

INTER - AMERICAN
PRESS ASSOCIATION

X ANNUAL MEETING

SAO PAULO AND RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL

OCTOBER, 1954



PUBLISHED BY
INTER-AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION

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MR. PAULO BITTENCOURT
PRESIDENT OF THE IAPA., 1954-55.

CHARTER OF THE INTER-AMERICAN PRESS

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 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.

IV

The exercise of journalism is free. Prohibitions, restrictions or permits to exercise it, whether they affect owners, editors, directors, collaborator or employees of a publication, violate freedom of the press.

V

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

VI

Whatever may be expressed verbally may be expressed by means of the printed word. To close or make unusable any printing press 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.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
INTER-AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION

OFFICERS

TOM WALLACE	<i>Honorary President</i>
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CARLOS E. SCHECK	

JAMES B. CANEL, Manager.

LIST OF MEMBERS AND OBSERVERS WHO ATTENDED
THE X ANNUAL MEETING.

ACTIVE MEMBERS:

ARGENTINA:

ALBERTO GAINZA PAZ
La Prensa
Buenos Aires, Argentina.

BAHAMAS:

ETIENNE DUPUCH, JR.
Nassau Daily Tribune
Nassau.

BRAZIL:

ANTONIO IBRAHIM HADDAD
Vida Doméstica
Río de Janeiro, Brazil.
CARLOS A. DUNSHEE ABRANCHES
Jornal do Brazil.
Río de Janeiro, Brazil.

CARLOS LACERDA
Tribuna da imprensa
Río de Janeiro, Brazil.

ELMANO CARDIM
Jornal do Comercio
Río de Janeiro, Brazil.

GIUSFREDO SANTINI
A Tribuna
Santos, Brazil.

HERBERT MOSES
O Globo
Río de Janeiro, Brazil.

JOÃO SAMPAIO
Correio Paulistano
São Paulo, Brazil.

JOHN D. MONTGOMERY
Brazil Herald
Río de Janeiro, Brazil.

JOSÉ NABANTINO RAMOS
Fôlha da Manhã
São Paulo, Brasil.

JULIO DE MESQUITA FILHO
O Estado de São Paulo
São Paulo, Brazil.

PAULO BITTENCOURT
Correio da Manhã
Río de Janeiro, Brazil.

JOSÉ V. PORTINHO
Correio da Manhã
Río de Janeiro, Brazil.

JAYME F. DE VASCONCELLOS
Jornal do Comercio
Mato Grosso.

OTHON PAULINO
O Dia
Río de Janeiro, Brazil.

CHAGAS FREITAS
A Noticia
Río de Janeiro, Brazil.

JOSEPH F. BROWN Y
JOHN D. MONTGOMERY
Brazil Herald
Río de Janeiro, Brazil.

NELSON APEL QUADROS
Manchete
Río de Janeiro, Brazil.

JOAO NEDER
Vanguardia
Río de Janeiro, Brasil.

BRITISH GUIANA:

GEORGE WILLOCK
Daily Chronicle
Georgetown.

CHILE:

AUGUSTIN E. EDWARDS
El Mercurio
Santiago, Chile.

GUILLERMO PÉREZ DE ARCE
El Mercurio
Santiago, Chile.

COLOMBIA:

EDUARDO ZALAMEA BORDA
El Espectador
Bogotá, Colombia.

ROBERTO GARCÍA PEÑA
El Tiempo
Bogotá, Colombia.

COSTA RICA:

OTILIO ULATE
Diario de Costa Rica y
La Hora
San José, Costa Rica.

CLÁUDIO CASTRO TOSI
Diario de Costa Rica y
La Hora
San José, Costa Rica.

EDGAR AVILA SOLÉ
Diario de Costa Rica
San José, Costa Rica.

LUIS DOBLES SÁNCHEZ
Diario de Costa Rica y
La Hora
San José, Costa Rica.

CUBA:

FRANCISCO VALDÉS GÓMEZ
Pueblo
 Havana, Cuba.

GUILLERMO MARTÍNEZ MÁRQUEZ

El País
 Havana, Cuba.

JORGE QUINTANA RODRÍGUEZ

Bohemia
 Havana, Cuba.

RAOUL ALFONSO GONSÉ

El Mundo
 Havana, Cuba.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC:

GERMÁN E. ORNES
El Caribe

ECUADOR:

JORGE MANTILLA
El Comercio
 Quito, Ecuador.

GUATEMALA:

RAMÓN BLANCO
El Imparcial
 Guatemala.

HAITI:

FRANCK C. MAGLOIRE
Le Matin
 Port-au-Prince, Haití.

MAX CHAUVET
Le Nouvelliste
 Port-au-Prince, Haití.

JAMAICA:

SIDNEY G. FLETCHER
Daily Gleaner
 Kingston, Jamaica.

MEXICO:

JOSÉ IGNACIO VARELA
El Universal Gráfico
 México, D. F.

MIGUEL LANZ DURET
El Universal
 México, D. F.

NICARAGUA:

LEONARDO LACAYO
Novedades
 Managua, Nicaragua.

PANAMA:

FÉLIX CARLOS DUQUE GÓMEZ
La Estrella de Panamá

PERU:

ALEJANDRO MIRÓ QUESADA
El Comercio
 Lima, Perú.

PUERTO RICO:

ANGEL RAMOS
El Mundo
 San Juan, Puerto Rico.

TRINIDAD:

LEO PERMUY
Trinidad Guardian
 Port of Spain, Trinidad.

UNITED STATES:

HARRY M. AYRES
The Anniston Star
 Arizona.

BLANCHE HIRSON SMITH
Meriden Record
 Connecticut.

DUDLEY ALLEN WHITE
The Register Star — News
 Sandusky, Ohio.

EDWIN STOUT
Revista Visión
 New York, N. Y.

E. W. SCRIPPS
Scripps League

A. FARRIS FLINT
Famous Features Syndicate
 New York, N. Y.

PIERO SAPORITI
Time Life International
 New York, N. Y.

FRANK S. BAKER
News Tribune
 Tacoma Wash.

HAL HENDRIX
Kansas City Star
 Missouri.

HERMAN HENRY RIDDER
Mercury — News
 San José, California.

JAMES G. STAHLMAN
Nashville Banner
 Tennessee.

J. D. FENDELL
The Hearst Corporation
 New York, N. Y.

J. N. HEISKELL
Arkansas Gazette
 Little Rock, Ark.

J. NOEL MACY
Visión
 New York, N. Y.

JOHN A. BROGAN, JR.
The Hearst Corporation
 New York, N. Y.

JOHN R. REITEMEYER
The Hartford Courant
 Connecticut.

JOHN SHIVELY KNIGHT
Knight Newspapers Inc.
 Chicago, Ill.

JOSEPH RIDDER
San José — Mercury
 San José, California.

JOSHUA B. POWERS
Editors Press Service
 New York, N. Y.

JOHN W. FITZGERALD
The Pontiac Press
 Michigan.

JULES DUBOIS
The Chicago Tribune
 Illinois.

MARSHALL FIELD JR.
Sun Times
 Chicago, Ill.

NICHOLAS IFFT
Idaho State Journal
 Pocatello.

BARCLAY ACHESON
The Readers Digest
 New York, N. Y.

ROBERT E. SALISBURY
Life Magazine
 New York, N. Y.

ROLAND T. HUSON
The Plainsman
 Zachary, Louisiana.

ROGER H. FERGER
The Cincinnati Enquirer
 Ohio.

ROY ALEXANDER
Time Inc.
 New York, N. Y.

THOMAS CURRAN
United Press
 New York, N. Y.

THOMAS L. KERNEY
Trenton Times Trenton
 New Jersey.

TOM WALLACE
Louisville Times
 Kentucky.

WAYNE C. SMITH
Meriden Daily Journal
 Connecticut.

W. H. COWLES
The Spokesman — Review
 Spokane, Wash.

WILLIAM M. PEPPER, JR.
Gainesville, Sun.
 Florida.

WILLIAM STONE HONNEUS.
Fortune
 New York, N. Y.

SAM POPE BREWER
The New York Times

CATHERINE KIRCHOF
Idaho State Journal
 Pocatello, Idaho.

VENEZUELA:
 ALEJANDRO OTERO SILVA
El Nacional
 Caracas.

LIFE MEMBER:

EUGENE B. MIROVITCH
Mergenthaler Linotype Co.
 New York, N. Y.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

ALFREDO C. MACHADO
Distribuidora Record
 Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

DÉCIO ABREAU
Distribuidora Record
 Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

CONRAD ROSTAN WRZOS
Serv. de Imprensa Sulamericano
 Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

ALBERT J. KROHN
Gross Printing Press Cp.
 Chicago, Ill.

S. ROGER WOLIN
Caminos del Añe
 Miami, Fla.

FRANK HOFFMANN
Intertype Corporation
 New York, N. Y.

JOSEPH WALTER ILIFF
National Paper & Type Co.
 New York, N. Y.

OBSERVERS:

ARTHUR ALEXANDER GRILL
Linotipo do Brazil
Río de Janeiro, Brazil.

CAL ABRAHAM
Robinson-Hannagan Associates
Río de Janeiro, Brazil.

MARIO P. DA COSTA
Boletín Linotípico
New York, N. Y.

RAYMUNDO GALLO NETTO
Linotipo do Brazil
Río de Janeiro, Brazil.

ROBERTO D. PINTO
Linotipo do Brazil
Río de Janeiro, Brazil.

SEVERINO BALBOA Y DEL CAMPO
A. M. Carneiro & Co.
Río de Janeiro, Brazil.

JOSÉ DE ALARCÓN FERNÁNDEZ
Soc. Paulista de Escritores
São Paulo, Brazil.

MANFRED GERSTMANN
National Paper & Type Co.
São Paulo, Brazil.

RICHARD D. LAWYER
National Paper & Type Co.
Río de Janeiro, Brazil.

ENEAS MACHADO DE ASSIS
*Inter-American Association of
Broadcasters*

RICHARD MASSOCK
Associated Press
Bogotá.

RALPH DUYOS
A. M. Carneiro & Co.
New York, N. Y.

EDGAR G. GRIMSLEY
Press Wireless
Río de Janeiro, Brazil.

INTER-AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION

X Annual Meeting

Board of Directors, Sao Paulo, Oct. 4, 1954

Mr. Miguel Lanz Duret (El Universal, Mexico), President of the IAPA, called the Board of Directors to order at 10.15 a.m. The Secretary, Mr. Ramon Blanco (El Imparcial, Guatemala) called the roll. Initially there were 18 members present and Mr. Lanz Duret announced that since there will be no voting for the present the Board would start its work. Subsequently additional directors arrived, increasing the attendance to 28, as follows: Hon. Pres. Tom Wallace (Louisville Times, Louisville, Ky.), Hon. Chairman of Board Alberto Gainza Paz (La Prensa, Buenos Aires), Raoul Alfonso Gonsé (El Mundo, Havana), Herbert Moses (O Globo, Rio) Roy Alexander (Life magazine, New York-proxy from Andrew Heiskell), Carlos Lacerda (Tribuna da Imprensa, Rio), Leo Permuy (Trinidad Guardian, Trinidad), Max Chauvet (Le Nouveliste, Haiti), John S. Knight (Knight Newspapers, USA), Miguel Lanz Duret (El Universal, Mexico), Angel Ramos (El Mundo, San Juan, Puerto Rico), S. G. Fletcher (The Daily Gleaner, Kingston, Jamaica), John R. Reitemeyer (The Hartford Courant, Harford, Conn), W. H. Cowles (The Spokesman Review, Spokane, Wash.), Thomas L. Kerney (Trenton Times, Trenton, N. J.), Ramon Blanco (El Imparcial, Guatemala), Paulo Bittencourt (Correio de Manha, Rio), Jules Dubois (The Chicago Tribune, Chicago, Ill.), Guillermo Martínez Márquez (El País, Havana), Jorge Mantilla (El Comercio, Quito), Julio Mesquita (O Estado, Sao Paulo), Marshall Field Jr. (Chicago Sun-Times, Chicago, Ill.), Joshua B. Powers (Editors Press Service, N. Y.), John A. Brogan, (Hearst Corp., USA), Alejandro Miró Quesada (El Comercio, Lima-proxy from Luis Miró

Quesada), Roberto García Peña (El Tiempo, Bogotá), James G. Stahlman (The Nashville Banner, Nashville, Tenn.), Guillermo Pérez de Arce (El Mercurio, Santiago, Chile).

The reading of the minutes of the midyear meeting was suspended after which Mr. Lanz Duret called on the Chairman of the Executive Committee, Mr. John R. Reitemeyer (The Hartford Courant, Hartford, Conn.), to read his annual report, which follows:

"There is probably no better way to state the objectives toward which the Inter-American Press Association has worked during the last year than to quote the preamble to our Constitution, a document which should probably be read at the beginning of each annual meeting of the General Assembly and at each semi-annual meeting of the Board of Directors.

This preamble declares that the purposes of this Association shall be:

- a. To foster and protect the general and specific interests of the daily and periodical press of America at all times.
- b. To guard freedom of the press throughout America.
- c. To promote and maintain the dignity, rights and responsibilities of the profession of journalism; to encourage uniform standards of professional and business conduct; to exchange ideas and information which contribute to the cultural, material and technical development of the press of America, and to its continuing welfare; to promote a more active and friendly intercourse among its members; to secure freedom from unjust and unlawful exactions; to gain common protection for intellectual property and copyrights; to protect its members from irresponsible acts and legislation; to employ counsel to represent the Association or its members in matters affecting their common interests; to foster a wider knowledge and a greater exchange among the peoples of America in support of the basic principle of a free society and individual liberty; and to work collectively for the solution of common problems and for the preservation of the peace and tranquility of the New World.

Let us consider certain of these objectives and see what progress we have made in reaching them.

Our first and foremost objective, of course, is to guard freedom of the press throughout the Americas. In this cause we have been vigilant and militant.

Before proceeding further on this point, I think that I should remind you that our by-laws define the duties of the Chairman of the Executive Committee as follows:

"He shall be the representative of the President of the Association, and as such, shall have the duties of the President on all matters dealing with the *administration* of the Association. He shall be responsible for the operation of the office of the Association. He will direct the Manager of the office and provide instructions on the affairs of the Association."

As we have interpreted that definition this year, as Chairman of the Executive Committee I have confined myself chiefly to the business affairs of the Association, while statements of policy and protests against governmental restrictions on freedom of the press and related matters have been issued by President Lanz Duret. Such statements, I might add, are issued whenever possible only after consultation between the President, the Chairman of the Executive Committee and the Chairman of the Committee on Freedom of the Press. Through this system we believe that we have met some of the objections which were raised at our meeting in San Juan, Puerto Rico, insofar as it is possible to do so when all concerned must operate at great distances from each other. It is understood, of course, that when differences of opinion arise as to a suggested course of action, it is the President who has the final authority.

I go into all this at this time in order to explain why I am leaving the detailed report as to our activities in behalf of freedom of the press to President Lanz Duret and to Mr. Jules Dubois, the committee chairman.

It is interesting and significant to note in this connection that in recent months there have been no undisguised, brazen aggressions against the press; we have had no repetition of arbitrary closures such as in the case of "El Comercio", or open attacks such as that against "Los Tiempos" in Bolivia. I don't mean that all is well everywhere in the Americas.

You have only to observe what happened in Argentina the other day for proof of that. President Lanz Duret was expelled from Argentina, and for what? For what is apparently a great crime in Argentina—for a desire to speak out in behalf of freedom of the press..

What all freedom loving people, what all responsible journalists think about this could not be expressed better than it was the other day by Paulo Bittencourt's paper, in a front page editorial which read as follows:

PERONADA

Sr. Miguel Lanz Duret, director of EL UNIVERSAL (México), and president of the Inter-American Press Association, while travelling to a meeting of this Association in Sao Paulo, was denied permission to disembark in Buenos Aires. At the airport, the Mexican journalist and his secretary were transferred by the police to another plane, which immediately took off for Montevideo. The news dispatch ends dryly: "The Argentine authorities gave no explanation".

In a case like this it is customary to register a more vehement protest. But what good would it do? We prefer to give the explanations which the Argentine authorities did not furnish.

The Argentine regime is a "caudillo" type of despotism, disguised as a democracy of the people. It claims to have carried out certain social reforms. It happens that the so-called reforms and expropriations only touch the political adversaries of the regime; in the first place, the independent press which already has ceased to exist. There are some naïve souls who in recent years believed in greater moderation of the regime because it deigned to accept loans of democratic origin. But it is not a question now of a relapse. General Perón always was and is coherent. He detested and detests free expression of thought. Now, hitting at the Inter-American Press Association, defender of journalistic independence, he has just constructed an iron curtain, which never should exist in the Americas. Peronismo is a dangerous focus of infection. Already it has contaminated various other Latin American countries. Whoever travels through the continent can confirm the progress of the epidemic. In such a situation is Mr. Holland, assistant secretary of state, who, after having visited various other caudillos, and who now is in Buenos Aires, can collect at the airport first-hand information about democracy and interamerican cordiality in the Argentina of today.

We do not know how this depressing spectacle will impress him. We hope however, that our example is impressing the other American republics; that of Brazil which has just destroyed those germs of peronista infection in our country.

We shall receive with the greatest Panamerican cordiality Sr. Lanz Duret, expelled from Argentina, to affirm to him that Brazil will continue defending freedom of opinion and democracy.

We hope, indeed that this incident will be brought to Mr. Holland's attention. It is too bad that it could not have been brought to his attention before he had his picture taken arm in arm with Perón, and before he made the statement praising Perón which appears in the latest issue of Time magazine.

We hear so much today about co-existence.

Well, my friends, do we need anything more than what happened to Lanz Duret in Argentina to prove that co-existence is always on the dictator's terms. You can have co-existence, yes, but at a very high price. For co-existence with dictators means the end of liberty, the death of freedom.

Another of our objectives, as our constitution states, is to encourage uniform standards of professional and business conduct. It is under this mandate that we have organized an Office of Certified Circulation, which will do for newspapers in Latin America what the Audit Bureau of Circulation does for newspapers of the United States. Because the Office of Certified Circulation must enter into contracts with newspapers and advertising agencies, to protect the directors and offices from lawsuits which might arise out of actions charging breach of contract or other damages, we have organized this Office as a separate corporation, with Andrew Heiskell, Dr. Alberto Gainza Paz, Julio Garzon, Antoinette J. Marino, our office secretary, and myself as the initial incorporators. Subsequently the members of OCC will meet and elect their own officers.

Because of the nature of its service, the OCC must charge a fee to members requesting circulation audits. Thus far our headquarters staff —two people— has handled all the administrative details. We hope that our Latin American members will support this essential and desirable effort in order that the OCC will soon have sufficient funds to employ a staff of its own. But not for that reason alone, but for their own interests, also. As you know, Latin American publications have long complained that advertising received from the United States is not in proportion to the value of the goods sold in the Latin American market. It was and is a valid complaint. The problem, however,

is one that the Latin Americans themselves can solve by giving the advertiser the information he needs, and this includes, first and foremost, adequately certified circulation figures.

Another clause in the preamble to our constitution calls for the exchange of ideas and information which contribute to the cultural, material and technical development of the press of the Americas. We are now prepared to supply, and we have in fact supplied this technical information to certain of our members through the Research and Information Center, which is headed by Mr. John Herbert, who later on will himself report in detail on the activities of his committee.

It is selfevident that the influence and effectiveness of the IAPA depends, first on the number of members, and second, on the continuing interest and participation of these members in the activities of the Association.

I am pleased to report that since our last annual meeting our membership has grown from 302 to 380, the largest membership in our history. While this is good progress, I know that we can do much more. In each of your countries there are many publications that should participate in the affairs of the IAPA. It is in the interests of each of us to get them in. We need these additional members not only so that the IAPA can fulfill its goal of securing a uniformly free press in the Western Hemisphere; it is needed also to strengthen the association's financial position and to allow it to continue and expand its day-to-day services to the membership.

As of August 31, 1954, we had an operating surplus of \$4,195.56, which was approximately \$4,000 less than our surplus the previous year. The final figures for the fiscal year were not available when this report was prepared, but I know that we will end the year in the black, with a relatively small surplus; we will do this despite the fact that a reduction in dues voted at the Mexico City meeting cut our income by \$3,500 and that during the year we paid for the publication of two annual meeting reports— Chicago and Mexico City and had the additional expenses connected with our increased and additional activities.

At a recent meeting of the Executive Committee, Andrew Heiskell remarked "I don't know of any similar organization which does so much for so little." I agree completely with this statement, but the

fact is that we have just about reached the limit of our activities unless we can get additional income. That, I feel, is an unhappy state of affairs for an organization such as our own. There is so much for us to do. Instead of remaining static, we should be expanding and widening the sphere of our activities.

One thing we are going to do next year — regardless of the additional cost which should not be too great — is to publish our monthly bulletin in Portuguese, in addition to English and Spanish. And here I should like to apologize to my friends from Brazil for our failure to have done this previously.

Another thing we must do if we wish to keep the two very able and very loyal people we have in our executive office it to make available to them certain of the benefits which are today offered to employees of almost every business concern in North America.

Again let me say, there is only one way by which we can get the additional funds we so desperately need — and that is by keeping the members we have and by getting more new members. I should like to appeal to each one of you, in fact to every one of our members, as I did in Puerto Rico, to be active in seeking new members, to regard the enrollment of new members as a personal responsibility.

Finally and sadly I must report to you the death of one of our directors and one of our most loyal members, Floyd J. Miller, publisher of the Royal Oak, Michigan, Daily Tribune. He was one of the earliest members of our Association, he had an abiding interest in Latin America and he was active almost to the day of his death in endeavouring to strengthen the bonds of friendship between the peoples of North and South America.

Mr. President, I move that you name a committee to prepare a resolution expressing our sympathy to be sent to his widow and that we stand in silence in respect to his memory."

(All present stood in silence, in memory of Mr. Miller).

The chair appointed Messrs. Raoul Alfonso Gonsé, Herbert Moses and W. H. Cowles to draft the resolution.

In the absence of the Treasurer, Mr. Robert U. Brown (Editor and Publisher, New York), the Manager, Mr. James B. Canel, read the treasurer's report:

Gentlemen of the Board of Directors:

The financial report of the Treasurer covering the period from October 1, 1953 to September 30, 1954, speaks for itself.

Our operating surplus as of this day of \$2,062.97, plus \$1,000 to be repaid to the IAPA by the convention committee, that is, \$3,062.97, is not a healthy financial picture.

Obviously, our Association needs more revenue in order to continue the services it is now giving to its members. This must be accomplished in one of three ways:

1. Higher dues scale, which I do not recommend at this time.
2. More dues-paying members, which all of us can approve.
3. A system of charges for those members who use specific facilities of the association, such as the Research and Information Center.

That latter, in my opinion, should be considered only as a last resort, as I believe this constitutes one of the valuable services which should be available to all members.

Our answer lies in a broader base of membership — members who are not with us today and gone tomorrow, but a growing list of members who are dedicated to our principles and willing to finance this dedication with coin of the realm. Surely, the accomplishments of this Association in the past year, in the single area of freedom of the press throughout the Hemisphere, is justification enough for all publishers to support it.

I wish to add that the balance shown in the treasurer's report will be somewhat larger when a final, adjusted financial statement is prepared for the 1953-54 fiscal year.

It does not show \$1,600 already paid by Brazilian members and now awaiting transfer to New York by the Banco do Brasil. This will increase the actual surplus to \$4,662 dollars.

The expenses during the last fiscal year, by the way, include several extraordinary items, such as certain expenses for the 1952, 1953 and 1954 annual meetings.

The report shows that we started the fiscal year with a balance of \$9,032, but this figure must be taken in the light of the decision at our Mexico meeting to change the fiscal year from November 1 to

October 1. This meant that the Mexico City expenses came under last year's budget instead of the 1952-53 budget.

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements for the period October 1, 1953 to September 30, 1954.

Receipts

Membership dues and contributions	\$ 31,551.91
Other	3.59
	<hr/>
Total Receipts	\$ 31,555.50

Expenses

Salaries	\$ 16,449.29
Telephone	406.54
Telegraph and cable	1,280.79
Office Expense	1,521.65
Convention Expense, 1954	25.86
Convention Expense, 1953	4,754.49
Convention Expense, 1952	1,384.66
Rent and Light	2,066.24
Stationery and printing	4,044.05
Travel and entertainment	2,761.73
Postage	2,087.67
Social Security Tax	149.19
Translations	100.00
Equipment	406.18
Miscellaneous	86.69

Total Expenses	<hr/> \$ 37,525.03
Advanced to Convention Committee (1)	\$ 1,000.00

Total disbursements	<hr/> \$ 38,525.03
Excess of disbursements over receipts, October 1, 1953 to September 30, 1954	\$ 6,969.53
Operating Surplus September 30, 1954	\$ 2,062.97

(1) Convention committee will reimburse the IAPA for this disbursement.

Mr. Lanz Duret announced the appointment of the following committees:

Nominations: John S. Knight, chairman, Leo Permy, William Cowles, Julio Mesquita and Raoul Alfonso Gonsé. Applications and Review: Carlos Lacerda, chairman, Ramón Blanco, Roger Feger. Resolutions: Herbert Moses, chairman; Jorge Mantilla, Marshall Field, Angel Ramos and Ramón Blanco. Credentials: Antonio Ibrahim Haddad, Max Chauvet and James G. Stahlman. Special Committee on Representacion of Pueblo: Guillermo Pérez de Arce, Alberto Gainza Paz and Roberto García Peña.

The president asked the committees to meet right after adjournment of the morning meeting because the Board would have to complete its work in one day. Next day, he explained, would be devoted to a visit to the port of Santos.

Mr. Paulo Bittencourt (Correio da Manha, Rio) expressed the warm and sincere welcome of Brazilian publishers to all visiting delegates. He said Brazilian publishers felt deeply honored and at the same time apprehensive because of the difficulties involved in splitting the meeting between two cities. He expressed the Organizing Committee's appreciation to Mrs. Italia Morayta and Mr. Canel for their help in the preparatory work.

Mr. Jules Dubois (The Chicago Tribune, Chicago, Ill.) submitted an ammendment to the constitution, which was forwarded to the Resolutions Committee, on creation of an Advisory Council formed by former presidents of the Association and former chairmen of the Executive Committee.

Mr. W. H. Cowles (The Spokesman Review, Spokane, Wash.) issued a formal invitation for the IAPA to hold its 1955 convention in Spokane and Seattle. Mr. Cowles described generally the program that would be drawn up, points of interest, climate, etc. He also distributed a brochure in connection with the invitation.

Mr. Roberto García Peña (El Tiempo, Bogotá), said this was the first time he has attended a meeting of the Board even though he has been a director three years, and this explains his appreciation of the warm welcome by Brazilian publishers. He expressed the hope that the Tenth Annual Meeting would contribute to the defense of freedom of the press in the Americas. Otherwise, he said, the meeting would be

useless because today more than ever before freedom of the press is in grave danger. He added a vote of praise for the splendid work of Mr. Jules Dubois in defense of freedom of the press.

Mr. Lanz Duret adjourned the meeting at noon until 3 p. m.

Board of Directors
Sao Paulo, Oct. 4, 1954

President Lanz Duret opened the afternoon session at 3 p. m. and called for the report by the Committee on Applications and Review.

Committee Chairman Carlos Lacerda (Tribuna da Imprensa, Rio) reported that during the year his committee had passed on 72 applications for members. Thirty seven of these were approved at the San Juan, Puerto Rico, meeting of the Board and 35 additional ones were approved by the Board in airmail voting. Nineteen more applications have been received in recent days and are now submitted to the Board for approval, Mr. Lacerda reported. The applications are from the following: "News Tribune", Tacoma, Wash.; "El Día", Ponce, Puerto Rico; "Diario Popular", Sao Paulo; "Anhemi Magazine", Sao Paulo; "The Daily Herald", Provo, Utah; "The Herald Journal", Logan, Utah; "The Idaho Free Press", Nampa, Idaho; "The Daily Chronicle", Bozeman, Montana; "The Daily Inter Lake" Kalispell, Montana; "Correio Paulistano", Sao Paulo; "The Daily Chronicle", The Dalles, Oregon; "The North Idaho Press", Wallace, Idaho; "The Independent Press Telegram", Long-Beach, Cal.; "The Coeur d'Alene Press", Coeur d'Alene, Idaho; "The Daily Chronicle", Spokane, Wash.; "The Washington Post", Washington D. C.; and for associate membership: A. M. Carneiro, representative of R. Hoe & Co., New York; and Conrad Wrosz, Servicio de Imprensa Sulamericano, Rio. Mr. Lacerda said that if these applications are approved membership will stand at 390, an increase of 88 since the Mexico City meeting and the highest total in the IAPA's history. He recommended that the 30 day pre-assembly rule for acceptance of applications be waived. The motion was seconded and passed and the applications unanimously approved.

Mr. Herbert Moses (O Globo, Rio), Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, reported that an amendment to the constitution submitted by Jules Dubois and four other delegates had been approved by his

committee with only one change: elimination of the word "continental" in connection with the United States. He then read the amendment, as follows:

AMMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION

The undersigned members of the Board of Directors of the Inter-American Press Association, in accordance with Article IX of the Constitution, respectfully propose that Article IV of the said Constitution be amended to read as follows:

DIRECTORS

Art. IV.—Section 1: The affairs of the Association shall be managed by an Advisory Council and forty-five directors. The Advisory Council shall consist of the past presidents and the past chairmen of the Executive Committee and its members shall participate in all meetings of the Board of Directors with equal voice and vote as the forty-five directors, but will not form part of the quorum.

The members of the Advisory Council shall sit as members ex-officio of the Executive Committee.

The Board of Directors and/or the Executive Committee may assign special projects to the Advisory Council.

Fifteen directors shall be elected each year for a term of three years. Each director shall be a voting member of the Association. Any member who shall cease to be qualified shall automatically cease to be a director.

No less than one third of the directors at any time shall be identified with publications issued in the Spanish, Portuguese or French languages, which are printed and circulated outside the United States, nor less than one third with publications printed and circulated in the English, Spanish or Portuguese languages inside the United States as well as those printed and circulated exclusively in the English language outside the United States.

Jules Dubois, "The Chicago Tribune".

John Brogan Jr., Hearst Corp.

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

Raoul Alfonso Gonsé, "El Mundo", Havana, Cuba.

The President made clear that under the rules the amendment, if approved, could not be submitted to the Assembly until next year's annual meeting.

Mr. Jorge Mantilla (El Comercio, Quito), said that as a member of the Resolutions Committee he had to ask for certain explanations. He fears that most members cannot understand it through a simple reading. He said it has to do with all past presidents and former chairmen of the Executive Committee elected since 1950.

Mr. Guillermo Martínez Márquez (El País, Havana), suggested that the amendment be mimeographed and distributed and that a vote be postponed. He said he does not like the division of IAPA history in periods of before and after 1950.

Mr. Jules Dubois (The Chicago Tribune, Chicago, Ill.), thanked Messrs. Mantilla and Martínez Márquez. He pointed out that the text of the proposal does not set any date whatever and that it was a slight error when the previous speakers mentioned 1950. He explained that the resolution is aimed at using the experience of previous officers of the Association in connection with special projects that might be assigned to the Advisory Council.

Mr. Leo Permuy (The Trinidad Guardian, Trinidad), said the amendment came as a surprise to him and he expressed his doubts about the wisdom of having an upper and a lower chamber.

Mr. Moses explained the resolution further and Mr. Permuy accepted the explanation.

Mr. Dubois added that there would be no upper and lower chamber. The Advisory Council, he said, would be part and parcel of the Board of Directors.

The Board then agreed to postpone a vote and in the meantime distribute copies of the amendment.

Mr. Moses, in reply to a question from the chair, said two other resolutions had been received and that his committee would report on them a little later in the session.

Mr. Raoul Alfonso Gonsé (El Mundo, Havana), representing the committee appointed to draft a resolution of condolence in connection with the death of Mr. Miller, read the following proposal, which was adopted unanimously by the Board:

RESOLVED. That the members of the Inter-American Press Association, assembled in Annual Convention in Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, during October 4-12, 1954, unanimously place on record their profound regret at the death of Mr. Floyd J. Miller, of the Royal Oak Tribune of Royal Oak, Michigan, U.S.A.

