -Independence Day- the Freedom of Information bill which opens legally to the public most records of the federal government. Rep. John E. Moss of California, who started the crusade for the law in 1955, said it will "for the first time in our nation's history guarantee the people's right to know the facts of government." Only such

matters as personnel files, security information, commercial trade secrets and investigative files of law enforcement agencies are exempt under the new law which takes effect in 1967.

While the two-year-old Sullivan decision by the U. S. Supreme Court has given the press great relief from libel suits brought by public officials, and in some cases public figures, a new threat has arisen through invasion of privacy suits.

In Arizona, the supreme court stopped a trial judge from citing the Phoenix Gazette and the Arizona Republican for contempt for reporting open-court proceedings after the judge had ordered no stories written.

But despite these gains, the press faces a wider battlefield in the free press vs. fair trial fight. A U. S. Supreme Court decision in the Dr. Sam Sheppard wife-murder case and a recommendation by the American Bar Association study committee threatened a virtual blackout of crime news.

The Supreme Court said Dr. Sheppard did not have a fair trial and criticized the trial judge for not locking up the jury in view of "massive, perverse and prejudicial publicity." While the Court placed no restrictions on the press as such, the wording of its ruling gave timid and uncooperative officials an excuse for suppressing crime news on the grounds that anything they might release might prejudice their cases, too.

Some newspapers adopted voluntary codes on reporting crime news, others worked out codes in co-operation with local bar associations. The American Bar Association Committee recommended a sharp curtailment on the release of information by attorneys and law enforcement officers in pending criminal cases. It asked that the American Bar Association write the restrictions into lawyers' canon of legal ethics and said the same curbs should be established by court rule and internal regulations to apply to police and court officials and employees. It asked news media for a voluntary "exercise of restraint" but specifically rejected any attempt to restrict crime news coverage by law.

The Bar Association group's recommendations brought immediate reaction from the American Society of Newspaper Editors. ASNE said the recommendations invite "bad law enforcement or, what is worse, secret law enforcement, and could lead to a partially and improperly informed public at the time of serious crime." ASNE said it believes the recommendations are in conflict with the U. S. Constitution.

The fair trial vs. freedom-of-press issue will pose a continuing challenge to newspapers in the United States.

Once again, while the U. S. Constitution guarantees a free press, it is important to emphasize that our role is to stand eternally vigilant and combat all efforts to circumvent those promised freedoms; to not compromise on them in the slightest way. It is a fact that when the free press disappears, democracy and self rule vanish soon after.

URUGUAY

There is freedom of the press.

VENEZUELA

There is freedom of the press.

Since the reports of October, 1965, in San Diego and March, 1966, in Caracas there have been no cases of repression in spite of the criticism of the government by various newspapers.

As to the case of Mr. Díaz Rangel, editor of *Qué*, which was explained by Monseñor Jesús María Pellín in Caracas, this newspaper continued to publish without problems and Mr. Díaz Rangel is now free and is the president of the Venezuelan Newspapermen's Association.

VIRGIN ISLANDS

There is freedom of the press.

IIICONCLUSIONS

In this summary of the examination of the state of the press in the hemisphere, certain general conclusions will be drawn, as has been the custom.

1. The advances made during the last few years in strengthening freedom of expression through news media has been preserved. In nearly all countries today there is complete awareness of the necessity that it should be respected. This is not to say that there are not isolated cases adversely affecting it.

In two geographic parts of the hemisphere - Haiti and Cuba - such freedom is totally unknown.

In Paraguay, on the other hand, there are signs of improvement, although to state that freedom of the press is respected there would require more convincing evidence than that which we have before us. Before it can be said that press freedom exists in Paraguay, this country's government would have to discontinue administrative practices and psychological pressures against publications inside the country, and eliminate as well prohibitions presently imposed on the entry of certain foreign publications, such as the Argentine newspaper, "El Territorio", published in the border city of Posadas.

The Committee has shown that there are isolated cases and partial violations against press freedom committed by both local and national officials in various other countries and urges that the responsible governments should act more promptly in the future to prevent a repetition of such isolated attacks.

2. For obvious reasons, Cuba deserves special attention. The head of this

government-by-force has boasted that there is no liberty of the press in his country. No liberty exists there; not even the slightest respect for human rights. Still in jail are several dozen newspapermen, some with long sentences, suffering inhuman treatment.

We express here our sympathy and solidarity with them. We should continue to mobilize the press of the hemisphere to condemn their condition until they are free and until the return of Cuba itself to the free world.

3. During our XXI Annual Assembly in San Diego, California, we once again rejected, altho it undoubtedly had been improved in many respects, the text of the Draft Convention on Freedom of Expression, Information and Investigation.

This text was prepared by the Inter American Commission on Human Rights. We wish to express our satisfaction with the fact that, contrary to our fears, the II Special Inter American Conference agreed not to consider the aforementioned proposal. This accords with our decision in San Diego, and we trust that this means that it will not be considered in the future as long as it curtails the very liberty which it pretends to support.

In another direction, there still persists the need, as we pointed out in San Diego, for governments to concern themselves with fostering the development of the use of the printed word, freeing the press from special tax and special customs burdens. These obstacles are prejudicial to the full use of the press as an instrument of education to help form our democratic societies.

4. Announcements of possible press legislation have caused concern in certain other countries. This is the case in both Argentina and Brazil. In the latter, it is even feared that a constitutional amendment may contain provisions which would curtail journalistic freedoms.

As a result of these expressed fears comes the suggestion that the Executive Committee of IAPA communicate to the government in Brasilia the text of articles III and IV of our Charter, and also the third whereas in Resolution II, approved in San Diego, Cal.

In other countries also there are found evidences of intentions to modify existing press legislation. Whatever be the ideas behind these various proposed reforms, IAPA should reiterate to the governments of these countries what it has so often said in the past: "The best press law is no law at all."

It is, therefore, in order that we exhort the governments not to dictate any new press legislation at all and to suggest that they repeal existing ones. Ordinary law should govern the acts of the press and such law rejects any curtailment or regulations exclusively aimed at journalism.

5. In Bolivia we have witnessed the honorable gesture of the new administration -- the closing of the two official newspapers "La República" in La Paz and "El Mundo" in Cochabamba -- because the new administration wisely is against its ownership of any news media. The reincorporation of this country to the community of nations respecting the liberty of the press was welcome by

IAPA. To close this unhappy episode, however, it is still necessary to indemnify the proper parties for the damages caused by the previous administration, which destroyed "Los Tiempos" of Cochabamba and closed down "La Razón" of La Paz. The corresponding chapter in this report covers the favorable promises made by the new government. IAPA trusts that this time these will be fulfilled.

6. The chapter referring to Chile covers in detail the circumstances which accompanied the accusation that officers of the State Bank attempted, through credit pressures, to take over control of a corporation owning five newspapers in the southern part of the country, with the purpose of changing their orientation and turning them into pro-government organs.

The situation was well known to the Congress and the press in Chile as well as in foreign countries.

On July 20, 1966, SOPE SUR denounced these facts to the Asociación Nacional de la Prensa de Chile.

On August 29, President Frei promised that an investigation would be made, and on September 9, IAPA cabled President Frei in this connection. Cables exchanged between President Frei and the IAPA President were made known to the Assembly by Mr. Jack Howard in his report.

We shall not insist on the matter now, but we do wish to point out IAPA's prompt reaction in this case before the Government of Chile. The discussion which arose from that investigation continues to be in controversy and it is not our intention to draw final conclusions here. The satisfying aspect of this episode is the reaction which the accusation evoked and the promise of the Chilean Government to prevent similar occurrences.

Meanwhile, IAPA must insist upon its principles, disapproving any attempt on the part of governments to take over the control of news media in one way or another.

7. The state or semi-state monopoly of the importation and distribution of newsprint is brought again before the IAPA Assembly. And the cause is the same: the revival in Mexico of the so-called PIPSA. IAPA congratulated the Mexican government when the expiration of the term established for PIPSA led IAPA to believe in PIPSA's definite disappearance and that total freedom in the supply of newsprint would return. But later PIPSA was reborn and its potential dangers are evident: the handling of newsprint distribution might give rise to unfavorable conditions for the independent press, endangering its freedom and on the other hand favouring the press under government control. IAPA must reiterate its well known opposition to every system leading to such a monopoly despite the good intentions which might be claimed by those favouring this form of monopoly.

8. From Mexico we have received a denunciation against the attempt of a financial group to exert pressure on two member dailies through the withdrawal of their own advertising and their advice to other enterprises to proceed in like manner.

This problem is of a more general nature. In the Argentine, under the former administration, a government officer adopted the method of "advising", with the ensuing threats, business and industrial firms not to advertise in certain magazines. Protests caused by this procedure stopped this abuse from the start.

IAPA must condemn every attempt to exert pressure on advertisers which tends to change the position, ideas or information of a news media. It does not matter whether this is done by governments or individuals, corporations or labour union groups.

9. In Canada, a clause in the tax laws is still a cause of concern for newspaper publishers. It restricts or limits the financial contributions from abroad to newspapers. IAPA already expressed its adverse opinion at San Diego and must now reiterate it.

10. In an atmosphere of freedom of the press, the government of the Dominican Republic denies the entrance to the country to a Dominican newspaperman of long standing. After the meetings of this Committee had been held it was reported that the government of Santo Domingo would study the case at the request of IAPA. The request has been made and it is to be expected that a decision is reached soon and that it will conform with Mr. Bonilla's right to reassume his journalistic activities in his country.

11. Information on the restrictions demanded in the United States with regard to the publication of certain news has reached other countries. According to these statements, it is intended to place compulsory limitations on the publication of police or judicial news. We believe it is up to the publishers to decide on this respect with all freedom. We believe that a compulsory "selection" as proposed would curtail the freedom of information and expression. It cannot be accepted that the objective information of public facts might be subject to defamation suits.

12. Finally, the problem of increasing costs of newspaper publishing has been brought up again before the Committee in different manners and through different channels. IAPA has stated many times that the best support to press freedom is to secure an honest financing and a healthy economy. Frequently, these are made difficult by taxes or by custom tariffs on materials needed by news media. This is more serious in Latin American countries which depend on the importation of nearly all the elements needed for publication. There are countries where the press finds it difficult to modernize through the acquisition of the latest improvements of a technique in constant evolution. Others are forced to make large investments, which all publishers cannot meet in countries harassed by inflation. A IAPA vote calling for the suppression of all taxes on advertising or on the sale of newspapers where such taxes exist, as well as for the elimination of customs or exchange surcharges which increase costs, would be of great help to the press in those countries, which is directly engaged in similar negotiations with their respective governments.

MR. HOWARD: Thank you very much.

Before opening the Report for discussion, I would like to read some Articles

in our By-laws having to do with the procedure which will be followed in this discussion. I hope you will bear with me a minute.

Article IV: In compliance with Article 6 of the By-laws the following rules of parliamentary procedure will be observed at meetings, unless suspended by a majority vote of those present:

(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:

1. Application of the By-laws or these Rules.
2. Motion to suspend or postpone the debate or refer the matter under discussion to a committee.
3. Reconsideration of any decision taken by the meeting provided a motion of reconsideration is made and supported by two delegates who have voted in the affirmative.
4. A motion to adjourn or recess.

We will now start the discussion, if any.

DR. JUAN S. VALMAGGIA (La Nación, Buenos Aires, Argentina): En realidad estoy hablando por el corto grupo de colaboradores del Sr. O'Rourke que redactó las Conclusiones.

Después de haberlas impreso advertimos que a la No. 4 podríamos agregar dos o tres palabras más:

Se dice en la 4 que en algunos países ha provocado inquietud el anuncio de que se dicten leyes de prensa. Y de acuerdo con la sugerión que en la parte informativa de nuestra memoria se hace para el Brasil decimos después:

"De allí la sugerencia de que el Comité Ejecutivo de la SIP comunique al gobierno de Brasil el texto de los Artículos III y IV de nuestra Carta y el tercer Considerando de la Resolución II aprobada en San Diego, California."

Lo que la subcomisión quería agregar es esto:

"A los gobiernos - no al gobierno - a los gobiernos de Brasilia y de Buenos Aires el texto de que se trata...", etc.

Es una cuestión puramente formal que creo que no tendrá ninguna dificultad y le fijará entonces al Comité Ejecutivo la posición ante estos dos países que están amenazados. En un caso se trata de una reforma más grave de la Ley de Prensa, y en el caso de Argentina, de una ley de prensa que ahora no existe. Nada más, Sr. Presidente.