Mr. Miller was a member and Director of the Association from the early days of the organization. He was a keen and valued worker for Freedom of the Press and all other objectives of the Association, and a man who was much loved and respected by members throughout the hemisphere because of his sympathetic personality and abiding interest in the affairs of the Americas. His passing is mourned with a deep sense of personal loss.

tion be conveyed to Mrs. Miller, whose personal charm has greatly

RESOLVED further, that the deepest sympathy of the Association be extended to all with whom her husband was associated, and that a copy of this resolution be sent to Mrs. Miller in token of the high esteem and affection with which her husband was regarded by his colleagues and friends throughout the countries of the Americas.

Mr. Guillermo Pérez de Arce (El Mercurio, Santiago, Chile), reported the findings of the Special Committee. He said there can be no question that the newspaper "Pueblo", of Havana, Cuba, is a member of the Association, but that two persons dispute the representation of the publication in the IAPA. The committee recommends a temporary solution: that the representative attending the meeting — Mr. Francisco Valdés Gómez — be accepted as an observer until Oct. 8, at which time he expects to have in his possession documents proving his right to the title "Pueblo".

Dr. Martínez Márquez proposed that Mr. Valdés Gómez be given the floor to explain his side of the case.

Mr. Valdés Gómez said he had received a letter from the manager informing him that Mr. Luis Ortega, former publisher, claimed the right to the title "Pueblo" and the right to represent the paper in the IAPA. Mr. Valdés Gómez said Mr. Ortega provided no proof to back up his claims. He, on the other hand, he said, has come with evidence which he has submitted to the special committee consisting of the following: A masthead of "Pueblo" showing him as publisher and a cer-

tificate from the publishing firm Mediodía showing that he is President, Publisher and Owner of the newspaper. Mr. Valdés Gómez described the history of the newspaper briefly up to the time when he purchased the stock. At the present time, he added, he has something positive: physical possession of the newspaper. In any event he hoped that by Oct. 8 he would have legal title to the name of the newspaper. Mr. Valdés Gómez said the newspaper appeared under a different name for several years and when Mr. Ortega purchased it he reverted to the original name, but neglected to register the title. The original registration, he said, had expired. When he — Mr. Valdés Gómez — purchased the paper, he said, he was under the impression that he was buying the title as well as the physical assets. Now, he added, Mr. Ortega demands \$7,000 for the title; he was offered \$5,000 but would not accept. Subsequently, Mr. Valdés Gómez went on, he discovered that Mr. Ortega did not have the right to sell the title.

Mr. Permy asked that Dr. Gonsé and Dr. Martínez Márquez give their views on the matter.

Dr. Gonsé said that at the Mexico meeting he was asked whether Mr. Luis Ortega had a right to represent "Pueblo" or not. He replied that until two weeks before the start of the meeting Mr. Ortega was publisher of "Pueblo" but that he had to leave Cuba because of political difficulties. He was not aware of the internal legal status of the newspaper. Now, Dr. Gonsé said, one year later he must report the same on Mr. Valdés Gómez. That is, he is the present publisher and he is not familiar with any internal legal complications that may exist.

Mr. Dubois asked whether a solution might not be for Mr. Valdés Gómez to submit a new application for membership. Mr. Martínez Márquez seconded the suggestion.

Mr. Pérez de Arce insisted on the recommendation of his committee. He said Mr. Ortega had paid the 1954 dues for the newspaper and that when Mr. Valdés Gómez tried to pay also, he was told that the dues had already been paid, because one newspaper could not pay twice. He added that Mr. Valdés Gómez was in agreement with the recommendation of the committee.

Mr. Martínez Márquez said the IAPA cannot recognize a delegate who does not publish a newspaper. He said the Board should recognize

one fact: that Mr. Valdés Gómez is now the publisher of "Pueblo". He added he does not know whether anyone else has greater right to the newspaper, but the fact is that there is only one newspaper "Pueblo" in Havana, and it is published by Mr. Valdés Gómez. He repeated that Mr. Valdés Gómez be allowed to apply for membership.

Mr. S. G. Fletcher (The Daily Gleaner, Kingston, Jamaica), urged the Board to abide by the Special Committee's recommendation.

The committee's recommendation was then approved.

Mr. Angel Ramos (El Mundo, San Juan, Puerto Rico), said on behalf of the Resolutions Committee that certain constitutional amendments suggested by Msgr. Jesús María Pellín were considered by the committee. One of them was approved, but only as a directive to IAPA headquarters. It directs that new members submit a memorandum on their newspapers' activities and tendencies.

The president adjourned the meeting at 5.30 p. m.

1ST PLENARY SESSION
INTER-AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION

SAO PAULO, October 6, 1954

PRESIDENT MIGUEL LANZ DURET (El Universal, Mexico):—The meeting is called to order. The Secretary will now call the roll.

RAMON BLANCO (El Imparcial, Guatemala):—(Calls the roll).

MR. LANZ DURET:—We shall now hear the Chairman of the Credentials Committee, Sr. Antonio Ibrahim Haddad, who will read his report. Before starting I shall ask the delegates the please state their name and that of their newspaper whenever they take the floor.

MR. IBRAHIM HADDAD (Vida Domestica, Río):—The Credentials Committee did not have much work because all the participants have their credentials in order, so there is nothing irregular to report as far as credentials go.

MR. LANZ DURET:—We now have the reading of the minutes of the IX annual assembly of the Association which took place in Mexico City last year. These minutes have been distributed. I ask whether we should read them or accept them without reading.

JOHN R. REITEMEYER (The Hartford Courant, Hartford, Conn.):—I move the minutes be accepted without reading.
(The minutes were accepted without dissent).

MR. LANZ DURET:—We shall now read the communications received.

Mr. Blanco read the following communications:

October, 1954.

Gentlemen:

The Tenth Annual Meeting of the IAPA is profoundly significant in these troubled times. It is a constructive effort so that men, who are in key positions in the contemporary world, each in his area, will draw closer together and join in a constructive climate that is of vital importance to the destiny of humanity.

The Brazilian Press Association is particularly happy to welcome so many prominent figures of the press of the Americas and to see them participate in a frank debate of problems connected with respect for the profession of journalism and, what is more, with the preservation of our culture and our spiritual heritage.

It is therefore with deep pleasure that the ABI salutes the members of this assembly and expresses the wish that the debates, which will certainly take place in an atmosphere of cordiality and freedom, will contribute valuably to the practical tasks of journalists of the Americas, who are tireless fighters in the ranks of democracy.

Herbert Moses.

Santiago, Chile, Sept. 24, 1954.

Señor don Miguel Lanz Duret,
Presidente de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa.
Santiago.

Distinguished President:

On behalf of the newspapermen of the daily "Los Tiempos", of Cochabamba, who are in jail or exile we take advantage of this opportunity to tell you of the profound gratitude of the free workers of our country toward the organization presided over by you; this dynamic organization protested against the vandalous attack and destruction of the newspaper at which we worked.

The organizations established to defend noble principles, such as the Inter-American Press Association, are the only ones that react against the violence of extremist and totalitarian government such as the present Bolivian government, which in order to hide the failure of its policy has to silence its most estimable critics, such as "Los Tiempos", of Cochabamba, the only newspaper which under another

regime defended the persecuted persons who belong to the present government party, the Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario; "Los Tiempos" believed that they, as well as other Bolivians, in spite of their well known doctrine of persecution and violence, deserved respect for the individual and political rights. This attitude brought on persecution and imprisonment, although the government at that time did not close the newspaper and, much less, seek to destroy it, nor to harm the personality of one of the greatest exponents of journalism and Bolivian politics — Dr. Demetrio Canelas, a patrician who withdrew from all partisan struggles and is now considered one of the few serene advisers in political, social and economic matters, and an ardent defender of democracy.

We journalists support, in this manner, the extraordinary work of the Inter-American Press Association, with wishes that its struggle for freedom of information be completely successful.

Juan Pereira Fiorilo. Samuel Mendoza Carvajal.

(From David Michel Torino, "El Intransigente", Salta, Argentina, in reply to a cable from Mr. Reitemeyer inviting him to attend the meeting to receive a gold "Hero of the Press" medal).

I APPRECIATE YOUR CORDIAL INVITATION AND WILL LEAVE FOR SAO PAULO AS SOON AS I AM ABLE TO GET POLICE PERMIT REQUESTED AUGUST NINETEEN REGARDS.

D. MICHEL TORINO.

(Cables from Mexico in connection with the Argentine government's refusal to permit the entry of President Lanz Duret).

ON BEHALF TWENTYTHREE NEWSPAPERS OF GARCIA VALSECA CHAIN THAT ARE PUBLISHED IN PRINCIPAL CITIES OF REPUBLIC I HAVE PROTESTED TO ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT AGAINST REFUSAL PERMIT ENTRY OF PRESIDENT INTER-AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION AS MEASURE THAT CONFIRMS PERONIST GOVERNMENTS POLICY AGAINST FREEDOM PRESS STOP AS MEXICAN AND MEMBER OF IAPA I EXPRESS SUPPORT OF

THAT ORGANIZATION AND OF LICENCIADO LANZ DURET
BY NEWSPAPERS I EDIT CORDIALLY

JOSE GARCIA VALSECA, PRESIDENT.
GARCIA VALSECA CHAIN,

NATIONAL UNION OF NEWSPAPERMEN ENERGET-
ICALLY PROTESTS OUTRAGE AND EXPRESSES SUPPORT
BY PROFESSIONAL NEWSPAPERMEN OF MEXICO

ANTONIO ORTIZ IZQUIERDO,
SECRETARY GENERAL.

(A resolution was read by the Board of Exiled Argentines sup-
porting Lic. Miguel Lanz Duret and suggesting that the "Hero of the
Press" medal be handed to David Michel Torino's brother in Mon-
tevideo).

ON OCCASION GENERAL ASSEMBLY I EXPRESS INVA-
RIABLE SOLIDARITY OF FREE RADIO OF AMERICAS

INTER-AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF BROADCASTERS,

EMILIO AZCARRAGA.

SUGGEST FOLLOW THROUGH CHICAGO RESOLUTION
AND DECLARE YOURSELVES PERMANENTLY INTEREST-
ED CLEARING UP OF ASSASSINATION IN NEW YORK OF
JOURNALIST ANDRES REQUENA AND THAT YOU AP-
POINT A WATCHDOG COMMITTEE MADE UP OF NEW
YORK MEMBERS

PERSIO FRANCO,
DOMINICAN JOURNALIST.

BEHALF PEOPLE OF GUATEMALA AND MINE PER-
SONALLY RECEIVE BEST WISHES FOR SUCCESS YOUR EF-
FORTS

LIEUTENANT COLONEL CARLOS CASTILLO ARMAS,
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF GUATEMALA.

Mr. Lanz Duret: The next item on our agenda is the president's annual report.

Allow me to begin this report to you, on the occasion of our tenth Assembly, with a warm greeting to the people of Sao Paulo who receive us here with their traditional courtesy and warmth. I salute Sao Paulo because among the Latin American people it symbolizes the drive of present day life which, in an irresistible surge, has made of it a city which enjoys, in addition to its marvellous Portuguese tradition, a wonderful blend of races and the economic advances that have become a part of the life of modern nations.

At the same time, Sao Paulo is a union of the men who arrived in America inspired by the greatness of their conquering countries, and of the people indigenous to this land, and of all those who discovered the natural riches of its territory and who pooled their labors and pains in the hope of forging the greatness which this city presently enjoys and which projects itself into an ever greater future.

Among the initial virtues of its people must be included the deep-rooted sense of liberty and justice which keeps them forever rebellious to oppression and which creates, as a goal of their social movements, the establishment of principles guaranteeing that aspiration, which lives in every heart and which is reflected in their national life.

The IAPA arrives at this assembly with the largest number of members it ever had, a total of 390. This shows that with each passing day there is an increasing interest on the part of the newspapermen of America to join the struggle to achieve complete freedom of the press and the guarantees necessary for the free exercise of the journalistic profession. Therefore, it is indeed essential that we continue working, always more united and with increased vigor to achieve in the American continent, the continent of hope, complete liberty of expression as well as all the other liberties for which mankind fights so hard.

The job which you entrusted to me as president of this Inter-American Press Association entailed a heavy responsibility because of the conditions existing in the American countries, which struggle not only for the realization of their destiny in the natural evolution of their people, but against forces foreign to the continent which operate in their midst in a political fashion and provoke internal disturbances, and where the opinion of minority groups, often influenced by such

foreign doctrines, deform the concepts of liberty and justice. Facing that situation, our Association, whose members are an integral part of their respective countries, had to endure perils and compromising situations in order to protect the interests of the states and at the same time the rights of the newspaper publishers of America.

Hard and arduous indeed was the task of defending the members of this group against powerful interests and the forces of the governments. Fortunately I was not alone in this struggle. Each and every one of you have helped to the utmost in offering aid and cooperation. Therefore, it is not my work alone, but the work of all the journalists of good will from the North, the Center and the South of our America who have joined in a common desire to achieve a lasting result, by which the spirit and the individuality of man can claim their just rights.

No sooner had we commenced our work than we had to face the difficult situations, discussed in our last Assembly, which existed in Venezuela, Bolivia, Colombia, Peru, Argentina, Chile, Ecuador and Nicaragua to whose governments cables were sent requesting the re-establishment of constitutional life and of freedom of expression in those cases where they were menaced; cables were sent to Venezuela requesting freedom of the arrested journalists and authority for the return of the banished journalists; to Bolivia asking for the freedom of the imprisoned journalists, the return of those who were exiled and the right to import paper freely; to Colombia requesting the abolition of censorship and the enactment of a statute to establish freedom of the press; to Peru asking that it allow the return of exiled journalists; to Argentina asking the return of the newspaper "La Prensa" to its lawful owners, the dismissal of the court action against this paper; the freedom of its attorney Manuel Ordóñez, that "El Intransigente" of the province of Salta be returned to its owner, Dr. David Michel Torino, and that he be released from jail, that "La Vanguardia" be returned to its lawful owners, and the exiled journalists be allowed to return, and that freedom of the press be reestablished as provided by Article 23 of the Argentine Constitution; to the President of Chile asking that he use his good offices to have the charge of contempt against journalist Alfredo Silva Carvallo withdrawn. A cable was sent to Ecuador supporting the National Union of Journalists (Unión Nacional de Periodistas) and the Ecuadorean press in their demand for

the restoration of the Press Law which was a part of the Constitution in force prior to 1947. An entreaty was made to Nicaragua for the removal of the dangerous and anti-freedom-of-the press clauses in the law then under study.

The Inter-American Press Association, whose constitution established it as a private organization, international in character, must obtain for its proper functioning, the express or implied recognition of the various American governments in order to attain the necessary status and ability to handle, in the most appropriate way, the conflicts and problems which arise, as well as questions concerning the privileges required for its members in each country.

With that purpose, and in view of the fact that it would have been contrary to legal custom to request an open declaration of recognition, notification was sent to the Presidents of the mentioned republics of my appointment as President of the Association for the year 1953-54, so that by their acknowledgement of the notification, we could have an opportunity for communicating with them further.

At the same time we communicated with the Presidents and the legislatures in each country for the purpose of learning their existing laws on freedom of the press and expression, in addition to whatever constitutional guarantees they had, so that we might have a clear view of the legal field which would allow us to know with accuracy and speed, the legal standing of any charge brought to our attention involving attacks on or limitations of freedom of the press.

These solicitations produced promising results, not of a final nature however. Those who will lead our Association in the future will have to continue the job, but a promising beginning has been made inasmuch as various heads of state and legislative assemblies, in acknowledgement of receipt of our communications or in supplying the requested reports, have given it tacit recognition. In this way the Association gained a victory in the international field which enhanced its position as defender of our principles.

This has happened in Argentina, when the dailies in that country have reported on our defense of freedom of the press; it is evident in the answer of Mr. Cándido S. Morales, Government Delegate in the Congress of the Republic of Cuba; of Joaquín Balaguer, Secretary of Foreign and Cultural Relations of the Dominican Republic, Rollando

Latailledé, Under Secretary of state, of the Interior and of National Defense of the Republic of Haiti; Felipe Rodríguez Serrano, Private Secretary of the President of the Republic of Nicaragua; Colonel José A. Remon Cantera, President of the Republic of Panama; José Luis Bustamante and Ismael Bielich of the Chamber of Deputies of the Republic of Peru; and Mr. Jacobo Arbenz, then President of the Republic of Guatemala, who forwarded to us the Law on Freedom of Expression, with out an accompanying letter; the Republic of Chile sent us the Law on Defense of Democracy; Mr. José María Velasco Ibarra discussed with us the cases of "El Comercio", "Ultimas Noticias" and Radio Quito; the Vice President of the Republic of El Salvador made a personal visit and indicated that he would send us the new legislation still under discussion. In the Republic of Honduras President Juan Manuel Gálvez replied by sending the Legislation relative to freedom of expression. In the Republic of Uruguay, Andrés Martínez Trueba, the President of the Council, also replied, and in the Republic of Bolivia the case of "Los Tiempos" was discussed.

In Venezuela, our cable to Colonel Marcos Pérez Jiménez, President of the Republic, went unanswered.

The cable sent to President Víctor Paz Estenssoro of Bolivia, in which request was made for the release of the jailed journalists, the return of the exiled and the free importation of paper, was not directly answered either. However, a short time later an uprising against the government took place during which the revolutionaries barricaded themselves in the building of the newspaper "Los Tiempos" of Cochabamba, property of Mr. Demetrio Canelas, for which he was considered a rebel, jailed and almost executed. As soon as these events became known, the IAPA sent a communication to President Paz Estenssoro, demanding guarantees for Mr. Canelas' life, and subsequently efforts were made to have him released, which was finally done on December 21st. A few days later a message was sent to President Paz Estenssoro requesting that Mr. Canelas be allowed to continue publication of his newspaper and that he be indemnified for the damages inflicted by government forces on the newspaper "Los Tiempos". No practical result has been achieved on this score up to this moment. A condition of Mr. Canelas' release from prison was that he could move only within the country and not go abroad. However, this condition was

subsequently revoked through the intervention of the Apostolic Nuncio, and he is now out of his country.

It is important to note in relation to the efforts of the IAPA in this case, that the government of Bolivia indicated the possibility of interpreting the efforts made on behalf of a Bolivian journalist as an attempt at intervention in the internal affairs of that country, basing its contention on the fact that on other occasions, when journalists were jailed under the previous government, no efforts of any kind were made on their behalf. We know we cannot be blamed for this because at that time the IAPA had not formulated its position with regard to protection of its members against imposed limitations on the freedom of expression.

Regarding Colombia, the cable sent received no direct answer, but the Foreign Minister, Evaristo Sourdis established and later suspended censorship, without repealing it, and subsequently Mr. Jorge Luis Arango, Chief of Information and Propaganda, announced that the Ministry of the Government was engaged in a study of the Press Law to set the conditions under which this activity would be conducted. It is well to note that late in October of last year the first National Press Congress met in Bogotá to formulate a statement regarding the laws in Colombia which limit freedom of expression, inasmuch as President Rojas Pinillas had commented that he was "more concerned than the journalists themselves in the restoration of freedom of the Press, but that it was necessary to consider if such freedom would not interfere with the climate of peaceful co-existence in that country".

With regard to Perú, our cable requesting permission for the return of the exiled journalists was not answered.

Concerning the efforts directed to General Perón, President of the Argentine Republic, our cable was not answered and the request for the return of "La Prensa" to its owners has had no practical result. As for the requested release of the lawyer, Manuel Ordóñez, he was granted freedom subsequent to our appeal on his behalf.

In the case of Mr. David Michel Torino, his properties have not been restored to him, nor has he been compensated for the damages suffered when the equipment of "El Intransigente" was confiscated. After numerous efforts to effect his freedom, this was finally granted to him. I must mention here that my appeals directed to the government

were backed up by a personal interview I had on Jan. 26th with the Argentine Ambassador to Mexico, Mr. Julio de Tezanos Pinto, who agreed to look into the matter of David Michel Torino's release himself during a trip he was taking to his country a few days later. His efforts must have had a bearing on Mr. Torino's subsequent release.

Mr. David Michel Torino informed us, in a communication of April 30th., that the verdict of the first chamber of the Court of Justice in the Province of Salta effected his release because he proved that he did not commit the common crimes which were the basis of his imprisonment, and only the charge of contempt remained standing. We learned subsequently that the legislature of the Argentine Republic tried the judges of the court which ordered Mr. Michel Torino's release, arguing that they had acted outside the law. This action shows a political desire to strengthen the repressive measures which were used against the owner of "El Intransigente". Other reports, however, indicate that various Argentine papers which were closed down have again resumed publication.

Of special importance were the events connected with the Republic of Ecuador. The IAPA had sent a cable to the Vice-President of Ecuador, Mr. Alfredo Chiriboga, supporting the petition of the National Union of Journalists and of the Ecuadorian press that the Press Law in existence prior to the Constitution of 1947 be reestablished. Already previous acts limiting freedom of expression in Ecuador (about which you were informed during the IX Assembly) had caused tension in the relations between the government and the papers "La Hora" and "La Razón", but President José María Velasco Ibarra's later decision to allow the publication of these papers made intervention by the Tribunal of Freedom of the Press unnecessary, because, once the closure order was cancelled, there was no longer a basis for protest. But a new shut-down of the papers "El Comercio" and "Ultimas Noticias" made it necessary to dispatch a message to President Velasco Ibarra on November 14 requesting the cancellation of the closure orders against these newspapers. The reply, couched in not too moderate language, alleged the "impossibility of knowing and understanding, from abroad, the deep and just local reason which the Ecuadorean Government had for defending itself and defending freedom and democracy against the insults of newspapers from all countries, against false and

scheming news contained in subversive articles and against outrages directed at the ministers", adding that "the IAPA, in order not to become an object of ridicule, should rather concern itself with freedom and with preaching to the newspaper profession a little more honesty and respect for the profound rights of the people".

At the same time the Ministries of Government and National Defense of Ecuador handed the United Press detailed accounts of the conflicts which caused the shut-down of these papers, stating that "El Comercio" refused to publish the statements made by these ministries, that being the reason for Presidente Velasco Ibarra's order of closure against the papers as well as against the radio stations.

On November 26th. President Velasco Ibarra expressed in a news conference his reaction to the request made by the IAPA, and which can be summarized as follows: "I am not impressed by the exaggerated statements to the effect that all the radio stations and newspapers abroad will declare war on us. . . . They have created a partisan capitalist solidarity to protest the imposition of sanctions against any paper, whether the punished paper be right or wrong. We are unmoved by the evil campaign that the IAPA endeavours to start against the government, and if the news sent abroad or received from the outside is meant to insult the Ecuadorean government or cause unrest among the people, such news will cease to circulate in the republic as long as it insults the government".

During the conflict the papers which were still publishing gave us their support, endorsing the necessity of freedom of the press.

In a telegram of Nov. 25th. Mr. Reitemeyer asked that the Panama Doctrine be invoked so that we might join forces with the radio stations to achieve wider dissemination and thus exercise stronger pressure. The case was handed to the Tribunal for study and solution.

In order to implement the program planned to help the closed news papers, we initiated conversations with the Inter-American Broadcasting Association and after a series of meetings with the leaders, it was agreed that they would send a separate communication in their name requesting the reopening of "Radio Quito" and "El Comercio", which communication was sent on December 9th.

The Guayaquil and Quito newspapers gave wide coverage to the situation, and the members of IAPA, on their part, did the same,

presenting the problem with complete accuracy, the crux of the problem being that the government wished "El Comercio" to publish certain elucidations, insulting to the press, on statements which the paper had not made, and for that reason Mr. Mantilla felt he was under no obligation to clarify something which he had not published in the first place and which clarification would have been offensive.

Having made the assignment to the Tribunal, invitations were sent to Angel Ramos of Puerto Rico and Luis Franzini of Montevideo to constitute that body. The former accepted and the latter excused himself.

President Velasco Ibarra replied to the Inter-American Broadcasting Association explaining his attitude and promising to study the possibility of authorizing the reopening of "Radio Quito". Augmenting these steps, cables were sent at the request of Mr. Jorge Mantilla which were based on a draft submitted by him, reading as follows: "Learned of your magnanimous good will in allowing reopening of "El Comercio", "Ultimas Noticias" and "Radio Quito" and respectfully declare that IAPA withdraws its petition of December 1st., withdrawing thoughts therein contained, and now express our regard in advance for act which extolls the head of country of free and democratic traditions. The Press of the continent will greet with joy the reopening of the papers with praise for the fine sensibility of the Ecuadorean President". To which the said Velasco Ibarra replied in the following terms: "Those who have obstructed reopening Comercio are men like you, who aspire, with insolence and ignorance, to give lessons in government to a man like myself in matters of a totally local nature and peculiar to Ecuador. You are lacking in omniscience. According to the Ecuadorean law which you invoke in your letter you are a foreigner and have no right to try to subordinate the Ecuadorean government to the lyrical abstractions of the Inter-American Press Association. Reopening Comercio will be for reasons totally Ecuadorean which only the Ecuadorean government and the Ecuadorean people know, with no need of interference on the part of the IAPA, servant of the Capitalist press and completely ignorant of the complex national and local factors which produce this balance between liberty and authority on the basis of justice for the state and the people".

Mr. Dubois sent a telegram from Panama, asking that the "Panama Doctrine" be invoked and that a joint declaration with Mr. Azcarraga be made, which could not be done.

It should be explained that the cables sent to Mr. Velasco Ibarra along the lines of the text suggested by Mr. Jorge Mantilla did not imply a modification of the opinion we hold about those who arbitrarily violate the right of freedom of expression. They were rather a response to the necessity of helping a member of this Association who was in a difficult position due to the attack of which he was the victim, and the conciliatory tone which we adopted at the time was contrary to our thoughts on the matter and unfortunately lent itself to the answers which we received and which, as will be seen, are far from any standards, of decency and education, particularly coming from a head of state.

At the request of Mr. Mantilla, made by telephone from Quito, we sent Mr. Velasco Ibarra, before we knew the answer that he was going to give to our previous cable, another cable on the same date, which must have crossed his. In this latest cable we said: "Inter-American Press Association considers as not written and withdraws its communication of December first addressed to your excellency (stop). At the same time states it was never its intention to offend the dignity of the noble Ecuadorean nation or its head of state".

Inasmuch as we could not believe that the cable signed by Velasco Ibarra had been drafted with his knowledge, and thinking that it was a matter left in the hands of civil servants of the lowest rank, we sent him a letter with a copy of the cable received and expressed our disbelief that it could have been written by a person occupying such a high public office. But to our surprise we received the following reply: "The cable which you copy is absolutely mine (stop) the agents of the IAPA giving lessons on matters which only complicate the situation (stop) you don't have to either congratulate or criticize me on local matters about which you know nothing".

The draft of the second telegram sent, we want to emphasize, was telephoned from Quito by Mr. Mantilla, who believed that it was the only thing that could save the situation.

The problem posed by the publications "El Comercio", "Ultimas Noticias" and "Radio Quito" was satisfactorily resolved and the

irritating situation considered closed, but in spite of the fact that there is no real way of guaranteeing freedom of expression in that country, the Tribunal was ordered to file away the papers bearing on the case.

The cable sent to the House of Representatives and the Senate of the Republic of Nicaragua, in accordance with the decisions taken in the IX Assembly, was not answered.

On December 23rd. Mr. Hernán Robleto of the newspaper "La Flecha" of the city of Managua, communicated with the IAPA to place before us the special situation he faced on his return from the IX Assembly as a result of a criminal charge made against his paper in the courts of Matagalpa. The situation, it appeared, involved nothing more than a manifestation of the general economic pressure being exercised by the government against independent papers because of the fact that the official organ, in addition to receiving government aid, enjoyed a privileged position with respect to the taxes levied against all newspapers in their various activities.

In considering this case, we found that it posed a special type of problem because in that country, as in many others in Central and South America, the newspapers play an important political role in the opposition, which makes them the target of attacks by the government organs. And the papers, for their part, attack the government, not so much in a spirit of independent journalism, but with the partisan purpose of the group to which they belong.

I thought it wise then, and I so informed Mr. Hernán Robleto, to handle his case in a private manner, through the Nicaraguan Ambassador in Mexico, Dr. Alberto Sevilla Sacasa. I therefore initiated talks with Dr. Sevilla Sacasa and obtained from him the guarantee that the newspaper "La Flecha" would not be harassed for any action it took in the exercise of its right to freedom of information and expression.

On November 29th. Mr. Pedro Joaquín Chamorro sent to the Association a clipping from the newspaper "La Estrella" of Nicaragua, dated November 28 th. in which, because of our previous dealings with Velasco Ibarra of Ecuador, certain remarks derogatory to the IAPA were made.

Mr. Chamorro, publisher of "La Prensa" of Managua, complained on Jan. 14th. of this year that a court action was instituted against his paper because it had published the statement of a worker from the

textile factory "El Porvenir" who later retracted his statement. Mr. Chamorro contented that this charge was nothing but a part of a general policy aimed at limiting freedom of the press.

Mr. Jules Dubois presented the case to the Association and it was brought to my attention by Mr. Canel. The circumstances surrounding the case were given, and Mr. Dubois made it abundantly clear that the charge which resulted in the indictment and fine of 101,000 córdobas against the newspaper "La Prensa" represented nothing but an act of intimidation against the paper by the government. This case was handled through Ambassador Sevilla Sacasa, in the same way as the case of "La Flecha" because, through the good offices of the ambassador we avoided becoming involved in a difficult political situation which I knew, from experience, could boomerang, and which consideration induced me to act with more caution than I would under different circumstances.

A great deal of information was received from Mr. Chamorro who also sent many requests to the Association, and Ambassador Sevilla Sacasa, on his part, informed the IAPA on March 23rd., about the irregular political situation in which "La Flecha" and "La Prensa" were placed.

At this point a political act took place in Nicaragua in which Mr. Chamorro and Mr. Robleto were involved. They were accused of participating in a plot against the life of the President and because of this IAPA sent President Somoza a cable as follows: "Inter-American Press Association deeply disturbed news from Nicaragua about charges made against two journalist members of this Association (stop) We refer to Hernán Robleto and Pedro Joaquín Chamorro in whom we have absolute trust (stop) Respectfully suggest to your excellency it will be extremely difficult convince world public opinion that charges are not forms of reprisal against these journalists who not always agreed with your excellency in their editorial comments (stop) IAPA repudiates all criminal conspiracies and considers unbelievable that said journalists would conspire to assassinate Your Excellency and your children (stop). We beg erase impression, however mistaken, that Robleto and Chamorro included in list of conspirators as a reprisal measure (stop) Also respectfully beg that your excellency offer guar-

antees that democratic methods and traditions will be followed concerning Robleto and Chamorro (stop). Yours truly."

From information received subsequently on this matter, I learned that Mr. Hernán Robleto found asylum in the Embassy of Costa Rica and that Mr. Chamorro was jailed when arrested in the act of participating in this plot.

To the cable sent by the IAPA, the following answer was received from the Private Secretary of President Somoza: "President Somoza surprised to receive your cable of yesterday with judgements and allegations in advance and without knowledge (comma) unworthy of representative of IAPA (stop) Journalists Robleto and Chamorro are not now accused by any government official (comma) they are involved together with others (comma) according to testimony of various witnesses, in legal process initiated in constitutional tribunals, which will definitely establish responsibility of said persons (comma) without any intervention on the part of the President (comma) as has been well recognized democratic procedure of his government. Yours truly."

Believing that it would be an interesting source of information, I asked our member Leonardo Lacayo Ocampo, editor of "Novedades" to give us confidential information about the whereabouts of Robleto and Chamorro, the state of their newspapers and the charges against them, so that the Association could act with complete knowledge of the facts.

On April 21 we sent a reply to President Somoza's cable in the following terms: "Pleased to know that your excellency will respect the democratic procedures and traditions in the cases of Robleto and Chamorro, which continue to cause concern to the free press of this continent (stop) Respectfully beg your excellency speed up investigations and disclose findings to press and public soon as facts are established (stop) In this way innocence of Robleto and Chamorro could be established quickly if evidence not sufficient to try them (stop). Yours truly."

In a praiseworthy recognition of the IAPA, President Somoza, through his secretary Felipe Rodríguez Serrano, sent to this presidency extensive information on how events were developing, together with press reports and certified declarations of the authorities in charge of the investigation, our colleague Lacayo Ocampo, on his part, rendered

the following report: "I reply with pleasure to your letter of April 20 in which you request information about our colleagues Hernán Robleto and Pedro Joaquín Chamorro.

"Mr. Robleto has had asylum in the Embassy of Costa Rica since April 2nd and Mr. Chamorro is now under arrest.

"In order that you may have a clear picture of the events, I enclose a section of the issue of "La Prensa", property of Mr. Chamorro, in which his statement is published.

"I also enclose the statement of one of the conspirators in which mention is made of Robleto's collaboration with the conspirators.

"I was the first to regret that two journalists were involved in the plot, but the facts seem to confirm it.

"I must inform you that Mr. Robleto's paper —"Flecha"— as well as Mr. Chamorro's, continue publication.

"You should understand, my dear colleague, that the charges against journalists Robleto and Chamorro are completely unconnected with freedom of the press, which, in spite of any provision of the law which could be considered restrictive, continues to be enjoyed here without any restriction. Very truly yours, Leonardo Lacayo Ocampo."

The difficult situation created by the political character of the activities attributed to our colleagues Chamorro and Robleto, hampered our direct efforts to obtain their freedom, but their newspapers have continued publication. However, our intervention prevented the government's reprisals from resulting in fatal consequences and points up the need for our agreeing on certain standards and criteria upon which intervention by IAPA in these cases should be based.

The truth about the situation in Nicaragua is that there exists a certain amount of government control over the press, a surveillance of newspapermen and a policy of extending special privileges to papers with officialties.

In the Republic of Brazil, the situation as described by our colleague Lacerda during the IX Assembly gave the impression that a special problem existed with regard to freedom of expression, and this impression has been confirmed by subsequent events. The Mexican Ambassador, Manuel Alvarez del Castillo sent a copy of a report describing the difficulties encountered by Mr. Nestor Moreira, staff writer of "A Noite". And in the middle of July information was received

concerning charges made against our colleague Carlos Lacerda of "Tribuna da Imprensa" as well as concerning pressure being exerted against the radio stations, which culminated in the physical attack on Mr. Lacerda by persons connected with the guard of President Getulio Vargas, and which caused the death of a prominent member of the Brazilian Air Force.

In connection with Puerto Rico, there exists a certain amount of political tension which was brought to our attention during the meeting of our Board of Directors. The situation was brought up by the Puerto Rican Association of Journalists and Writers because of the enforcement of Law No. 53, which they considered restrictive, but which presents no difficulties to our members.

In the case of Cuba, the pressure exerted produced the revocation of Decree-Law of Public Order No. 997.

An unusual problem was brought to our attention by Mr. Luis J. Botifoll of "El Mundo", Cuba, but it turned out to be more a problem of private business than a conflict of a public nature and the IAPA saw no reason to intervene.

In the Republic of El Salvador, the government offered, through the President of the Legislative Assembly, who is also Vice-President of the Republic, with whom I talked in Mexico City, modifications of the Press Law of that country which law dates back to 1886, and he declared that the journalists in El Salvador enjoy complete freedom.

The situation in Guatemala presented a critical problem because the government of Mr. Jacobo Arbenz expelled journalists Sidney Gruson and Marshall Bannel. The protests made against these expulsions had no practical results.

Subsequently the various independent newspapers of this country suffered repressions due to the critical situation created by Guatemala's attitude at the Caracas Conference, as well as by the Agrarian and Expropriations Law. This created a tense climate which culminated in the revolutionary movement which deposed the government. Our colleague Jules Dubois, President of the Committee on Freedom of the Press, who was in Guatemala, directly felt this repression to such an extent that the IAPA sent cables asking for guarantees for Mr. Dubois, as well as for Mr. Ramón Blanco and other newspapermen, among them José A. Miranda, who managed to save his life because of our

intervention and who, on July 6th., sent the presidency of this Association the following telegram: "I express profound gratitude to you for your valuable intervention which saved me from torture and death (stop). Appreciation colleagues."

Previously, on July 2nd., the IAPA had sent a cable to the Government Junta of the Republic of Guatemala asking for the necessary guarantees for Mr. Dubois, for Mr. Blanco and for all the journalists who were recently jailed and mistreated while carrying out their studies. The reply was the reestablishment of freedom of expression, for which I congratulated the Junta in a telegram of July 3rd.

Concerning our relations with the Inter-American Broadcasting Association, I regret to inform you that even though the directors of the Broadcasting Association attended the various meetings and conversations growing out of the application of the Panama Doctrine (which it was necessary to invoke in the cases of Ecuador, Guatemala and others) their attitude was rather halfhearted because they wished to assume a conciliatory position, which forced the IAPA to act separately with the energy that each case required, in order to avoid being put in a supplicating position.

In Mexico, the freedom of expression mentioned by the president in our discussion, is actually a fact. However, because the Mexican states enjoy sovereign rights, the conflicts brought to the attention of the Association involved problems between newspapers in some states and their local governments. Of particular interest was the case of a paper in the state of Nayarit. The editor was jailed and when the IAPA intervened, it was proved that the publication, which was not a bona fide firm in the publishing field, indulged in marked vulgarity which required the intervention of the authorities for the good of public morals and order. There were also the cases of two papers in the city of Matamoros, State of Tamaulipas, but these were really conflicts of an internal nature involving problems with workers in which the IAPA had no right to intervene.

My term as President of the Inter-American Press Association has left me with the conviction that the majority of clashes between newspapers and government authorities is the result of the existing economic, cultural and political level of development, a subject which I dealt with in detail in a paper entitled "Contempt" which I delivered to you

separately and which I presented as a lecture at the College of Political and Social Sciences of the National Autonomous University of Mexico on July 16 th, of this year. I discussed some of the important points of this lecture in Puerto Rico, including the absolute necessity of formulating a precise Code of Journalistic Ethics which, duly disseminated, would create a professional conscience to be the standard for freedom of expression and which would allow the determination, in a most equitable way, of the scope of that freedom, in the defense of our members, without violation of the sovereignty of the governments and of the criminal and social laws of each country; but which could be used to strengthen the fundamental principles of freedom of expression for which we have been fighting and which we believe is basic to the progress of society and to the development of journalism on the continent.

On general matters, I must present for your consideration the fact that the office of Certified Circulation, established in our last assembly, has developed complicated administrative problems which this Assembly must solve, because these problems are fundamentally related to our constitution and basic organization. This office, operating within the IAPA, gives it a business character which brings about the intervention of the administrative and fiscal authorities of the country where the main office is located and makes the directors themselves financially responsible, a problem which must be discussed conclusively by the Board of Directors.

I also wish to inform you that during my term the Research and Information Center came into being. This is an important adjunct for the use of our members in solving the technical and administrative problems with which they are faced and we have been able to answer satisfactorily inquiries received from various parts of America. It being a useful service of the Association, it should be strengthened and expanded.

Also, the offering this year of the Mergenthaler Prize was an incentive to the members to maintain the spirit of freedom in the journalistic profession. A committee is acting on the suggestions, received through the general manager of the Association, for the granting of the prize.

For your information, I wish to announce that hardly had the last Press Assembly ended its meeting than two of the members who attended, Messrs. Carlos Septién and J. C. Safley, lost their lives while doing their work as journalists, in an airplane crash while covering the meeting of the Presidents of Mexico and the United States in the ceremonies dedicating the Falcón Dam.

In conclusion I would like to report on the results of my trip through the Americas on my way to Brazil.

The situation in Guatemala has improved and Mr. Ramón Blanco, Secretary of the Association, will report to you on the present situation in that country.

In the city of Managua I had an interview with the President of the Republic and after a long discussion I obtained a formal promise that today or tomorrow Mr. Hernán Robleto would be given a safe-conduct so that he may leave the Costa Rica Embassy, where he is a refugee. At the same time I had chance to talk with Robleto, who already knows of the decision taken.

In connection with Mr. Chamorro, who is under arrest, proceedings are still continuing against him. The newspapers of these two gentlemen are still being published in Managua.

In Argentina, in spite of assurance given by the Argentine embassies in Mexico City and Santiago, Chile, that I would have no difficulty in entering the country I was detained at the airport by four men, who identified themselves as representatives of the Ministry of Interior; they did not allow me to speak to anyone, nor even go to the airport restaurant for refreshment; instead they stayed with me until I boarded the next plane for Montevideo. In Buenos Aires, in spite of the surveillance, I was able to shake hands with Mr. David Michel Torino, but just as soon as we began to talk the four policemen halted our conversation and forced him to leave the room.

As you can see, I fulfilled the promise I made to the association after my election as president to try to go even to the prisons to help our colleagues in distress; I made the trip to Argentina to see one of them and I was also in Nicaragua to see Chamorro and Robleto, who are also deprived of their freedom.

This is all I can report to you and I need only add my appreciation for the confidence placed in me during the 1953-54, period.

(PLOLONGED APPLAUSE).

Now I shall show you the medal which the Association awarded Michel Torino. I shall ask the secretariat of the Association to keep it until such time as it can be delivered to Michel Torino or his successors in Buenos Aires.

It is with great pleasure that I now pass the chair on to a journalist who needs no introduction because he is well known to all of you. Mr. Paulo Bittencourt. (APPLAUSE).

PAULO BITTENCOURT (Correio da Manha, Rio):—Mr. President: I still want to give you this title which has been so brilliantly and efficiently used by you. With my first words I would like to reiterate the pleasure we have in seeing you all here in Sao Paulo and in Brazil and I hope that these days you will spend here will leave you with pleasant memories. Now I have the pleasure of communicating to you that Ambassador Mauricio Nebuco has been kind enough to offer for the use by this assembly a gavel made of Brazilian wood — jacarandá and massaranduba. I believe this is the proper moment because the reports of Jules Dubois are becoming shorter and so I hope that this new acquisition will never have to be used for the purpose that his report has been used in the past. I have been asked by my Brazilian colleagues to make a request to this meeting. It is a request which does not really fall under any of our statutes but we Brazilians wish to show, through a concrete gesture, the pleasure we have in seeing among us a man who is today a citizen of the free Americas, a newspaperman to whom the columns of every American newspaper are open. However, this citizen of the free Americas does not have the freedom of his own country. His own newspaper is closed to him. Brazil is a neighbor of Argentina, and there is an easy border between the two countries. But an artificial moral border has been created, which is difficult to pass. We Brazilians want to point out that between Argentines like Gainza Paz and us there exists no border. Therefore, in the name of my Brazilian colleagues I shall ask Alberto Gainza Paz to inaugurate this gavel at this inaugural meeting. (STANDING OVA-TION).

MR. GAINZA PAZ (La Prensa, Buenos Aires):—I thank you very much for this honor. I consider myself here as in my own home country since I am here with the representatives of the free press of the continent. I accept this job which was given me by Mr. Bittencourt and I realize that the friendship and cordiality as shown by Mr. Bittencourt and the Brazilians is really stronger than our statutes. I should not take this Chair, but I will accept it, and I thank you very much. I now have to nominate the Committees. The Nominations Committee has been established and consists of John S. Knight, Leo Permuy, William Cowles, Raoul Alfonso Gonsé and Julio Mesquita Filho. The Chairman is Mr. John S. Knight. The Resolutions Committee consists of Herbert Moses, Jorge Mantilla, Marshall Field, Ramón Blanco, Angel Ramos, Alejandro Otero and William Pepper. The Chairman is Dr. Moses.

(Dr. Gainza Paz then issued instructions to the Committees).

The meeting was adjourned at 11.55 a. m.

2ND. PLENARY SESSION

Sao Paulo, Oct. 6

CHAIRMAN PAULO BITTENCOURT (Correio da Manha, Rio). Before proceeding with our work I should like to report that we have received a telegram from Mr. Hearst, which Mr. Blanco will read.

RAMON BLANCO (El Imparcial, Guatemala) :—"HAD HOPED UNTIL LAST NIGHT TO BE ABLE TO FLY DOWN TO JOIN YOU AT YOUR MEETING BUT FIND IT IMPOSSIBLE TO GET AWAY (STOP) HEARST NEWSPAPERS ALWAYS WILL STAND FOR THE PRINCIPLES OR BELIEF UPON WHICH YOUR ASSOCIATION IS BASED STOP MY CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU GENERAL LANZ DURET AND THE INTER-AMERICAN ASSOCIATION ON THE WORK YOU ARE DOING WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST JR."

MR. BITTENCOURT :—We shall now hear the report on new members.

RAMON BLANCO :—The list is as follows

Active members: El Día, Ponce, Puerto Rico; Diario Popular, Sao Paulo; Anhembi, Sao Paulo; The Daily Herald, Provo, Utah; The Herald-Journal, Logan, Utah; The Idaho Free Press, Nampa, Idaho; The Daily Chronicle, Bozeman, Montana; The Daily Inter Lake, Kalispell, Montana; The Daily Chronicle, The Dalles, Oregon; The Coeur d'Alene Press, Coeur d'Alene, Idaho; The North Idaho Press, Wallace, Idaho; The Tacoma News-Tribune, Tacoma, Washington; The Daily Chronicle, Spokane, Washington; The Washington Post, Washington D. C.; Correio Paulistano, Sao Paulo; Independent Press Telegram, Long Beach, California.

Associate members: A. M. Carneiro, representative of R. Hoe & Co., New York; Conrad Wrosz, Servicio de Imprensa Sulamericano,

JULES DUBOIS (The Chicago Tribune, Chicago, Ill.):—I move that these members be accepted.

(Motion seconded and carried unanimously).

MR. BITTENCOURT:—We now have the recommendations of the Board of Directors to the general assembly. There are four constitutional amendments, three of which have been printed already and the fourth has been put out in mimeographed form. I shall ask Mr. Blanco to be good enough to read the first.

MR. BLANCO:—Article Three, Section 2 (Paragraph two): “Such applicants may be elected to membership by an affirmative vote of two thirds of the Directors present at a regular meeting where a quorum has been obtained *or by a two thirds vote by mail. In any case all applications must first have the approval of the Applications and Review Committee.*”

MR. DUBOIS:—I move we accept it.

(Motion seconded and approved unanimously).

MR. BLANCO:—Article Seven (paragraph one): “The annual meetings of the Association shall be held *during the month of October*, concurrent with the October 12 birthday of the Americas, *if possible*, at a place determined by the Board of Directors and announced six months prior to each annual meeting.”

MR. DUBOIS:—Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask whether we can understand by this amendment that it is entirely flexible, that the meeting might be held some time in September or at the end of October but that we will not be tied down to a date within the month of October. I make this point because in many places, in many countries, there is always the conflict of national elections, whether they be mid-term elections or general, which makes it rather inconvenient for members of this Association to attend these meetings. Furthermore, there are other meetings, such as the Inland Press Association and the meeting of the Associated Press which also entails a conflict and curtails to

some degree the attendance. I personally would vote favorably on this provided there is enough flexibility for the Board of Directors to decide accordingly.

MR. BLANCO:—I know the reasons there might be for not accepting this amendment, especially because in these days, approximately on October 12, the meeting of the Associated Press will be opened, but our Association should not let its decisions be governed by that of any other association. Since the 12th of October has been established the Day of the Americas, celebrated by all the countries of the Americas as the symbolic day of the discovery of America, we thought, in proposing this amendment, that it would be good to have our meeting coincide as an additional motive for emphasizing the friendship between all our countries. However, if we are going to conflict with the dates of other conferences, I think that we should even tell the Associated Press to change the date of their meeting, to make it later or earlier, but we will hold ours on the 12th of October.

LEO PERMUY (Trinidad Guardian, Port of Spain):—I appreciate very much what Mr. Blanco has said about the "Día de la Raza". I too am a Latin on my father's side. We are not a very old association, such as other groups, to which many of us also belong. But we must remember this: that when we have these various organizations to which some of us belong, which also have their meetings around this time, there must be some flexibility. We cannot get on our high horse and say we insist on it and you all can have the next best thing. We must have flexibility, that is the spirit of the Association. We give and we take. If we were only members of one organization it would be very simple to leave it to the discretion of the directors. I, for one, and I think most of us here, would vote in favor. Thank you.

MR. DUBOIS:—Mr. President, this is my second and last intervention in this matter. I wish to reply to the remarks of my good friend Ramón Blanco. I agree with him that we should attempt to the best of our ability to bring everybody concerned together and that there is no day more appropriate than the "Día de las Américas", October 12. However, my remarks were not designed to make any special case out of the meeting of either the Associated Press or of the Inland

Daily Press Association. I would merely like to observe that these organizations have been meeting on those dates for 70 years and it would be very imprudent to ask them to change. We are a young organization and must build it up. Therefore, we must try to get the greatest possible representation at our meeting. I do not know who the author of the amendment is, but it has been seen from experience that more flexibility is needed. I am for it but ask that this flexibility does not tie us down to October 12th. We would all like to celebrate that day, but I recall that when we had our meeting in Montevideo which ended on October 12, there was no special celebration. We would like to bring the Americas closer together and there is no better means of doing this than through the IAPA and the principles for which it stands. Thank you.

JORGE QUINTANA RODRIGUEZ (Bohemia, Havana):—I should like some clarification as to the six month previous advice mentioned in this amendment. Does it mean that the assembly will not have any voice as to the site of the conference? Will it be the Board of Directors that will choose it without any intervention on the part of the assembly?

MR. BLANCO:—The only part we are discussing now is whether the meeting should be held in October.

ANTONIO IBRAHIM HADDAD (Vida Domestica, Rio):—I would like to comment that we are only trying to have this meeting coincide with the 12th of October, if possible. What happened at Montevideo does not matter much. We must consider everybody's interest and not try to enforce anything which would force valuable members to be absent.

MR. BLANCO:—We are speaking here of flexibility and insight — the weakness of the press in Latin America, but I do not think that in this meeting of the IAPA we should speak of flexibility. Flexible newspaper men do not help either their country or their readers. When I said that the Congress should not be subject to the AP Association meetings or any other organization, what I meant it that although our Association is only celebrating its 10th year, and in spite of its youth there is no reason for it to submit to an old lady of 70 or 100. We

must fight for this Association to remain, and we should say that we cannot help it because someone else is doing this or that. The Latin American, I mean the full American, support must be preserved. The ammendment says, I repeat, that the General Assembly of the Association should be held in the month of October to coincide with the 12th. day of that month, whenever possible, and at a place decided by the Board of Directors and announced 6 months before the date. I am in favor of this amendment.

MR HADDAD:—This could possibly be interpreted erroneously as “it should be held if possible, at the place determined by the Board of the Directors,” and we must alter it so that “if possible” should clearly refer to holding the conference the 12th of October. It is not right that we should be discussing grammar here, but the wording should be clear. It should therefore, say that the General Assembly will meet during the month of October. There can be no doubt in this way as to whether if refers to the date or the place.

JOHN KNIGHT (Knight Newspapers, U.S.A.):—I think the language is a little unfortunate. I think it should read: The assembly should be held the second week of each October, preferably concurrent *with* instead of *if possible*.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—It would be preferable to hold the meething on October 12th because that is the date of the birth of Americas and *if possible* hold it at a place determined previously. But it seems to me that we should postpone this discussion and return the ammendment to committee in order for them to draft it in a more clear manner so that everybody will agree. Because from the discussion of the amendment we have gone on to its drafting so, therefore I submit this suggestion to the assembly.

MR. KNIGHT:—I think the language is a little bit unfortunate, and I suggest the committee might retire for a few minutes, improve the wording and bring it back.

RAOUL ALFONSO GONSE (El Mundo, Havana):—I propose to the Chair that Mr. Blanco and Mr. Knight should be members of the committee which is going to draft the wording.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—Those who are in favor, please raise their hands. This was in favor of returning the amendment to the committee for the new drafting. Mr. Reitemeyer is also a member of the committee. So, I propose that Mr. Reitemeyer should accompany this committee. The meeting is adjourned while these amendments are being discussed.

(After a recess the meeting reconvened at 4.15 p. m.).

MR. BITTENCOURT:—I shall ask Mr. Blanco to read the amendment in its new drafting form and I shall ask him to read it in English, Spanish and Portuguese, if he can.

MR. BLANCO:—The annual meetings of the Association shall be held during the month of October, preferably to concur with the Birthday of the Americas, at a place determined by the Board of Directors and announced 6 months prior to each Annual Meeting.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—The secretary will now please read the third amendment.

MR. BLANCO (reading):—Article Three, Section 3: “Any member failing to pay his dues or assessments during any fiscal year shall be eliminated automatically from the membership list in the subsequent fiscal year. *Such member may be automatically reinstated at the discretion of the Executive Committee following payment of arrears.*”

MR. BITTENCOURT:—This amendment is under discussion now. To the vote. Approved. We shall now pass on to the report of the Research and Information Centre. This as you know is a new and important activity of our Association initiated a few months ago. In the absence of Mr. John R. Herbert I shall now ask Mr. W. Pepper to be kind enough to read this report.

WILLIAM H. PEPPER (The Gainesville Sun, Gainesville, Fla.):—The Inter-American Press Association’s Research and Information Center has been operating only eight months.

It was established as a result of a resolution adopted at the ninth annual meeting of the IAPA last fall in Mexico City. Public announce-

ment of the Center's establishment was made January 29, 1954, by President Miguel Lanz Duret. A total of 22 specialists in the various fields of journalism agreed to serve as members of the Center and Cranston Williams, General Manager of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, has served as advisor to the group.

The Center was formally organized at our first meeting February 25, 1954, in New York. The attendance was good and enthusiasm was high. As a result of this meeting it was decided that the Center should do the following for IAPA members:

1. Provide an information service on newspaper publishing.
2. Make available booklets and technical publications.
3. Publish a book showing how newspapers meet community service obligations.
4. Instigate a seminar for Latin American publishers.

Now how have we done?

The following requests for assistance were received and complied with:

- 3 requests for information on used or rebuilt machinery
 - 2 requests for advice on cost control
 - 1 request for advice on inks to use in ROP color
 - 2 requests for information on reduction of column widths
 - 1 request on circulation promotion
 - 1 request for information on the proportion of revenue from circulation and advertising and systems employed in advertising rates.
- (This latter request was the subject of a survey by the Center among certain IAPA members.)

- 1 request for information on U.S. unions of Spanish linotypists.

Copies of several publications were offered to the Center for distribution among IAPA members. A check list was sent out for members to request the publications they were interested in. Thirtyone members requested all or some of the publications offered.

We have made some progress in our study into the means by which a book on Community Service could be published in English, French, Spanish and Portuguese. We hope to have a more complete report on this later.

As to the seminar idea, we have made a request to Columbia University that it hold a seminar for Latin American publishers at

the American Press Institute. Similar seminars have been held by Columbia for newspaper people from Germany, Japan and Indonesia.

We have been notified that the American Press Institute has the Latin American seminar idea under "favorable consideration" and the possibilities of such a seminar are now being fully explored. We hope to have a final report on this activity soon.

In speaking of the work of the Center this year, your manager, James B. Canel, says:

"Members are enthusiastically taking advantage of the facilities offered by the Center. These requests taxed us to such an extent that we became timid about urging members to write in for assistance.

"Obviously the Center fills a long felt need and should not only be continued but enlarged. I hope the day will soon arrive when we can have a full-time person taking care of the Center."

We should hasten to point out that the Center has operated to date without a budget. The IAPA provided us with stationery and postage and Mr. Canel has given unselfishly of his time to handle the many requests for assistance. The return on such a small monetary outlay has been nothing short of amazing.

In addition to saying a kind word for the work of Jim Canel, we should also add a word of praise for the cooperation of the various experts who comprise the membership of the Center. And a special word of praise should go to the American Newspaper Publishers Association which has made available bulletins and technical information to Latin American members of IAPA. Mr. Williams has demonstrated in many ways the conviction of his organization that assistance should be given anywhere in the world to help the free press.

Every member of the IAPA is welcome to use the services of the Center. We have only one objective: to do what we can to strengthen the free press of the Americas.

John R. Herbert,
President.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—I am sure to interpret the feeling of all in expressing our thanks for the report to Mr. Herbert, read by Mr. Pepper.

It was brought to my attention that one amendment is still up for discussion and I shall ask the Secretary to read it to you so it can be voted upon.

MR. BLANCO:—Constitutional amendment adopted by the Board of Directors Oct. 7, 1953, and distributed among members in the printed minutes of the IX General Assembly.

Article IV.—Section 5: An Inter American Tribunal on Freedom of the Press is established to ensure compliance with objective (b) of this constitution; the Tribunal will be organized and will function in accordance with its own by-laws.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—This amendment is now under discussion. Those in favor please raise the right hand. The motion is approved.

We have another recent initiative, which I think is of great importance, and that is the creation of the Office of Certified Circulation. This Office was organized under the chairmanship of Carlos Mantilla. After the reading of his report I shall ask the members of this committee to hold their first meeting to complete the structure of this important organ. They can use room no. 1 for this meeting. Now I'll ask Mr. Joshua Powers to be kind enough to read the report which has been drafted by Carlos Mantilla.

JOSHUA B. POWERS (Editors Press Service, New York) :—The Office of Certified Circulation was established in April of this year, 18 months after the creation of the Advertising Committee, at the General Assembly in Chicago, for the purpose of finding the best possible means of increasing income from advertising for the member papers of the Association.

The Office was established when the Board of Directors of the Association, meeting in San Juan, Puerto Rico, in March of this year, approved the rules and regulations presented by the Advertising Committee.

Thanks to the kind cooperation of the management of the IAPA, the Office of Certified Circulation went to work immediately. A circular letter was sent to all the IAPA members informing them of establishment of the office and enclosing a copy of its by laws and application blank.

The Inter-American Press has responded enthusiastically to this idea, and to date eight publications have enrolled as members. Further more, five advertising agencies have joined as associate members and have begun to receive the services of the OCC.

The first circulation audits were made in July of this year for the daily "El Espectador", of Bogota, Colombia, and for the magazine "Dominical" of the same city.

The second audit is now being conducted for the Latin American magazine "Vision". The results of these audits are now being widely reported, in accordance with our rules and regulations, in advertising circles throughout America.

It is expected that circulation audits for other member newspapers of the OCC will be made during the next few weeks. The work has been done up to now by the well-known international firm of accountants, Price Waterhouse and Co., which has offices in most of our countries. It has done the job in a commendable manner.

It is the intention of the Advertising Committee to have the OCC establish its own office in New York, with adequate personnel as soon as conditions permit that is, as it develops and its functions increase, and, of course, when it has a greater number of members.

Meanwhile, at the request of the Advertising Committee the Executive Committee of the IAPA agreed that its offices in this city, including its manager and staff, would temporarily handle the functions of the OCC. The Committee wants to express here that it has received from Mr. James Canel and his secretarial staff enthusiastic and devoted cooperation. The success of the organization and the activities of the OCC up to the present time are largely due to this cooperation. Mr. Canel has taken complete charge of the office work with a devotion and loyalty worthy of the applause and gratitude of the Committee.

The financial situation of the OCC, due to this temporary arrangement worked out cooperatively with the IAPA, is satisfactory. Up to now it has had to pay only the essential expenses of stationery and postage, as well as the expenses involved in the printing and distribution of the first reports on circulation distributed for the two above mentioned Colombian publications.

The revenues of the OCC to September 30, amounted to \$2,695.00 and the expenses since its creation in April of this year to

September 30 amounted to \$1,110.99, which leaves a favorable balance of \$1,584.01.

It is to be hoped that with the increase in membership in the coming months, these funds will increase to the extent that the office will be able, during the coming year, to hire an assistant to the Manager of the IAPA for the general office work. Also, with the development of the organization by the registration of a greater number of members, the yearly fees charged the active members could surely be smaller than at present.

For the purpose of establishing the activities of the OCC on a legally sound basis, it has been thought proper to register the office as a legal entity in accordance with the laws of the State of New York, where it is established. It was believed necessary to do this only so that its activities would be within the law, but because the members and officers of the organization would then have legal protection which is essential in certain situations.

The by-laws of the Association, formulated in consultation with a wellknown firm of lawyers, were presented to the appropriate authorities, together with an application for incorporation, early in September. The resolution that this be done was adopted by the IAPA's Executive Committee in August.

This brings us to the point of considering the type of relationship which shall exist between the OCC and the IAPA in the future. Would it be preferable for the new legally established organization to declare itself independent of the IAPA? Or, should it continue its past close association with, or at least an indirect relationship with the Association which sponsored its creation?

Considering the matter generally, and from the standpoint of the best interests of the OCC, it is the opinion of the Advertising Committee that the new organization should maintain, its relationship with and continue to be identified with the IAPA, accepting its cooperation and any suggestions it may wish to make for the success of the OCC, keeping always in mind the particular interests and individuality of each organization. For this purpose, the IAPA should have one or two representatives on the Board of Directors of the OCC, once the latter is legally established, thus maintaining the link between the two organizations.

This important matter could be considered in detail in the first joint meeting to be held in Sao Paulo of the Advertising Committee and the active members of the OCC who will undoubtedly attend the meetings of the Tenth IAPA Assembly.

And in connection with this matter, it would be advisable to take into account the fact that the associate members of the OCC — that is, the advertising agencies and representatives of publications in that membership classification — should also have representation on the Board of Directors of the OCC.

The future activities of the OCC will depend in great measure on the resolutions adopted by the first meeting of the membership this month of October. The Advertising Committee, in whose name I submit this report, will be pleased to continue giving its aid for the success of the Office of Certified Circulation. We expect, in return, a greater understanding on the part of the Latin American publications affiliated with the IAPA, so that, considering the great importance of the OCC in the economic life of our newspapers, they will give it all the aid and backing it deserves.

OFFICE OF CERTIFIED CIRCULATION (April 1, 1954 to September 30, 1954).

Receipts:

8 Active Members	\$ 2,570.00	
5 Associates	125.00	
	<hr/>	
Total	\$ 2,695.00	\$ 2,695.00

Expenses: (1)

Postage	\$ 237.61	
Payroll	52.50	
Stationery and Printing	800.88	
Travel and Entertainment	20.00	
	<hr/>	
Total	\$ 1,110.99	\$ 1,110.99

Balance September 30, 1954 \$ 1,584.01

(1) Of the above expenses, IAPA paid and has been reimbursed for the following:

Postage 4/21/54		\$60.00
Payroll		
4/23/54	\$ 36.25	
9/8/54	16.25	52.50
Stationery and Printing		
5/4/54	52.17	
5/21/54	158.16	
5/21/54	34.76	
6/1/54	23.81	
6/11/54	190.33	459.23
Travel and entertainment		
8/25/54	20.00	20.00
Total		<hr/> \$591.73

MR. BITTENCOURT:—Thank you very much, Mr. Powers, and also many thanks to Sr. Mantilla. The Chair thinks this should be submitted to the Resolutions Committee for a decision.

JOHN R. REITEMEYER (The Hartford Courant):—I move the report be accepted.

MIGUEL LANZ DURET (El Universal, Mexico):—I believe that it is necessary that it be given to the Resolutions Committee because in accordance with the report the OCC is almost separated from the Association, so that the relationship should be clarified.

MR. BLANCO:—I second the motion.

MR. REITEMEYER:—I am not sure that I exactly understand Mr. Lanz Duret's recommendations that the Resolutions Committee be asked to clarify this relationship. If it is why I think it is, it refers to that section of the report which says we must decide whether the office of Certified Circulation is to be absolutely independent or whether it is to operate as a part of the IAPA. At this moment I submit that that is entirely an academic question. We cannot operate separately. The OCC cannot set up a separate office as an independent agency until its financial situation permits it to do so. I would like to suggest that we go along as we are and possibly a year from now this very important question of policy should be decided. At the moment I do not know what the Resolutions Committee could decide, therefore we should go on doing what we are doing.

MR. LANZ DURET:—I proposed that this question should be sent to the Resolutions Committee because the report itself says that the matter of the relationship between the OCC and the IAPA is an important one that should be studied carefully. In other words, we have to decide whether the OCC will be a part of the IAPA or not.

MR. BLANCO:—The problem pointed out by Mr. Lanz Duret is very important. Shall the OCC be independent or dependent? As a member of the Board I received a memorandum from the Chairman of the Executive Committee in connection with the incorporation of either the IAPA or the OCC, I don't know which. I sent my reply

to the manager. In it I said I was opposed to incorporation because I did not believe that an organization of journalists should become a corporation, as for example General Motors or some other corporation. I was told that the incorporation plan applied only to the OCC. And this is the crux of the matter. The OCC is already a profit organization and — I believe I said this in my reply also — its structure would be discussed at this General Assembly. I repeat, the report should go to the Resolutions Committee and we should decide that the OCC has nothing to do with the IAPA.