MR. HOWARD: Thank you, Mr. Valmaggia.

MR. O'ROURKE: The Committee is very glad to accept Mr. Valmaggia's suggestion.

MR. MACDONALD: The other day, Mr. President, you were good enough to permit me to differ with you in a conclusion drawn in your Report, which stated rather clearly that there was freedom of the press in Canada.

In the revised Report of the Committee today, the same flat statement is made that there is freedom of the press in Canada, and you had added, sir, that the Prime Minister of Canada had given you that assurance, with qualifications.

Now, as a point of accuracy, as a matter of fact, I would specifically state that by the definition of freedom, which is part of the Constitution of this body, there is no such thing as freedom of the press in Canada. I would remind you of your own definition, which is: That in a free society it is the right of anyone to practice journalism, without restriction or permit, regardless of whether he be owner, editor, director, or contributor, and that anything to the contrary violates freedom of the press.

Now, such restrictions, as most people here know, exist in Canada today. If you will permit me, and if I can within the space of five minutes, I would like to give you quickly the background of how this situation came about.

Over many years Canadian publishers had made sorties to the government, petitioning for relief, but never seeking matters of self-interest. They asked for the removal of a sales tax on newsprint at one time, which was a relief to publishers all over the world; they opposed an intended tax on advertising content; and matters of that nature.

And, indeed, at that time they defined freedom of the press in as good a definition as any, I think; namely, that it was "non-intervention by government in the matters of newspapers."

Two years ago the competition of then alien competitors -- Time and Reader's Digest -- who had the imagination and the vision to come into Canada and entrench well, provoked a small number of Canadian publishers to seek a very personal relief and to contend in their own thinking that restrictions

on the press were no good if applied to them, but perfectly all right if applied to someone else.

That, ladies and gentlemen, against a background of a human rights act that we have in Canada, which says that regardless of race, color, creed, etc., all people are equal. That is not so, and I conclude on this specific: that if the Communist Party in Toronto, Canada, which is not an outlawed party, if the Nazi Party, if any disreputable body, by the circumstance and fact of being native-born, or naturalized; if he were to set up a paper -- this communist I hypothetically speak of -- that is possible. But if an American or Latin American, or anyone of the renown of, let us say, the Christian Science Monitor, would attempt to set up a paper in Canada, that is out of the question. This is restriction by virtue of nationalizing the press.

I have been graciously received by your Resolutions Committee. I have submitted two resolutions that I hope will come before you in the due mechanics of your meeting, and I would ask that you deeply involve yourselves in this matter of absence of freedom, as you define freedom, in Canada. We are the Achilles heel of this hemispheric operation that has to find freedom of the press to the acceptance of 700 newspapers. In the country north of the United States personal interest has undermined and sabotaged this broad concept. Thank you very much.

MR. HOWARD: Thank you very much, Mr. Macdonald.

MR. CHARLES E. SCRIPPS (Scripps-Howard Newspapers, U.S.A.): I am reminded, when speaking before a group of newspaper people, that the greatest art of journalism is to say as much as possible in as few words as possible.

It was my privilege several times to assist in the writing of the Conclusions of the Freedom of the Press Committee when Jules Dubois pointed his finger at me and others and said: "You, you, you and you will work."

I think it is terribly important that we do not take this Canadian situation lightly. The Inter American Press Association has always stood absolutely against any special legislation for the press. The press does not ask any special favors; we live by the common law -- the law that applies to the common people -- because the press works for all people. And we accept basic rules of good conduct that apply to everybody, such as libel and slander and proper business procedures, but a special law that applies to the press, and the press alone, is an essentially dangerous law and a precedent that threatens all of us everywhere in the Hemisphere.

I think it is of the gravest importance that we take this seriously; not just that some publishers have an opportunity to make a profit in another country, but simply that there be freedom.

The Thomson Newspapers publish in the United States; United States newspapers publish in Paris and in other countries; there are United States owned newspapers in Latin America. I think the people have the right to decide which newspaper they will read and which they choose not to read, and it is not up to the government to decide for them. Thank you. (Applause)

MR. HOWARD: Thank you, Mr. Scripps.

Is there any further discussion on this Report?

SR. JUAN GOÑI (La Nación, Santiago, Chile)

MR. O'ROURKE: Question, please. Will you identify yourself further as not being a member of this Association?

SR. GOÑI: Iba a decirlo, justamente, señor.

MR. O'ROURKE: Will you identify yourself as part of the Chilean government?

SR. GOÑI: Perdón, no.

MR. O'ROURKE: Isn't your newspaper owned by the Chilean government?

SR. GOÑI: Sr. Presidente, justamente me interrumpió cuando yo iba a explicar que asisto como observador.

MR. O'ROURKE: It has been testified here that the Chilean government owns a majority of the stock. Is that correct, sir?

SR. GOÑI: No tiene la mayoría de las acciones, Señor.

MR. O'ROURKE: Do you publish editorials critical of the Chilean government?

SR. GOÑI: En muchas oportunidades, sí, señor. Y el director que habla, le voy a agregar...

MR. O'ROURKE: Have you an example with you, sir? Have you an example of these critical statements? Tell us one.

SR. GOÑI: He criticado muchas acciones económicas o políticas del gobierno cuando el director que habla no concuerda con esa política. Y quería agregar, Sr. Presidente, que sólo...

MR. HOWARD: It is clear to me that Mr. Goñi is not a delegate; he is not a representative of an independent newspaper; he properly should not be recognized here, but I feel that it would go contrary to the very ideas that we support in this organization if he were not permitted to speak.

However, sir, I will remind you of the rules, which I have read, and you will confine yourself to five minutes, because I understand that you have already talked at some length on this subject, and if you will abide by that rule, which is our rule, we will be happy to accord you the courtesy of listening to you.

MR. O'ROURKE: Mr. Chairman, I will be cheerful, of course, to accede to your ruling. I was merely trying to identify Mr. Goñi as an adversary of the IAPA.

He is not here as a member, he is here as an adversary. His newspaper published an editorial shortly before this meeting in which he said that the IAPA was the enemy of all Latin American countries.

He was given two opportunities either to deny this or respond to it during the hearings of the Committee on Freedom of the Press. He was asked questions by Mr. Cisneros and by one other delegate whose name I don't recall at the moment. He ignored this, so I simply wanted to make it clear to all present Mr. Goñi's position.

MR. HOWARD: That should be clear to all of us. It certainly is clear to me. Nevertheless, I am going to extend this courtesy to Mr. Goñi and hear what he has to say.

SR. GOÑI: Sr. Presidente, yo exactamente iba a contestar y a expresarme sobre la mayoría de los asuntos que inquietan al Sr. O'Rourke. Iba a empezar por rectificar que un editorial hubiera expresado esa opinión...

MR. BROWN: May I take the liberty of interrupting the speaker for a moment?

MR. HOWARD: Well, Mr. Brown, yes.

MR. BROWN: I think it should be noted for the record that there is a recording device back here which has been turned on. Now, we don't object to our meetings being recorded, but to have one on the floor, it seems to me, is some sort of intimidation. And I just think everyone in this audience ought to know it.

MR. O'ROURKE: Mr. Brown, are you referring to that bearded gentleman there? He is an employee of the Chilean government, who came here with Mr. Goñi. Go ahead, Mr. Goñi, tell us more.

SR. GOÑI: No, señor Presidente, no puedo seguir hablando en estas condiciones.

El Sr. Soto vive en Lima, y no trabaja ni pertenece al gobierno. La grabación es con el objeto, justamente, de poder contestar cualquier consulta que venga bien.

Yo le pregunto, Sr. Presidente, si en esta Asamblea se desea escuchar lo que yo voy a decir o no, porque mi insistencia no llega a tanto. Tenía pensado justamente adherir, entre otras cosas, a las palabras finales del Sr. Howard en su discurso respecto a las acechanzas que tienen la libertad y la democracia.

Pensaba contestar respecto al artículo que un colaborador publica como su opinión, aunque sin firma porque no lo usamos en la página de redacción, pero ...

MR. HOWARD: Mr. Goñi, just a minute, please.

MR. O'ROURKE: I didn't say that the bearded gentleman was a Chilean citi-

zen -- I said he was an employee of yours.

MR. HOWARD: Frankly, I don't care where the gentleman with the beard lives. I am interested that he finds it necessary to bring his own equipment with him. It seems to me that ours has performed well up to now, and I would suggest that perhaps, since we are trying to extend the courtesy to Mr. Goñi, that the unnamed gentleman would be so kind as to perhaps turn off his equipment or take it out in the hall. Would that be agreeable with you, sir?

SR. GOÑI: Yo estoy dispuesto a cualquier cosa que me deje expresar mi opinión, Sr. Presidente, incluso en diálogo, pero como no pertenezco a esta familia, y ustedes se conocen de mucho tiempo, le ruego un poco de condescendencia. Podría contestar todas las críticas al final de lo que hablo, porque todavía no he empezado.

Como usted quiera, Sr. Presidente. Mi insistencia no llegaría a agravarlo, hablando contra vuestra voluntad.

MR. HOWARD: I realize that you haven't begun, and I haven't started the clock on you yet. We are now discussing the matter of the gentleman's equipment. Why doesn't he turn it off and put it up here, so we can listen to you for five minutes?

SR. GOÑI: Bueno. ¿Puedo expresar, Sr. Presidente, lo que iba decir?

MR. O'ROURKE: Mr. Howard, Mr. President, I find myself for the first time in our sessions agreeing with Mr. Goñi. You said, why doesn't our equipment work as well for him as well as it does for us? I can tell you why. The reason is that his equipment can be used, as it was used in our hearings, behind the chairs of certain delegates so that he could pick up their private conversations, and in my country this is called "bugging". This is why your equipment does not work as well as Mr. Goñi's.

And let us not deny it, sir. I have four witnesses.

MR. HOWARD: Well, it seems to me this is quite simple. If Mr. Goñi wishes to talk for five minutes all he has to do is ask Mr. Bug to take the equipment out. Put it up here. I would like to know what make it is, maybe we should get some.

MR. O'ROURKE: It is very sensitive equipment. I think if Mr. Goñi speaks loudly and clearly our own equipment will pick it up.

MR. HOWARD: There has been a little levity here. Now I would suggest that the fun is over and let's listen to Mr. Goñi for five minutes.

SR. GOÑI: Sr. Presidente, como yo iba a decir, y ahora puedo hacerlo, son solamente cuatro o cinco expresiones, mucho menos de cinco minutos.

He conocido el informe de la Comisión de la Libertad de Prensa, Sr. Presidente, y quería glosar algunos capítulos.

En la Introducción, que leyó el Sr. O'Rourke, se establece que el presente informe mostrará que la misma condición de intranquilidad se manifiesta cuando, como en el caso de Chile, se presentan protestas contra las tentativas subrepticias del partido que está en el poder para obtener el control mayoritario de una cadena de periódicos de ideas políticas opuestas, mediante el uso coactivo de facilidades de crédito del Banco del Estado.

Yo quería agregar a eso, Sr. Presidente, que tenemos el mayor repudio por esa maniobra y que en el caso de que ella se hubiera comprobado, como lo expresó en su oportunidad la persona a quien le corresponde decirlo, habría recibido una absoluta recriminación. En otras palabras, hasta este momento estoy hablando para ratificar y hacer mío que es condenable cualquier tipo de maniobra subrepticia para lograr ese fin.

El informe específico sobre Chile empieza primero por reconocer que existe la más amplia libertad de prensa y que es debido a esa amplísima libertad que llega a tener realce y ser discutible esto que se ha llamado maniobra o que se ha llamado denuncia. Me interesaba, Sr. Presidente, agradecer esta comprobación: porque en Chile existe una ejemplar libertad de prensa, adquieren resonancia y categoría estas denuncias.

Quería también, Sr. Presidente, dejar constancia de que el día 29 de agosto -- no en septiembre, sino el 29 de agosto -- inmediatamente después que el gobierno recibió la denuncia de la Asociación Nacional de la Prensa, no sólo prometió, sino que ordenó la iniciación de una investigación; investigación que se realizó ampliamente hasta llegar, no a 25 carillas sino a 96, y terminar con un informe del fiscal, que quedó entregado a la misma Asociación Nacional de la Prensa.

Pretendo con esto, Sr. Presidente, y como dijo alguien en esta misma sala, para los anales, dejar constancia de que se acogió una denuncia que puso en trámite la investigación y se ofreció castigar a los responsables. Solamente que, como se dice en las Conclusiones, "no hemos de insistir aquí en la cuestión, pero sí destacar la rapidez con que reaccionó la SIP ante el gobierno de Chile." Y luego se agrega: "Las discusiones planteadas con respecto al valor de esa investigación siguen alimentando la polémica y nos toca examinarla."

Es este el quid de la cuestión, Sr. Presidente, porque en todo lo demás hay la más absoluta uniformidad de criterio y de pareceres. Tanto la posición que yo represento como los que han denunciado los hechos, como la Asociación Nacional de la Prensa y como la SIP, estamos unánimemente de acuerdo en que esas presiones no deben ejercerse, y que si se hacen son condenables, cualquiera que sea quien que las haga. Creo que sería útil, Sr. Presidente, que en estos anales quedara constancia de ello.

Y finalmente, y era lo único que traía relativamente preparado -- porque lo demás lo he conocido recién -- quiero referirme a sus propias palabras...

MR. HOWARD: I would like to point out that you have had five minutes. How much more do you have to say?

SR. GONÍ: Son dos minutos. Quería hacer más, con la mayor sinceridad,

las palabras con que usted terminó su mensaje al decir:

"... Si no nos mantenemos unidos, no sobreviviremos. La unidad parece más necesaria que nunca, pero parece que ahora tenemos menos. No nos divide ninguna cuestión de gran importancia, pero nos vemos amenazados por cuestiones de menor cuantía, que se refieren a asuntos de procedimiento más bien que de objetivos."

"Sinceramente espero," agrega el Sr. Howard, "que como organización consagrada a la democracia y a la libertad, no dejemos de practicar lo que estamos predicando. Aceptemos la discusión franca de las discrepancias sinceras."

Esto, a pesar de que a algunas personas o algunos sectores pueda no halagar mi compañía, porque no entienden mi rol; mi rol de director de una publicación mientras ella pueda seguir mi línea, mi pensamiento. Porque no soy ni empleado ni plumario de nadie; no lo sería nadie que estuviera en el cargo que yo he representado.

Es por eso, Sr. Presidente, que junto con agradecer a usted y a los representantes la oportunidad de hablar donde no soy miembro, digo que adhiero de todo corazón a ese mensaje; que en Chile estamos consagrados a la democracia y a la libertad; que traemos a la discusión franca nuestras discrepancias sinceras; que creo honestamente que la SIP practica los mismos postulados de democracia y libertad que predica. Por eso quiero estar unido en los esfuerzos comunes de evitar a la libertad y a la democracia los peligros que las acechan, en beneficio de toda la prensa de cualquier ideología, pero en beneficio, sobre todo, de todos los pueblos de América. Nada más, Sr. Presidente. (Applause)

MR. HOWARD: Thank you, Mr. Goñi. I don't think it is my role to debate, but I would like to point out that the reference to my remarks made by Mr. Goñi had to do with that part of my report which discussed our internal problems and my observations were not made about the IAPA outside activities.

MR. O'ROURKE: I would like to review for a few minutes, if possible, the way in which this complicated problem was explored in the Committee on Freedom of the Press.

Mr. Edwards read the case. Mr. Goñi was given 8 1/2 times as much time as Mr. Edwards took to read the case. Mr. Goñi was given at least three times as much time as any member of the Committee on Freedom of the Press took to discuss it. Mr. Goñi was given ample time to explore the situation with regard to the papers, to the State Bank and to the dummy company which was used in this matter, to such detail that I thought pretty soon he was going to instruct us how to make out a check, or keep a bank balance.

Well, to be brief. There are certain contradictions which still are on the record. They were not made a part of this report because some of them are not immediately germane to the case at hand. It was no intention on the part of your Chairman or the Committee to embarrass the Chilean government unnecessarily, but there are certain statements which have been made and are on various tapes, which I think by now I must call to your attention simply as contradictions.

The government of Chile said, and Mr. Goñi repeated, that it acted promptly. This, ladies and gentlemen, is a matter of opinion. I think that is false. This matter was known in Chile, it was carried on international wires and stories appeared about this situation in June. It was on July 20 when SOPELUR complained to the National Press Association of Chile. It was not until August the 29th that President Frei granted a personal interview to Mr. Picó Cañas, the head of that Association.

Now it depends on where you sit whether you think that is prompt or not so prompt. The one thing that the Chilean government has reacted promptly to was Mr. Howard's cable. It is my opinion -- only my personal opinion, not my official one, because it does not appear in any record at all -- that the Chilean government thought that it had swept this whole thing under the rug.

MR. HOWARD: Mr. O'Rourke, it is only fair to point out that you have had five minutes. However, I am going to let you talk as long as Mr. Goñi did.

MR. O'ROURKE: Thank you, sir. There are a few other points (blow the whistle, Mr. Howard, when you are ready). Mr. Goñi said that this matter could only be considered in the way in which it was considered. That is to say, the lawyers of the State Bank considered the protests which were made -- sworn protests, some of them -- and these lawyers, the employees of the State Bank, decided that the boss was right. There are other ways in which this can be done in Chile. The State Bank is also a part of the Chilean State. It is false to say that this is the only thing that could have occurred.

The reason these people haven't gone to the courts, in my opinion, is simply that they need the credit of the State Bank and they don't dare jeopardize their businesses.

Mr. Chairman, I am not going to burden this group any more with these various discrepancies which have occurred in the situation. I would only like to close it with this, so far as I am concerned:

There have been various protests made by the government in power in Chile that it has done no wrong, but it does not ever intend to do it again. I hope this is so. Personally, I doubt it. I think that, since the government in power -- the party in power in Chile -- has now somewhere close to 40% of the stock of this particular company, with the proxies it will be able to obtain it will be only a matter of a comparatively short time when it will own more than 50% and the present owners will have lost their control. When that happens, the right of dissent will have ceased to exist in Southern Chile. I think that this will occur before our next meeting, and I hope that when the next meeting occurs -- next October -- you will be able to tell me that I was wrong. Thank you. (Applause)

MR. HOWARD: Thank you, Mr. O'Rourke.

SR. ANTONIO PUGA (El Día, La Serena, Chile): Hemos escuchado en este debate, desagradable para muchos de nosotros, cómo se ha discutido el problema de un país donde hasta ahora ha habido la más absoluta libertad de prensa, y donde esperamos que siga habiéndola.

SOPE SUR debió traer este problema acá a la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, después de haberlo presentado a la Asociación Nacional de la Prensa de Chile, después de haber presentado el reclamo ante el Presidente de la República y, a pesar de eso, después de ver cómo en forma acelerada se seguían comprando acciones. No les quedó otro recurso a sus ejecutivos que reclamar, muy en contra de su voluntad, al organismo máximo de las sociedades periodísticas de América.

Pero hemos escuchado las palabras de Juan Goñi, que podemos interpretar como las palabras del gobierno de Chile. El ha dado seguridades de que esta maniobra, que nosotros los periodistas libres repudiamos, y que hemos repudiado a través de la prensa en forma enérgica, no van a proseguir. No estuvimos de acuerdo con el procedimiento de designar como fiscal a un funcionario del Banco del Estado.

Pero vuelvo a repetir, tenemos que creer en la sinceridad de las palabras de Juan Goñi. El ha venido acá como representante del diario del gobierno. Ha venido acá enviado por el gobierno. Entonces, sus palabras debemos tomarlas como la palabra del gobierno de Chile; y por eso espero que en la próxima reunión -- como esperaba el Sr. O'Rourke -- el gobierno de Chile pueda demostrar que sabe cumplir con su palabra y que los actuales poseedores de las acciones de SOPE SUR no se hayan visto obligados a venderlas y a transferir esta empresa para convertirla en una empresa proestatal.

Esto lo deseo sinceramente, y todos ustedes acá presentes, estoy seguro, estarán también atentos, como estará la SIP atenta, al futuro de la prensa de Chile; futuro que yo espero sinceramente, de todo corazón, que siga siendo tan independiente como lo ha sido hasta ahora. Muchas gracias. (Applause)

MR. HOWARD: Does anyone else wish to talk?

MR. EUGENE MIROVITCH: I am particularly referring to the Chairman's question directed to Mr. Goñi of La Nación, Santiago, Chile, whether the paper was government-owned. I think the other day Mr. Goñi gave the answer. He said it was only 50% government owned. And I think I explained the other day who owned the other 50%. The other 50% is owned by ex-creditors of La Nación, who in 1932 were forced, by means of an ultimatum, to accept shares in lieu of their payments.

Now may I remind Mr. Goñi that the other 50% have absolutely no say in the editorial and general policy of that paper. Thank you.

MR. HOWARD: Thank you, Mr. Mirovitch.

Any further discussion of this, or any other question on the report?

SR. EDMOND BOGRAN (La Prensa, San Pedro Sula, Honduras): El Informe presentado por la Comisión de la Libertad de Prensa referente a mi país afirma en el último párrafo que la Comisión sugiere recomendar al gobierno de Honduras que derogue la citada ley, único obstáculo actual para declarar que en Honduras existe libertad de prensa.

Yo quisiera informar a esta Asamblea General sobre las circunstancias en que fueron promulgadas las reformas a la Ley de Prensa en Honduras.

Un día, en sesión secreta del Parlamento, se presentaron las mociones para reformar la ley. Al día siguiente se rindió al dictamen de comisión. En el tercer día las reformas fueron firmadas por el Sr. Presidente, y al siguiente día fueron publicadas en La Gaceta, el diario oficial, y entraron en vigencia.

Es decir, todas estas circunstancias apuntan a una trayectoria, a una posición, a una política. No basta decir que se deroguen, sino que consideramos necesario insistir en que desaparezcan los intereses y las presiones que han obligado a acelerar en cuatro días reformas que en realidad tienen carácter coactivo contra la libertad de prensa en mi país.

Estas reformas consisten fundamentalmente en que el gobernador departamental tiene autoridad por sí sólo para imponer una sanción pecuniaria al periodista y solidariamente a la empresa editora, sin derecho de defensa.

Por proceso administrativo se puede hacer apelación al ministro de la nación, lo que en la práctica no tiene ninguna importancia, puesto que ningún gobernador se atreverá a sancionar sin antes haber consultado a su propio ministro.

Y por último tendría el derecho de ir en amparo a la Corte Suprema de Justicia, que en mi país ha sido designada en su mayoría por el mismo partido de gobierno. Por consiguiente, conforme a las reformas actuales, no existe, como se apunta aquí, el derecho a la libertad de prensa, pero también existe un clima, no simplemente para hacer la ley, sino un clima que propició la creación de esta reforma sobre la libertad de prensa.

Además, quisiera informar a la SIP que en la Asamblea del año pasado se dijo que existían periodistas que habían sido procesados con motivo del cierre del diario El Pueblo. Esos periodistas continúan procesados y están en libertad bajo fianza. Es decir, siempre pesa sobre ellos la coacción penal.

También se han denunciado dos hechos que no tienen que ver con la prensa impresa, pero sí con el amplio campo de la libertad de expresión. Un noticiero radial fué clausurado, y el propietario de la radio informó que había sido por presión de políticos adictos al gobierno.

Un comentarista de televisión, en un programa ante la prensa precisamente, fue obligado a clausurar su programa y denunció a los periodistas que la empresa lo había hecho debido a coacción de personal del gobierno. Eso es todo.

MR. HOWARD: Thank you. Is there any further discussion?

In that event we will move on, and I remind you that at 7 o'clock tonight The Associated Press is giving a cocktail party in the Skyroom, which is on the top floor of this hotel. We won't need any buses.

We will convene here tomorrow at 10:00 a.m. to receive the Report of the Resolutions Committee, and after the Assembly has ended we will have the meeting of the new Board of Directors.

The meeting stands adjourned until tomorrow at 10:00 a.m. in this room.

(The meeting adjourned at 5:40 p.m.)

GENERAL ASSEMBLYSIXTH MEETINGFriday, October 28, 1966

The sixth meeting of the XXII Annual General Assembly of the Inter American Press Association convened at 10:00 a.m., Friday, October 28, 1966, in the Salón Perú of the Hotel Crillon in Lima, Perú, with Mr. Jack R. Howard, President, as Chairman.

MR. HOWARD: The meeting will come to order, please.

Mr. Jiménez, are there any messages?