MR. POWERS:—This is a complicated matter and easily gives rise to confusion. With regard to incorporation there was a discussion at one time, I am sure, as to the advantage of incorporating the IAPA. But that had nothing to do with the OCC. The OCC must be a responsible body and it must be able to make contracts in a responsible manner. It would not be fair if through mismanagement of the OCC the IAPA should be thrown into jeopardy. Because of this, and whether or not the OCC is separated from the IAPA, I believe the OCC should be incorporated. The OCC, in my opinion, should remain in the closest association with the IAPA. Just how the machinery should be worked out will require a lot of thought and study. It would seem to me to be a matter for the Board of Directors, rather than the Resolutions Committee. I believe the fears expressed by the President and by the Secretary are groundless. The incorporation of the OCC would seem to be beneficial to the IAPA. I cannot foresee any conflict.

GERMAN ORNES (El Caribe, Dominican Republic) :—I should like to ask, if the OCC is incorporated as a separate organization, who will be its owner? The organization itself or some individual?

MR. REITEMEYER:—In answer to the question, the members of the OCC will be the owners of the organization. They will elect their own directors and officers. The papers drawn up in New York provide for the election of the President of the IAPA and the Chairman of the Executive Committee to the Board of the OCC. In this manner we can keep a hand on the pulse of the organization. It will be a separate organization with its own membership.

MR. BLANCO:—Mr. Chairman, Mr. Reitemeyer has put his finger on the sore spot. The way that the OCC is set up separates it in practice from the IAPA. The OCC will have its own membership, its own board of directors, its own officers, and its own rules. In other words, it will be outside the jurisdiction of the IAPA. In any event, I have said that the matter should be discussed thoroughly by the General Assembly. Therefore, I believe the report should go to the Resolutions Committee.

MR. HADDAD:—When the IAPA began to grow it was thought it would give the continental press more support in a very important matter: freedom of the press. But at the same time we planned to make the Association a service organization, to help its members in their individual problems; and one of the fields considered in this respect was the problem of circulation audits. However, I believe that everything that is done for the general good and which may have a commercial aspect should be separate from the IAPA, so that there will be no effect on the main purpose: that of defending freedom of the press. On the other hand, these activities should remain within the IAPA until such time as they can be separated. I believe the question incorporating or not has nothing to do with whether the OCC should be part of the IAPA or not. It may be incorporated and separated, as long as the members of the OCC are also required to be members of the IAPA. This applies also to associate members, such as advertising agencies.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—I think this subject has been sufficiently clarified to put it to the vote. First I'll submit Mr. Lanz Duret's proposal that the report be forwarded to the Resolutions Committee. If it is rejected, I shall put Mr. Reitemeyer's proposals, that the report be accepted, to the vote.

(Mr. Lanz Duret's proposal was approved 14 to 10).

ROBERTO GARCIA PEÑA (El Tiempo, Bogotá): — Mr. Chairman. The atmosphere of the Assembly is perhaps not suitable for saying the things which I intend to say. I should like to ask your permission to do so in any case, because I feel this is an opportune moment to discuss these things and to submit them to you as a matter

for thought. It has been many years since I have had the pleasure of being present at a meeting of the IAPA and I am very pleased to see that this Association is growing and becoming stronger and more important. But I also have some fears. I think that we are in danger of becoming too bureaucratic an Association, and I think it is extremely important to think about giving the Association consistently increasing spiritual meaning, slightly more belligerent, so that it may fulfill with greater efficiency the essential purpose for which it was formed, especially with regard to the defense of the freedom of the press. The work done, in reality, is really admirable, especially the work of the President. His report read this morning was a fine one with fine plans. I really have no observations to make either on that report or on the work of the President. But I cannot ignore either the very fine work done by Mr. Dubois, who is a sort of a traffic policeman for the freedom of the press. Whenever there is danger of an accident he is always there either in person or with a message; but his work is individual. We need to create a real sense of permanent solidarity not only as regards defending the freedom of the press but also in relation to the problems of the freedom of the Americas. We are directors of public opinion in American countries and it is therefore our duty to carry out the work, and especially the work which tends to guarantee the assurance of that solidarity of which we speak so much and of which we see so little. I think Mr. Chairman, that this Assembly can and must fulfill a great work. I do not know, because I am not so familiar with the rules, whether some amendments might not be proposed for discussion at this time. I should like, for example, that whenever an attack against the freedom of the press occurs, there should be an immediate collective action so that the Panama Doctrine should be really effective. For example I will cite a case, not as personal matter, but because it is obviously an important case. Two years ago an attack occurred against two great American papers, "El Tiempo" and "El Espectador" of Bogotá. It was a criminal attack not only against the freedom of the press, but also against America. On that day I was in New York, for personal reasons, and I went to the IAPA office and found there a very cordial echo of those feelings in Mr. Tom Wallace, who immediately sent an enthusiastic message to Bogotá protesting. This work was isolated. There should be in such cases, an immediate

meeting of the Board of Directors which should act immediately as a body. Possibly, the Tribunal on Freedom of the Press should meet at the same time and should designate a joint committee. These are ideas which I have and which have not been included in any draft and which I should like to leave for you to think over. What I really want to suggest is that this Association which is all the newspapers of America should not just become an organization for international tourist travel. Let us make this a true instrument for the freedom of the press, respected, and if we do so we shall have assured the prestige which will always follow. That is all I have to say. (APPLAUSE).

MR. BITTENCOURT:—Thank you very much for the eloquent words you have spoken. It is evident that what you have said is very much in the hearts of all the members of this association, though it is not always easy, in fact it is always difficult, to put into practice the ideals in which we believe. But as regards beligerence, this Association has a good deal, as you will see from the telegrams read this morning by our Secretary. The cables sent to various Governments show that what we lack is not beligerence, but perhaps some other virtue. I cannot believe that we deserve this criticism. However, the words which were spoken are fit to inspire us and command our respect for the interest which they show in the freedom of the press. If nobody else wishes to speak I shall adjourn the session until tomorrow at 10:00 a. m.

(Meeting adjourned at 5:15 p. m.)

3RD PLENARY SESSION

Sao Paulo, Oct. 7, 1954

MR PAULO BITTENCOURT (Correio da Manha, Rio)
Called the meeting to order at 10:25 a. m.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—The first item on today's agenda is the report of the Committee on Newsprint. I therefore give the floor to Guillermo Martínez Márquez, chairman of the Committee.

GUILLERMO MARTINEZ MARQUEZ (El País, Havana):—In contrast with the serious conflicts which have risen during the year in most of the countries of this hemisphere with regard to freedom of speech, the problem of newsprint has not had much attention. Consequently, it is not surprising that our friend Jules Dubois' report has held the interest of the meeting for several hours, whilst the report on newsprint will barely hold our interest for fifteen minutes.

We cannot say that in 1954 it has been possible to reduce even by one cent the item representing newsprint on the publishers' budgets, but it would not be true to say, either, that our problems in this connection have increased. The Canadian mills have continued to increase their production. During the first quarter, that increase was 3.9% greater than for the corresponding period in 1953. By the end of the first half of the year this increase had reached a new level, when it rose to 4.2% more than production in the first six months of 1953. The demand also, speaking generally, has tended to increase, and we should add that distribution has been fairly well balanced. As to prices, we can state that they have been kept firm, at the high level reached early in 1953.

As to the supply of newsprint, we have had a relatively quiet year, if one forgets the predictions which were made about the repercussions some strikes in Canadian mills would cause, which fortunately did not

occur since the strikes were settled without seriously affecting the market. However, we should bear in mind that the general situation is far from satisfying the legitimate needs of the Press, which is trying to fulfill its democratic mission of informing and guiding the greatest possible number of free men.

In other words, the present stability must not be considered the desired norm, which will only be attained when the price of newsprint permits us to constantly increase the circulation of our publications.

2

THE GREAT PROBLEM OF OUR TIMES

The greatest problem of our times is to prepare humanity for a better world. To solve this problem many international agencies have been created, and their number is increasing daily. Some deal with feeding the hungry; others are engaged in educating and training the men of tomorrow; all have the noble purpose of raising living standards in food, in hygiene and in culture — in the more backward countries of the world.

The enormous differences of living conditions in different parts of the world are hard to believe. Not long ago, UNESCO published the number of illiterates, whose existence is the greatest shame of our generation, and who form the most fertile field for the destructive work of demagogues. Only a month ago, the FAO magazine mentioned the differences in paper consumption in various parts of the world. The figures given are really interesting in relation to our work, and we quote part as follows:

“In the last forty years, the world consumption of paper has increased fourfold. Today, we are manufacturing and using about fifty million metric tons of paper and paper products each year. About 86% of that colossal amount is being used by only 23% of the world's population — in Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand. Those countries use an average of 71 kilogrammes, or 150 pounds of paper per capita each year. The rest of the world — the Near and Far East, Latin America and Africa — consumes very little more than 2 kilogrammes, or five pounds, per capita per year.”

Naturally, paper consumption is directly related to the economy and culture of the countries. But for that very reason, now that the leaders of humanity are trying to raise the living standards of all free men, it becomes more urgent increase the production and reduce the cost of printing paper. UNESCO for example, clearly understood this problem of our times and wrote to the Member Governments asking them to redouble their efforts to increase the production of paper. "What is the use" the Director of Unesco wrote in his dramatic appeal, "of teaching the illiterate to read, if afterwards we do not have the paper on which to write for their information and guidance, or if they do not have the money to buy the democratic and cultural literature which it is our obligation to supply to them?"

3

LATIN AMERICA NEEDS CHEAPER PAPER

A clarification is called for, the stable supply of newsprint which we mentioned at the beginning of this report, does not result, in Latin America, from the same causes as it does in the United States and Canada. Whilst in the northern half of the continent the balance is a natural phenomenon, which could almost be called saturation, in the rest of the hemisphere, the demand is unnaturally reduced by the economic imperative of price.

In the Newsprint Committee's report, presented to the 8th General Assembly of the IAPA which met in Chicago two years ago, the present situation was foreseen with extraordinary clarity, as the following quotation shows:

"By the way prices are rising, it is almost sure that we will soon be able to balance production and consumption. But we should not be joyful at achieving this balance, which is only reached at the sacrifice of the essential purpose of the press in modern democracies."

The result is here, and it could not be more lamentable: the balance has been attained. And in spite of this, Latin America figures in the FAO report on a par with the East and Africa, as one of the regions which consumes least paper per capita per annum.

The reality could hardly be more unpleasant or more unjust. Latin America needs more and more newsprint, more and more printing paper. There is no other way to satisfy this need, as we have already said, than by reducing the price.

4

CANADA CANNOT REDUCE ITS PRICES

Is it not logical, however, to think that the solution lies in asking the producers to reduce their prices? Canada for example, which produces more than half of the world's consumption of newsprint, has in the last few years, and still does, make tremendous efforts to solve the problem. And we must agree that they have succeeded, at least for those who depended on its powerful paper industry. The stability mentioned in this report is due, almost entirely, to the increased Canadian production.

But, parallel to its paper industry, Canada has been developing other industries tremendously during the last few years. The standard of living has naturally improved as a result of this economic development. And their newspapers have of course also had to be increased in size and circulation several times.

As a result, it is easy to see that Canada cannot now, nor will be able to in the next few years, reduce the price of its newsprint. And from another point of view, its nearness to the United States facilitates the sale of all its present production, and of any increases in that production which may be effected in the next few years.

Further, the very price of that paper is higher for customers at greater distances, who have to pay freight, insurance and handling at very high rates, and who must add even to the high prices which result the almost insupportable differences caused by currency exchange rates.

For example, the price of a ton of newsprint, made in Canada, is US\$126.00 in New York, while the same product, with increased freight, etc., would cost the Texas editor US\$140.00, the Cuban editor US\$150.00, the Bogotá editor US\$200.00, and editors in the southernmost countries of the continent perhaps more than US\$250.00.

It is the cost of transport, and the unfavourable exchange, which are putting Canadian newsprint further from the reach of Latin American editors who wish to expand their publications.

PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION ZONES

Three years ago, at the 7th General Assembly of the IAPA which met in Montevideo, the Newsprint Committee established a clear criterion: to avoid the extra cost of transport and unfavourable exchange it was necessary to establish production and consumption zones in Latin America.

With this criterion in mind, ECLA, FAO and UNTAA established a Latin American panel of experts on the paper and cellulose industry, who will meet very shortly in Buenos Aires.

In their explanation of the motives for that meeting, the United Nations agencies just mentioned say:

"Latin American annually consumes 1,500,000 metric tons of paper, of which some 400,000 tons are newsprint, which is only manufactured in four countries: Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Mexico, and even these only produce some 24% of their internal consumption. Although in the last fifteen years Latin America's production of paper has been doubled, the region imports more than two fifths of the paper and cardboard it uses, and nearly half of the cellulose needed for its paper industry. . . . This dependence on foreign production has caused the rhythm of paper consumption in Latin America to be slower than would be expected from the increasing income per capita of its inhabitants."

"Looking to the future, it is disturbing to think that an adequate increase in Latin America's paper consumption represents a demand which, as far as we can see, could not be satisfied by the countries which traditionally have supplied the world with paper and cellulose especially when we consider that these countries also have to satisfy a greatly increased internal demand, and that they are using forest resources which little by little are reaching their maximum possible economic yield. Further the studies made by ECLA and the FAO show that even if imports are maintained at the present level, and all the mills which are planned for Latin America are built, there would still be a considerable deficit in the supply, which would inevitably tend to make the paper inferior in quantity to the needs of cultural and economic progress for the region."

In the basic work of the panel of experts which will meet shortly in Buenos Aires, some national organisms from the various Latin American countries will cooperate with the FAO and ECLA, such as the Argentine General Board of Manufacturing Industries, the Brazilian National Economic Development Bank, the Colombian Institute for Industrial Development, the Chilean Corporation for the Development of Production, the Mexican National Financial Corporation, and the Venezuelan Development Corporation.

PLANS AND PROJECTS

In a report made on a recent study by the United Nations, the Bulletin of the National Council on Foreign Trade, located in New York, published about the middle of this year some data of great interest for the future of the paper industry. According to that document there exist in Latin America some 190 factories which produce some 375 million pesos' worth of paper annually. Four countries, Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Mexico, produce 86% of that total. However, according to the figures we have studied, Latin America still imports more than 44% of the paper it needs, in a total of 600,000 tons and with a value of approximately 225 million dollars. The report itself states that, though the annual consumption in Latin America amounts to one million four hundred thousand tons, it is hoped that during the next few years the demand will reach three million tons.

Among the new projects for the installation of paper mills in Latin America, the following should be noted, at least in passing:

In Brazil, the Ministry of Agriculture has announced the plans for the construction of two paper mills which will be able to produce, jointly, nearly one hundred thousand tons each year. Those plans envisage the use of tropical wood.

In Chile a paper mill is being built near Concepción, which will be able to produce 44,000 tons per year, and which will use pine wood (pines insignes) as raw material.

In Mexico a plan has been announced for the construction of a paper mill, at a cost of four and a half million dollars, which will be located at Xicotencatl, Tamaulipas, and have an annual production of 30,000 tons. This mill will use sugar cane waste for raw material.

Also in Mexico, paper manufacturing machinery has just been installed in the San Cristóbal cellulose plant, near the Capital. Here also sugar cane waste will be used as raw material.

In Venezuela, Casa Vollmer plans the establishment of a paper mill, using sugar cane waste, near San Mateo in the State of Aragua.

In Colombia the Institute for Industrial Development is studying the possibility of installing a paper mill in the Magdalena River valley, making use of the tropical wood of the region.

In Perú the construction of a paper mill in Pucallpa is being studied and planned, for an estimated annual production of 18,000 tons.

Finally, in Cuba the Bank for Agricultural and Industrial Development continues to study the installation of a paper mill according to the process devised by Engineer Joaquín de la Reza, which mill would use sugar cane waste as raw material. Also, Mr. Jesús Azqueta, who has patented the idea, plans to build a paper and pulp mill, using waste as raw material, in the region of Cienfuegos, in the Province of Las Villas.

7

CONCLUSIONS

Reiterating what we said in our previous report, we should feel satisfied. Doubly satisfied, on the one hand for the progress achieved to date, and on the other for the plans and projects which are being developed and lead us to hope for even better results in the future.

Stability or balance between demand and production cannot, be considered as a sign of improvement, since, as we have already stated, it has only been achieved at the expense of the mission which all publishing houses in democratic countries have, which is to inform and guide the greatest number of people possible.

But the interest which some of the international agencies, such as ECLA and the FAO, have shown, should serve as a stimulant.

In 1950, when the General Assembly in New York first appointed a Committee to study the problems raised by the shortage and high price of newsprint, it was not possible to foresee the end of the crisis. At present, in spite of the difficulty of the work, the picture is

much more clear, and above all, much more promising for the future. In short, there is an indisputable truth: it has been us, the press of this hemisphere, both North and South, written in English, Portuguese, Spanish and French, which has made the greatest effort day after day, edition after edition, to shout aloud the need for a solution to this problem.

That is why - through what has been achieved and what is about to be achieved though our efforts - that we should feel satisfied.

8

PROPOSED RESOLUTION

Considering: That the United Nations Agencies Economic Committee for Latin America (ECLA) and Food & Agriculture Organization (FAO) have given further proof of their interest in collaborating in the solution of problems rising from the shortage and high price of newsprint in our hemisphere;

Considering: That the paper industry of Canada has continued its policy towards the increase of newsprint production which has contributed directly to the alleviation of that shortage in past years:

Considering: That the publicity given by the members of the Inter-American Press Association has contributed effectively to making Governments, industrialists, bankers and international agencies aware of the paper problem in our hemisphere;

Considering: That the members of the Inter-American Press Association have the right to be informed of all measures which could contribute to the final solution of the problem caused by the high price of newsprint.

The under signed Delegate puts before the consideration of the General Assembly the following

PROPOSAL

First: That a communication be sent to the Latin American Committee of Exports on the Paper and Cellulose Industry, which is under the auspices of the ECLA, the FAO and the United Nations Technical

Assistance Administration (UNTAA), which will meet shortly in Buenos Aires, stating our acknowledgement of their interest and their efforts towards the solution of the problems raised by the scarcity and high price of newsprint in Latin America.

Second: That we reiterate to the Newsprint Association of Canada our gratitude for their decisive contribution to the stability of the supply of newsprint for the newspapers of Latin America.

Third: That we maintain in operation the Permanent Committee created at the Montevideo Meeting, and ratified at the Chicago and Mexico City Meetings, and charge that Committee with continuing the study of the problems related to newsprint supply, and with carrying out — after the statutory consultations with the Executive Committee and the Board of Directors — the measures which they believe will lead to the total or partial solution of the problems raised by the shortage of newsprint.

Fourth: That this Permanent Committee be specially charged with maintaining contact with the members of the Association located in countries where steps are being taken for the establishment of new paper mills, so as to inform the other members of the Association of progress made in this direction through periodical announcements in the Bulletin, which publicity, while stimulating the creators of the new industries to greater efforts, will also encourage others, to follow their example.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—Before taking the vote on the proposal of Mr. Martínez Márquez, I believe we should express our thanks and congratulations for the clarity of his exposition. We shall now vote on Mr. Martínez Márquez proposal. If nobody wishes to discuss it, please raise your right hand. Approved.

We shall now come to the report of the Scholarship Committee. I ask Mr. William Cowles to read this Report.

MR. WILLIAM H. COWLES (The Spokesman-Review, Spokane, Wash.):—The Scholarship Committee of the Inter-American Press Association from which you received a thorough report last year in Mexico City comes to you now with much enthusiasm. The initial steps have been taken to remove the overwhelming handicap which a complete lack of funds imposed.

In line with the recommendation of the Scholarship Committee at the midwinter meeting of the Board of Directors at Montego Bay, Jamaica, March 28, 1953 the Executive Committee has voted to have the attorneys for the Inter-American Press Association, Olwine, Connelly and Chase, take the legal steps necessary to set up a Scholarship Fund to be administered by the Board of Directors of the IAPA. This is a complicated job which will not be finished immediately, but it means that probably within a year the Inter-American Press Association will have a carefully worked out procedure for safely receiving and disbursing money designated by the members to be used for scholarships or received from any other approved source. It is the belief of your Scholarship Committee that this fund can be built up by voluntary subscriptions from members to a level where the members will be proud of the benefits to mutual understanding between South, Central and North American countries growing out of the Inter-American Press Association scholarship program.

The Scholarship Committee has explored various unfinanced programs as outlined in last year's report. It has reached the conclusion that nothing within the field of IAPA scholarships which would be of enduring constructive nature can be accomplished without money from the Inter-American Press Association or its individual members. Consequently, it is the recommendation of the Scholarship Committee that the members authorize the Scholarship Committee to solicit voluntary subscriptions to the Scholarship Fund from the members.

Subscribers would be of three classes: (1) Capital Subscribers, (2) Sustaining Subscribers, and (3) Capital and Sustaining Subscribers. Capital Subscribers would be those who would make a lump sum subscription of an amount not less than one year's IAPA dues. Sustaining Subscribers would be those who would make a continuing annual subscription of an amount not less than 10% of the current year's IAPA dues by authorizing the IAPA to send them a bill annually for the additional amount at the time they are billed for their regular annual IAPA dues. Capital and Sustaining Subscribers would be those who make both capital and sustaining subscriptions. All subscriptions would be permanent gifts to the Scholarship Fund and would not be refundable to the subscriber in the event his membership in the Inter-American Press Association were terminated.

In order to protect the financial stability of the Scholarship Fund, it is the recommendation of the Scholarship Committee that in administering the Fund, the Board of Directors place all Capital Subscriptions and 50% of Sustaining Subscriptions in an endowment fund and limit annual expenditures to the sum of the interest from the endowment fund and the remaining 50% of Sustaining Subscriptions.

The Scholarship Committee offers the following resolution to the Committee on Resolutions:

Whereas: The attorneys for the Inter-American Press Association have been instructed to take the legal steps necessary to set up a Scholarship Fund to be administered by the Board of Directors;

And whereas: It is expected that within a year the Inter-American Press Association will have a carefully worked out procedure for safely receiving and disbursing money designated by the members to be used for scholarship;

Now, therefore, be it resolved: That, as soon as the Scholarship Fund is set up, the Scholarship Committee with the assistance of the Manager of the Inter-American Press Association will solicit from the members voluntary subscriptions to the Scholarship Fund and that subscribers will be divided into three classes, namely: (1) Capital Subscribers (those who make a lump sum subscription of an amount not less than one year's dues to the IAPA); (2) Sustaining Subscribers (those who make a continuing annual subscription of an amount not less than 10% of the current year's dues to the IAPA); and (3) Capital and Sustaining Subscribers (those who make both Capital and Sustaining subscriptions).

Respectfully submitted,

THE SCHOLARSHIP COMMITTEE OF THE
INTER-AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION.

HARRY B. MURKLAND,
"Newsweek"
New York, N. Y.
U. S. A.

DR. HARMODIO ARIAS,
"Panama America"
Panamá,
R. de Panamá.

W. H. COWLES, Chairman,
"The Spokesman-Review"
Spokane, Washington.
U. S. A.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—Our thanks to our fellow-delegate, William Cowles, for the report which he has presented. The proposal contained in it will be forwarded to the Resolutions Committee. Mr. Miguel Lanz Duret will now render the report of the Inter-American Tribunal on Freedom of the Press.

MR. MIGUEL LANZ DURET (El Universal, México):—The Inter-American Tribunal on Freedom of the Press was installed during the period of October 1953 to October 1954 on the request of Mr. John R. Reitemeyer, who submitted situations affecting freedom of the press in Ecuador, to wit, the attacks that had occurred on the newspapers "El Comercio" and "Ultimas Noticias" of that country; Messrs. Angel Ramos of Puerto Rico and Luis Franzini of Montevideo were invited to form part of the Tribunal; Mr. Ramos accepted and Mr. Franzini asked to be excused; at the very beginning the proceedings had to be suspended because the order closing the two newspapers was revoked by President José María Velazco Ibarra, of Ecuador.

Since no other cases were submitted, the Tribunal was inactive during the year.

MR. RAMON BLANCO (El Imparcial, Guatemala):—A vote of thanks to Mr. Lanz Duret for a very excellent and brief report.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—Is the vote for the brevity or for the activities shown in the report. We shall now hear the Report of the Ethics Committee. Mr. Franck Magloire, a member of the committee, will read the report on behalf of the chairman, Mr. John O'Rourke.

MR. FRANCK MAGLOIRE (Le Matin, Port-au-Prince):—A memorandum from President Lic. Miguel Lanz Duret to the Board of Directors copies of which were sent to your committee, suggested some of the problems involved in formulating a Code of Ethics which would be both just, and capable of practical application to journals

published in the widely differing social, political and economic climates existing in the nations of this hemisphere

Conscious of the problems involved, señor Lanz Duret nevertheless said: "I have thought it of fundamental importance to the life and prestige of the Association to draft a minimum Code that would define a concept of professional journalism and would serve as a basis for a completely fair interpretation of facts submitted to the members of the Association."

At the risk of incurring vagueness, said Sr. Lanz Duret, I have tried only to draft general concepts, based on universally observed rights, including minimum human conditions that can be demanded in the relationships of professional journalism, and which will make possible the exercise of a journalism that will dignify the profession and give voice to public opinion that is expressed with the proper respect for social practices, the human rights of the individual, and the interests of the concerns dedicated to this activity.

President Lanz Duret's suggestions formed the basis for the following Code; in fact, the entire Code is his, just as he wrote it, except for minor deletions which your committee felt would help to bring the Code more closely in line with the intentions of the Association, as outlined in the Constitution.

MORAL CODE OF JOURNALISM

1. The function of all newspapers is to reflect the social conditions of the areas in which they are published, with the purpose of contributing to the economic and cultural development of the country's social groups.

2. In order to achieve this end, newspapers must always publish the truth.

3. Since the material and cultural life of peoples necessarily implies dealing with human relationships in which the concept of truth is a matter of opinion, any truth that is not based on facts, but rather on interpretations, must be expressed with a spirit of justice.

4. Since the function of journalism is of a social character, respect for truth and the fair interpretation of human rights must be inherent; but freedom to express thought shall have no other limita-

tions than the right to privacy and public morality, complying with the customs derived from the culture of which it is a part.

This Code is consonant with the creed which formed a part of a speech delivered by the editor of "La Prensa" of Buenos Aires on the occasion of the newspaper's 56th. anniversary. This creed also formed a part of the deliberations of the First Pan American Congress of Journalism in 1926, and was resubmitted, approved and adopted at the 1950 meeting of our own Inter-American Press Association. This creed follows:

"Whereas this conference has adopted a charter reiterating the principles for a free press and whereas vigilance must be exercised lest the privileges of a free press are abused,

"Be it resolved that this conference reaffirms the creed adopted at the First Pan American Congress of Journalism in 1926 reading:

"To report with accuracy and truth, not to omit anything that the public has a right to know; to use always an impersonal and correct form without prejudice to vigorous and honest criticism; to exclude rumors and stories based on such phrases as "it is said" or "we are assured", and to publish only what is a conviction built on proofs and documents; to consider that the lack of a news item is preferable to its erroneous or unjustified publication; to take care that the personal opinion of the writer is not expressed, because that would be equivalent to commenting on the news, and the reporter must not invade the field reserved to other sections of the newspaper; to remember, before writing, how powerful is the instrument that the writer is using and that the harm caused to an official or private person can never be completely repaired by an explanation or rectification, in however gentlemanly a spirit this may be given; to keep to serene and elevated ground in debate and not to affirm anything today that we may have to modify tomorrow; and finally, to inscribe in letters of gold in a prominent place, always in sight on our desks, the words of Walter Williams, that outstanding North American servant of the press: "No one should write as a journalist that which he cannot say as a gentleman".

MORAL CODE OF JOURNALISM

(As originally suggested by señor Lanz Duret)

1. The function of all newspapers is to reflect the social conditions of the areas in which they are published; with the purpose of contributing to the economic and cultural development of the country's social groups.

2. In order to achieve this end, newspapers must always publish the truth.

3. Since the material and cultural life of peoples necessarily implies dealing with human relationships in which the concept of truth is a matter of opinion, any truth that is not based on facts, but rather on interpretations, must be expressed with a spirit of justice, and within the framework of the Rights of Man as described in the Charter of the United Nations, wherein are expressed the philosophic aims of the human species and the will of mankind in connection with human relationships.

4. Since the function of journalism is of a social character, personal cases must be avoided.

5. The respect for truth and the fair interpretation of human rights are inherent in the activities of journalism; freedom to express thought shall have no other limitations than the right to privacy and public morality, complying in this latter respect with the constitutional laws of each country and the customs derived from the culture of each social group.

6. Periodicals that are aware of their general purpose should not act on behalf of any political or social creed, whether it be of the majority or the minority, because they will then have abandoned their mission in order to become instruments of particular interests; in this event they must assume personal responsibility for the result of their behavior.

MR. DUNSHEE ABRANCHES (Jornal do Brasil, Rio):—
Mr. Chairman. I beg to express great admiration for the work, or rather the paper, we have just heard and which reinforces in my spirit the magnificent impression which was left on our minds by the reading of

the Report of President Lanz Duret. I feel sure that the contribution he has made to this Tenth Annual Assembly of the IAPA is one of the most important. Secondly, it seems to me important that in the freedom of the press it is a fact that every right must include obligations and quite adequately the statutes and rules of our Association include aims which make effective the stability and responsibilities of journalism, parallel with its rights. Therefore I wish to express my entire approval of this code. In Brazil we have also given much attention to this problem. In order to collaborate with this proposal it seems to me in item 3 the wording could be clearer by substituting the word "truth" for "opinion", so that in item 3 it would say: "Since the material and cultural life of peoples necessarily implies dealing with human relationships in which the concept of truth is a matter of opinion, any opinion that is not based on facts, but rather on interpretations, must be expressed with a spirit of justice."

MR. BITTENCOURT:—Fellow Delegates, this report must be sent to the Resolutions Committee before being discussed at this Plenary Meeting. I am not really interrupting your work, but I only want to clarify that we cannot open the discussion on this report at the present moment.

MR. ABRANCHES:—I should interpret this friendly suggestion as a clarification that it would be more opportune that we discuss the problem later so that I shall abstain now and not insist on those observations and I shall conclude, my general impressions. Personally I prefer the original project drafted by Mr. Lanz Duret. It seems to me to be complete than the proposal of the Committee. In the final item a very just and true doctrine is being reaffirmed. I believe that now it would be rather difficult to adopt it but it seems to me that general acceptance of the general principle would be important, and may we have the hope that in the very near future this final item can be included. I also wish to suggest to the Committee on Resolutions that at an opportune moment they give preference to the consideration that this code should not mean a renouncement or forgetfulness of the creed that was adopted at the First IAPA meeting which took place in 1926. This creed has been reaffirmed by the IAPA at the Assembly of 1950 and finally adopted. And with my apology, I should like to

present an amendment which will be discussed at an opportune moment, on the duty of the paper to publish a rectification to an article or editorial when required by the interested parties, if it is drafted in terms which do not violate the principles established in this code.

MR. JORGE QUINTANA (Bohemia, Havana):—Mr. Chairman, fellow Delegates. I should like to underline the great importance of the fact that the IAPA has a code of ethics. I should also like to underline the importance of the project of Mr. Lanz Duret as one which has finally given us this Code of Ethics, which we began to debate strongly in our Mexican meeting. I was very pleased that it was Mr. Duret because I have the honor to be a fellow of the same law school in which he studied. I have this in common with him, and I know how valuable a man he is in this field. Mr. Lanz Duret knows that the ethics norms are personal and if there is not a suitable method of sanctioning them and making them practical, they lack efficacy. This code of ethics is a spirit of our idea which we can fulfill if we wish, but it will never have a practical value if we do not create an adequate instrument for enforcing it.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—Thank you for your suggestion and for the brevity.

(The meeting was adjourned at 11.30 a. m.)



SOCIEDAD INTERAMERICANA DE PRENSA

INTER AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION

4TH PLENARY SESSION

Sao Paulo, October 7, 1954

MR. PAULO BITTENCOURT (Correio da Manha, Rio):—
(Calls the meeting to order at 2.50 p. m.)

I shall ask Mr. Jules Dubois to read his long-awaited report.