SR. JIMENEZ: Hemos recibido un mensaje de Roger Wolin de Pan American Airways: "Best wishes from Viet Nam Press Corps for successful meeting. I'm sorry Saigon business keeps me from reunion all good friends. Saludos."

También hemos recibido noticias acerca de una información que se propagó ayer aquí, en la cual se decía que el diario Clarín de Buenos Aires había publicado un editorial sumamente enérgico contra la SIP. Al parecer el editorial no fue contra la SIP, sino contra la FIP, contra la creación de una Fuerza Interamericana de Paz. Eso es todo, Sr. Presidente.

MR. HOWARD: Thank you. Yesterday, during the James Bond interlude, we neglected one piece of business, and I think we will take that up first. I will be happy to entertain a motion that the Report of the Freedom of the Press Committee be accepted.

Moved, seconded, accepted.

Thanks to Mr. O'Rourke and his Committee for an excellent job. Thank you very much.

I will now call on Dr. Gainza Paz as Chairman of the Resolutions Committee.

Are you going to read the Resolutions one by one? Then each one that requires action we will act upon after you have read it and go on to the next.

DR. ALBERTO GAINZA PAZ: Voy a dar lectura a los proyectos de resolución tal como fueron aprobados por el Comité que he presidido.

Resolución No. I
CONSIDERANDO:

Que según informaciones publicadas recientemente en diarios del Brasil y de otros países, el Gobierno del Mariscal Humberto Castelo Branco estaría preparando modificaciones importantes a la ley de prensa en vigor; y

Que ese Gobierno ha mencionado en reiteradas oportunidades su firme decisión de respetar la libertad de prensa y los derechos esenciales en una democracia;

LA XXII ASAMBLEA GENERAL DE LA SIP RESUELVE:

Enviar un telegrama al señor Presidente del Brasil, expresando su anhelo de que cualquier proyecto de enmienda a la ley de prensa se someta a la consideración del Congreso que será elegido el 15 de noviembre próximo.

Está en discusión la resolución que acabo de leer.

MR. W. P. WILLIAMSON (Brazil Herald, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil): Mr. Chairman, I wondered if we might not postpone this until some of the other members from Brazil are here.

DR. GAINZA PAZ: Sir, this is a project which started with the two other Brazilian members, Messrs. Mesquita and Brito, and they are agreeable to it.

MR. WILLIAMSON: That was my only concern. Thank you.

DR. GAINZA PAZ: Entonces se va a votar. Los que estén a favor, levanten la mano. En contra. Aprobada.

RESOLUCION NO. II
CONSIDERANDO:

Que la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, que representa a más de 700 periódicos libres del Hemisferio Occidental, ha ratificado su convicción de que no debe haber limitación alguna al derecho de las personas libres para publicar su opinión dentro de una sociedad libre; que el ejercicio de la actividad periodística es libre; y que, por lo tanto, las prohibiciones, restricciones o permisos para su ejercicio, sea que afecten a los propietarios, editores, directores, colaboradores o empleados de una publicación, violan la libertad de prensa;

Que esta opinión está apoyada por la declaración de la Comisión Internacional de Juristas; y

Que la legislación vigente en el Canadá viola el citado concepto de la libertad de prensa;

LA XXII ASAMBLEA ANUAL DE LA SIP RESUELVE:

Que la SIP proteste nuevamente y con vigor ante el Primer Ministro del Canadá contra esta legislación, que es contraria a las tradiciones de una prensa libre y tiende a dividir y socavar la comprensión hemisférica con respecto a lo que realmente significa la libertad de prensa;

Que la SIP deplora semejante legislación y solicita su anulación; y

Que el Presidente de la SIP extienda una invitación a la Sociedad Canadiense de Directores de Periódicos para fijar una reunión con la SIP con el fin de discutir estas diferencias de opinión que debilitan la libertad de prensa en nuestro hemisferio.

Está en discusión. Si nadie hace uso de la palabra se va a votar.

Aprobada.

RESOLUCION NO. III
CONSIDERANDO:

Que los impuestos a la publicidad y a la venta de ejemplares, las restricciones de cambio y las tarifas aduaneras elevan considerablemente los costos de producción de los periódicos;

Que de este modo se dificulta o imposibilita su operación y perfeccionamiento; y

Que tales factores aumentan los peligros que amenazan al periodismo, debido a la debilidad financiera que caracteriza a la mayoría de los diarios;

LA XXII ASAMBLEA GENERAL DE LA SIP RESUELVE:

Reiterar su condenación al establecimiento de esos gravámenes porque atacan indirectamente la libertad de la prensa en sus bases económicas y solicitar su eliminación.

Está en discusión. Si nadie hace uso de la palabra se va a votar.

Aprobada.

Oh, I am sorry, Mr. Macdonald.

MR. IAN MACDONALD (Thomson Newspapers, Canada): First, and naturally, may I thank everyone here for supporting and carrying through the previous resolution, which I think will have effect.

As a point of importance, I think your previous resolution suggests a meeting with the Canadian Society of Newspaper Editors, or some such phrase as that. The Society of Newspaper Editors in Canada is a smaller body, a rather ineffectual body, and the original resolution that I put before you suggested a meeting with the Canadian Daily Newspaper Publishers Association, which is a proprietors' body in Canada. That would be effective. The meeting with the editors, I think, would be less effective because they really have to refer any discussion or conclusions to the CDNPA. And before the resolution was finally passed, I wanted to make that, I think, fairly important distinction between the two bodies.

DR. GAINZA PAZ: I think that the confusion is because it is impossible to translate "Publishers" in Spanish.

MR. MACDONALD: Thank you, as long as it comes back, sir, to Canada with no uncertainty felt by anyone there as to whom you are aiming your guns at. Thank you very much.

DR. GAINZA PAZ: Well, I think that it will make it clear that it is the

Publishers Association.

RESOLUCIÓN NO. IV

CONSIDERANDO:

Que hay gobiernos que han entregado a partidarios suyos la exclusividad para ordenar la publicación de avisos oficiales o semi-oficiales;

Que en algunos casos esas personas aparentan ser agencias de publicidad comercial, no siéndolo en realidad; y

Que el otorgamiento o denegación de esos avisos obedece generalmente a motivos políticos;

LA XXII ASAMBLEA GENERAL DE LA SIP RESUELVE:

Condenar la acción de esas pretendidas agencias de publicidad por ser contraria a las normas éticas del periodismo y condenar toda tentativa de presionar a la prensa a través de la publicidad.

Está en discusión. Si nadie hace uso de la palabra se va a votar.

Aprobada.

RESOLUCION NO. V

LA XXII ASAMBLEA GENERAL DE LA SIP RESUELVE:

Reiterar la proposición aprobada en la XX Asamblea General, celebrada en México en 1964, solicitando de sus miembros activos la publicación de los nombres de los periodistas presos en Cuba, como el medio más eficaz a nuestro alcance para lograr su libertad.

Está en discusión. Si nadie hace uso de la palabra se va a votar.

Aprobada.

RESOLUCION NO. VI

CONSIDERANDO:

Que la independencia económica de los periódicos es piedra angular de la libertad de prensa; y

Que la maquinaria y otros materiales que sirven para la producción de periódicos sufren en algunos países fuertes gravámenes de importación, con lo cual se hace cada vez más difícil el reequipamiento de los mismos;

LA XXII ASAMBLEA GENERAL DE LA SIP RESUELVE:

Recomendar a los gobiernos de los países donde existen tales gravámenes su gra-

dual reducción hasta llegar a su completa supresión.

Está en discusión. Si nadie hace uso de la palabra se va a votar.

SR. EDUARDO CARRION (NUEVO SUCESO, Guayaquil, Ecuador): En las resoluciones, Sr. Presidente, he podido notar que se menciona únicamente a los periódicos. Yo quisiera rogar a usted que se amplíe y que se mencione también a las revistas.

En el caso mismo de la Resolución III sólo se habla de una exoneración de los gravámenes que existen en los países, únicamente para los periódicos.

Yo le rogaría, Sr. Presidente, que se haga una ampliación y se señale y se especifique también para las revistas, porque en mi país existen una serie de gravámenes que dificultan la importación de materia prima y, aun más, de maquinaria.

De todos estos privilegios, podríamos decirlo así, gozan únicamente los periódicos. Y no creo que deba haber una discriminación, porque nuestra tarea es igual. Muchas gracias.

DR. GAINZA PAZ: Yo creo, Sr. Carrión, que es una cuestión de semántica. Nosotros hemos entendido que también comprendía las revistas, que son publicaciones periódicas. Por eso hemos dicho "periódicos" y no "diarios". Pero si la Asamblea acepta hacerlo más específico, creo que no hay inconveniente en agregar "revistas". Como dice va "periódicos", si decimos "periódicos y revistas" incluimos todo ¿no le parece?

De modo que si hay asentimiento, así se hará. Si nadie hace uso de la palabra se va a votar.

Aprobada. Entonces queda constancia de que es: "...independencia económica de periódicos y revistas."

RESOLUCION NO. VII

CONSIDERANDO:

Que algunos gobiernos persisten en su política de controlar la importación, venta y distribución del papel de imprenta; y

Que esta práctica ha sido objeto de reiteradas condenaciones de la SIP en diversas Asambleas;

LA XXII ASAMBLEA GENERAL DE LA SIP RESUELVE:

Reiterar esas condenaciones y recomendar a sus asociados que prosigan en su lucha para abolir esa política en definitiva.

Yo noto aquí que se habla de "papel de imprenta". Tal vez mejor sería decir "papel de diario," si no hay inconveniente, porque "papel de diario" tiene una característica definida, que es "newsprint" en inglés.

SR. ORNES: Yo sugeriría en vez de decir "papel de diario" dijéramos "papel de periódico" y así incluiríamos también a las revistas como en el caso de la resolución anterior.

DR. GAINZA PAZ: La Comisión acepta. Los que estén por la afirmativa, levanten la mano. ¿En contra? Aprobada.

RESOLUCION NO. VIII.

CONSIDERANDO:

Que algunos gobiernos están facultados por las leyes para fijar los precios de venta de los llamados "artículos de primera necesidad"; y

Que algunos gobiernos han incluido a los diarios y periódicos en esa categoría de "artículos de primera necesidad", con el objeto de fijarles el precio de venta de sus ejemplares al público, y que a través de la fijación de precios puede hacerse insostenible la vida de diarios independientes;

LA XXII ASAMBLEA GENERAL DE LA SIP RESUELVE:

Condenar esa inclusión, que sujeta a la decisión de los gobiernos la fijación del precio de venta de los periódicos y, por lo tanto, atenta contra la libertad de prensa.

Está en discusión. Si nadie hace uso de la palabra se va a votar.

Aprobada.

RESOLUCION NO. IX

CONSIDERANDO:

Que en la República Dominicana está reunida en estos momentos una Asamblea Constituyente, encargada de redactar una nueva Constitución para esa nación;

Que el capítulo correspondiente a los derechos individuales, ya aprobado en primera lectura, contiene un acápite que consagra el derecho a la libre expresión del pensamiento;

Que en opinión de periódicos y juristas dominicanos, que así lo han expresado públicamente, el texto constitucional ya aprobado en primera lectura por la Constituyente adolece de falta de claridad y precisión, así como de carencia de una garantía expresa del derecho al libre acceso a las fuentes oficiales de información;

Que antes de convertirse en ley fundamental de la nación el proyecto de Constitución tiene que ser aprobado en una segunda lectura; y

Que es deber de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa velar por que la libertad de prensa en los países de este Continente sea mantenida en sus más puras formas, sin otras limitaciones que las normalmente admitidas por razones de moral

y orden públicos, así como de seguridad nacional;

LA XXII ASAMBLEA GENERAL DE LA SIP RESUELVE:

Autorizar al presidente de la Sociedad a dirigirse al Presidente de la Asamblea Constituyente de la República Dominicana para solicitarle que se apruebe una garantía clara y precisa del derecho a la libre expresión del pensamiento y que se incluya, al mismo tiempo, una consagración expresa del derecho al libre acceso a las fuentes oficiales de información.

Está en discusión. Si nadie hace uso de la palabra se va a votar.

Aprobada.

RESOLUCION NO. X

CONSIDERANDO:

Que los anuncios son actos de comercio legítimos y necesarios, ya sea que estén destinados a estimular la venta de productos o servicios o a la propaganda institucional de las empresas interesadas;

Que algunos gobiernos impiden a los anunciantes cargar el valor de esos anuncios a los costos de sus empresas; y

Que esta política ha producido una injustificada disminución de la publicidad commercial con grave daño para la comunidad;

LA XXII ASAMBLEA GENERAL DE LA SIP RESUELVE:

Condenar esos procedimientos y denunciarlos como recursos para restringir la legítima publicidad comercial y debilitar la independencia económica de la prensa, que es esencial para su efectiva libertad.

Está en discusión. Si nadie hace uso de la palabra se va a votar.

Aprobada.

RESOLUCION NO. XI

CONSIDERANDO:

Que se han denunciado ante esta Asamblea actos de presión sobre la prensa por parte de organismos oficiales, empresas particulares y grupos financieros, que consisten en la amenaza de negarles publicidad comercial si publican determinadas informaciones lesivas a sus intereses o dejan de publicar otras que les convienen;

LA XXII ASAMBLEA GENERAL DE LA SIP RESUELVE:

Condenar esas presiones por atentar contra la libertad de prensa y, además, dar a la publicidad los nombres de los individuos o de las entidades que así procedan.

Está en discusión. Si nadie hace uso de la palabra se va a votar.

Aprobada.

RESOLUCION NO. XII

CONSIDERANDO:

Que, de acuerdo con sus principios, la SIP ha condenado reiteradamente el control de los medios de expresión, ya sea por medios de violencia o presiones de índole política o económicas;

Que estas últimas son más graves cuando se ejercitan mediante el uso de dineros públicos o el empleo de presiones crediticias o de cualquier otro orden; y

Que existe amplia libertad de expresión en Chile, como ha informado en esta Asamblea la Comisión de la Libertad de Prensa.

LA XXII ASAMBLEA GENERAL DE LA SIP RESUELVE:

Tomar nota de las informaciones recibidas, en el caso de los diarios de la cadena SOPEUR, de parte de la Asociación Nacional de la Prensa de Chile y también de la investigación efectuada por el Fiscal del Banco del Estado de Chile;

Tomar nota de que la carta de fecha 18 de octubre de 1966 dirigida por el Ministro del Interior de Chile al Presidente de la Asociación Nacional de la Prensa de ese país, dice que "se han dado instrucciones al Banco del Estado para que se abstenga en lo sucesivo de intervenir en actividades de esta especie"; y

Declarar que, de acuerdo con los antecedentes mencionados, la SIP espera que estos principios sean mantenidos invariablemente en el futuro.

Está en discusión. Si nadie hace uso de la palabra se va a votar.

Aprobada.

Ahora les voy a leer una propuesta que ya fue sometida a la Asamblea por el Dr. Guillermo Martínez Márquez. Es una proposición de la Agencia de Informaciones Periodísticas, agencia de los periodistas cubanos libres en el exilio. Como se aplaudió esa propuesta pero no se tomó una resolución al respecto, la Comisión considera que debe someterse a la Asamblea para que resuelva si se acepta o no la oferta que contiene.

RESOLUCION NO. XIII

CONSIDERANDO:

Que entre los fines de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa está el de defender la libertad de prensa en toda América;

Que la SIP condena, a tenor de lo señalado en el Art. 6º. de sus Estatutos, toda publicación que a juicio de su Junta de Directores sea fascista, comunista o de otra tendencia totalitaria cualquiera, sea cual fuere su denominación;

Que el desaparecido periodista JULES DUBOIS fue un permanente defensor de la libertad de prensa en América y su pensamiento y su acción estuvieron en todo momento junto a las publicaciones libres y democráticas que por algún motivo sufrieran el embate lesivo al disfrute de dicha libertad; y

Que con el propósito de rendir público homenaje a su memoria esclarecida, la Agencia de Informaciones Periodísticas (AIP) ha propuesto la institución de un premio especial denominado PREMIO JULES DUBOIS;

LA XXII ASAMBLEA GENERAL DE LA SIP RESUELVE:

Aceptar el ofrecimiento de la Agencia de Informaciones Periodísticas de instituir el PREMIO JULES DUBOIS, el cual será entregado en un acto especial durante la primera Asamblea General de la SIP que se celebre con posterioridad al 16 de agosto de 1967, y según las especificaciones que a continuación se señalan:

a) El premio se otorgará al mejor artículo sobre "La Libertad de Prensa como derecho de los pueblos frente a todo intento totalitario por limitarla o anularla", publicado en periódicos o revistas de nuestro Continente entre el 1º de enero de 1967 y el 16 de agosto del propio año, fecha que marca el primer aniversario de la muerte de JULES DUBOIS.

b) El premio consistirá de la cantidad de US\$500.00, que serán abonados por las empresas "News Information Service" (AIP) y "Editorial AIP", editora de los boletines de la Agencia de Informaciones Periodísticas (AIP), así como de un diploma acreditativo de su adjudicación, extendido por la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa.

El proyecto de esta entidad incluía la formación de un tribunal especial para adjudicar el premio. La Comisión de Resoluciones ha entendido que esto no es práctico ni conveniente, y que lo que conviene es que, si se acepta la oferta, la adjudicación del premio sea hecha por la Comisión de Premios, comisión permanente de la SIP.

Está en discusión.

SR. AGUIRRE: Sr. Presidente, estoy totalmente de acuerdo en que sería un precedente sumamente peligroso, y además inadecuado, crear un tribunal especial para cada premio de esta naturaleza, toda vez que nosotros tenemos una Comisión de Premios, que es la que los otorga. Creo que es muy importante la recomendación que usted hizo.

DR. GAINZA PAZ: Muchas gracias, Sr. Aguirre.

De manera que, si nadie hace uso de la palabra, se va a votar tal y como he leído la moción, en el entendimiento de que el premio será otorgado por

la Comisión de Premios, con la aprobación posterior por las autoridades de la SIP.

Los que estén por la afirmativa levanten la mano. ¿En contra? Aprobada.

Esta resolución que voy a leer ahora, que es la última, es una consecuencia del Foro que se realizó aquí sobre la situación de la prensa cubana en el caso eventual, y que todos esperamos, de la desaparición del régimen comunista en Cuba. Dice así:

RESOLUCION NO. XIV

LA XXII ASAMBLEA GENERAL DE LA SIP PROCLAMA:

Que el control de la propiedad de los medios de expresión por los gobiernos - sea bajo el sistema socialista o por otro sistema- es contrario a los principios de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa;

Que en el caso concreto de Cuba hay que estar alerta con lo que sucederá a la caída del régimen de Fidel Castro;

Que en Cuba no habrá libertad, ni democracia, ni vida civilizada, si no se restaura el pleno respeto de los derechos individuales, y en primer término el derecho de propiedad y la libertad de expresión. Para que ella brille nuevamente, será urgente e imperiosa la inmediata devolución de los diarios y periódicos confiscados a sus legítimos propietarios y su publicación libre de limitación alguna; y

Que si esto no ocurre, Cuba seguirá siendo una avanzada del comunismo y una amenaza a la seguridad del continente.

Está en discusión. Si nadie hace uso de la palabra se va a votar.

Aprobada.

Eso es todo, Sr. Presidente.

MR. HOWARD: Dr. Gainza Paz, while you are still Chairman of the meeting I would like to offer a resolution which I understand is the prerogative of the President. It is a resolution which I shall read and submit to you.

The Inter American Press Association expresses its gratitude to all the individuals and organizations that have contributed to the success of the XXII General Assembly and have cooperated with the Lima Host Committee and with the Association in this respect.

In particular, the IAPA wishes to express its deep and sincere gratitude to:

His Excellency, Fernando Belaunde Terry, President of the Republic of Peru, who delivered an important speech before our members and offered a reception in the Government Palace.

Dr. Galo Plaza Lasso and Mr. David Rockefeller for their valuable contributions to this meeting in the form of two outstanding speeches.

The Corporación Nacional de Turismo and its president, Carlos Montero, for their generous hospitality to our delegates and their families.

The Host Committee and the Ladies' Committee, presided over by Dr. Manuel Cisneros Sánchez and Mrs. Teresa Cisneros respectively. We are deeply grateful to them for their intense and disinterested work over many months in organizing an excellent Assembly and an extraordinary social program.

The firms which provided, free of charge, all the equipment used for our meetings.

Carmen Alberti and the other young ladies of the Host Committee, who spared no effort and were always at the service of our delegates.

Italia Morayta, Diana de Mills and Hector Urquiaga, for their excellent simultaneous interpretations.

Celia de Gioffre, the most efficient chief of documents, all the secretarial staff, and the operators of the printing machine and the simultaneous interpretation equipment. All of these people worked very hard during all the hours when a lot of the rest of us were not.

DR. GAINZA PAZ: Mr. President, I think I am not trespassing on the rights of my colleagues of the Resolutions Committee by saying now that the Committee approves that unanimously.

MR. HOWARD: Thank you, sir.

Since I was successful in presenting that to you and having it adopted, I have one more resolution, which relates to Mrs. J. N. Heiskell, and I would suggest that:

WHEREAS, it is Mrs. Heiskell's birthday, be it resolved that we all give her a big hand.

Thank you very much, Dr. Gainza Paz.

I might remind everyone here that tonight the Mergenthaler cocktail party will be held on the 11th floor of this hotel at 7 o'clock, and that the IAPA banquet, which will be in this meeting room, will begin promptly at 9 o'clock.

Is there any member who wishes to comment or ask any questions?

SR. RAFAEL BONILLA AYBAR (Prensa Libre, Santo Domingo, República Dominicana): Sr. Presidente, señores delegados: Voy hacer uso de la palabra para traer a su consideración lo relacionado con el caso mío, ya que el pasado martes, tengo entendido, se le puso un cable al Presidente de la República Dominicana, Dr. Joaquín Balaguer, y hasta el momento, que yo sepa, éste no ha respondido al mensaje que le envió nuestro Presidente, el Sr. Jack Howard.

Me parece que es de singular importancia para la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa que este cable no quede sin responder, para que la prensa de todo el Hemisferio conozca cual es la posición del Gobierno de la República Dominicana en torno al caso de mi persona, ya que considero que esto puede sentar un grave precedente, no solamente en la República Dominicana, sino en otros países de la América Latina. Por eso sugiero al Sr. Presidente y a los señores delegados que se trate de averiguar o preguntar al Presidente de la República Dominicana si ha recibido ese cable, y qué tiene que decir sobre el mismo.

Quiero también aprovechar esta oportunidad para leer un pequeño párrafo de un periódico de la República Dominicana de fecha 20 de octubre, del pasado jueves, acerca también del caso mío. Dice el párrafo del periódico, en la página 10 de Listín Diario de la República Dominicana:

"La juez de la cuarta cámara ordenará la comparecencia a ese tribunal del Jefe de la Policía y otros altos funcionarios policiales y de Migración para que presten declaraciones en torno a la prisión de que fue objeto el periodista Rafael Bonilla Aybar.

"La Dra. Ana La Fontaine de Cabral produjo tal sentencia y resolvió además el proceso durante una audiencia de hábeas corpus celebrada en el día de ayer," es decir el miércoles 19. Como ustedes recordarán, yo hube de informar aquí en la reunión del pasado viernes que el hábeas corpus se iba a conocer el miércoles 19.

Dice además la información:

"Las conclusiones acogidas fueron presentadas por el abogado de Bonilla Aybar, Dr. Manuel de Jesús Muñoz Félix, quien había sometido una instancia en que pedía un mandamiento de hábeas corpus en favor de su representado, acogiéndose a algunos artículos, entre ellos el artículo 26 del Acta Institucional, es decir de la actual Constitución dominicana, que establece que ningún dominicano podrá ser expulsado del país.

"Las conclusiones acogidas," termina diciendo la información, "por la Dra. La Fontaine de Cabral eran subsidiarias a otras principales en que el abogado del periodista Bonilla Aybar pedía que se aplicaran las sanciones correspondientes a todos los que han infringido las disposiciones citadas con todas las consecuencias legales de conformidad con la capacidad que atribuye a este tribunal el Artículo 42 del Acto Institucional para conocimiento de las infracciones señaladas.

"Esta petición," finaliza diciendo la información, "del abogado fue motivada en el hecho de que según la ley de hábeas corpus los funcionarios que sean citados para que expliquen la causa de la prisión de una persona deben obtemperar al llamado, y en un mandamiento previo de la propia juez apoderada."