MR. JULES DUBOIS (The Chicago Tribune:—Mr. President, members of the Inter- American Press Association: With the permission of the President I would like to make an introductory statement. For four successive years I have held the chairmanship of the Freedom of the Press Committee. Since that historic and hectic meeting in New York in October, 1950, the IAPA has risen in stature and prestige. Today the IAPA is not only recognized but is a force to be reckoned with whenever its voice is raised to protest arbitrary excesses committed against newspapers and newspapermen. It is heard throughout the Hemisphere. The hands of dictators who might have intended to crush newspapers and newspapermen have been stayed by the prompt and forceful action of your Association supported by the weapon of public opinion. Dictators fear public opinion. That is why they invoke censorship. That is why they engage in intimidation. That is why they attempt to legislate freedom out of existence. It is a great pity that the prestige the Association now enjoys did not exist in the year 1951. Who knows if the confiscation of "La Prensa" of Buenos Aires and "El Intransigente" of Salta might not have been delayed or completely halted in Argentina. After four years as Chairman of you Committee the time has definitely come for a change. It will be recalled that last year at the annual meeting at Mexico City I tried to resign but you would not let me. Now I submit with these words my irrevocable resignation (Shouts of "no, no"). I do not subscribe to the theory held by some, and I state this with the utmost conviction, that only

a North American is qualified to exercise the chairmanship of your Freedom of the Press Committee. Nobody has a monopoly in the fight for freedom of the press and much less those of us from North America. I leave this honored post with the personal satisfaction that I have tried selflessly, tirelessly and militantly to exercise the responsibilities of office in the best interest and in accordance with the declaration of principles contained in our Constitution. The IAPA has made much progress and has acquired respected stature in the last four years thanks to each and every one of you present here as well as to those who have been unable to attend. The progress made has also been possible because the activities of the Freedom of the Press Committee have been devoted exclusively to the professional aspects of the press and have been completely divorced from the issues of partisan politics. The moment partisan politics enter and passions are inflamed, your Association will not only fall into disrepute and lose all the respect it has rightfully earned, but will disintegrate into oblivion. What we are trying to achieve cannot be achieved overnight. Our principal task, as was pointed out at the Montevideo meeting, is one of education. We must try to educate the leaders of today, of tomorrow and of the day after tomorrow, to give their people the freedom which is their inherent right. Those leaders must be educated that they are the servants and not the masters of the people. It may be impossible for us to accomplish that in our lifetime. But we can lay a solid foundation for those who come after us so that they can avoid that the press will ever be throttled and so that they can use the force of public opinion when mobilized by your Association. When that day comes we will have a free America from pole to pole. We will have free people, united by understanding and friendship.

I wish to take this opportunity to thank you all for your confidence. At the same time I wish to assure you that I will always be at the service of the chairman who will succeed me.

This report covers the period from October 9, 1953 to date. No attempt is made to duplicate the report submitted by the chairman of your committee at San Juan, Puerto Rico, to the board of directors on March 20, 1954, or the special reports which were submitted during the last 12 months. Wherever deemed appropriate reference is made to them.

The report is organized into the following sections:

1. The state of the press.
2. International organizations.
3. Conclusions.
4. Recommendations.

As chairman of your committee I wish to express my thanks and appreciation to Don Guillermo Cano, Editor of "El Espectador", Bogotá, Colombia, a member of your committee, who was unable to come to Brazil but who gave me his vote of confidence and approval in the preparation of this report. I attach herewith a letter from señor Cano.

At the request of the chairman of your committee, a circular letter was mailed to each member on August 20 requesting cooperation for the preparation of this report. From the bare handful of reports received the conclusion might be reached that all is well everywhere.

But that is not the case.

An estimated 20 percent of the 162 million inhabitants of Latin America are today living under perennial or periodic curtains of censorship and intimidation tantamount to censorship.

In some countries this situation has prevailed so long that editors, as well as communications companies executives, seldom attempt to butt the written or unwritten rules — all of the latter illegal — set by the dictators, tyrants and would-be oppressors either because they consider it utterly futile or due to fear of reprisals.

Those same dictators, tyrants and would-be oppressors mistakenly accept as the gospel truth the panegyric adulations which editors of the servile press — most of whom are usually in their employ — produce about them almost daily and most likely under directions from the presidential staff. They hold nothing but scorn for the press as a whole, for by their own experience they have succeeded to subjugate it through devious means.

While they may survive this position during their tenure of office, the time will come when they will no longer be present to dictate the orders to distort history. Then history will record the truth and will brand them for posterity in their true light as enemies of freedom.

Popular governments need never fear a free and independent press. Those who throttle the press do so because they know better than

anyone else that the pedestal of praise which thereafter rises ever higher for them daily has been erected on a most fictitious and brittle foundation.

Your committee wishes to emphasize that it is not an enemy of any government of any people. If any government or any people considers otherwise, we only ask forgiveness for them because they are wrong.

Members are familiar with the dramatic events affecting newspapers and newspapermen which occurred in many countries over the last twelve months.

The optimism expressed by the chairman of your committee last March of an improvement in the situation proved justified until September 24 which will be recorded as the black Friday in the fight for freedom.

Your association must pursue relentlessly the fight to recover "La Prensa" of Buenos Aires for its rightful owners, continue the campaign for the return of all the machinery and equipment of "El Intransigente" of Salta, Argentina, to Dr. David Michel Torino and obtain assurances for both of them to publish and circulate.

There must be full restitution to Dr. Demetrio Canelas for the destruction of "Los Tiempos" of Cochabamba, Bolivia, and permission and assurances to publish and circulate.

Vigil must be kept over other cases which will be observed in the body of this report. And, in cooperation with the Inter-American Association of Radio Broadcasters, the air waves must be watched so that freedom of expression will neither be intimidated nor gagged.

Tribute must be paid to the integrity and courage of the independent editors and newspapermen of Guatemala, as epitomized by the secretary of your association, don Ramón Blanco, of "El Imparcial" of Guatemala City. Under constant threat of wholesale massacre and/or torture at the hands of officials of a Communist-dominated government, they risked their lives to uphold the courage of their convictions and suffered one of the most arbitrary censorships ever exercised anywhere.

We salute the independent press of Guatemala, the dailies, the weeklies and their colleagues the radio broadcasters.

As stated in the March report, the now historic case of "El Comercio" of Quito, Ecuador, produced a simple problem: whether gov-

ernment has the right to dictate to any editor what he should or should not publish in his newspaper that question was answered when the Government reopened the newspaper after the forceful campaign by the members of this association.

2. The state of the press:

A L A S K A

There is freedom of the press.

A R G E N T I N A

On July 28, 1954 Santiago Fassi, an opposition deputy submitted a request that the government reply verbally to several questions regarding the enforcement of the "State of Internal War" which has existed since September 28, 1951. One of the questions was:

"And does the Executive Power consider that there exist the rights, limitations and guarantees of freedom of the press and the right of assembly, consecrated by the National Constitution, explaining the sources of positive law and doctrine on which your opinion is based?"

The request was disapproved by the government majority. Neither was it published in the Congressional Record ("Diario de Sesiones"). The latter omission was based on a resolution adopted July 23, 1952 which authorizes the suppression from publication in the Congressional Record of the Chamber of Deputies of the Argentine Nation of all the texts, and reasons given, for bills, statements or resolutions and requests for report from the government.

Newspapers and magazines closed by members of a congressional committee investigating police tortures four years ago remain closed.

Some opposition newspapers are banned from sale on the streets of Buenos Aires. These are newspapers published in the provinces.

On April 7, 1954 the General Post Office sent a confidential note to postmasters throughout the country which ordered that "correspondence, newspapers and magazines addressed to members of the opposition should be withheld until after being examined cautiously by the postmaster whereupon they should be returned to the addressee."

On July 24, 1954 the postmaster of Paso de los Libres, situated across the frontier from Uruguaiana, Brazil, banned the circulation by mail of the newspaper "La Frontera", published in Paso de los Libres. The postmaster announced publicly that the text of the "Comments on Current Events" ("Comentarios de Actualidad") in the edition of that date "was bound within the regulation that prohibits the circulation by mail of a newspaper."

Affected by those regulations, from time to time, among other newspapers, have been "Castellanos" of Rafaela, Province of Santa Fe; "El Clarín", "El Trabajo", "La Ley", and "La Comuna" of the Province of Buenos Aires; and "El Diario" de Paraná, "La Mañana" and "El Ideal" of the Province of Entre Ríos.

By virtue of Decree No. 13147 of August 6, 1954 President Juan Domingo Perón restored the right to newspapers to import their own newsprint and cancelled the state intervention in such imports and allocations. The decree announced that the situation which determined the intervention of the state in the import and allocation of newsprint has disappeared.

The Ministers of Finance, of Commerce and of Industries were instructed to coordinate with the Secretariat of Press and Diffusion of the Presidency of the Nation so that all stocks of native newsprint, as well as those held by the Argentine Institute for the Promotion of Trade (IAPI) would be distributed.

Newspapers are still limited to six and eight pages by government decree for weekday publication.

On April 7, 1954 Dr. David Michel Torino was freed after almost three years imprisonment in Salta ever since his newspaper "El Intransigente" was confiscated by the Perón government. Judges Jerónimo Cardozo and Carlos F. Douthat ruled on March 31 that the charges of fraud against him due to a family dispute were unfounded. The court confirmed his conviction for contempt (desacato) against the government because of writings in his confiscated newspaper.

Last December 27 the government decreed a six-year sentence against the editor for this offense. Judges Cardozo and Douthat modified the sentence and ruled that Dr. David Michel Torino had already served enough of a penalty for that offense.

Impeachment proceedings were immediately filed in the Senate of the Province of Salta, by the Peronist majority, against Judges Cardozo and Douthat.

Dr. F. S. Soler, attorney for the judges, filed a 24-page brief in their defense before the senate. His brief ended with these words:

“The scene that is unfolding here in the senate of the Province of Salta, whether we want it or not, by its own exceptional nature enters into the annals of the history of our country.

“The years will pass and the people will be astounded by this process against David Michel Torino and the impeachment of the justices who freed him as if it were a window through which to look at the past.

“Many naive people believe that they enter history only through the glittering door of glory with the victorious music of the trumpets. This is not so. Many times the circumstances place us in it by force, or against our will.

“When the great North American Abraham Lincoln convened his cabinet to discuss the liberation of the slaves, he told them more or less “This is an historic session and we cannot avoid it; in this moment we will pass to posterity whether we wish to or not. There is no way to avoid this destiny. The only thing we can do is to choose whether we are to pass on with honor or with infamy.”

Dr. Soler's plea fell on deaf Peronist political ears. Judges Cardozo and Douthat were impeached and banned from holding public office for life.

The expropriation of the ‘El Intransigente’ plant continued. The machinery consisted of one press, four Intertypes, one Ludlow, one router, one melting pot, saws, other composing room equipment, one complete photoengraving plant and 210 rolls of newsprint.

Only the press has been returned to Dr. David Michel Torino, his two brothers and sisters, owners of ‘El Intransigente’.

Two Intertypes, the Ludlow and the photo-engraving plant were turned over by the government to the Peronist newspaper “Norte”, published by the Peronist national Senator Alberto Durand. The remainder of the machinery has been delivered to the penitentiary in Salta.

The government net a figure of 104,000 pesos (about \$5,000) for the plant which is worth 1.350,000 pesos (about \$66,000). The Michel Torinos have appealed this confiscation in the Salta courts.

Does anyone expect justice in view of the impeachment of Judges Cardozo and Douthat for having ruled according to the law of the land and the dictates of their consciences?

It is more than three years since "La Prensa" was confiscated by President Perón. A spurious "La Prensa" has been published since November 19, 1951 by the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) to whom President Perón delivered it. He set a price of 19,495,877.50 pesos (about \$800,000) for this property worth many, many times more. The money was "loaned" to the CGT to "purchase" the property.

On February 8, 1954 the CGT handed the government a check for the full amount of that "loan," allegedly from the net revenue earned from the business of the newspaper.

Last May, during a period of labor unrest, the Perón government was compelled to rush police reinforcements to the spurious "La Prensa" to protect it against the very workers who are supposed to be the "owners" of that newspaper and who, apparently, threatened to damage its instalations.

Doctor Manuel Ordóñez, attorney for the real "La Prensa", who was arrested September 9, 1953, was released after 62 days in jail without any formal charges filed against him.

The Supreme Court of Argentina refused to consider an appeal presented by the attorneys for the real "La Prensa" against the payment of 32 million pesos (about \$1,400,000) in customs duties and fines for the importation of newsprint. The case was pending since the confiscation of the newspaper in 1951.

Dr. Manuel Ordóñez, attorney for Dr. Alberto Gainza Paz, commented that the court's decision was entirely contradictory to one rendered in an identical case involving Editorial Haynes. The real "La Prensa" was the only newspaper ordered to pay customs duties and fines, which duties are prohibited by the law.

On September 24 attorney and General Miguel Lanz Duret, the president of your association and publisher of "El Universal" of Mexico

City, was barred from entering Argentina. He was ordered to proceed to Montevideo on an airplane that was leaving almost immediately.

President Lanz Duret possessed a bone fide visa issued by the Argentine embassy in Mexico City. Before he obtained the visa he apprised the Argentine ambassador in Mexico City of the purpose of his trip: to deliver the Medal of the Hero of the Press which was awarded by you last year to Dr. David Michel Torino. He specifically asked the Argentine ambassador whether there would be any objection to his arrival at Buenos Aires for that purpose. He was assured he could proceed without any inconveniences.

While preparing his trip President Lanz Duret became concerned over the possibility that an attempt might be made by the opposition to convert the ceremony in honor of Dr. Michel Torino on September 27 into a political affair. He wrote to the latter about that and stressed that under no circumstances would he lend himself or your association to be a party to a ceremony of political nature.

Dr. Michel Torino replied to President Lanz Duret that any reports which led to his preoccupation were unfounded and that he would not have accepted the homage which a group of distinguished Argentine newspapermen and other citizens was organizing in his behalf. Never, he added, would he compromise the principles or prestige of your association.

With those assurances President Lanz Duret continued with his plans to visit Argentina and personally deliver the medal to Dr. Michel Torino.

On September 23, while in Santiago, Chile, President Lanz Duret asked the Argentine ambassador whether there would be any difficulty regarding his visit to Buenos Aires the next day. He was assured there would be none.

At 12.30 p. m., on September 24, in response to a request, the foreign office of Argentina notified the Mexican ambassador at Buenos Aires that he could proceed to the Ezeiza airport to receive President Lanz Duret as the latter was "welcome" in Argentina.

When President Lanz Duret arrived at Ezeiza, accompanied by José Ignacio Varela, of "El Universal Gráfico", he was paged at once. Four plainclothes policemen surrounded him. Señor Varela was also paged and surrounded. The policemen did not request their passports

for inspection of their visas. President Lanz Duret and señor Varela were informed that they were to leave for Montevideo on another plane within 20 minutes.

President Lanz Duret and señor Varela were held *incomunicado* in the immigration waiting room. The Mexican ambassador was the only one permitted to talk to him. The airplane was delayed for several hours because of mechanical trouble and the Mexican ambassador contacted the foreign office. He was told that President Lanz Duret would be permitted to remain in Argentina solely in the custody of the Mexican ambassador. President Lanz Duret promptly rejected that.

While the plane was delayed all passengers were requested to proceed to the airport restaurant for refreshments. President Lanz Duret and señor Varela were denied that privilege and were kept under guard in the waiting room until they boarded this airplane. At no time were their passports examined.

The federal police denied permission for the ceremony at which, on September 27, President Lanz Duret was to have delivered the medal to Dr. Michel Torino.

On September 25 the chairman of your Executive Committee, Mr. John R. Reitemeyer, President and Publisher of "The Hartford Courant", cabled to Dr. Michel Torino an invitation to come to Brazil for this meeting and to receive the award of "Hero of the Press". On September 30 Dr. Michel Torino replied and advised he would be pleased to attend provided the exit permit and passport requested on August is issued to him. His absence is eloquent proof of the fate of his request.

Just as this report was being completed your committee received a copy of a letter purportedly written by Justice Jerónimo Cardozo of Salta to President Perón. This letter is self-explanatory. It was written prior to the impeachment of Justices Cardozo and Douthat. It is attached as an annex to this report. When you read it you will note that it is not only an indictment of the manner in which justice is applied in Argentina but that it refutes — as do the facts previously reported — the prevarications officially issued by the Perón government regarding the Michel Torino case and the visit of President Lanz Duret to Argentina. The Dr. Pessagno referred to in this letter is a justice of the Supreme Court of Argentina who in 1951 was appointed

by President Perón as interventor of all the judiciary of the province of Salta. As such he handpicks the judges in that province.

One week before President Lanz Duret attempted to land in Argentina — on September 16 — Radical Deputy Francisco Rabanal, of the opposition, asked on the floor of the Chamber of Deputies whether the government had reported to the Universal Postal Union the list of foreign newspapers and magazines which had been banned from circulation thru the mails. He was shouted down by the Peronist deputies.

Eighteen months ago Doña Zelmira Paz de Anchorena, who is now 80 years old, mother of Dr. Alberto Gainza Paz, requested a passport to leave Buenos Aires to visit her only son who is in exile for reasons well known to the entire world. This permission has been denied by President Perón to this date.

A R U B A

There is freedom of the press.

B A H A M A S

There is freedom of the press.

B A R B A D O S

There is freedom of the press.

B E R M U D A S

There is freedom of the press.

B O L I V I A

The government of President Víctor Paz Estenssoro has failed to act on the request cabled to the chief executive to give full restitution to Dr. Demetrio Canelas for the destruction of his newspaper, "Los Tiempos", of Cochabamba, Bolivia, by a mob directed by officials of that government on November 9, 1953.

Members are familiar with the details of that criminal attack against freedom of the press. They are also aware that the announcement made by the government at that time that Dr. Canelas was the leader of a revolutionary conspiracy to overthrow President Paz Estenssoro was a blatant falsehood. Such malicious propaganda, designed to justify government-inspired destruction of an editorial property, only aggravated the enormity of the crime committed against a courageous editor who dared to criticise the errors of his government.

Thanks to a successful campaign of representations conducted by your Association it was possible to obtain the freedom of Dr. Canelas, who was summarily arrested and flown to La Paz for trial by military court.

The newspaper "La Razón" of La Paz, which was closed by its proprietor, Carlos Víctor Aramayo, two years ago when the government of President Víctor Paz Estenssoro refused to furnish police protection, has not reopened. The printing machinery remains under padlock.

The editors of the independent weekly "Pregón" of La Paz were summoned by the Undersecretariat of Press, Information and Culture in April and threatened with closure if they did not cease criticism of the government. Editor Arturo Ramírez replied that the newspaper's only crime was the publication of articles in favor of the Roman Catholic religion and against Communism.

Gustavo Molina, managing editor of the newspaper "La Patria" of Oruro, was arrested August 3 when the government charged he was involved in a plot to overthrow it. As usual, the government accused Carlos Víctor Aramayo of financing the plot.

B R A Z I L

There is freedom of the press.

On May 12 Néstor Moreira, reporter for "A Noite" of Rio de Janeiro, was murdered in the Second Police District station. The Bulletin of the Brazilian Press Association (ABI) of June reported that the crime of which Moreira was the victim was not planned against the first reporter to appear at that police station that morning. Moreira happened to be the first reporter.

The entire press of the country protested against this killing of a defenseless newspaperman by police officials.

On August 5 members were shocked by the news of the attempted murder of Carlos Lacerda, editor and publisher of "Tribuna da Imprensa" of Rio de Janeiro, and a member of your committee. It was unfortunate that his companion and friend, Major Rubens Florentino Vaz was killed.

Lacerda was saved by fate. He returned to the apartment house where he lives on Rua Toneleros early in the morning of August 5 with his eldest son and Major Vaz. Having forgotten the key to his front door, he tried the garage door to enter the building. The assassins fired and mortally wounded Major Vaz and hit Lacerda in the left foot where a .45 calibre bullet shattered the bones of his instep.

Dramatic and historic political events followed in the ensuing days which have no place in this report. On August 24 President Getulio Vargas committed suicide. This act touched off a series of riots and mob violence.

In Porto Alegre two newspapers, "Estado do Rio Grande" and "Diario de Noticias" were set afire and burned to the ground. All machinery and equipment were destroyed. "Estado do Rio Grande" was published by Congressman Raúl Pila. "Diario de Noticias" was published by Assis Chateaubriand. There was no protection furnished in time by the authorities to prevent this destruction.

The studios of Radio Farroupilha and Radio Difusora also in Porto Alegre, owned by Sr. Chateaubriand, were burned to the ground. The transmitter outside the city was not damaged.

In Rio de Janeiro rioters overturned delivery trucks of the newspaper "O Globo" published by Roberto Marinho and whose co-editor is Dr. Herbert Moses, one of your directors.

Rioters attempted to attack the "Tribuna da Imprensa" building but police arrived in time to prevent them after Lacerda had ordered local security measures. When police protection was first requested, the editors were told to ask the air force for help because of Lacerda's friendship with the latter.

Lacerda and his family were flown by the air force to Galeao, the air base and international airport which is now familiar to most of you, from the downtown Santos Dumont airport, also familiar to

you. They stayed at the home of a friend there until August 28 when señor Lacerda resumed work.

Your association was constrained to issue a statement last July in which it expressed confidence in the honesty and integrity of the courts of Brasil. This was prompted by a suit for criminal libel filed against Carlos Lacerda by Dr. Lutero Vargas, son of the deceased president, arising from statements allegedly made by the editor in a radio broadcast. The suit is still pending.

It is worthy of note that not once during the entire political crisis that followed the Rua Toneleros shooting was censorship of the press ever invoked. Police censors in Rio controlled radio news broadcasts for two days before Vargas' death.

President Joao Café Filho has gone on public record as a staunch champion of freedom of the press. In an interview with the chairman of you committee on August 11 and in reply to a question: "What is your thinking regarding freedom of the press?" President Café Filho said: "I have already declared that in the presidency I will be above all a newspaper man. Several newspaper men form part of the team of my collaborators. In these conditions it is easy to verify the spirit of the government regarding freedom of the press, not as a favour but more as one of the conquests and one of the fundamental rights of any civilized people.

In order that freedom can be exercised in all its amplitude, the press will have all the facilities of access to the sources of information. More than to the newspaper men, that prerogative belongs to public opinion itself, and is one of the foundations on which the functioning of the democratic regime rests."

Here in the State of Sao Paulo Judge Julho Ignacio Bonfim sentenced the Government of Brasil to pay to Dr. Julho de Mesquita, editor and publisher of "O Estado de Sao Paulo" and a member of your board of directors, the sum of 5,500,000 cruzeiros (about \$90,000 at the free market rate of exchange) as indemnification for having confiscated his newspaper in 1937 when the Estado Novo dictatorship was founded by the late President Getulio Vargas.

From 1937 to 1943 Dr. Julho de Mesquita lived in exile. In 1943 he returned home with permission to live on his fazenda only. He remained there until late October, 1945 when President Vargas was

overthrown. Then he reopened his newspaper which has earned respect and prestige similar to that enjoyed by the real "La Prensa" of Buenos Aires.

Last year he filed suit for indemnification for damages sustained during the period of confiscation. A decision was handed down in his favor early in August.

Members will recall that a considerable portion of last year's report dealt with government-influenced financing of the newspaper emprise Editorial Erica, which publishes the newspaper "Ultima Hora" in Rio de Janeiro. Last month the Bank of Brazil began to protest overdue and unsupported loans to newspapers.

C A N A D A

There is freedom of the press.

Two Toronto police officers who interfered with a photographer of the Toronto Telegram when he took a picture of a sergeant acquitted on an assault charge apologized to the photographer after John Bassett, publisher of the newspaper, filed charges against them. The case was dropped after the apology. The police chief assured Bassett the rights of newsmen would be protected.

C H I L E

There is freedom of the press.

The acquittal of Dr. Alfredo Silva Carvallo, editor and publisher of "La Unión", of Valparaíso, of charges of offenses against General Carlos Ibáñez del Campo, President of the Republic, and three cabinet ministers for the publication of speeches made by congressmen at a banquet underscored the honesty and integrity of the courts of Chile.

The decision of the court held that a newspaper has the right to publish such stories which cannot be interpreted as actionable by government.

On April 1 the government closed the newspaper "El Tarapacá" of Iquique because it published the news of a clash between an opposition congressman and a cabinet minister at a public meeting. The incident was between Minister of Treasury Guillermo del Pedregal and Liberal Deputy Luis Undurraga and occurred in Iquique.

The newspaper "El Debate" of Santiago, hastened to publish a special Iquique edition at the plant of the closed newspaper. The government filed suit in the Court of Appeals of Iquique to close the "El Tarapacá" plant. The court rejected the government petition.

The editor of "El Tarapacá", Eduardo Sepúlveda, had been jailed since March 25 because of the publication of the story. The government also filed charges of contempt (desacato) against Sepúlveda because of what of the publication of "El Debate" in his plant. Similar charges were filed against the Octavio Marfán, the editor of "El Debate". Both complaints were lodged by Minister Pedregal.

This was the first time in 60 years of uninterrupted publication that "El Tarapacá" failed to appear. On April 6 it republished.

The Newspapermen's Circle (Círculo de Periodistas) made strong representations before the government because of the above acts and was instrumental, together with the press of the country, in persuading the government that it had committed grievous errors against freedom of the press. Officers of the Newspapermen's Circle met with four cabinet ministers and the government decided to revoke the suspension against the newspaper and the action against "El Debate".

The Law of Defense of Democracy, which was passed by congress in 1947 essentially to combat Communism, was applied by the government in the above cases. The government has promised to study the possibility of modifying the repressive provisions of that law insofar as they affect the press but it is believed this will be deferred for some time in view of the recent "State of Siege" decree of September 20. Press censorship was not included in the Decree.

COLOMBIA

The state of siege decreed November 9, 1949 empowers the government to establish press censorship. Censorship has prevailed ever since with the government turning it on and off in recent months according to certain political fluctuations. Although today no newspaper in Colombia is prior censored, verbal orders are issued from the presidential press office to editors to abstain from publishing certain news.

The state of siege decree hangs as a sword of Damocles over the heads of the editors.

We shall not bore you with a detailed report of the occasions during the past twelve months when governors or alcaldes arbitrarily suspended or closed newspapers because of stories or commentaries which displeased them. Happily, no such unilateral action is now practiced and all requests for suspension or closure of newspapers must be forwarded to the federal government. The latter has recently ignored requests from the provinces to suspend or close newspapers.

The creation of a bi-partisan National Press Committee by the First National Press Congress on October 30, 1953, as reported to the Board of Directors at the San Juan meeting, has contributed to the advances made in the last year. Abuses against the newspapers have been divorced by that committee — composed by two liberals and two conservatives, or two conservatives and two liberals — from the factional political strife for which Colombia is noted. They are debated before the government exclusively on a professional level.

On the night of October 30, 1953 for the first time since November 9, 1949, prior censorship was lifted. On November 5 President Rojas Pinilla indefinitely suspended press censorship pending the adoption of a press statute.

As political violence erupted anew, provincial governors restored censorship to several newspapers, a few of which preferred to close rather than submit to censorship. The editors of the two leading liberal newspapers in the country, Dr. Roberto García Peña, of "El Tiempo" and don Guillermo Cano of "El Espectador", both published in Bogotá, appealed to their colleagues to moderate their language and voluntarily curb impassioned and inflammatory reporting.

Later the government issued a letter in which it requested that news of partisan political violence should be cleared with it before publication. This has gradually been dropped but some editors, anxious for the complete restoration of peace in the country, have recently abstained from reporting new outbreaks of political violence in the Departments of Huila and Tolima.

Plans were discovered on June 1 for the armed forces to publish a daily newspaper which would furnish powerful competition to the privately owned newspapers. These plans have not yet materialized.

Then Minister of War Brigadier General Gustavo Berrio M., issued Circular No. 01538 to the Army, Navy, Air Force and Police

Commanders, to Civil and Military Chiefs, to Military Governors and to Commanders of all Military garrisons in which he announced presidential approval for the financing of a 1,000,000 peso (\$400,000) enterprise to publish a newspaper "which would be above the political creeds and with thought in the common welfare of the Colombians for the benefit of the country, their faith in God and as their standard the national flag, for progress, peace and justice."

The circular added: "It is necessary that these ideals have their own organ of information, which gives in an exact manner the action of the leaders of the government, which interprets with precision the doctrines that inspire the public administration and which explains the programs that will have to be developed for the material and spiritual progress of the country."

The circular invited all active or retired officers and all civilian personnel with the equivalent rank of officers and non-commissioned officers, as well as the latter, to subscribe voluntarily to 50,000 shares of stock, giving them ten months in which to pay for it.

Your committee will watch further developments of this plan.

After demonstrations by university students on June 8 and June 9 in which several were killed when the army opened fire on them in the center of Bogotá, the government imposed censorship on June 12 and June 13. Censorship was suspended June 14 and reimposed only for the newspapers "El Tiempo", "El Espectador", and "Diario Gráfico". Three days later the censorship against "El Tiempo" and "El Espectador" was lifted while it was continued against "Diario Gráfico". The latter newspaper is the property of a company in which ex-President Laureano Gómez has a large interest.

On July 12 the government summarily fired the president of the national university and replaced him with an army colonel. Verbal orders were issued to the press to abstain from publishing any commentaries, statements or stories adverse to the appointment and to limit themselves to the publication of only official communiques.

When ex-President Laureano Gómez attempted to return to Colombia at the end of July and in early August, the government prohibited the newspapers from reporting the fact or from reporting that he had arrived in Caracas from Europe. Dr. Gómez was not permitted to return home. He returned to Spain to reside in exile.

President Rojas Pinilla alarmed the editors of newspapers when, in his inaugural address of August 7, he said:

“Freedom of the press is the first of the democratic freedoms. The institution of censorship is as disagreeable for the government as it is for the newspapermen. But it is a necessary premise in order to terminate with it, to promulgate a press statute which rectifies a past of errors. There has been established among us for more than 40 years a special privilege for newspapermen which, in many cases, is freedom to offend without any sanction. The penal code and the laws define as offenses libel, slander, the apology of crime, economic terrorism and incitation to rebellion. Despite the fact these offenses are committed with greater frequency, up to now no newspaperman has been jailed for them, and neither have economic sanctions been applied to them. The most absolute impunity reigns in this field due to the fact that the laws are inoperational.

This irresponsible press has been succesively undermining all the pillars of society, from the reputations of citizens and of public officials to the ecclesiastic hierarchy and the principle of authority. Even more, as ex-President López stated it, the press stimulates all the conflicts, it encourages all the disorders and it gives irresponsible encouragement to all the agitations. Its principal mission has been to foment hatred between Colombians and to prevent every understanding between the political parties. Without any doubt, this press has been the broth of cultivation of violence and of barbarism and the most powerful agent of our public misfortunes. The government considers that to establish an effective responsibility for the press is to give a great step towards democratic normality.”

“El Espectador” promptly replied to General Rojas Pinilla and pointed out that twelve of his predecessors had been newspapermen, all of whom, it added, he had automatically labeled as guilty of “irresponsibility and agitation”. The editorial concluded:

“We cannot let pass without a categoric rejection the unjust and ignominious references to the Colombian press contained in the speech delivered the day before yesterday by His Excellency Lieutenant General Rojas Pinilla upon taking possession of the presidency of the Republic for the second time, and we only entertain the ingenious hope that — within the physical impossibility for a ruler, pressed as

he is by such a quantity of occupations and preoccupations, to draft personally so many and such extensive state documents as those that carry his signature — those unfortunate phrases did not come from his pen — which was more a clean sword of a soldier than a polished quill of a writer — which traced the historic characters of the presidential proclamation of June 13, 1953.”

In August, Pedro Pablo Camargo, a member of the staff of “Diario Gráfico” was arrested and charged with distributing subversive literature to the members of the National Constitutional Assembly. He denied the charges. After several days in jail, Camargo obtained permission to visit his home and collect some clothes. He escaped from there to the Mexican embassy and was granted political asylum, receiving a safe conduct to leave the country.

When the assembly debated the incident of the shooting of the university students, the government issued a verbal order to abstain from publishing the news.

At the San Juan meeting the Board of Directors requested the chairman of your committee to confer with Foreign Minister Evaristo Sourdis of Colombia about the situation of the press in Colombia. This conference was held in Caracas on March 24.

Foreign Minister Sourdis was most receptive and promised to confer with President Rojas Pinilla on his return to Bogotá and recommend the revocation of the order which banned criticism of chiefs of state friendly to Colombia and to recommend he prevent a further worsening of the press situation. Foreign Minister Sourdis also gave assurances that a decree which established prison terms and fines for publication of clandestine and/or subversive periodicals would never be applied against legitimate newspapers.

President Rojas Pinilla gave similar assurances personally to the chairman of your committee in Bogotá in August. The order banning criticism of chiefs of state friendly to Colombia is inoperative and President Rojas Pinilla explained its origin: a request by the Ambassador from the Dominican Republic.