Yo he querido edificarlos sobre este tema para que la cuestión no quede sin tratarse al concluir esta exitosa Asamblea de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, porque a mi juicio entiendo que el gobierno constitucional del Dr. Balaguer lo que ha querido es ganar tiempo; esperar que la Asamblea finalice

para que la cuestión quede prácticamente, como decimos por allá, en el aire.

Muchas gracias, Sr. Presidente, y muchas gracias señores delegados.

SR. HOWARD: Thank you very much.

It seems to me, if I understand correctly, that Mr. Bonilla Aybar has suggested that we ask the President to reply to our message. The message was sent by the Board of Directors, and I think probably the request that Mr. Bonilla is now making should be made of the Board of Directors, which will meet shortly.

I am looking at the Chairman of our Legal Committee to see if that is right. He hasn't frowned yet, so I suggest, sir, that we will discuss this during the Directors meeting, which will follow this meeting.

I will now declare the meeting of the General Assembly adjourned.

(The meeting adjourned at 11:00 A.M.)

BOARD OF DIRECTORS 1966-67Friday, October 28, 1966

The Board of Directors of the Inter American Press Association for the 1966-67 fiscal year convened at 11:00 a.m., Friday, October 28, 1966, in the Salón Perú of the Hotel Crillon in Lima, Perú.

MR. HOWARD: I now call to order a meeting of the Board of Directors. This is the new Board and I would like to take this opportunity to welcome all of those members of the Board who are new to it, who were elected yesterday.

It has been suggested, and I think it is possible, that all of the new directors sit in the front rows and the other directors sit immediately behind them, so that we can all be nearer the table.

I'll call on the Chairman of the Nominations Committee, Mr. Raymond Dix, please to submit the slate of officers.

MR. DIX: Your Nominations Committee nominates the following:

For President, Julio de Mesquita Filho, O Estado de São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil.

For First Vice President: Lee Hills, Knight Newspapers.

For Second Vice President: Agustín E. Edwards, El Mercurio, Santiago, Chile.

For Secretary: Rodolfo Junco de la Vega, Jr., El Norte, Monterrey, Mexico.

For Treasurer: John A. Brogan, Jr., Hearst Corporation.

I hereby re-nominate the present Executive Committee to carry through, and any additional members that the Board wants to put on the Board can be nominated later. So I nominate the present Executive Committee and Robert U. Brown as Chairman.

MR. HOWARD: You have all heard the slate. Now, all in favor of electing the slate which has just been read to you, please raise your right hand. All opposed? The slate has been elected. (Applause)

I am now going to turn the chair over to Mr. Harold Fitzgerald, Chairman of the Scholarship Fund.

MR. FITZGERALD: Gentlemen, the Scholarship Fund must now select its members and Directors for the ensuing year. Since the members and Directors of the Fund are the Directors of the IAPA, a quorum has already been established.

Will someone move that all the Directors of the IAPA be elected members and Directors of the Scholarship Fund? Is that supported?

All those in favor, please raise your right hand.

The new Board of the Fund must now elect its officers and Executive Committee for 1966-67. A quorum has been established and I call upon Mr. Chamorro to present a slate of officers.

SR. CHAMORRO: El Comité de Nominaciones desea presentar la siguiente lista de candidatos para el Fondo de Becas de la SIP para el año que se inicia, o hasta que se elijan nuevos funcionarios.

Presidente: Harold A. Fitzgerald; Vice presidentes: William H. Cowles, Alberto Gainza Paz y John S. Knight; Tesorero, Rodolfo Junco de la Vega, Jr.; Secretario: Carlos A. Jiménez.

MR. FITZGERALD: Since I am on the slate, I am going to ask Mr. Herbert to put the question.

MR. HERBERT: You have heard the report of the Nominating Committee. What is your pleasure? Will someone move that it be accepted?

Seconded and approved.

I think that Mr. Fitzgerald has made it again. It is good news for everyone. (Applause)

MR. FITZGERALD: I will now name the members of the Scholarship Awards Committee: Robert U. Brown, who is a knowledgeable veteran; Guillermo Martínez Márquez, who is the one exclusively Spanish-speaking member; Dean Edward Barrett, for his collegiate judgment and knowledge; Joshua Powers, who is on all IAPA Committees; Marian Heiskell, because of her geographic ability, her good judgment and her good looks; Rodolfo Junco de la Vega, Jr., of Monterrey, Mexico, for a high-class dash of Latin America; finally, Carlos Jiménez, for the use of his office; and then in last place your humble, faltering, shrinking and self-effacing Chairman.

I think that concludes our work today, and I now turn this meeting over to Mr. John R. Herbert of the Technical Center.

MR. HERBERT: The Technical Center will now elect its members and Directors for the 1966-67 fiscal year, and since the members and Directors of the Center are the Directors of the IAPA, a quorum has already been established.

Will someone move that the Directors of the Inter American Press Association be elected as members and Directors of the Technical Center?

Moved and seconded that the Directors of the IAPA be elected as members and Directors of the Technical Center. Approved.

Now the Board of Directors of the Technical Center must elect its officers for 1966-67. A quorum has already been established. I call upon Mrs. Tina Hills to present a slate of new officers for the Technical Center.

MRS. HILLS: El Comité de Nominaciones que tengo el honor de presidir, integrado por los señores Ed Scripps, Manoel do Nascimento Brito, Héctor Gonzáles, Ed Harte y Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, somete a los Directores para su consideración la siguiente lista de candidatos a autoridades del Centro Técnico de la SIP:

Presidente del Directorio: John R. Herbert; Presidente: Ed Scripps; Vicepresidentes: Andrew Heiskell, James S. Copley, Máximo Gainza, Julio de Mesquita Neto y Guillermo Gutiérrez; Tesorero: H. Earle Braisted; Secretario: William M. Pepper, Jr.

Esperamos que al aceptar y aprobar este informe será posible incluir en él un voto de aplauso y de agradecimiento al Sr. Joshua B. Powers, quien deja el cargo de Tesorero.

El Sr. Powers no fue para el Centro Técnico solamente un Tesorero, sino también un asesor y promotor de todas sus actividades desde su fundación hasta la fecha. A pesar de que el propio Sr. Powers ha pedido que se le libere de esta responsabilidad, el Centro Técnico tiene absoluta certeza de que podrá seguir contando con su valiosísima colaboración. Gracias. (Applause)

MR. HERBERT: Thank you very much, Tina. I will now call on Mr. Fitzgerald to take the vote.

MR. FITZGERALD: This brotherly act is getting to be done pretty easily. Will all those in favor of this slate please raise your right hands. Motion carried, and I return the microphone to Mr. Herbert.

MR. HERBERT: Thank you very much, Harold. I now return the chair to Mr. Howard to conclude the meeting.

MR. HOWARD: Thank you, Mr. Herbert.

I would like to get back to Mr. Bonilla's question, which has now been raised at the Board of Directors meeting.

I think, Mr. Bonilla, that we will, if you request, send another message to the President, which personally I doubt that he will answer today, and then turn the whole matter over to the Freedom of the Press Committee to follow through, if that is agreeable with you.

Is there any further business?

MR. BROWN: The Executive Committee must hold a meeting in the near future to approve the annual budget. I am tentatively selecting the first Thursday in December, which I believe is the 1st of December, and if there are any contrary ideas on the part of the members of the Executive Committee, I wish they would approach me right after this meeting so that we could set a suitable date.

December 1st is tentatively selected. If anyone has any contrary thoughts

or conflicts that we might be able to iron out, I would be happy to hear about them. Thank you.

MR. HOWARD: Thank you, Mr. Brown.

If there is no more business, I will declare the Board meeting adjourned, and we will meet next on the 31st of March, 1967, in Montego Bay, Jamaica. The meeting is adjourned. (Applause)

(The meeting adjourned at 11:20 a.m.)

XXII GENERAL ASSEMBLY

ADJOURNMENT BANQUET

Friday, October 28, 1967

The Adjournment Banquet of the XXII General Assembly of the Inter American Press Association was held in the Salón Perú of the Hotel Crillon in Lima, Perú, on Friday, October 28, 1967.

President Julio de Mesquita Filho presided at the head table, where the new officers of the Association and other special guests also sat. Mr. Mesquita made the following speech:

Después de muchas vacilaciones me decidí a aceptar la invitación que me hizo mi querido amigo Andrew Heiskell para que presentara mi candidatura a la Presidencia de esta gran Asociación. Las razones que tenía para ello eran innumerables, pero la que más me llevaba a pensar que no vería mi vida profesional coronada por el sufragio de todos vosotros, es una que no podéis desconocer: ya me van pesando los largos años pasados en el cumplimiento de mi deber como periodista. A estas alturas de mi vida me sonreiría mucho más la perspectiva de un reposo duramente conquistado que la certeza de un año de esfuerzos inauditos en el ejercicio de un cargo en el cual tantos miembros ilustres de nuestra Asociación han prestado tan destacados servicios a la causa de la democracia en las Américas. No es sólo en esta ocasión que me considero con derecho a pasar los días que me restan en la posición de espectador de lo que acontece en este mundo trastornado, dejando a otros el lugar en la fila de combatientes en que el destino me ha colocado. Mas, como decimos en el Brasil, "el hombre propone y Dios dispone". Y heme aquí dispuesto a asumir con vosotros el compromiso de procurar, en la medida de mis fuerzas, no defraudar la confianza que en mí depositáis.

Si terminé por obedecer vuestra decisión fue porque la reflexión sobre la delicadísima posición en que se halla esta nuestra América frente al mundo, me ha llevado a reconocer que yo todavía podría ser útil a nuestra comunidad, si estuviera dispuesto a contribuir con la lealtad y con la franqueza con que vengo desempeñando mi misión de periodista, para que la poderosa, la inmensa fuerza potencial de que disponemos en conjunto, adquiriera la eficacia de que es capaz en la lucha por la victoria de una democracia universal.

La tarea es vasta y extremadamente delicada, pues si queremos llegar a la meta que nos hemos fijado, debemos comenzar por ser lo suficientemente valientes para decirnos unos a otros lo que pensamos y que, muchas veces por comodidad o algunas veces por temor a herir susceptibilidades, preferimos callar con indudable perjuicio para el mejor interés de nuestro Continente.

Con la inteligencia que os caracteriza y que nuestra profesión torna más aguda, ya habéis percibido, sin duda alguna, las líneas generales del tema que me preocupa y que desde hace mucho tiempo ha sido motivo de meditación para mí. Pero, aunque no es sólo ahora que pienso en esto, confieso que es sólo hace pocos días que he encontrado la manera de desarrollar públicamente este pensa-

miento, basándome en las palabras sumamente juiciosas e imbuidas de gran valor pronunciadas por una gran figura de la intelectualidad norteamericana, un hombre que después de larga permanencia en mi tierra desempeña en la actualidad en Washington las funciones de Subsecretario de Estado para Asuntos Latinoamericanos: el embajador Lincoln Gordon. La cuestión que enfoco en este momento es lo que él dijo con relación al comportamiento de la prensa de los Estados Unidos con respecto a los países de origen latino de este Continente.

Me refiero en concreto a la actitud que, de modo general, adoptan nuestros colegas de la gran República al analizar la problemática latinoamericana y, más en particular, determinados aspectos de la actual situación política en varias naciones de América del Sur.

Como veis, el asunto no podría ser de mayor actualidad ni más delicado. De mayor actualidad, porque el Continente se ha solidarizado en tal forma frente a la gravísima situación en que la marcha de la historia acabó por colocar a la humanidad entera, que el hecho de ser profundamente disímil la posición que ocupa cada uno de nuestros pueblos en la escala evolutiva no significa que aquello que pueda muchas veces suceder en el seno de los menos desarrollados no interese profundamente y con frecuencia en forma decisiva, a los que ya alcanzaron el más alto desarrollo colectivo. Y más delicado porque, al ocuparse precisamente de lo que acontece en aquellos, los periodistas de los Estados Unidos no siempre lo hacen con la objetividad de criterio ni con el conocimiento de causa que exigiría la repercusión que tienen sus escritos. Menos comprensible aún es que el esfuerzo desarrollado por estos periodistas para entender las razones que explican, por ejemplo, el hecho de que la democracia no se haya desarrollado en América del Sur con la rapidez y armonía necesarias para elevarla al grado de perfección logrado en el Norte del Continente, sea tanto menor cuanto mayores son el poder y la proyección alcanzados en el seno de la sociedad a la que pertenecen, y en el ámbito internacional por aquellos que tienen por norma esa falta de ponderación.

Como veis, señores, no me hago ilusiones respecto a las dificultades de la tarea que me he propuesto desarrollar. Comprenderéis, por lo tanto, que me apoye en la opinión incontestable de un espíritu ilustre de la gran República del Norte mencionado al iniciar mi exposición. Hablando ante 300 periodistas que hace poco participaron en la Conferencia Anual de Directores de Periódicos, el embajador Lincoln Gordon, lamentando la falta de informaciones sobre América Latina en las columnas de la prensa de su país y criticando la manera como éstas son presentadas a los lectores, afirmó de manera categórica: "En materia de asuntos interamericanos, mi queja principal contra la prensa se refiere a la falta de noticias y no al exceso de ellas."

Haciendo oportunos comentarios sobre la rigidez de los criterios respecto a temas sensacionales y cuáles son las cuestiones dignas de hacer conocer a la opinión pública, declaró que "felizmente hay indicios de que la situación está mejorando en ambos aspectos", siendo de esperar que la Conferencia anual contribuyese a una acentuada mejora.

Prosiguiendo, concretó con gran claridad su pensamiento: "La prensa - dijo - debe poner en juego un control consciente de su fuerza de voluntad, una resistencia consciente a la fácil tentación de permitir que el drama aparente de

hoy día, momentáneo y superficial, opaque el relato del origen y del rumbo de una Nación y de un Continente". Y, poniendo el dedo en la llaga, añadió: "Es mucho mayor la cantidad de noticias de los Estados Unidos que se publica en América Latina que a la inversa. El público norteamericano se enfrenta con mayor frecuencia a títulos dramáticos sobre calamidades y 'golpes' de lo que corresponde a los hechos y éxitos silenciosos que ocurren en América Latina."

No sé si me hubiera atrevido a vencer el temor de herir la sensibilidad de los queridos amigos de la gran República norteamericana, a no ser que la casualidad, que suele mostrarse tan oportuna, no me hubiera prestado el inmenso servicio que, para la causa de todos nosotros, representa el hecho que el actual Subsecretario de Estado para Asuntos Latinoamericanos haya tratado esta importante cuestión antes que yo lo hiciera. Esto me evitó la ingrata tarea de ser el primero en hacerle frente. Los años que vivió en Río de Janeiro en calidad de representante del gobierno de Washington, permitieron al Sr. Lincoln Gordon medir con exactitud el inmenso beneficio que - tanto para los Estados Unidos y el Continente Americano como para el mundo entero - significaría el fin de tal estado de cosas. Es un imperativo de la causa de la democracia universal, pues si no se implanta de una vez por todas el espíritu de comunidad en las Américas - espíritu que acabe por desterrar del Hemisferio los motivos mezquinos que hasta ahora no permiten francos progresos en el terreno de la unión de los pueblos - sería ilusorio hablar de la unidad americana.

Sería un error, señores, ver en mí a un pesimista y mucho menos a alguien incapaz de medir con exactitud el inmenso y eficiente esfuerzo ya realizado, aun en el terreno práctico, por Washington. En lo que a eso se refiere, basta tener presente que no falta mucho para que se reúnan en Conferencia los hombres que presiden en este momento los destinos de los pueblos americanos - oportuna iniciativa de la OEA - para que no nos quepa duda alguna que vamos por buen camino. Y si a eso agregamos lo que ya se ha logrado con ayuda prestada por la gran República del Norte a sus hermanos del Sur dentro del marco de la Alianza para el Progreso, tendremos de la situación un panorama que nos permite abrigar esperanzas.

Solamente en relación con mi país, esta ayuda alcanzó hasta setiembre último la suma de 2.250 millones de dólares, debiendo destacarse que dos terceras partes de tal ayuda fueron concedidas después de la victoria de la Revolución de Marzo de 1964 sobre el movimiento comunio-nacionalista que estuvo a punto de transformar una nación de 80 millones de habitantes, que cubre 8.500.000 kilómetros, en una inmensa Cuba establecida a la retaguardia de los Estados Unidos. No he de cansarlos con la descripción detallada de lo que recibió el Brasil como resultado de la inteligente política establecida en la Conferencia realizada en Punta del Este en agosto de 1961. Para que tengáis una idea exacta de lo que ya se ha logrado en la aplicación de esa nueva etapa del panamericanismo, basta que os recuerde que todas las demás naciones firmantes de la Carta, que se debió a la iniciativa del Presidente Kennedy, a quien se recuerda con nostalgia, recibieron una contribución proporcional a su posición demográfica y a su desarrollo económico. Ese es el aspecto positivo de la política de buena vecindad y de mejor entendimiento entre nuestros países. Sin embargo - y aquí os ruego que recordéis la pro-

mesa hecha al iniciar estas palabras de hablaros con la lealtad y la franqueza de las que no me aparto - la verdad es que falta mucho aún para que lleguemos a una situación satisfactoria en lo que se refiere al tan deseado entendimiento entre nuestras naciones. Para que tengáis bien presente lo que nos falta recorrer para lograr tal objetivo, que también es el de nuestra asociación, permitidme que os haga recordar lo que puede fácilmente realizarse y que, sin embargo, está muy lejos de alcanzarse. Preguntaréis: ¿por qué? Y os responderé que es por falta de una gran fuerza, como por ejemplo la nuestra, que se decida a romper lanzas por una idea cuyos beneficios serían extensivos a la América toda. La meta que nos hemos fijado no presenta obstáculos invencibles. Podemos y debemos alcanzarla si pretendemos conquistar para América Latina las ventajas que han de provenir de la consolidación definitiva, en el seno de las comunidades en que se subdivide el Continente, de las libertades democráticas y sobre todo de esa libertad de prensa que la SIP ha defendido tan denodadamente.

Y ya que salen a relucir los enormes servicios prestados en este terreno por nuestra asociación, permitidme evocar aquí, rindiéndole homenaje, a aquél que fue su gran luchador, el hombre cuya vida estuvo dedicada a la defensa de la libertad de expresión, del pensamiento y de la dignidad humana. Seguramente ya habéis comprendido que me refiero a nuestro grande, a nuestro inolvidable Jules Dubois.

Si hay un punto en el cual se unen casi todas las divergencias entre los periódicos de las Américas que tienen como frontera el Río Grande es ciertamente el que se refiere a la cuestión de la democracia en los países latinos del Hemisferio, a su desarrollo y a la selección del proceso más adecuado para la conquista de la estabilidad política y social en esta parte del Continente. No es desconocido para vosotros, claro está, el papel primordial que el bienestar económico de las respectivas poblaciones representa en el logro de ese objetivo. Sin ese bienestar, jamás llegaremos a aquel nivel en el cual la democracia se convierte en un fenómeno espontáneo. Cuando un grupo social se siente a cubierto del mínimo de necesidades, sin lo cual el hombre jamás logra su plena realización, la democracia surge como imperativo natural. Con propaganda o sin ella, el régimen de libertades irrumpe entonces en su seno, como fue el caso, para no salirnos del continente, de los Estados Unidos y el Canadá. Pues bien, la vida económica de seis países latinoamericanos depende decisivamente del volumen de sus exportaciones de café. Pero hay otros también en los cuales el cultivo de la rubiácea desempeña un papel de importancia fundamental. En Colombia, el 68% de las exportaciones corresponde como promedio al café; en el Brasil, el 53%; en El Salvador, 49%; en Guatemala, 51%; en Nicaragua, 35%; en Costa Rica, 42%; en Ecuador, 31%; en México, 17%; y en Honduras, 18%. Por lo tanto, un sólido entendimiento entre esos países y su mayor mercado consumidor, los Estados Unidos, bastaría para que la gestión democrática desarrollase en ellos rápidamente una estabilidad que pudiera liberar el espíritu de los hombres públicos del Norte y del Sur del Hemisferio de la inmensa preocupación suscitada por la inestabilidad social existente en la actualidad en la parte meridional del Continente. La comprensión de la correlación que hay entre esos dos fenómenos - el de la inestabilidad política y el que surge de las dificultades con que lucha aquél producto de exportación - permitiría en poco tiempo que el área inmensa ocupada por esos países se transformara en un te-

rreno prácticamente invulnerable a la prédica de doctrinas subversivas y entonces se consolidarían automáticamente las relaciones entre ellos y nuestros hermanos del Norte.

Perdonadme, señores, si me detengo en estos pormenores para exponer un aspecto de la vida del Continente que, en cierto sentido, no afecta a todas las naciones que a él pertenecen. Lo hago, sin embargo, en la certeza de que, por sus posibles implicaciones, no deja de interesar, aunque sea en forma indirecta, a todo el Hemisferio. Y toda la estrategia continental se halla contenida en este problema. Tened presente, señores, que son poquísimos los espíritus que, aun entre los que cargan con la responsabilidad de los destinos de América, tienen una noción exacta de lo que acabo de exponeres. Por lo menos ésta es la conclusión a que se llega en base a los debates que se llevaron a cabo recientemente en Londres en el curso de la Conferencia de la Organización Internacional del Café convocada para la renovación del Acuerdo Mundial del Café. El objetivo principal de los países americanos productores era conseguir allí condiciones favorables para la estabilidad de sus respectivas economías, estabilidad que dependía, sobre todo, del apoyo decidido que les prestara, a través de sus representantes, el mayor consumidor de la rubiácea. Como tal, los Estados Unidos tenían en sus manos los medios de imponer a las repúblicas hermanas del Centro y del Sur del Hemisferio una unidad y una disciplina de propósitos imprescindible para el objetivo que se deseaba alcanzar. Ninguno de ellos ignoraba que de su actitud en relación con la invasión del mercado norteamericano por el producto de origen africano dependería en última instancia el resultado de la lucha en que se encuentra trabada América Latina contra las restricciones que oponen los miembros del Mercado Común Europeo al ingreso de los cafés latinoamericanos.

Como principal nación productora, el Brasil defiende la tesis de la aplicación de las llamadas preferencias defensivas y temporales en beneficio de todos los estados cafetaleros del Hemisferio. En otras palabras, lo que se pretende solamente es transferir a nuestro Continente aquellos privilegios que la Europa de los Seis concede actualmente al café que recibe de sus antiguas colonias africanas. La solución defendida por nosotros es simple y no costaría un centavo a los Estados Unidos. Más aún, tiene a su favor la circunstancia de no poder ser impugnada por los productores africanos, cohibidos moralmente de hacerlo porque solamente deseamos obtener de los Estados Unidos aquello que Europa les proporciona a ellos.

Pues bien, señores, por increíble que parezca, la reunión en Londres estuvo muchas veces en inminente peligro de fracasar completamente debido a que la delegación norteamericana se había colocado, en la fase inicial de los debates, en posición contraria a los intereses de la economía, vale decir, de la tranquilidad social latinoamericana. La lucha fue ardua y difícil. Y sólo a duras penas los representantes del Brasil, con apoyo de sus hermanos de las naciones al sur del Río Grande, lograron, aunque sólo parcialmente, la adhesión de los Estados Unidos a su punto de vista.

Creemos haber dicho lo suficiente para que os podáis formar una idea exacta de las proporciones del problema y de la facilidad con que podría ser resuelto, si imperase en nuestro Continente aquél espíritu de comunidad al que hice alusión hace algunos instantes. Agregaré solamente, para que podáis apreciar mejor

lo que esa solución representaría, que una acentuada elevación del nivel de vida de cerca de 150 millones de latinoamericanos sería su consecuencia natural.

La situación de América del Sur no es desconocida. Esta parte del Hemisferio puede compararse, sin temor a exagerar, con un polvorín listo a estallar. Si no nos enfrentamos a lo que en ella sucede, con el espíritu de responsabilidad que las circunstancias exigen, no hay cómo negar la posibilidad de que nos veremos hundidos en un caos espantoso. En los Estados Unidos existe hoy en día gran preocupación por ese aspecto del problema americano en su totalidad. Mas no por ser real esa preocupación, deja de ser positivamente irrisorio el método preconizado por algunos de los más influyentes políticos de la gran democracia para resolver los delicadísimos problemas que presenta esa coyuntura disyuntiva, que se debe a la rapidez con que esos señores habían recorrido diversas naciones hermanas del Sur del Continente. En síntesis, todo se resume en esta increíble proposición: hacer lo posible y lo imposible para que al sur del Río Grande se produzca nada más y nada menos que una revolución agraria capaz de modificar en sus cimientos la estructura rural de toda una inmensa parte del hemisferio. Nada más que eso... Lo que desearían esos viajeros apresurados sería que un fenómeno cuya evolución avanza en determinado sentido desde hace más de cuatrocientos años, esto es desde el descubrimiento de América, fuera sometida repentinamente a un cambio de rumbo de por lo menos 180°. Resolver cuestiones de tal complejidad y magnitud en el nivel abstracto es fácil. Pero no es con palabras ni con actitudes gratuitas que se debe hacer frente a situaciones concretas. No escapará a vuestro criterio, por cierto, lo que hay de absurdo y de irrealizable en la proposición de esos reformadores improvisados de veleidades revolucionarias.