President Rojas Pinilla said he entertains hope that the state of siege decree might be abrogated after the political reorganization of the country. He hopes this reorganization will be effected through

departmental corporations, designated by the constitutional assembly, which will act in lieu of legislatures and appoint city councils.

President Rojas Pinilla and Dr. Jorge Luis Arango, the chief of the presidential press office, were not only very receptive and cordial to the chairman of your committee but were most respectful and appreciative of the objectives of the Inter-American Press Association.

But on September 24th President Rojas Pinilla issued Extraordinary Decree No. 2835 which dictates standards covering the crime of slander. The decree itself says it was issued "in harmony with Article 19 of the Constitution which obligates the authorities to protect the lives, honor and property of all the residents of Colombia and to assure the reciprocal respect of the natural rights, preventing and punishing the crimes."

The decree converts into Law the Code of Ethics adopted by the First National Press Congress last October. This code reads:

"1. We respect God and that which is God in all our publications.

"2. We respect the dignity of our work, properly exercising our influence with the purpose of contributing to the strengthening of national unity and to insure justice, freedom and peace.

"3. We always respect the truth, avoiding the passion which blinds us from judging the facts and men.

"4. We respect the moral good. We will not write anything which stimulates vice, crime, violence, immorality, disrespect (contempt) of the authorities or disobedience of the laws.

"5. We respect our own freedom and that of others within the limits of truth and good.

"6. We respect the honor and dignity of others.

"7. We respect the laws of the country, the religious beliefs, the civil rights and the cultural traditions of the Colombian people."

The decree also establishes:

"1. A fine of \$80 to \$800 (200 to 2,000 pesos or 4,800 to 48,000 cruzeiros) for offenses against the honor, decorum and reputation of a person.

"2. A fine of \$2,800 to \$40,000 (5,000 to 100,000 pesos or 120,000 to 2,400,000 cruzeiros) if the offense is committed

through printed publication, radio broadcast, motion pictures, television, or a speech before an assembly or public meeting.

"3. In addition, if the offense is committed by a newspaper that newspaper will be suspended for a period of from one to ten days.

"4. Subject to the same penalties will be anyone who, with the intent to injure a person, recalls or divulges penal infractions committed by that person's wife or relatives within the fourth degree of consanguinity or the second of affinity.

"5. The above sanctions will be doubled when:

"a. The publication consists in the imputation of an action or concrete omissions that the law considers punishable offenses or for its dishonest or immoral character that may be susceptible to expose the injured person to scorn, animadversion or public ridicule.

"b. If the affected person would be a public official who exercises jurisdiction or rule.

"c. If the report consists in revealing purely private or domestic mistakes or vices.

"6. A violation of the code of ethics, if it affects an individual or a juridical person, or an administrative or public service entity, without constituting slander, will be sanctioned with a fine of from \$20 to \$2,000 (50 pesos to 5,000 pesos or 1,200 to 120,000 cruzeiros).

"7. Indirect expressions such as "it is said", "it is rumored", "in authorized circles", or any other similar vein will be equivalent to manifest slander if they enable the identification of the person by whosoever hears or reads the report.

"8. Descendants of the offended person may continue the suit in the event of the death of the latter.

"9. Government officials, if they feel offended, may institute suit through their chief of office or the attorney general of the nation.

"10. Governors of Departments (States) will submit lists of five names for chief of departmental justice to be appointed to try cases arising from printed publications, radio broadcasts, motion pictures, television or speeches before a meeting or public assemblies.

"11. Depositions of the accused will be taken only at the request of the latter.

"12. The accused will have 15 days in which to pay the pecuniary sanction.

"13. Half of the pecuniary sanction will go to the offended party and the other half will go to the national treasury.

"14. Failure to pay will require that one day be served in jail for each two dollars assessed; but in no case will the convicted person serve more than five years in jail.

"15. Conviction may be appealed to the Supreme Court as soon as sentence is pronounced and the plaintiff is given ten days in which to reply to the appeal while the Supreme Court is given another ten days in which to decide the case.

"16. The execution of the sentence is not interrupted by the appeal and the accused must either deposit the entire sum which he has been convicted to pay or begin to serve his sentence in default thereof before the request for appeal can be honored.

"17. The half share cannot be delivered to the offended one until the Supreme Court has decided the appeal.

"18. Civil suit may also be filed and the half share already awarded will be deducted from the civil suit award.

"19. Property may be attached to guarantee payment as soon as formal proof of slander exists in the case.

"20. No government official may withdraw charges without the approval of the Attorney General.

"21. Title XIII of Book II of the Penal Code which deals with libel and all other contrary legal dispositions are suspended."

On September 26 the National Press Committee issued a comprehensive statement in which it analysed the decree. The committee consists of Dr. Roberto García Peña, Editor of "El Tiempo"; Dr. Gilberto Alzate Avendaño, Editor of "Diario de Colombia"; don Guillermo Cano, Editor of "El Espectador", all of Bogotá; and Dr. Fernando Martínez, Editor of "El Colombiano", of Medellín. Also signing the statement was Dr. Alberto Galindo, ex-president of the Inter-American Press Association, as representative of the radio news broadcasters.

(Mr. Dubois then asked Jorge Mantilla Ortega, a member of his committee, to read the statement issued by the national committee).

Mr. JORGE MANTILLA ORTEGA (El Comercio, Quito) :—
Mr. Chairman, I hope you will permit me to make a few introductory remarks before reading the document. I believe, fellow delegates, that after having heard the chairman of the Committee on Freedom of the Press on the situation in Colombia, you will understand the actual meaning of the appeal, of the request, for effective action within our organization made by Sr. Roberto García Peña yesterday. The situation in Colombia, as you know it now, could be called pathetic. After what happened in Argentina I believe there is nothing more serious, of greater repercussion in the future of freedom of the press, not only in Colombia but in all the countries of America as well, because like all evils and all epidemics, that of attacking freedom of the press is just as contagious as the most virulent fever. We should worry about the case of Colombia because if we do not do anything, we might have the case of Perú, of Venezuela and of Brazil and of many other countries of America. With great admiration and respect for the Colombian press and particularly for its two representatives here, don Roberto García Peña of "El Tiempo" and don Eduardo Zalamea Borda of "El Espectador", I shall now read the joint declaration of the National Press Committee which I brought with me and rather than reading from my own paper, I shall read from "El Tiempo" of Bogotá. I have none of my own, but I have a copy of this great American paper. All this moves me to also make this appeal to you in favor of the case of Colombia, which is the most pathetic, not only of this year, but of many years.

The committee requested the government to modify the decree "without injuring the functions of the press, its indispensable reporting freedom and its legitimate rights." It suggested to President Rojas Pinilla that:

1. Press offenses should remain under the competence of the judicial power according to the juridical tradition of the country and universally valid principles.

2. To submit them summarily to an administrative officer is a naturally serious risk.

3. A brief procedure should be established through the creation of a special jurisdiction, as was once done, under the dependency of

the respective branch of power and preserving the resources and procedural guarantees like the right of appeal in all its effect.

The committee also pointed out that the decree eliminates the juridical rights of rectification and retraction which were formerly acceptable in Colombian penal legislation, as sufficient moral reparation for the injured person.

Finally, the committee observed that the pecuniary sanctions are beyond the capacity of the national newspapers to meet.

Mr. President, I conclude in reminding all of the delegates here that Colombia four years ago was the most democratic country, and this is the state of Colombia now.

MR. DUBOIS:—Thank you, Mr. Mantilla. (Continues reading report).

On September 27 the newspaper "El Tiempo" criticized the decree in an editorial which said in part:

"The ills of the country would have no better treatment than the enforcement of an authentic freedom. This is known by President Rojas Pinilla whose most plausible act of government was to return to the newspapers their freedom.

"In what has that freedom prejudiced the official task? In nothing. How much has it helped and served it? Infinitely. There is, then, no reason to change a criterion that continues being profoundly respectable.

"Neither is it just — nor is there reason that explains it to convert the public writers into a dangerous class for society. With what right is it presupposed that a newspaperman is a potential criminal? And why if he is placed in such a position is he not conceded the same instruments of legal defense that are given to the worst criminals? How is it possible that a simple administrative official disposes of the fate of responsible and respectable persons and of entities and empires? Where is the equality of the citizens before the law? Why the exception for the newspapermen?

On September 27 the chairman of your committee cabled President Rojas Pinilla as follows:

"Supporting the National Press Committee I beg your Excellency to modify extraordinary Decree 2835 of September 24 which not only

signifies a lamentable and unexpected retrocession but a grave attack against the Colombian press and a terrible precedent for western Civilization stop For the good name and international prestige of Colombia I beg Your Excellency to listen to this voice of sincere friendship and not enforce said decree without modifying it according to the solicitude of the national press committee. Respectfully."

On September 30 a delegation of editors and publishers, headed by the members of the National Press Committee then in Bogotá, called on President Rojas Pinilla to present their objections to the ominous decree. President Rojas Pinilla agreed to suspend enforcement of the decree until October 13 — the day after this meeting ends — while a bipartisan committee of lawyers will submit a legal critique of the decree with suggested modifications.

President Rojas Pinilla assured the delegation that it was never his intention to enforce a statute that would be detrimental to the freedom of the press. The only desire of the Government, he pointed out, was simply to protect the honour of persons by providing a more effective machinery for convictions for offences of slander and libel.

On October 5 the bi-partisan committee of lawyers submitted their suggested modifications to President Rojas Pinilla on behalf of the National Press Committee. The two lawyers representing the liberal editors were Dr. Alberto Lleras Camargo, ex-President of the Republic and ex-Secretary General of the Organization of American States and now Dean of the University of the Andes, and Dr. Antonio Rocha, one time Minister of Justice; the two lawyers representing the conservatives were Dr. Gilberto Alzate Avendaño, editor of "Diario de Colombia", and a senator, and Dr. Francisco de Paula Pérez, renowned throughout the continent as a jurist.

The committee submitted six points to President Rojas Pinilla. These are:

1. To retain judicial competence over the offenses and the possibility of creating "Press Judges."
2. The establishment of the right to appeal with a brief procedure.
3. Legal differentiation should be made between the offences of slander and libel.

4. Reduction of the amount of pecuniary sanctions and abolition of the closure of newspapers as sanction and reduction to three years imprisonment as a maximum for those who do not pay the pecuniary sanctions.

5. Preservation of the right to rectify and retract, thus precluding legal action.

6. Sanctions for the person who files suit for slander or libel against a newspaper without just cause.

The lawyers also asked the Government to separate the penalties collectable by the Government and the plaintiff as two different entities.

Here is a note on the lighter side. William Nahom Habeych was Coordinator of the Office of Press Censorship during the previous regime. He was working in the office of "El Tiempo". The editors of that newspaper recall him as one of the most arbitrary censors ever known. When President Laureano Gómez was overthrown, he lost his job and opened a law office.

Last August Habeych wrote a letter to don Enrique Santos, the famous "Caliban" columnist of "El Tiempo", and complained that several of his contributions to the newspaper of his sympathy, "Diario Gráfico", had been censored. "El Tiempo" published his letter with a foreword which announced that "Habeych declares himself today to be converted to the cause of freedom." And the editor's note concluded: "We accept his confession as one more testimony in defense of freedom of expression and with the hope that, as in the evangelical phrase, God may protect this penitent."

On August 24, while the Chairman of your committee was in Bogotá, President Rojas Pinilla ordered Minister of Government Lucien Pabon Núñez to abolish the previous censorship at "Diario Gráfico".

C O S T A R I C A

There is freedom of the press.

C U B A

There is freedom of the press.

On January 29, 1954 the Council of Ministers modified the

ominous provisions of Law 997 of July 26, 1953 on Public Order which curbed freedom of the press. On May 3 all the provisions of this law were repealed.

The government also invited exiles to return home for the November elections. Your association cabled President Fulgencio Batista from Puerto Rico last March and requested exiled newsmen by permitted to return home to exercise their profession.

The Ministry of Information of the Presidency was abolished

Manuel Núñez, owner of the Diamond News Company of Havana, was detained for several hours on September 15 because of the distribution of an American magazine "Confidential" whose November issue contained an article which referred to General Fulgencio Batista's private life. Copies of the magazine were confiscated by the government.

C U R A C A O

There is freedom of the press.

D O M I N I C A N R E P U B L I C

No opposition newspapers are published. Newspapers, however, publish all news pertaining to your association.

E C U A D O R

There is freedom of the press.

Nevertheless members will recall the special report made by the chairman of your committee on November 16, 1953 regarding the arbitrary and forceful closure of the newspaper "El Comercio", of Quito, Ecuador, edited and published by Don Jorge Mantilla Ortega, a member of your committee.

Since the resumption of publication of the newspaper 45 days later on December 26, 1953 there have been no further incidents.

This year the Chamber of Deputies rejected the ignominious draft law to control the press which was introduced last year. This was considered by the publishers of the country as a great step towards a firmer establishment of press freedom in Ecuador.

In September Alejandro Carrión, columnist of "El Universo" of Guayaquil, had exposed the use of Spanish Falangist textbooks in two schools. Also a teacher, Carrión suffered immediate dismissal by the Minister of Education because he had valiantly uncovered the irregularity of totalitarian infiltration into the country's educational system. This was but another case of the application of official government intimidation to try to silence the writings of free and independent newspapermen.

On September 24 Simón Canarte Barbero, publisher of "La Nación-La Hora", of Guayaquil and now a deputy, was shot in the back by César Montúfar, retired army colonel, as he was entering the hall of congress in Quito. The shooting occurred after señor Canarte's "La Nación" published a bitter phrase about Montúfar, who participated in the closure of his newspaper in April, 1953.

EL SALVADOR

There is freedom of the press.

GRENADA

There is freedom of the press.

GUATEMALA

There is freedom of the press.

Members are familiar with the report made by the chairman of your committee to the Board of Directors at San Juan, Puerto Rico, when it was stated that danger signals were rising against the free and independent press in Guatemala. Members are also familiar with the special report made by the chairman of your committee July 13 of the dramatic events of the month of June when editors narrowly escaped wholesale massacre at the hands of the police and one opposition weekly editor was machinegunned to death.

Constitutional guarantees were suspended on June 8 by the Government of President Jacobo Arbenz. Press censorship was invoked for both the domestic publications and outgoing dispatches. Newspapers were required to send page proofs to the office of the Secretary

of Press and Propaganda of the Presidency of the Republic. Correspondents were required to send their dispatches to the same office with five copies of a translation in the Spanish language.

That office delayed both the page proofs and correspondents' dispatches. Headlines were changed on the page proofs and the censor substituted his own. Texts of stories were also changed and newspapers were banned from labeling a government communique — largely propaganda — as such and the stories had to appear as originating from the newspaper staff itself without attribution to source. Words, phrases and sentences were also substituted in correspondents' copy.

On June 29, a military junta abolished censorship although constitutional guarantees were still suspended. Even though constitutional guarantees remained suspended till August 8, censorship was not restored. Not even on August 2 when a counterrevolt erupted and was not fully subdued until the next evening.

The Communist Party has been outlawed. Its newspaper "Tribuna Popular" published its last edition on the morning of June 27. President Arbenz resigned that night. No effort was apparently made by the editors of that newspaper to publish thereafter.

BRITISH GUIANA

There is freedom of the press, except for the outlawed publications of the Peoples' Progressive Party.

DUTCH GUIANA

There is freedom of the press.

FRENCH GUIANA

There is freedom of the press.

HAITI

There is freedom of the press.

HONDURAS

There is freedom of the press.

In August an unknown assailant fired shots at the home of Dr. Fernando Zepeda Durón, editor of "La Epoca", and correspondent for The Associated Press. He was unharmed.

J A M A I C A

There is freedom of the press.

M A R T I N I Q U E

There is freedom of the press.

M E X I C O

There is freedom of the press.

N I C A R A G U A

Last year your committee reported the danger that confronted the independent press through curtailment of freedom by legislation. In the March report the chairman of your committee included Nicaragua among the countries which enjoyed freedom of expression because up to then President Anastasio Somoza had not enforced the Law of Freedom of Emission and Diffusion of Opinion.

Nevertheless, Dr. Pedro Joaquín Chamorro was faced with constant harassment by the sons of President Somoza late last year and early this year because of a story published in his newspaper "La Prensa", while he was attending the meeting of your association at Mexico City, which was uncomplimentary of their labor relations at one of their textile factories.

On April 5 President Somoza decreed a state of siege and invoked press censorship upon the discovery of a revolutionary plot to overthrow him and assassinate him and his two sons. Most of the principal leaders of the conspiracy entered Nicaragua with their weapons via the overland route.

Since that day Dr. Hernán Robleto, Editor and Publisher of the opposition newspaper "Flecha", and a member of your board of directors, has been in asylum in the Embassy of Costa Rica. Dr. Pedro

Joaquín Chamorro, Jr., Editor and Publisher of the opposition conservative newspaper "La Prensa" has been imprisoned, also since that day, charged with participation in the conspiracy.

An investigation by the chairman of your committee revealed that Dr. Chamorro categorically opposed the assassination of President Somoza when the conspirators discussed it at a farm near Managua. President Somoza corroborated the veracity of that fact personally to the chairman of your committee. However, President Somoza added that Dr. Chamorro was observed near the scene of the alleged planned assassination attempt the morning of April 4.

Repeated attempts to persuade President Somoza to grant a safe conduct to Dr. Robleto to leave the country failed. The Costa Rican embassy, too, was unable to obtain one. However, when Licenciado and General Miguel Lanz Duret, the president of your association, visited Managua last month, President Somoza promised to accede to his request to grant Dr. Robleto a safeconduct on October 4.

The chairman of your committee also personally requested President Somoza to employ his good offices to enhance the release of Dr. Chamorro on bail pending trial. President Somoza was disinclined to take this action himself and suggested that Dr. Chamorro retain counsel. Counsel was retained but if a petition for release on bail has been presented your committee is unaware of it.

Members are familiar with the numerous cablegrams exchanged with President Somoza so they will not be repeated here.

There is absolutely no doubt that an attempt was made to overthrow President Somoza. His loyal forces spent one week in pursuit of the rebels before routing them. There was one witness who testified, that Dr. Robleto attended one conspiracy meeting for a few minutes, but there was no concrete testimony in the investigation pursued by the military and civilian courts which incriminated him beyond that fact.

The opposition newspapers "La Prensa", "Flecha" and "El Gran Diario" must submit page proofs to be prior censored. Dispatches of correspondents also are subjected to prior censorship.

The two newspapers owned by President Somoza, "Novedades" and "La Estrella de Nicaragua", are, naturally, not censored.

As a mechanical note members may be interested to know that the first rotary newspaper press began to operate in Nicaragua at the end of May. It is owned by President Somoza's newspaper "Novedades".

P A N A M A

There is freedom of the press.

P A R A G U A Y

There is no opposition press published in the country. The situation continues to improve slowly towards what it is hoped will soon be eventual full freedom.

P E R U

There is freedom of the press except for organs of outlawed political parties such as the APRA and the Communist Party.

P U E R T O R I C O

There is freedom of the press.

S A I N T L U C I A

There is freedom of this press.

T R I N I D A D

There is freedom of the press.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

There is freedom of the press.

A constant campaign to open federal, state, county and city meetings and records to public inspection is being waged by the American Society of Newspaper Editors Freedom of Information Committee with the aid of regional and state committees.

In this campaign the ASNE committee cooperates with public officials in an attempt to assist them to liberalize restrictive orders or legislation. An example of this was the cooperation rendered which led to the repeal on November 6, 1953 by President Eisenhower of Executive Order No. 10290 issued two years earlier by President Truman. The new order:

1.—Eliminates the "restricted" classification under which material was barred from publication but could be circulated quite freely.

2.—Retains the three classifications "top secret," "secret," and "confidential" which deal with information, disclosure of which would be "vital," "important," or "prejudicial" to national defense.

3.—Revokes the power of 28 agencies to place any information under security classification.

4.—Directs that the power to classify material in 17 other departments and agencies, including those of cabinet rank (excepting the defense and state departments), be restricted only to the head of the particular agency or department.

President Eisenhower recently signed the Case bill which requires the police department of Washington, District of Columbia, to keep arrest books which shall at all times be open to the public.

An important decision was rendered on May 18 by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of the State of New York. By a 3 to 2 verdict, it reversed the conviction of Minot F. Jalke for compulsory prostitution on the grounds he was deprived of his right to a public trial when General Sessions Judge Francis L. Valente barred the press.

The majority opinion was written by Justice Earle C. Bastow with Justices Charles D. Breitell and Bernard Botwin concurring. The decision said in part:

"We conceive it to be no part of the work of the judiciary upon the facts here presented to decide what a newspaper prints or to what portion of the people it caters to sell its papers.

"A judge may have his personal opinion as to the good taste of what may appear in public prints, but when serving as a judicial officer he has no right in a situation such as this to restrain or dictate what portion of court proceedings shall be made available for reading by the public.

"If abuses exist they are the proper subject for correction by the people through constitutional amendment or by statutory enactment by their duly elected representatives in the legislature."

Referring to the right of judges to control the conduct of a trial through local rulings, the decision emphasized that:

"These and similar rulings, however, do not fall within the orbit of the action here taken in excluding both spectators and press — the entire public — from a major portion of the trial upon the ground that the case had been over-publicized and that the curtain was being drawn in the interest of good morals."

The Court of Appeals still has pending a suit filed by the United Press, International News Service and New York newspapers in which they have asked for a decision on claims that Judge Valente infringed upon freedom of the press when he closed his court to newsmen during the Jelke trial.

Dr. Harold L. Cross, noted attorney and specialist in newspaper law, submitted a supplement to his book "The Peoples' Right to Know" in which he reports in part:

"Anti-secrecy statutes with forceful impact on the practice of 'closed meetings' and proceedings of public officials have been passed in a number of states, including California, Idaho, Indiana, Louisiana, Ohio, South Dakota and Washington. On the other hand, court decisions in New York, Pennsylvania and elsewhere indicate the need in such statutes of built-in provisions for enforcement at the instance of public and press and of appropriate penalties for violation.

"In recent months there have been an unusual number of instances of enforced secrecy in judicial proceedings — a disquieting trend.

Ground has been gained in some places and lost elsewhere along the dimly lighted highway of access to 'police records'. Court decisions in litigation brought by citizens or taxpayers and by newspapers in one or the other of those capacities have brought a mixed bag of good fortune and misfortune. On balance, in those decisions public and press have gained enlarged rights to know."

President Dwight D. Eisenhower on September 29 issued a statement in connection with National Newspaper Week. He said in part: "A sign of free government, a free press, is a primary source of that government's strength. It informs the people so that they may well

discharge their responsibilities as citizens. It provides them and their elected representatives with a wide range of facts and opinions which must be weighed by all who are concerned with the well being of our country.

"Those who struggle to keep America informed can enjoy the satisfaction of knowing that their contribution to the cause of freedom is mighty. They well deserve the respect and gratitude and support of all our people.

Seymour Berkson, General Manager of International News Service, in a speech last week, assailed the Bar Association moves to restrict pretrial news in court cases as attempted censorship that would result in dangerous curtailment of the peoples right to know. These restrictions, he said, would be directed ostensibly at the press, but of course the real target is the public. Berkson continued: "the government itself for the past several decades has shown a dangerous tendency to withhold vital information from the public. Too many things which the people have a right to know are being hidden under a blanket of secrecy on one pretext or another; there has been a growing tendency for some years in Washington to spoon feed the public with only that diet of government news which this of that bureaucrat thinks the public is entitled to have, instead of the full facts."

U R U G U A Y

There is freedom of the press.

The weekly newspaper "La Escoba" was closed April 8 by court order and its staff arrested. The newspaper was closed because it advocated the overthrow of the government by force.

Your committee recommended that no action be taken in this case as here was abundant proof the "La Escoba" was financed through a foreign embassy which sought to implant its "revolutionary movement" in Uruguay via the forceful overthrow of the government.

V E N E Z U E L A

Censorship was lifted for the first time since November 19, 1948 during the Caracas Conference last March but only for news pertaining

exclusively to the Tenth Interamerican Conference. As soon as the conference ended censorship was fully restored.

The September 19 issue of "The Miami Herald" was banned from the Country. It contained an article the Government considered critical.

Issue No. 21 of the magazine "Humanismo" published in Mexico City was confiscated by the government early in September.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

At the Tenth Inter-American Conference at Caracas last March, the chairman of your committee enlisted the aid of the delegation from Uruguay to present a proposal that a comprehensive technical study be made with a view to the strengthening of freedom of expression similar to the study published in 1953 by the Pan-American Union on the "Strengthening of Internal Security in the Americas."

Last year at the Mexico City meeting a recommendation by our committee that such a study be requested of the Pan-American Union was approved. The request was submitted by your executive committee but died of inaction in Washington.

For the first time at a meeting of the nations of the Pan-American Union freedom of expression was debated at great length. The conference adopted a resolution on the "Strengthening of the System for the Protection of the Rights of Man." The preamble of that resolution states, among other things, that: "Freedom of expression of thought must be especially protected in order that public opinion the foundation of any democratic system, can be adequately formulated and developed."

The resolution recommends to the Council of the Organization of American States that technical studies be undertaken concerning the effective protection of human rights, particularly in relation to freedom of expression. Also it welcomes reports from responsible private institutions or associations in this field, which, of course, includes your association.

Your committee will make appropriate recommendations for further action in this matter.

At the United Nations, Secretary General Dah Hammarskjold announced in his annual report that most news enterprises and associations the world over opposed plans for an international code of ethics when queried on the subject. Our Association joined in this opposition. Mr. Hammarskjold has asked the United Nations whether or not it wishes to call a conference of those who favor such a code.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has suggested the establishment of a 'truly international' news agency as an appendage of the United Nations. This matter will most likely come up for discussion at the UNESCO General Conference in Montevideo next month.

Your committee believes that when governments finance news agencies or when news agencies become too dependent on government, objectivity and factual reporting is substituted by bias and propaganda.

A plenipotentiary conference of the International Telecommunications Union is scheduled for next year. The fight is still on to liberalize or eliminate the onerous provisions of Article 29 of the International Telecommunications Union Convention. This article restricts freedom of transmission of press dispatches.

It is to be hoped that members will appreciate the necessity to impress upon their governments the advisability to facilitate the unrestricted transmission of news through the elimination or liberalization of Article 29 of the telecommunications convention.

III. CONCLUSIONS

1. It is gratifying to note that, in contrast to what occurs in Argentine, the integrity of the courts of Brazil and Chile remains inviolate and justices there are not subjected to the indignity of partisan political impeachment by direction of dictatorial fiat because of decisions rendered in accordance with the law and the dictates of conscience.

2. The situation which confronts the press of Argentine is one of the worst, if not the worse, in the western hemisphere.

3. The destruction of "Los Tiempos" of Cochabamba, Bolivia, is one of the most flagrant crimes committed against freedom of the press and is an aggravated offense because of the proven fact it was government inspired.

4. Both the Colombian and the Chilean press associations demonstrated the effectiveness of vigorous non-partisan organization which has been exemplified by similar activities by the Brazilian Press Association (ABI).

5. As long as the state of siege decree remains in force in Colombia, freedom of the press will be subjected to constant threat. The issuance of verbal orders to ban the publication of legitimate news signifies a dangerous retrocession that imperils the advance toward complete freedom which was made when censorship was suspended last November.

6. The statements made by Lieutenant General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla, President of Colombia, in his inaugural address of August 7, created justified alarm among editors and publishers. It is to be hoped he will never resort to the application of further restrictions against the press, whether by verbal orders, by letter or by decree legislation.

7. The situation within Nicaragua today does not warrant a continuation of censorship under the state of siege. The continued imprisonment of Dr. Pedro Joaquín Chamorro Jr., is cause for grave concern.

8. The situation within Venezuela today does not warrant a continuation of censorship.

9. The press of the Americas owes an everlasting debt to the people of Uruguay for the initiative by their delegation at the Tenth Inter-American Conference in presenting the proposal for a Technical study with a view to the strengthening of freedom of expression, and for causing that subject to be debated for the first time in history, at such a conference. Once that study is available your association will be able to undertake a ceaseless campaign to endeavor to obtain the modification of legislation that restricts freedom of expression.

10. The conversion into law of a voluntary code of ethics by the Government of Colombia proves beyond the remotest possibility of argument the wisdom of the decision by your association when it opposed the suggestion by the United Nations Organization for a Conference to draft an international code of ethics. The code of ethics adopted by the Colombian newspapermen was designed to guide them, not to rule them; it was intended to elevate their standard or journalism and not to be employed as a weapon which any disaffected or in-

censed public official might interpret to his own caprice and then would not only silence a voice that might be critical but to destroy that voice in the event it dares to speak the non-slanderous and non-libelous political truth about the operations of government and those who serve governments.

11. Extraordinary Decree 2835 of September 24 issued by President Gustavo Rojas Pinilla sets one of the most notorious precedents in the Americas and, unless modified as requested by the National Press Committee may well portend the abolition of freedom of expression in that country.

12. The action by the Government of Argentina on September 24 when it barred Licenciado and General Miguel Lanz Duret, the president of your association, from entering that country, was an affront against the free press of the Americas.

13.—There is no more real and immediate proof of the power of freedom of expression, through the press and the radio, for both the pre-government and opposition forces of a nation than the historic events of last August in Brasil as well as the election campaign, the results of which are now appearing in the newspapers and being broadcast over the radio.

IV. RECOMMENDATIONS

Your committee recommends that the Inter-American Press Association here assembled:

1. Cable President Juan Perón of Argentina and protest the treatment of President Miguel Lanz Duret as an affront against the free and independent press of the Americas; request the newspaper "La Prensa" be returned to its rightful owners, all suits instituted against it by the government be withdrawn and revoked; the entire machinery of the newspaper "El Intransigente" of Salta be returned to Dr. David Michel Torino; "La Vanguardia" be returned to its rightful owners; newspapermen in exile be permitted to return home freely to exercise their profession; newspapers be permitted to circulate freely and press freedom be restored in accordance with Article 23 of the Constitution of the Argentine Nation.

2. Cable the Senate of the Province of Salta, Argentina, and condemn the impeachment of the two justices who freed Dr. David Michel Torino as a studied plan to intimidate independent, honest and conscientious action in cases involving newspapers and newspapermen.

3. Cable President Gustavo Rojas Pinilla of Colombia and request that Extraordinary Decree No. 2835 of September 24 be modified to insure freedom of expression and that the particular provision of the state of siege decree of November 9, 1949 which established censorship be abolished.

4. Cable President Víctor Paz Estenssoro of Bolivia and request full indemnification for Dr. Demetrio Canelas for the destruction of the plant and property of "Los Tiempos" of Cochabamba, and that he be permitted to return home freely to publish and circulate his newspaper with full protection; that other Bolivian newspapermen in exile be permitted to return home freely to exercise their profession.

5. Cable President Anastasio Somoza of Nicaragua and request he issue an immediate safe conduct to Dr. Hernán Robleto to leave the Costa Rican embassy and allow him freely to exercise his profession if there are no charges pending against him else permit him to leave the country; request that President Somoza use his good offices to expedite the trial of Dr. Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, Jr.

6. Cable President Manuel Odría of Perú and request that he permit newspapermen in exile to return home and exercise their profession and edit and publish newspapers in accordance with existing laws.

7. Cable President Marcos Pérez Jiménez of Venezuela and request he abolish censorship; that newspapermen held as political prisoners be released and that those in exile be permitted to return home freely to exercise their profession.

8. Cable President Héctor Trujillo of the Dominican Republic and request that newspapermen in exile be permitted to return home to exercise their profession and freely edit and publish newspapers.

9. Cable President Alfredo Stroessner of Paraguay and request that newspapermen in exile be permitted to return home to exercise their profession and freely edit and publish newspapers.

10. Cable Don Carlos Dávila, Secretary General of the Organization of American States and inquire as to the status of the technical

study with a view toward strengthening freedom of expression as recommended by the Tenth Inter-American Conference and, in the event it has not yet been ordered by the Council of the OAS to request action be expedited in this regard through his office.

11. Request their respective governments to vote for the modification of Article 29 of the International Telecommunications Union Convention at the 1955 meeting of that body in order to insure freedom of information in telecommunications.

12. Campaign vigorously within their own areas to urge their governments and/or legislatures to repeal laws that many curtail freedom of expression.

13. Follow the examples set in Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Cuba and Brazil and organize professionally within their own areas, discarding professional rivalries or political animosities for the sake of keeping vigil for the preservation of, and/or restoration of, freedom of expression.

14. Employ at all times the weapon of public opinion as vigorously and as effectively as was demonstrated in the case of the closure of "El Comercio" of Quito, Ecuador.