Habréis comprendido mejor ahora la razón por la cual tocamos lo que se podría llamar el problema del café. No es el único. Nos atormentan muchos otros, esperando que el buen sentido de aquellos que tuvieron la suerte de nacer en las Américas les dé solución. Si escogí este tema fue por reconocer en él la ventaja de ser accesible a cualquier espíritu y por parecerme que falta muy poco para verlo resuelto. Por eso mismo, servirá de patrón para que todos los demás problemas con que se enfrenta el Continente puedan ser encarados con la misma objetividad y con el mismo espíritu práctico. A través de él nos es dado vislumbrar aún aquello que afirmé hace unos momentos: la apremiante urgencia de que la formidable fuerza que representamos nosotros, los miembros de la SIP, asuma el papel de elemento fundamental en la lucha por una América mejor, donde llegue a imperar una política común, más justa y más humana.

La primera de las cuestiones de que me ocupé fue la relativa necesidad, preconizada por el Embajador Lincoln Gordon, de un cambio por parte de la prensa norteamericana, en lo tocante a su manera de ver o de relatar la vida de los pueblos del sur del Hemisferio. Creo que todos estaréis de acuerdo conmigo en que para tal modificación podría contribuir también de modo apreciable nuestra asociación. Lo que ésta hizo ya en beneficio de las Américas es mucho pero está aún lejos, muy lejos, de lo que podrá llegar a realizar. Lo que yo desearía ante todo es que, al lado de la política inteligente del Departamento de Estado norteamericano, que ya dió como fruto la acción eficaz de la Alianza para el Progreso, surgiese para acelerarla todo un programa que debe

ser maduramente pensado por todos nosotros, miembros de la SIP.

Es esto, mis caros amigos y colegas, lo que me ha llevado a aceptar la insigne honra que me habéis conferido y a esbozar en líneas generales los trabajos que, si Dios me da fuerzas y vosotros el apoyo sin el cual nada se podrá hacer, espero llevar a buen término durante la vigencia de mi gestión como presidente de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE XXII GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Following are, in their final form, the resolutions adopted by the XXII General Assembly of the Inter American Press Association.

I

WHEREAS, according to information recently published in the newspapers of Brazil and other countries, the government of Marshal Castelo Branco is preparing important amendments to the existing press legislation, and

WHEREAS, Marshal Castelo Branco's administration has repeatedly asserted its firm decision to respect the freedom of the press and the basic rights of a democracy;

THE XXII GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE IAPA RESOLVES:

To send a cable to the President of Brazil, expressing its hope that any bill for the amendment of existing press legislation will be submitted to the consideration of the Congress whose members will be elected on November 15, 1966.

II

WHEREAS, the Inter American Press Association, representing more than 700 free, democratic newspapers of the Western Hemisphere, strongly affirms its belief in the principle that there should be no restriction in the right of free persons to publish in a free society, and that the exercise of journalism is free; therefore, prohibitions, restrictions or permits to exercise it, whether they affect owners, editors, directors, contributors or employees of a publication, violate freedom of the press;

WHEREAS, this opinion is supported by a declaration of the International Commission of Jurists; and

WHEREAS, present legislation in Canada violates the foregoing concept of freedom of the press;

THE XXII GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE IAPA RESOLVES:

That the IAPA protest again, and strongly, to the Prime Minister of Canada against this legislation, which is contrary to the traditions of a free press, and tends to divide and undermine hemispheric understanding of what is truly meant by "freedom of the press;"

That the IAPA, which deplores such legislation, ask for its repeal; and

That the President of the IAPA extend an invitation to the Canadian Daily Newspaper Publishers Association to set up a meeting with the IAPA to discuss these differences of opinion which weaken freedom of the press in our hemisphere.

III

WHEREAS, taxes on advertisements and on the sale of newspaper copies, exchange rate restrictions and custom duties increase considerably production costs;

WHEREAS, the operation and technical progress of newspapers is thus hampered or even made impossible; and

WHEREAS, these factors increase the dangers threatening free journalism, because of the financial weakness which afflicts many newspapers;

THE XXII GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE IAPA RESOLVES:

To condemn once again the imposition of such taxes which indirectly affect the economic basis of a free press and to request their elimination.

IV

WHEREAS, certain governments have granted exclusive rights to some of their followers for ordering the publication of official or semi-official advertising;

WHEREAS, in some cases these persons pretend to be commercial advertising agencies, which they are not; and

WHEREAS, the granting or withholding of this advertising is generally due to political reasons;

THE XXII GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE IAPA RESOLVES:

That this procedure is contrary to ethical press norms and that therefore the IAPA condemns such so-called "advertising agencies," as well as any other attempts to exert pressure on the press through advertising.

V

THE XXII GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE IAPA RESOLVES:

To reiterate the proposal approved at the XX General Assembly, held at Mexico City in 1964, requesting member publications again to publish the names of newspapermen jailed in Cuba, as the most effective means to obtain their liberty.

VI

WHEREAS, the economic independence of newspapers and magazines is the keystone of the freedom of the press; and

WHEREAS, the importation of machinery and other materials used in the publication of newspapers in many countries is subject to prohibitive import duties, which make their replacement difficult;

THE XXII GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE IAPA RESOLVES:

To recommend to the governments of countries where such duties are imposed that they be eliminated.

VII

WHEREAS, certain governments persist in a policy of controlling the importation, sale and distribution of newsprint; and

WHEREAS, this practice has been repeatedly condemned by the IAPA;

THE XXII GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE IAPA RESOLVES:

To condemn once more that policy and recommend to the IAPA members that they continue their struggle until it is abolished.

VIII

WHEREAS, certain governments are authorized by law to fix the sales prices for so-called "basic commodities;"

WHEREAS, certain governments have included newspapers and magazines in that category so that these governments can thereby fix the sales price of newspapers and magazines; and

WHEREAS, the existence of these publications is threatened through such price fixing;

THE XXII GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE IAPA RESOLVES:

To condemn any policy which makes the sale price of any publication subject to government control, because it threatens freedom of the press.

IX

WHEREAS, in the Dominican Republic a Constituent Assembly is now meeting to draft a new Constitution;

WHEREAS, the Article regarding individual rights, which has received its first reading, contains a paragraph dealing with freedom of expression;

WHEREAS, in the opinion of Dominican newspapers and jurists, who have made public declarations to that effect, that portion of the Constitution already approved upon first reading by the Constituent Assembly suffers from a lack of clarity and precision and does not contain an express guarantee of the right to free access to official sources of information;

WHEREAS, the draft of the Constitution must be approved on a second reading before becoming the Charter of the Nation; and

WHEREAS, it is the duty of the Inter American Press Association to fight for freedom of the press in its purest form, without any limitation other than those universally accepted for the protection of public morality, public order and national security;

THE XXII GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE IAPA RESOLVES:

To authorize the President of the Inter American Press Association to request of the Chairman of the Constituent Assembly of the Dominican Republic that there be provided a clear and precise guarantee of the right of free expression of opinion which at the same time includes specifically the right of free access to official sources of information.

X

WHEREAS, advertising stimulates the sale of products or services or enhances the public image of business enterprises, and therefore it is legitimate and necessary;

WHEREAS, certain governments will not allow some advertisers to charge the cost of these advertisements to their overhead; and

WHEREAS, this policy has resulted in an unwarranted reduction of commercial advertising to the grave detriment of the community;

THE XXII GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE IAPA RESOLVES:

To condemn these discriminatory practices and denounce them as a means of limiting legitimate commercial advertising and thereby weakening the financial independence of the press, an essential for its true freedom.

XI

WHEREAS, pressure is being exerted upon the press by government agencies, private enterprises and financial groups in the form of threats to withhold commercial advertising if certain news detrimental to their interests is published or favorable news withheld;

THE XXII GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE IAPA RESOLVES:

To condemn these pressures inasmuch as they are a menace to the freedom of the press and, in addition, to publish the names of individuals, organizations and agencies which so act.

XII

WHEREAS, in accordance with its principles the IAPA has repeatedly condemned the control of information media either by violence or political or economic pressure;

WHEREAS, the latter is more serious when carried out through the use of public funds or the exercise of credit pressures or pressures of any other kind; and

WHEREAS, there is ample freedom of expression in Chile, as reported to this Assembly by the Committee on Freedom of the Press;

THE XXII GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE IAPA RESOLVES:

To take note of the information received, in the case of the newspapers of the SOPEUR chain, from the National Press Association of Chile, as well as of the investigation carried out by the attorney of the Chilean State Bank;

To take note also of the letter of October 18, 1966, addressed by the Minister of the Interior of Chile to the President of the National Press Association of that country, reading: "Instructions have been given to the State Bank to abstain from participating in activities of this kind in the future"; and

To express its hope that these principles will be constantly upheld in the future.

XIII

WHEREAS, the objectives of the Inter American Press Association include the defence of freedom of the press throughout the Americas;

WHEREAS, the IAPA repudiates, under Art. 6 of its By-laws, any publication which, in the opinion of its Board of Directors, is fascist, communist or of any other totalitarian tendency, whatever its denomination;

WHEREAS, the late journalist JULES DUBOIS was a constant defender of freedom of the press in the Americas and his thought and action were at all times with the free and democratic publications which for any reason suffered attacks to said liberty; and

WHEREAS, the Agencia de Informaciones Periodísticas (AIP), with the purpose of rendering public homage to his illustrious memory, has proposed the creation of a special award to be called the JULES DUBOIS AWARD:

THE XXII GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE IAPA RESOLVES:

To accept the proposal of the Agencia de Informaciones Periodísticas (AIP) and create the JULES DUBOIS AWARD, which will be conferred at a special ceremony during the first Assembly of the IAPA to be held after August 16, 1967, in accordance with the following specifications:

- (a) The award will be given to the best article on "Freedom of the Press as a right of the peoples in the face of any totalitarian attempt to limit or destroy it", published in a newspaper or magazine of the Americas between January 1, 1967 and August 16 of the same year, which is the date of the first anniversary of Jules Dubois' death; and
- (b) The award will consist of \$500.00, which will be donated by the firms "News Information Service" (AIP) and "Editorial AIP", publisher of the bulletins of the Agencia de Informaciones Periodísticas (AIP), as well as a diploma certifying the award, issued by the Inter American Press Association.

XIV

THE XXII GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE IAPA PROCLAIMS:

That the control by governments of the ownership of information media - whether by socialistic or by any other systems - is against IAPA principles;

That in the concrete case of Cuba, we must be alert to what happens after the fall of the Fidel Castro regime;

That there will be no freedom, nor democracy, nor civilized life, if full respect of the right to property, the right to freedom of expression and all individual rights are not restored;

That, in order that such freedoms may be restored it is imperative that confiscated newspapers and other publications be returned immediately to their legitimate owners and their publication be resumed without any limitations whatsoever; and

That until this is done, Cuba will continue to be an outpost of communism and a menace to the safety of the hemisphere.

SOCIAL PROGRAM

The social program for the XXII General Assembly of the Inter American Press Association included the following events:

Friday, October 21

Visit to Mr. Miguel Mujica Gallo's Gold Museum.

Saturday, October 22

Visit to Mr. Miguel Mujica Gallo's Gold Museum.

Sunday, October 23

Luncheon at Mr. and Mrs. Pedro G. Beltran's Hacienda Montalván in Cañete.

Horseraces at the Monterrico track.

Monday, October 24

Cocktail-reception offered by United Press International.

Inaugural Dinner offered by Peruvian newspaper members of the IAPA.

Tuesday, October 25

Dinner offered by Dr. and Mrs. Manuel Cisneros Sanchez.

Wednesday, October 26

Reception and buffet offered by President Fernando Belaúnde Terry of Perú.

Thursday, October 27

Cocktail-reception offered by The Associated Press.

Friday, October 28

Cocktail-reception offered by the Mergenthaler Linotype Company.

Adjournment Banquet.

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