15. Advert to those who deign to restrict or destroy freedom of expression that they and their acts will be recorded in the pages of history which for them will be deservedly black.

JULES DUBOIS, Chairman
"The Chicago Tribune".
Chicago, Illinois, U. S. A.

JORGE MANTILLA ORTEGA,
"El Comercio",
Quito, Ecuador.

CARLOS LACERDA,
"Tribuna da Imprensa".
Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

RAOUL ALFONSO GONSE,
"El Mundo",
Havana, Cuba.

GUILLERMO CANO,
"El Espectador".
Bogotá, Colombia.

APPENDIX 1 TO FREEDOM OF PRESS REPORT

To H. E. the President of the Nation
General Juan Perón.
Buenos Aires.

Most Excellent Sir:

I have the honor of addressing Your Excellency to inform you of the following: immediately after our action as ministers of the local Court of Justice, with Dr. Carlos F. Douthat, we have been advised that an impeachment is being plotted against us, based on complete falsehoods.

The motive or pretext for that impeachment would be the sentence we pronounced on March 31 inst., absolving David Michel Torino from the crime of fraud he was accused of. I firmly maintain that our sentence in that process was absolutely correct and in accordance with the records of the proceedings; that is why I address myself to Your Excellency, begging you to have the mentioned proceedings studied by a lawyer in whom you may have complete confidence, and if that expert should inform you that there are errors or clumsiness on our part, I tender as from this moment my resignation and place myself at the disposal of the Courts.

I point out that before pronouncing sentence, at no moment did anybody whomsoever — functionary or private person — even insinuate that we should condemn the accused: if anybody affirms the contrary, he is not speaking the truth.

It is true that Dr. Pessagno spoke to me by radio and asked us to confirm the preventive prison writ, but also he is a witness that there were no proofs warranting such a measure and so I told him; but as he insisted, invoking Your Excellency's name, I consented to confirm those prison writs and I begged him to transfer me to that capital or to some other city, a request he benevolently accepted. Dr. Pessagno knew, therefore, which was my conviction, and nevertheless — I declare it in homage — when the moment arrived to pronounce the final sentence, he never spoke again or even hinted to me that we should confirm the first sentence, perhaps because I had warned him on the said occasion, that if we had to reach a condemning sentence, he shouldn't count on

me, unless evidence warranting it were presented during the plenary. But as the evidence submitted was entirely favorable to the accused, and we did not receive any insinuation during the days proceeding the sentence, we logically thought that we were allowed freedom to pronounce the sentence according to our knowledge and conscience. And thus it was pronounced. I admit we were constantly urged to solve the proceeding as quickly as possible, but, I repeat again, at no time was there any suggestion made to me as to what kind of sentence was desired — as had occurred when it was necessary to confirm the writs of preventive prison. This, I clarify, is in reference to myself, for it is also true that the other member of the Chamber, Dr. Douthat, went to Buenos Aires for the opening of the judicial year and on that occasion he must have talked with Dr. Pessagno; but regarding what they said about this matter, Dr. Douthat only told me that Dr. Pessagno had requested that “once the first sentence was confirmed or reversed, it should be immediately communicated to him”. And so it was done.

Now it is said that Michel Torino knew how the sentence would come out and on what date, which is ridiculously absurd, because in order that nobody should learn about it, before the concerned parties were informed, I personally made clean copies of the sentence drafts, as Dr. Douthat knows. We are thus accused of venality. But the slander destroys itself: it is inconceivable that a stubborn and obstinate man like Michel Torino, knowing himself innocent, should buy the freedom he could have without any expense. But it is even more absurd that an honest man like myself, who has been a judge for ten years without getting rich, as everybody knows, should fall so low and reach the infamy of accepting money to comply with his duty!

I serenely trust in the fairness of Your Excellency's judgment. You have the means to inform yourself as to who I am, how I live, and thus will know that to this day I don't even own a house, and much less cars, as others judges do, notwithstanding they have been appointed later than I. I take pride in my poverty, because it is the best proof of my honesty as a magistrate. I am not a learned scholar — far from it — but I devote my life entirely to study and work; that is why I indignantly reject the infamy that is being forged and I denounce it to Your Excellency, because I have the absolute certainty

that if it is carried on, it is behind Your Excellency's back or because Your Excellency is not well informed. Regarding Dr. Douthat, though I have known him only for a short time, I consider him incapable of any dishonesty, and I am also convinced that his behaviour in the matter I refer to, has been entirely correct.

After talking with General Sanches Toranzos, I have believed it advisable to present this report to Your Excellency, so that before we are impeached — a procedure that would be an affront and a mockery of justice — there should be a through investigation of our dealings and conduct, both public and private, for we have nothing to hide.

With such hope, I greet Your Excellency with my highest regard and respect.

JERONIMO CARDOSO,
Minister of the Court of Justice
of Salta (Argentina).

APPENDIX 2 TO THE REPORT ON FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

BUENOS AIRES, September 28, 1954

TO: The Chairman of the Inter-American Press Association.

Dr. Miguel Lanz Duret.

Hotel Carrasco, Montevideo.

We were informed that during the very short conversation you had with our mutual friend, David Michel Torino, at the Ezeiza airport, he managed to tell you that what was going on at this moment constituted a clear proof of conditions prevailing in Argentina. You, as the involuntary cause of this incident, had the opportunity to personally prove the exactitude of this statement. We ignored the details of the intervention made by the Mexican Ambassador in Buenos Aires for the purpose of straightening out the difficulties, nor did we have any knowledge of the assurances given you by the Argentine Ambassador in Santiago prior to your departure. We learned about these two facts from the statements you made to the Uruguayan papers.

Three members of this committee had gone to the airport, together with Mr. Michel Torino, in order to welcome you; however, with the exception of the one person who, through taking them by surprise, managed to escape police vigilance, nobody managed to come close to you. They had to limit themselves to greet you from a distance, since police agents surrounded them, just as they surrounded you, to prevent even a simple handshake. The members of the committee who went to welcome with Mr. Michel Torino were Messers. Benito J. Carrasco, Alfonso de Laferrere and Adolfo Lanús. Mr. Carrasco, who is an engineer, is well-known for his professional work, his personal culture and for his blameless reputation, Mr. Laferrere, newspaperman and writer, was until recently chief editor of "La Nación", and due to these qualifications he was assigned to deliver a speech at the public ceremony planned for the delivery of the medal to Mr. Michel Torino. This ceremony did not take place because it was prohibited by the Federal Police before your arrival. Mr. Lanús, also a journalist and writer, twice chairman of the Buenos Aires Press Association at a time when this organization could still carry out its task, was editor of "La Prensa" and worked also as City Editor of this paper until the day the well-known outrage was committed.

We mention the background of these friends in order to make clear our wish to avoid anything which might lend a different interpretation to the ceremony other than what it was designed to be, namely the warm and spontaneous moral support of representative citizens of all sectors of life in the act in which this honor was bestowed by the Inter-American Press Association on an Argentine newspaperman, who, by proving himself loyal to his ideals of Liberty and by faithfully fulfilling his duties, was the object of outrageous persecutions which he suffered with an unflinching spirit. IAPA conferred upon him the medal of "Hero of Freedom of the Press" with the express purpose of emphasizing the meaning of his fight and sacrifice, thereby recommending him as an example to all newspapermen in the Americas and in the World who carry out their work with a clear notion of what it means, and to point out to the conscience of the public the dangers which threaten the people by depriving them of liberty and showing them the difficulties they would face if this liberty were suppressed.

We beg you to excuse us for the size of this letter. However, expressing the ideas contained in the preceding paragraph, we cannot prevent ourselves from telling you that every act that is carried out, every idea that is expressed and every plan that is proposed in our country at the present time, aiming at Liberty, inevitably bears a political aspect. Not party politics, of circumstantial interests, but simply although fundamentally, politics as the expression and synthesis of the way of living of the people. In situations like the one we are now forced to suffer, to speak of Liberty means to assume a political attitude that, within this high philosophical concept, is tantamount to the inspiration that induced the IAPA to confer the medal of "Hero of Freedom of the Press" to Mr. Michel Torino.

In a true democratic regime, where the rights of the individual are respected, where justice is independent and Liberty a fact and not a fiction, a hero of freedom of the press would not have great opportunities, for heroism means to fight, to have firm convictions and the will to serve an ideal, when this very ideal is menaced. We do not want to remind you of men like Milton, John Peter Zengers, Thiers, Voltaire, Jefferson, Bartolomé Mitre or José Goínza Paz, the latter two founders of "La Nación" and "La Prensa" or Alberti, Mariano Moreno, Martí, Sarmiento, etc. . . . nor the recent story of "O Estado de Sao Paulo", to stress together with them, the importance of the fight between freedom of the press and dictatorial obscurantism: we need only to mention now the name of our countryman David Michel Torino and beg you, director of an important Mexican paper, to remember the outrage you suffered when you arrived in Buenos Aires.

This is the tragedy: the martyrdom of Free Press — in this country as unfortunately in many others.

The incident at the Ezeiza airport must have caused a deep impression on you, as well as on the other passengers who saw it or who heard about it. This incident is not very different from others that frequently happen. The fact that the Argentine Ambassador in Chile told you that "you would have no trouble whatsoever at your arrival in Buenos Aires", is proof of a particularly disrespectful situation in regard to the institutional and political order. Therefore, we would like to repeat that everything that is said, thought or done in this country, except privately, has no political meaning. The duty of the

citizens who love dignity and liberty forces them to fight, together with those who do not wish to renounce their rights or submit themselves to a life of irresponsibility. This is the tradition of the Americas; and this is how our people became independent; this is how our papers came to life, and those that are still fulfilling their task continue to serve culture and the noblest victories of our civilization.

An outstanding American journalist expressed a few years ago in Buenos Aires the idea that the countries of our Continent will grow in the proportion of the development of our independent papers. This idea is not only up-to-date, but it also constitutes a warning, that is, we must never stop taking into consideration the ideals that inspire it. IAPA has always made great efforts to secure the freedom of the press in our Continent, on which all other kinds of freedom rely and find their support. During the debates to take place in Sao Paulo you will have the opportunity to reaffirm your purposes as well as your future action in cases similar to the one that made us write you this letter.

Please accept our best wishes for the success of the debates.

Cordially, Organizing Committee. Buenos Aires.

(APPLAUSE).

MR. BITTENCOURT:—You have all heard the applause. It is not necessary that I say anything else. And I hope this will serve to influence Mr. Dubois to reconsider his decision to leave the Chairmanship of the Committee of the Freedom of the Press because it will appear strange that this Association should continue without Mr. Dubois as chairman of this committee. If by any chance he should not wish to reconsider this decision we shall miss him very much as the Chairman and above all we shall miss his reports which we have found so enlightening. I will now call Mr. Quintana, but first I would like to remind you all of the 5 minute limit.

MR. JORGE QUINTANA (Bohemia, Havana):—Mr. Chairman. I believe that I can speak in the name of the Cuban Delegation. We completely agree with the report that was so well represented by Mr. Dubois, and I would like to make just two small clarifications which do not alter this report. It is about the American magazine "Confidential" having been confiscated by the Cuban police. The November

issue of this magazine. It so happens that in Cuba there was also a magazine with this same name — “Confidential” and even that was confiscated. It was because of the intervention of the Cuban newspaper men who objected that this magazine could be returned to circulation. Our country is traditionally a country of freedom and liberty and we repudiate censorship or anything which oppresses freedom. We know now that the situation is very much changed in Cuba. Censorship has been abolished. All publishers in Cuba even though they were on the side of the Government, demand that there should be no censorship, and I should like to point out that the attitude of the IAPA which has always supported the problems of the Cuban publishers show that they have always fought for the freedom of the press.

MR. LEONARDO LACAYO OCAMPO (Novedades, Managua) :—Mr. Chairman. Fellow delegates. I only wish to make a slight clarification with regard to my colleague’s report. We have the cases of Mr. Robleto and Mr. Chamorro, Robleto in the Costa Rican embassy and Chamorro under arrest. Though we belong to opposite camps I have a high personal esteem for both of them, and can say with satisfaction that I have given a little assistance to the Association to have them once again free and working for their newspapers. Mr. Chamorro declared in his own newspaper, a copy of which I sent to Mr. Dubois, to the effect that he did in fact take part in the conspiracy to get rid of President Somoza. As to the assassination plot I knew that Chamorro did not have any participation because of his high ideals. In March, Mr. Dubois says in his report, there was freedom of the press in Nicaragua, but in April unfortunately there was a revolutionary plot to overthrow the President and the Government of Costa Rica provided arms for the revolution — arms which had engraved the emblem of Costa Rica. This naturally has been very highly condemned. Mr. Chamorro was undoubtedly in that conspiracy and so was Mr. Robleto; and I am one of the first to express the hope that charges against both will be revoked, and that soon both will be able to again take up their work. As regards Mr. Robleto, the legal measures necessary will be completed soon, and he will have a safe conduct.

MR. EDUARDO ZALAMEA BORDA (El Espectador, Bogotá) :—I feel that I am expressing the feelings of my Colombian coun-

trymen in supporting the statements of Sr. García Peña of "El Tiempo"; Bogotá, who has expressed the need for urgent action on the part of the IAPA and who asked whether in each country there should not be a national press committee which would immediately take up the defense of the freedom of the press whenever it was attacked. For us Colombians, the National Press Committee, founded a year ago, has been an instrument of great efficacy in such situations. And if such a situation existed elsewhere, we would feel that things could be improved.

MR. OTILIO ULATE (Diario de Costa Rica, San José):—I am from a small American country, one of the smallest, which does not even have one million inhabitants and which is based on democracy. I take the liberty of expressing my full agreement with the transcendent report of Mr. Dubois, with the activities of the Assembly and with the interest which we all have in promoting freedom of the press, which is suffering a temporary eclipse, but could within a short period of time become a reality in the American Continent. The reading of the report makes me feel bad because unfortunately it shows the possibility that violations of freedom create a danger that attacks on freedom of the press will not only be tried, but that their frequency will increase. As Sr. Jorge Mantilla Ortega said so well, it is possible that what is happening in Colombia — the center, until a few years ago of the interest and cordial sympathy of all Americans, because Colombia was a center of democracy, at least as far as Latin America is concerned — it is possible that this will be contagious. This danger can become more pronounced, it can spread to other countries, unless we find efficient means of establishing sanctions. One learns from reading this report that in Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, not only material violation of the freedom of press is perpetrated, but newspapers are supported by official economic and military forces, as we all well know. In Bolivia fire has been set to even press shops. All this proves that democracy can be weakened, unless we strengthen it by means of free elections. The situation referred to begins to create despotism in the Continent. Therefore I appeal to my fellow members and to our colleagues from the U.S., who enjoy an exemplary freedom of the press and who can efficiently contribute towards helping other American

countries to obtain that same freedom, by using the force of public opinion which they have at their disposal in favor of the strengthening of democracy. In my small country something has happened recently which is contrary to its tradition, its feelings and its idiosyncrasies, contrary to the temperament of Costa Ricans, which for more than one century has been a democracy, called by an American writer a humble, simple rural democracy which would have pleased Thomas Jefferson. We are proud of having maintained for more than one century the school as a bulwark of democracy, as we had no arms, and this raised us in the esteem of the Americans and the world. Our Constitution prohibits us to have an army and authorizes merely a small force to safeguard the people and to maintain public order. We have substituted force by schoolteachers. Until a few years ago, we said we had more teachers than soldiers. We could even say that now we have more school units than soldiers. Through schools we have tried to strengthen democracy, civic feelings and the Republic. Recently the Government of the United States gave arms to our country, which had no soldiers for more than one century, and which cannot adapt itself overnight. Costa Ricans are alarmed because military training is now being given in our schools. We admire those armies which, as in the U.S. or in Brazil or in other American democracies are strengthened in order to defend democracy and respect sovereignty. We admire them, but we cannot, when the hour to defend democracy comes, get soldiers to fight for it; but what we can do is to impress the soul of our people, through the schoolmasters, that with democracy gone, life is gone and that to defend it is the dignified duty of each man. We can also contribute to the democratic army through agricultural production: we are a small people of farmers, but if we are now going to create an army, we run the serious risk that this army will serve for what it has served in other, unfortunate Latin American countries. We think that if in Argentina freedom of the press has been extinguished, students have been imprisoned, the vote has been abolished and the formation of parties has been impossible because it was alleged that they stem from the church, if all this has disappeared, democracy has disappeared. It is painful to us. I confess, that the Under Secretary of State of the U.S., Mr. Holland, has proclaimed the President of Argentina a great American citizen. (APPLAUSE).

MR. BITTENCOURT:—I regret that I have to interrupt you . . .

MR. ULATE:—Mr. Chairman, I am about to finish. I finish asking all Latin American newspapermen to remain vigilant, at battle stations, protecting democracy. And I ask our North American friends to help us defend democracy in Latin America. (APPLAUSE).

MR. ROBERTO GARCIA PEÑA (El Tiempo, Bogotá):—Don't be afraid, Mr. Chairman, that I am going to abuse your kindness nor the patience of the members. I simply want to give you some good news, however, before doing that allow me to express my feelings as an American and as a democrat after having heard Mr. Ulate, an exemplary representative of his country, of his model democratic country, an outstanding newspaperman and the archetype of what the American man of our Continent should be like. The good news comes to me in a cable and says: "BOGOTA, OCTOBER SEVEN. SOURCES WORTHY OF CREDIT REPORT THAT THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC GENERAL ROJAS PINILLA IN COMPLYING WITH THE REQUEST CONTAINED IN THE MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED BY NEWSPAPERMEN WILL UNDERTAKE A FUNDAMENTAL REFORM OF THE DECREE ON LIBEL STOP THE DECISION WAS TAKEN AFTER THE PRESIDENT HAD RECEIVED A COMMITTEE CONSISTING OF THOSE IN CHARGE OF DRAFTING THE DECREE PRESIDED OVER BY THE EXPRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC SR. ALBERTO LLERAS CAMARGO STOP THE PRESIDENT STUDIED THE DECREE WHICH HAD BEEN REJECTED BY NEWSPAPERMEN ALL OVER THE COUNTRY".

And now, Mr. Chairman, I take the liberty of submitting this motion regarding the report of Mr. Jules Dubois: "The Tenth Assembly of the IAPA, in thanking Mr. Dubois for his admirable report, reaffirms its willingness to fight for the cause of freedom of the press and to make the defense of this essential principle the primary objective of its activities. The Tenth assembly, with reference to continental journalism, points out the attitude of those governments who have known how to safeguard the freedom as an irreplaceable fundament of democracy and once more protests against those governments which have, through persecutions and arbitrary actions, made the free exercise of

journalism impossible. The Tenth assembly also reaffirms its faith in human dignity and claims, for those who dedicate themselves to newspaper work, respect for their intellectual autonomy and guarantees for all their rights." I hope that the Chairman will submit this motion to the vote.

MR. CARLOS LACERDA (Tribuna da Imprensa, Rio) :—Mr. Chairman, I will start by expressing my full support of the excellent and opportune words of our eminent colleague from Costa Rica. I should like to add a motion to those presented by the Committee of Freedom of the Press:

"Draft Resolution:

a) The frequent need for the IAPA to assist members affected by measures contrary to journalistic professional and spiritual freedom;

b) The favorite reaction of governments which oppose freedom of the press, consisting in the reiterated declaration — mentioned once again in the report of Mr. Miguel Lanz Duret, President of the Association — that the IAPA intervenes unduly in the internal affairs of the interested country;

c) The advisability of establishing a code, and following the guidance, in relation to the IAPA's duty to preserve the freedom of the press without endangering the national sovereignty.

PROPOSES

To the Tenth General Assembly of the IAPA the adoption of the following Declaration:

1. The IAPA considers it its duty to defend the freedom of the press and the professional and spiritual rights of its members before the government of any American country.

2. In so noting, the Association does not consider itself to be interfering with the sovereignty of any country, where its intervention is considered to be necessary in defense of the above mentioned principles.

3. The member nations of the UN and of the OAS recognize as part of these organizations the existence of a super-sovereignty of a Continental and even world nature. They even collaborate with the Declaration of the Rights of Man and with the Charter of the UN, as well as with the successive resolutions of the Conference of American

Ministers and others, for the establishment of a continental and international conscience aiming at the preservation of national sovereignty, though the medium of an international democratic union.

4. Therefore, the governments of the member countries of those organizations cannot allege the prerogatives of their sovereignty to avoid or, in any case, reject the just and necessary intervention of the IAPA in preserving the freedom of the press.

5. Any such statement will be forwarded by the IAPA, at its own judgement, to the OAS and eventually to the UN, in order to compare it with the continental and international obligations assumed by the government that rejected the disinterested action of the Association in defense of basic freedom, which is the expression of thought and the information of facts through the press.

In conclusion:

a) World peace and understanding is inseparable from the freedom of the press.

b) Governments cannot decide on the use of freedom by the press, but only the common justice.

c) Any violation of the freedom of the press constitutes either an actual or potential danger for world peace and understanding.

d) The best guarantee for national sovereignty lies in the existence of international ethics, based on the rights of the individual, among which the right of being informed is fundamental.

e) International obligations and especially the continental obligations of the American countries, assumed by their respective governments, are already so many that they can no longer retrench the freedom of the press and avoid international action whenever it aims at the restoration of this fundamental freedom, on the pretences that the violation of their obligations constitutes a sovereign act of their governments.

f) Therefore, taking into account the recent examples, we hereby denounce the statement of certain governments, who hide themselves behind national sovereignty in order to carry out acts contrary to the international obligations that they have freely assumed. Such statements, made by governments who are interested in making use of the national sovereignty to violate the obligations assumed with other nations in the name of this same sovereignty, will not prevent the

IAPA from acting, in every case, in defense of their members as well as in defense of the right they have to know the facts — to have an opinion which is a fundamental right, in all nations, and not a right based on the convenience of certain governments, in certain countries.

MR. NICHOLAS IFFT (Idaho State Journal, Pocatello Idaho) :
—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have hesitated to bring this matter to your attention simply because it has been my experience that the tendency in organizations of this character has been to lose sight of their important goals and start sticking their noses into business which is not their concern.

However, the more I think of it the more indignant I get over a situation which exists today and which is seriously curtailing one of our primary objectives, that is bettering the relations between the countries of the western hemisphere. In this objective we are meeting the opposition of petty officialism, which at times seems to be doing everything in its power to defeat our program. I refer to the petty and annoying restrictions which are put on travel of the ordinary tourist between U.S., and Central and South America and between the Latin countries and the U.S.A. You are influential people and can avoid many of the annoyances. However for us workers, the people who save for many years in order to make one or more trips, conditions are such that we give up our trips to the countries to the South and go to those countries where we are not faced with perpetual annoyance and I imagine there are many in South and Central America who find a trip to Europe easier and much more enjoyable than coming to the United States. Why should some Brazilian publisher and members of his family who want to make a pleasure trip to the United States, and who probably wouldn't live there if you gave them a house, be treated like a bunch of immigrants. I narrowly missed coming to this convention. That is not important except to myself although it is the fourth consecutive Convention of this Organization which I have attended. What is more important is that Tom Wallace, Honorary President of the IAPA and a man who has devoted many years to bettering relationships between the USA and Latin America, also nearly missed the convention because of some trivial and unnecessary red tape involving his entry into Brazil. I started this trip with a bona fide passport. I also

had in my possession a certificate from my Chief of Police saying that I am not a communist, that I have not been arrested, that I do not beat my wife and that any excesses on my part are usually confined to the observance of Columbus Day. I took my passport to the Brazilian Consul at Miami, and he told me he had to have it in his possession for six days. I pointed out that it had been in his possession for six days but he said Saturday and Sunday do not count as days. He also pointed out that my passport expires in 1955. I said this is 1954 but for some reason that did not count. I wired Mr. Knight at Miami and he advised me to get a new passport. Why, I don't know and he didn't seem to know, but I started for Brazil without a visa. I wired our Secretary and he contacted the convention Chairman here who cabled me to get in touch with the Embassy when I reached Caracas. However, in Costa Rica I met a friend who had the matter fixed up in a half hour. A less sturdy character than I am would have given up the battle long ago. You are not interested in my personal troubles but these are the conditions which face the ordinary tourist. What good does it for hotels, steamship lines, chambers of commerce and other organizations to publish glowing advertisements when conditions like this exist. We have a Research Committee or could appoint a Committee which would have for its sole purpose the making of a careful survey of travel regulations and which could assist in removing a lot of useless regulations which are now in effect in our countries. Most of this red tape is useless and unnecessary. If we pointed out to our people what was going on in official circles to hamstring travel they would help us stop a lot of those nuisances. I want people in Idaho to see this great city of Sao Paulo, Rio, Lima, Caracas, Quito and many others. They are only names to most of them and in the Eastern section of the USA where the people are not as bright as they are in the West we doubt if there is one in a 1000 to which the names mean anything. We urge that our Executive Committee notify the US State Department when the city for the next convention is chosen and advise the Big Wigs that we as newspaper people will not stand for any monkey business or red tape in the treatment of the Delegates coming to that convention. Our best procedure for the bettering of international relations is to treat people decently and with some respect. We all want

the tourist and we want him to enjoy and appreciate what we have got. It is time we did something about it.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—It is a pity that some of these things cannot be helped. I can assure you that the Organising Committee in Brazil, foreseeing the trouble, got in touch with the people at Itamarity, and we had a formal promise of several officials, and they happen to be men who are abreast of that kind of thing; they realise the harm that relatively small things like that can do to countries, where people come just as you came for a pleasant sojourn, I am going to take that into consideration, and am going to bring it to the attention of the Brazilian authorities in Rio. I cannot say that it will be enough to do away with this. You cannot help when an official has a queer idea of his duties. Anyway I think on our side of the world we will do our best so that the IAPA, will not have to start, besides our struggle for Freedom of the Press, a struggle for freedom of travel between our countries.

MR. DUBOIS:—Mr. President, Fellow Delegates, First I wish to thank the orators who were so nice and I appreciate it. I would like to read into the records a Resolution which I submitted this morning.

Whereas Doña Zelmira Paz de Anchorena was publisher of the newspaper "La Prensa" of Buenos Aires when it was confiscated by President Juan Perón in 1951; whereas Doña Zelmira Paz de Anchorena refused to submit to constant persecution and pressure by government and her unwavering support inspired her son, Doctor Alberto Gainza Paz, editor of that newspaper to fight for the preservation of freedom of expression in Argentina; and Whereas Doña Zelmira Paz de Anchorena has reached the age of 80 years and resides in Buenos Aires from which city she has been prohibited to depart to visit her only son, The Inter-American Press Association here assembled, resolves: 1. To declare Doña Zelmira Paz de Anchorena the Queen Mother of the Press of the Americas. 2. To present a duly authenticated copy of this resolution to doctor Alberto Gainza Paz for delivery to her when the circumstances permit.

MR. GUILLERMO MARTINEZ MARQUES (El País, Havana):—Mr. Chairman: Fellow Delegates, for 5 days we have lived

in this marvellous city of Sao Paulo. For 5 days, mornings and afternoons, came here to this building of the Municipal Library, and here we have made use of all facilities and conveniences which we needed for this Assembly. I therefore want to ask my fellow Delegates that before we depart for Rio where we shall continue with our work, we should include in the Resolutions Committee a vote of thanks to the Municipal authorities who have loaned us this site and also to the Director of the Library who has been so kind and generous to us.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—I thank you Sir. We shall certainly send a memorandum to the authorities communicating the approval of your motion. I believe that our meetings here in Sao Paulo have come to an end. Thank you very much. The meeting is adjourned. (6 p.m.)

FIFTH PLENARY SESSION

RIO DE JANEIRO, OCT. 9, 1954

MR. PAULO BITTENCOURT (Correio da Manha):—(Opened the session at 3.25 p. m.) I welcome our friends from abroad and hope that their stay in Río will be a very pleasant one. I should like to inform you that we have among us Mr. George Willock of the "Daily Chronicle" of Georgetown, British Guiana. I should like him to stand up as he is the first representative of British Guiana here. Now, I will ask Mr. John S. Knight to please read the report of the nominations Committee so that we can proceed to elect the members of the new Board of Directors.

MR. JOHN S. KNIGHT (Knight Newspapers, U.S.A.):—Mr. President and members of the Assembly. At the meeting of the Board of Directors a number of nominations were made. Since that time five or six additional names have been suggested by various members of the Association. I will proceed to read the names of those who have been nominated for Directors. After these names are read ballots will be distributed and you are to vote for 15 Directors. It has been suggested that as the names are called the individuals rise so that everyone will know just who they are voting for.

Max Chauvet, "Le Nouvelliste", Haiti.
Luis Franzini, "El Día", Montevideo.
Alfonso Gonsé, "El Mundo", Havana.
Andrew Heiskell, "Life", New York.
Francisco Ichaso, "Diario Marina", Havana.
Carlos Lacerda, "Tribuna", Río.
Herbert Moses, "O Globo", Río.
Rómulo O'Farrill, "Novedades", México.

John O'Rourke, "Daily News", Washington.
 Monseñor J. M. Pellín, "La Religión", Caracas.
 Leo Permuy, "Trinidad Guardian", Trinidad.
 Whitelaw Reid, "Herald Tribune", New York.
 Carlos E. Scheck, "El País", Montevideo.
 Honorio Vila Rey, "El Diario", Montevideo.
 H. Galt Braxton, "Kinston Free Press", Kinston.
 Demetrio Canelas, "Los Tiempos", Bolivia.
 E. D. Canham, "Christian Science Monitor", Boston.
 Ismael Pérez Castro, "El Universo", Guayaquil.
 Manuel Cisneros, "La Crónica", Lima.
 James S. Copley, "San Diego Union", San Diego.
 Roger H. Ferger, "Cincinnati Enquirer", Ohio.
 A. Galvis Galvis, "Vanguardia Liberal", Colombia.
 José García Valseca, "Cadena García Valseca", México.
 Antonio Ibrahim Haddad, "Vida Doméstica", Río.
 John R. Herbert, "Patriot Ledger", Quincy, Mass.
 Julián López Pineda, "El Día", Tegucigalpa.
 John G. McConnell, "Montreal Star", Montreal.
 Javier Malpica, "El Dictamen", Veracruz.
 Charles Manship, "State Times", Baton Rouge.
 William Matthews, "Arizona Star", Tucson.
 Harry Murkland, "Newsweek", N. Y.
 William Pepper, "Gainesville Sun", Florida.
 Miguel Pinto, "Diario Latino", San Salvador.
 Joseph Ridder, "San José Mercury News", California.
 Otilio Ulate, "Diario de Costa Rica", San José.
 Franck Magloire, "Le Matin", Haití.
 Edward W. Scripps, "Daily Herald", Provo, Utah.
 Giusfredo Santini, "A Tribuna", Santos, Brasil.
 Jorge Quintana, "Bohemia", Habana.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—It is necessary to call your attention to the fact that you must not vote for more than 15 names. Any list which has more than 15 names marked on it will be automatically annulled.

MR. RAMON BLANCO (El Imparcial, Guatemala) :—We shall now start the voting, and I shall proceed to call out each newspaper which is a member of the IAPA so that the legal representative of that paper may come forward and deposit his vote in the urn for the election from the list given you of 15 candidates for the Board of Directors.

(Reads list of member periodicals).

Will those members who have not voted yet please step up here, give their name and identify themselves, and vote. (Balloting continues)

MR. BITTENCOURT:—Since the balloting has finished, I would ask the Nominations Committee, accompanied by delegates Augustin Edwards and E. W. Scripps, to take the urn to another room and proceed with the count. Is Mr. Alejandro Otero present to replace Mr. Scripps? Would Mr. Hendrix also go, please.

Before proceeding to read the report of the Resolutions Committee I would like to give you some information we have received, beginning with a cable which bears very good news.

MR. BLANCO:—The most effective work carried out by President Miguel Lanz Duret in his indefatigable campaign for freedom of the press has today reached a climax which will undoubtedly fill you all with pleasure. There could be no better news for a meeting of newspapermen than to learn that a newspaperman has just been saved who had taken refuge in an Embassy, that he has been released with a safe conduct. The telegram which we have received I shall read to you, but first I should like the Assembly to permit us to once again give a vote of thanks to our colleague Miguel Lanz Duret for this very positive result of his efforts, not only because he has caused the release of a newspaperman, but because once again it has been proved that the IAPA is and continues to be a solid group which produces results. I shall now read the telegram.

MINISTER FOREIGN AFFAIRS TODAY HANDED COSTA RICAN CHARGE D'AFFAIRES OFFICIAL NOTE WITH SAFE-CONDUCT SO THAT HERNAN ROBLETO WHO SOUGHT REFUGE AT EMBASSY BE PUT OUT OF COUNTRY IN COMPLIANCE WITH MY OFFER TO YOU. RESPECTFUL GREETINGS.

ANASTASIO SOMOZA

(PROLONGED APPLAUSE).

MR. TOM WALLACE (Louisville Times, Kentucky):—Mr. President. It is very pleasing to those of us who know Mr. Robleto to learn that he has been given a safe-conduct out of Nicaragua. At the same time it is not pleasing to hear, as this group has heard, that he was undoubtedly guilty of what he was accused. I have known him for some time and I cannot imagine that he would take part in a criminal action to unseat anybody.

MR. JORGE QUINTANA (Bohemia, Havana):—Mr. Chairman, fellow Delegates. I also wish to give the Assembly some good news, though just at the moment I do not have the documents with me. I should like to report that today the Cuban Delegation received a cable from Valdez de La Paz of Havana, minister of Agriculture of Cuba, reporting that it was expected that by the 10th. of October, that is, today, three Cuban newspapermen who had been in prison would be free. With that, there will be no newspaperman left in prison in Cuba.

MR. FRANCISCO VALDES GOMEZ (Pueblo, Havana):—Mr. Chairman, fellow Delegates. I have just received documents from Havana which can be found at the Embassy and which refer to my condition of owner and director of "Pueblo" that is why I have been allowed to vote as an active member of this Association. I have a letter here from General Batista, President of Cuba, transmitting to this Assembly, through me, his warm greetings and congratulations for the excellent work and his best wishes for the future. Secondly, the enterprise which I direct has offered a prize of 500 dollars next year to the newspaperman who in the best and most brilliant manner expresses the way of harmonizing the freedom of expression with the needs of the nation. The prize has been offered by "Pueblo" of Havana. So we request that a representative of this paper be appointed to the IAPA awards panel.

MR. BLANCO:—Will you please hand this in writing so that it can be considered?

MR. BITTENCOURT:—I must say that this assembly has received these reports with great joy. Mr. Moses will now read the report of the Resolutions Committee.

MR. HERBERT MOSES (O Globo, Rio) :—I have the English copy and in order not to lose time translating it into Portuguese I will read it in English.

Regarding the recommendation that the IAPA adopt a code of ethics, the committee feels that ethics are personal to the individual newspapers and are controlled to some extent by the mores of the peoples of each country. We strongly recommend, however, that each member newspaper adopt its own code of ethics and that this code be based upon the highest moral principles.

The thinking behind this recommendation is that a formalized code of ethics of the IAPA could prove to be a two-edged sword in the hands of unscrupulous governments that might seek to persecute member papers by setting such code up as standard and accusing them of supposed violations. In at least one country a code adopted by the newspapers has been so used.

Two resolutions were submitted to the Committee on stimulation of a greater flow of news between the nations of the continent.

The first one reads as follows:

Whereas, the growing development of the countries of Latin America and the need for greater mutual understanding, and in compliance with Art. II of the Constitution that sets up as one of the objectives of the IAPA a collective effort to settle mutual problems.

The Tenth Annual Meeting of the Inter-American Press Association, RECOMMENDS that newspapers members of this Association and the various press associations intensify, insofar as possible, distribution and publication of news on Latin America.

The Committee recommends approval of this resolution.

The second resolution on the same subject reads as follows:

The 10 th Inter-American Press Conference,

Considering:

The need to inform the peoples of the Americas better on the life and development of each of their countries;

The present lack of information, which is limited to outstanding events whose explanation and meaning becomes confused or lost;

The importance of meeting that need and correcting that lack through normal and democratic means of information;

The importance which various members of the IAPA given to this matter through successive resolutions,

RESOLVES

To propose to the Board of Directors the immediate establishment of a Committee to:

1. Make a survey among the members of the IAPA with the aid of an adequate questionnaire.

2. To prepare said questionnaire, keeping in mind:

a) Which are the news and information items of special interest to the newspaper, with reference to each country of the continent.

b) Which is the information material on each country which could be considered basic.

3. To have the news released by telegraphic agencies analyzed, in order to ascertain the following:

a) The amount of information on the American countries which is distributed.

i) In comparison with the amount of information on other continents;

ii) In comparison with the amount of information actually published — based on the amount published by an important paper in each country.

b) To study the contents and trends of those news releases, comparing some selected average cases with the news released by the local press in each country.

c) To study the number of items and subjects which are not released, and to investigate the reasons for such omissions.

4. To study the possibility of preparing an alphabetic list of journalistic information for distribution to the IAPA members and to other interested parties, through subscriptions. This journalistic list

published periodically, would provide background information on all the American countries, their peoples and trends.

Sao Paulo, October 7, 1954.

CARLOS LACERDA.

The recommendations contained in the report by the Committee on Freedom of the Press were approved by the Resolutions Committee, which recommends that a drafting committee be appointed by the President to draw up the cables suggested.

The following resolutions concerning freedom of the press were also approved and are hereby recommended to the General Assembly:

The Tenth Annual Meeting of the Inter-American Press Association, in expressing its gratitude to the Committee headed by Jules Dubois, reaffirms its will to fight for the cause of freedom of the press wherever and whenever such freedom is threatened and to make the defense of that basic principle the central theme of the Association's activities.

The Tenth Assembly records the respect of the continental press for those governments which are loyal to democratic norms and have guaranteed freedom as an irreplaceable cornerstone of democracy; and it protests once more against those who by means of persecution and arbitrariness have made the exercise of a free press impossible.

The Tenth Assembly at the same time reaffirms its faith in human dignity and demands for those engaged in journalism complete respect for their intellectual autonomy and unequivocal guarantees for all their rights.

The Committee on Freedom of the Press, bearing in mind its previous pronouncements, reiterates its condemnation of the competition made by government-owned or subsidized radio and press agencies to the independent radio and press. Government agencies exploit the use of advertisements and compete, with inevitable advantages, with the inde-

pendent agencies that live on the preference given them by the public and, therefore, receive no government subsidy or have the prestige that results from Government enterprise.

The Committee wishes to emphasize the need of stopping in American countries this illegitimate, and immoral competition that endangers the freedom of expression.

The following resolution, submitted by Carlos Lacerda, has not been thoroughly studied by all members of the Resolutions Committee. It is obviously an important document that sets forth in doctrine form a principle that we in the IAPA believe in. The committee recommends its adoption but stressing again that all members have not had an opportunity to study it. The resolutions read as follows:

The Committee on Freedom of Press, taking into account:

- a) The frequent need for the IAPA to assist members affected by measures contrary to journalistic professional and spiritual freedom;
- b) The favourite reaction of Governments which oppose freedom of the press, consisting in the reiterated declaration —mentioned once again in the report of Mr. Miguel Lanz Duret, President of the Association— That the IAPA intervenes unduly in the internal affairs of the interested country;
- c) The advisability of establishing a code, and following its guidance, in relation to the IAPA's duty to preserve the freedom of the press without endangering the national sovereignty.

PROPOSES:

To the Tenth General Assembly of the IAPA the adoption of the following Declaration:

1. The IAPA considers it is duty to defend the freedom of the press and the professional and spiritual rights of its members before the government of any American country.
2. In so acting, the Association does not consider itself to be interfering with the national sovereignty of any country where its intervention is considered to be necessary in defense of the above mentioned principles.

3. The member nations of the UN and of the OAS recognize, —as members—, the existence of super-sovereignty of a continental or even world nature. They support the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Charter of the UN, and also the resolutions taken by the Conferences of American Ministers of Foreign Affairs and others groups for the establishment of a continental and international conscience aimed at the preservation of national sovereignty, through the medium of an international democratic union.

4. Therefore, the governments of the member states of these organizations cannot claim infringement of their sovereignty in order to avoid or, in any case, reject the just and necessary intervention of the IAPA in protecting the freedom of the press.

5. Any such accusation will be forwarded by the IAPA, at its own discretion, to the OAS and eventually, to the UN, for it to be compared with the continental and international obligations assumed by the Government which rejected the disinterested action of the Association in defense of basic freedom, which is the expression of thought and the dissemination of facts through the press.

In conclusion:

(a) World peace and understanding are inseparable from freedom of the press.

(b) The arbiter of the press's right to freedom is not the Government but Justice.

(c) Any violation of freedom of the press constitutes either an actual or potential danger to world peace and understanding.

(d) The best guarantee for national sovereignty lies in the existence of international ethics, based on the rights of the individual, among which the right to know is fundamental.

(e) International obligations and specially the continental obligations of the American countries, assumed by their respective governments, are already so numerous that they can no longer avoid international action whenever they have restricted the freedom of the press when such action is aimed at the restoration of this fundamental freedom, on the pretext that in violating the obligations assumed as a Government they are exercising their sovereign right.

(f) Therefore, taking into account the recent examples, we hereby denounce the statement of certain governments, who hide themselves

behind national sovereignty in order to carry out acts contrary to the international obligations that they have freely assumed. Such statements, made by governments who are interested in making use of the national sovereignty will not prevent the IAPA from acting, in every case, in defense of their members as well as in defense of the rights they have of knowing the facts — of having an opinion, which is a fundamental right, in all nations, and not a right based on the convenience of certain governments, in certain countries.

The Committee on Freedom of the Press hereby wishes to acknowledge the cooperation of the Sao Paulo radio agencies, for the erection of the first monument in the world to Freedom of Expression, and which is to be inaugurated by the Tenth Inter-American Press Conference on the 12th of October.

This cooperation shows the identity of desires and foretells an increasing cooperation between the independent radio and press agencies in protecting and improving freedom of expression.

Whereas: The attorneys for the Inter-American Press Association have been instructed to take the legal steps necessary to set up a Scholarship Fund to be administered by the Board of Directors;

And whereas: It is expected that within a year the Inter-American Press Association will have a carefully worked out procedure for safely receiving and disbursing money designated by the members to be used for scholarships;

Now, therefore, be it resolved: That, as soon as the Scholarship Fund is set up, the Scholarship Committee with the assistance of the Manager of the Inter-American Press Association will solicit from the members voluntary subscriptions to the Scholarship Fund and that subscribers will be divided into three classes, namely: (1) Capital Subscribers (those who make a lump sum subscription of an amount not less than one year's dues to the IAPA); (2) Sustaining Subscribers (those who make a continuing annual subscription of an amount not less than 10% of the current year's dues to the IAPA); and (3) Capital and Sustaining Subscribers; (those who make both Capital and Sustaining subscriptions).

MR. ANGEL RAMOS (El Mundo, San Juan, P. R.):—Mr. Chairman, fellow Delegates. Evidently, because of so much paper work the recommendations which I submitted to the Committee must have been forgotten. This recommendation refers to the case of the OCC, and therefore I should like to ask Mr. Canel to find this copy, and if the Assembly so wishes I can mention it now, in order to economize time. The Committee has studied recommendations in connection with the OCC. The situation presented quite a number of conflicting problems and they were all taken into due consideration. After debating the subject for two hours it was decided to recommend the establishment of the OCC as a separate entity from the IAPA. Even though it must be expected that the Association will aid the OCC, it would be established as a separate entity.

Chairman; Mr. Miró Quesada has the floor.

MR. ALEJANDRO MIRO QUESADA (El Comercio, Lima):—Mr. Moses has just read a motion of which I am one of the signers, asking for greater distribution of news and information in Latin America. Another motion was presented, which I think is very important, that of Mr. Carlos Lacerda, on a similar subject, which in reality was planned in a different way. I believe that it is of the greatest importance for this Assembly, and therefore we have to see that news is spread more widely in our countries. Our Constitution foresees action on common problems, especially that of the defense of freedom of the press, whenever it is attacked, because it affects all of us.

It is precisely the unity of the members of this Association that submits us to defend freedom of the press at a given moment. This freedom is the backbone of all our freedoms. I believe the work of the Committee on Freedom of the Press and the Inter-American Tribunal has helped many papers. In this work they have been helped effectively by the newspapers of the continent, who have reported fully on attempts made against the press. That is why we should know each other better. We must understand each other, but we cannot understand if we do not know one another. That is why a greater dissemination of news of all our countries is fundamental. With greater understanding of our mutual problems we can better defend our freedoms and solve our other problems. That is why I hope the assembly will adopt this motion. (APPLAUSE).

MR. BITTENCOURT:—We shall open the discussion of the proposals of the Resolutions Committee, one by one. We shall begin with the Code of Ethics. I beg to remind the members that, in accordance with the rules each is only entitled to speak once for 5 minutes and the speaker has to restrict himself to the subject under discussion.

MR. BLANCO:—The proposal presented by Delegate Valdes Gomez of "Pueblo" has been already submitted in writing and given to the Secretary. This has to be discussed at the meeting next year.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—The first resolution on a code of ethics is now under discussion. If anybody wishes to take the floor please do so. Nobody wishes to do so. Those in favor raise their hands (Carried).

The second resolution, on dissemination of news is under discussion.

MR. ROBERTO GARCIA PEÑA (El Tiempo, Bogotá):—Mr. Chairman, I simply want to support the words of Mr. Miró Quesada and the recommendations of the Resolutions Committee with regard to his proposed resolution. I think it is of the greatest interest to us all to strengthen as much as possible the friendship between the Latin American countries and there is no better way to do so than by fomenting the distribution of news. I should like to report that the newspaper I direct in Bogota "El Tiempo" has for more than a year had special correspondents in Latin American capitals and publishes each week a special page on Latin America which has the title "Our America". In view of this Mr. Chairman, and in view of the authority which this fact gives me, I should like to support Mr. Quesada's words and ask most respectfully that this Assembly approve unanimously the resolution, and also fulfillit.

MR. BLANCO:—On the subject of this Resolution I should like to say that it is a trifle lyrical and too poetical. I am in favour and I shall vote for it, I shall also speak in favour of it, but first I should like to remind you that in these Annual Assemblies we have voted many similar measures which though approved have not been carried out. If I am not mistaken, last year we approved that on the mastheads of the newspapers it should be stated that we are members of IAPA.

It we were to take a survey today of all newspapers that were represented at that meeting, I am afraid that very few of them would be found to have fulfilled that resolution. This matter of promoting a greater exchange of information among the newspapers of America is not likely to be solved by this Assembly, not even if we approve 20 resolutions such as this one, which as I say, we shall support. I should perhaps not try to advise you because among you there are newspapermen who will return to their countries with these resolutions and then discuss the matter with their Editors and/or Directors, who will say to you, you are crazy. In order to attain the understanding which is spoken of, we must campaign among ourselves so that we should not come here to make speeches but to carry out what we suggest. I should like to call on all the Delegates of newspapers who are present that instead of coming to make speeches we should carry out that true exchange we are speaking of. I am in favour of this work but some of the Delegates do not know about countries other than their own. I am not scolding; I am speaking the truth. We will approve this resolution but let us hope that it will not be forgotten as that taken in Mexico was. I should like to see how many newspapers represented here have shown on their mast-heads that they are members of IAPA. I can raise my hand but I can see there are not many others.

MR. CARLOS LACERDA (Tribuna da Imprensa, Rio) :—Mr. Chairman, this is only an explanation on a point of order. In the report of the Resolutions Committee it is said that there are two resolutions on the same subject, and then it says the Committee recommends the approval of this resolution and then it says the second resolution is the following and then nothing is said so I ask, are we going to vote on the two, on the first or second or are they all one.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—I now put the first resolution to the vote. Those in favour please raise their hands. Carried. The next resolution was presented by Mr. Carlos Lacerda who I would ask to be kind enough to come forward and read it.

MR. LACERDA:—I do not think it is necessary for me to read it since everyone has a copy; also I haven't got the Spanish copy. The general idea fellow delegates is this, it doesn't matter what resolutions

we vote for each year and each Assembly for each of our newspapers to publish the maximum possible of news relating to other countries. No matter how much we do in this connection we will never achieve the results we want unless we have the information that is required.

What I think happens is that we do not have enough background information on the events taking place in the other countries at any given time. Also, when we receive a news item we are incapable of giving it the full meaning it may have. I think it is particularly important to emphasize the fact that we must make an effort to investigate the causes of the black-out on information on other Latin American countries. As long as we do not have direct knowledge of the reasons why newspapers do not publish news about other countries, of why some news items are printed and some are not, I feel that Ramon Blanco is right when he says that we will vote on lyrical recommendations, because we have no basis or a safe knowledge of what is the truth. That is why we are trying to give this resolution a more objective approach.

MR. BLANCO:—I must insist that we are studying at this meeting lyrical questions, not only the one we have just approved, but also this one. I have the highest esteem for Carlos Lacerda's fighting spirit but I must say that the publication of a newspaper cannot be based on rules made by such an assembly as this. The lay-out of a paper depends on the editor and those who provide the news. Newspapers have their news services who provide international news items. If these news items are not suitable or insufficient, then the newspaper should change its service, or if it is getting bad service from the agency, it should complain. I know the story of the AP, UP and INS. Ten years ago none of these three agencies took any trouble with items relating to Latin America unless they had some specific interest or unless their clients in the US had particular interest in those particular items. Therefore I believe that this proposal is almost as lyrical as the last one. The interest of North American newspapers for Latin American news will continue to be relatively limited. My own country three or four months ago was getting more attention than any European conflict. Once the conflict was over, there was no more interest in my country. Therefore it is up to the editors to demand more news items. I speak from experience, as we have a news service, and when we find out that a certain news item has not

been furnished us, we cable New York and demand it. However, there are in Latin America many newspapers who cannot ask for all the news, and who might not have the space to print it. Therefore, before voting on this resolution, I should like to have us think of ourselves as newspapermen rather than as poets.

MR. MIRO QUESADA:—I apologize for speaking again. But we are not discussing my recommendation, which has already been approved. I only wish to clarify one point and to thank the assembly for having approved the resolution; and I wish to thank Mr. Blanco for having called it "lyrical", because I think, as a matter of fact lyricism is important too. I think it is correct, as Mr. Blanco said, that it is up to the editor to decide what news will appear and it is only a recommendation that, in accordance with his criterium and that of his readers, the editor print what he deems most interesting.

MR. JULES DUBOIS (The Chicago Tribune):—Mr. President and fellow delegates: I wish to say a few words about what I consider a very excellent resolution submitted by Carlos Lacerda. I believe that our good friend Ramón Blanco has, probably with good intentions, misunderstood the intent of this resolution. So far as lyricism is concerned, I believe the language is most lyrical. So far as its particular application is concerned, I believe it is of proven value to this Association because what Carlos Lacerda recommends is that a study be made, a good study, which would prove priceless to editors from one end of the Hemisphere to the other. Such a study might result ultimately in the production and publication of more news in the United States, Canada, the Caribbean and British Guiana as well as throughout Latin America. I do not consider that this is a lyrical resolution except for the phraseology employed. I believe it is a most practical one, which will bring priceless results, possibly not today but in the future. We have a Research and Information Center which has been conducting studies to help editors and publishers and this resolution is in line with the principles and intent of the center. Thank you.

MR. BLANCO:—I take the floor again in order to answer Mr. Jules Dubois. The recommendation made by our friend Lacerda, besides being lyrical, is illusory. News cannot be made by one person, it appears

from one moment to the next. Nobody says: I want to make this news. There is a paragraph here that says the proposed committee should: "examine the contents and tendencies of this news, and to compare some typical cases with news divulged by the national press". This is absurd, because after all there is no committee which can say: this is false news, unless it is in sympathy with the country which distributed it, or that this committee is interested in deciding "this news is false". I would support anyone who would request the rectification of a news item considered false. But it would be a rectification of the person who believed it to be false. But the falseness of news cannot be proved through any court, not even the IAPA. Let us consider which I did not want to do, the case of Mr. Dubois, who is the only investigator. We all know that he is honest, that he does not have any particular self interest, but he cannot prove what is good and what is bad. What he has had to say so far has always been good, and therefore we have always agreed with him. But if we are going to apply norms to newspaper activities, through means of a committee, as proposed by Mr. Lacerda, then, my friends, there is no freedom of the press.

MR. LEO PERMUY (Trinidad Guardian, Port of Spain):—Gentlemen, we have a democratic meeting here and all of us elect our board of directors freely. This resolution merely says to propose to the Board of Directors, and if you have sufficient confidence in the men whom you elect, then I think it is in order to vote for this resolution and let your Board deal with it. Thank you.

MR. LACERDA:—Mr. Chairman, I requested an additional three minutes to agree with our friend Blanco. The paragraph is absurd as becomes obvious through his analysis, but it is not my proposal. What Mr. Blanco understood was that we meant to force the editors to take certain news, but what I intend is that a study be made of the reasons why certain news is not printed and other items not even distributed. What we propose is what is done in the whole world, what the Europeans have in the International Press Institute in Zurich, what the North Americans have in their country, as mentioned by Mr. Dubois, namely, to study the reason for the news black-out. This is just an idea and as Mr. Leo Permuy has put it so well, I think we should

pass this question on to the Board to decide. This question should be studied objectively and scientifically. There is no reason why this cannot be done.

MR. JOHN R. REITEMEYER (The Hartford Courant):—There is nothing unusual in Lacerda's proposal. Something such as he suggests has already been done by the American Press Institute for the handling of European news. How do American newspapers handle European news, how do European papers handle news from the U. S. That was studied by the American Press Institute with the help of a grant from, I believe, the Ford Foundation. The result is fascinating and is published in a volume called "Flow of the News" which I am sure is in almost every office and we all found it extremely interesting. All that Mr. Lacerda is recommending that we do, or somebody do for Latin America, is what has already been done for the handling of European news. It will take a lot of effort and work in order to do this scientifically, as he suggests. I think it is something that needs doing, as the need is greater than that for the study which the American Press Institute initiated.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—I think the proposal has been duly clarified. We shall now vote on it.

MR. ROBERTO PEÑA GARCIA (El Tiempo, Bogotá):—I wish to support the proposal made by Sr. Carlos Lacerda, which seemed to me to be the complement to the proposal made by Sr. Miró Quesada. I should also like to submit an amendment which is a kind of recommendation: that we try to have all Latin American newspapers, especially the ones who have a larger circulation, to accept at least once a week some information, articles or news report on various countries of Latin America. With due modesty I should like to cite the case of "El Tiempo", which has a page called "Our America" which gives news from Latin America. Mr. Chairman, I should like to submit this ammendment, either now or later, according to the wish of the Chair.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—We are voting on this proposal. All those in favor please raise their hand. (Motion approved):

MR. BITTENCOURT:—We now come to the recommendations of the Committee on Freedom of the Press, which were approved by the Resolutions Committee. Debate? To the vote. Approved. I should like to appoint Messrs. Raoul Alfonso Gonsé, Roberto García Peña and Jorge Mantilla to draft the cables called for in the recommendation.

The next resolution, which reaffirms the defense of freedom of the press as the main purpose of the IAPA, is up for discussion. Those in favor? Approved.

Another resolution condemning government publications and government subsidies for publications. Discussion. Those in favor? Adopted.

The next resolution, the committee reports, is important but has not been studied thoroughly. It concerns the IAPA's position in connection with national sovereignty. I believe we should postpone discussion until next Monday when the debate will continue.

Another resolution expresses our appreciation to the Sao Paulo Radio Association for erection of the first monument in the world to freedom of expression. Any discussion? Approved.

Next is the resolution of the Scholarship Committee which is admirably presented and very much recommended. Does anyone wish to speak? Those in favor? Approved.

The secretary has just reminded me that we still have to discuss the matter of the OCC. I would suggest that we postpone discussion until next Monday, when our meeting will begin at 2.30 p. m.

MR. JORGE MANTILLA (El Comercio, Quito):—Mr. Chairman, I think that I express the feelings of the group of my friends and I think I also interpret the feelings of everybody present when I express to you, Mr. Chairman, the great pleasure of all Delegates, and particularly of myself, to be here in this beautiful city of this great country. We are very grateful (APPLAUSE) Mr. Chairman, for all the efforts which the Organizing Committee—which you preside—have made to make our stay in Rio de Janeiro the most agreeable possible. I can say it has been just that and in the few hours we have been here in this beautiful city we have already seen not only the views but also the wonderful spirit of people, which spirit they share with us foreigners so warmly. I should also like to thank you, Mr. Chair-

man, for the kindness of the committee which has done everything possible for the ladies who came with us, and who received beautiful bouquets of flowers. I return our thanks to you in a bouquet of words.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—After that, I can only adjourn the meeting.

(Meeting was adjourned at 5.45 p. m.)

SPECIAL SESSION AND BANQUET

Río de Janeiro, Oct. 9, 1954

MR. PAULO BITTENCOURT (Correio da Manhã, Río) :—Ladies and gentleman, I am going to ask Carlos Lacerda to say a few words of welcome, expressing our joy in having you all here together tonight.

MR. CARLOS LACERDA (Tribuna da Imprensa, Río) :—The Directors of the Río de Janeiro papers, members of the Inter-American Press Association, have requested me to offer you in their name this dinner, in order to welcome you to the Capital city of Brazil.

You have come to this country at the moment when our hopes of liberty and legal order which are inseparable to us, are being consolidated through the medium of popular voting.

I would like to stress once more, what has been already pointed out in the Committee on Freedom of the Press' report: the extraordinary role played by our press and radio in this decisive stage of consolidation of Brazilian modern democracy.

I refer in a general way to the press and to the radio, because their influence has been exercised, by the independent press and the evil press, by the free radio and by the slave radio. All of them had their chance to disseminate truth and lies.

Lies found a greater possibility of dissemination, because a whole system supported them. Lies are disseminated even by inertia. As always happens, it has been necessary to fight for truth. Now the polls are opened, and we can see that the lies have been defeated, almost in every part of the country, and truth has come out victorious, even out of the emotion caused by those dramatic events which are already known by you. This is, once more, evidence that the best way to fight the wrongs of the press is to compare them with the successes of the press.

We can give the true testimony of the events that occurred in Brazil. Wherever the radio and the press were available, to explain the facts objectively, to compare the lies with simple truth, the free press has been rewarded by the understanding of the people.

The second lesson deriving from these events is the growing influence and, therefore, the growing responsibilities of the press and of the activities of the radio, as sources of information. in the establishment of a public opinion, capable of fighting democracy's disease, i.e., demagogical language, or the "art of cultivating the worst qualities of a people".

We cannot offer you much as a reception. But it is my belief that we can offer you, as to brothers, our testimony of faithfulness to the ideals that serve national communities and humankind, which are the very reason for our papers' existence, and a permanent incentive to overcome our weaknesses.

There was a time when the temptation of journalism was the passion that twists facts, distorts intentions and serves one group instead of serving all the people. Nowadays, besides that temptation which still exists, the most frequent temptation, if not the strongest, is that of isolationism. The result is the decrease of press influence in the formation of public opinion, when its means of disseminating news show a greater development. This news, being excessive, becomes confused in view of the lack of a definite orientation in regard to certain fundamental principles.

In a meeting where so many journalists from so many countries of this Continent are present, it is natural that we consider our common tasks. Powerful papers or humble papers, each of them, besides the task of informing have another mission, that of *gathering information*.

We have but started getting acquainted —and to have a first-hand knowledge of the countries and the peoples to which we belong.

In Journalism, as in everything, there is the danger of letting ourselves be influenced by clichés, that become axioms, without verifying their correspondence to the facts.

As an example, there is the fact that our readers are not very much concerned by news that comes from the other countries of this continent. There are, of course, a few exceptions — every time that a revolution begins or a volcano starts erupting.

However, the development of each of our 21 countries is handicapped by a blackout of information, especially those unintelligible news items released by paper editors, for when a revolution starts we don't know what caused it; as to the release of facts that seem to us less common than a revolution, our papers have seldom an adequate coverage.

The world development of two great news agencies born in the U. S., the U. P. and the A. P., has only permitted them to break the walls of the European governments' news services, that dominated the world, when "La Prensa" and "La Nación" of Buenos Aires, and the "Correio da Manha", and the "Jornal do Brazil" of Rio de Janeiro, and later some papers of other countries of this continent started to publish news released by these agencies, and only then they became world wide instead of merely American agencies.

Today, those countries that started using their services have also become a source of news, which is not used by the greatest part of the editors, mainly because we do not receive daily information and furthermore because if these were available we could not understand their meaning, in view of the lack of previous information, either in our files or in those of the agencies, and also because we know nothing about the facts that caused the events or the people who participated in them.

Part of this delay in journalistic coverage of the American continent is being met by the Inter-American Press Association. But gentlemen, let me ask you how? First by personal acquaintance and then by closer understanding.

References made by your papers to the recent events in Brazil have proven this. Your papers have given your readers a true picture of the facts. However, in what remained between lines and those facts which could only be gathered at first hand, errors have been made because the IAPA cannot do everything — At any rate such errors never reached the absurdity of certain French papers as "Le Monde" which presented the events occurred in Brazil as caused by "Yankee Imperialism" and presented us to the French opinion as "right wing newspapermen", a sports-world classification that we had not been given in our "team".

These indications served only to confirm your opinion —and we know that you have an opinion, that is why you came— that the Inter American Press Association has a goal of its own and another one of even greater utility, that surpasses its immediate goal. The latter can be defined as the integration of the American Continent through the medium of the press. Diplomatic efforts have been unable so far to make this continent something more than an archipelago. Our main duty is to transform it into a sound spiritual, economic and political reality, and doing away through presentation of true facts with doubts and hesitations which are favored by ignorance and which contrary interests try to stop in each of our countries.

For this reason we desire to render you something more than a friendly tribute. Let us act like brothers around the same table, which is in your own home, this Brazilian home that is now your host, proud to receive you and happy to be able to show you this day, the victory of democracy which is being consolidated under the sign of hope.

Thank you very much for your presence and attention.

MR. JOHN R. REITEMEYER (The Hartford Courant, Conn.) :
—Mr. President, I do not have the eloquence my distinguished colleague Carlos Lacerda has. I am going to talk to you in simple language. The other day a friend of mine in Sao Paulo asked me if there were any people from Texas at the meeting and I said no there weren't any. So he asked why, and I said because perhaps Brazil is the only place in the world that could give Texans an inferiority complex. I spent three weeks or more here and I still am constantly surprised by the fact that Brazil is so vast and has such opportunities. As you know, Brazil is the fourth largest country of the world, with an area of three and one half million square miles. It has 26,000 miles of navigable streams, a coastline greater than the whole US Atlantic and Pacific coasts combined. The spirit of the people is portrayed, not by these things but by the hospitality and kindness we have met on all sides. This has convinced us that Brazil is a country of friendly and cultured people, with whom we want to establish a lasting friendship and it is because we want this firm and lasting friendship with them that I was somewhat surprised and troubled by a dispatch which my friend Tommy Curran of UP gave me, which spoke about remarks

made in West Virginia by a professor of sociology from Brazil. This professor said that perhaps Brazil is wrong in its foreign policy, that perhaps they should do things the way Perón does, that blackmail may be the right way. He said all Latin America is laughing at our relationship with Perón and that our traditional friendship was perhaps wrong and Peron's attitude was right. Now if you live next door to a man you do not get anywhere by threatening him but buy doing everything to be friendly with him. I cannot speak for the U. S. press as a whole but I can speak for the IAPA which, as I reported once before, has a wide range of newspapers as members, from New Orleans to the Canadian border. Now, so far as our Brazilian professor is concerned, Perón's attitude has not found the tiniest support. You can look in our files for years back and find there the failure of Perón. A year ago in Mexico a report was read by Mr. Knight, who was our President at the time and is one of the most distinguished editors of the U. S. This was after the visit of Milton Eisenhower to South America. He made certain comments on the regime existing in Argentina and you will remember how he commented on what Milton Eisenhower said. I myself expressed my opinion on Argentina and you can look it up in our files. Mr. Dubois' report on freedom of the press, where you will see that Perón's system is unpleasant and that the press of the Americas has not been misled by false gestures. As Carlos Lacerda said, it will be possible someday to have the entire western hemisphere united in spirit, but I think that whatever has to be done, has to be done by organizations such as ours. He says that meeting together is one of the things that brings greater understanding and I agree with him. And that is the aim for which the IAPA is working. I want to express my deepest thanks on behalf of myself and all of my associates for the very warm and kind reception we have had since we have been in Brazil. You have been most hospitable and kind and certainly no words of mine can adequately express our gratitude to you. I can only say. Thank you very much. Obrigado.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—Mr. Lanz Duret will proceed to the reading of the members elected to the Board of Directors.

MR. MIGUEL LANZ DURET (El Universal, México):—Gentlemen, I am going to tell you of the results of the count of votes

in the election we held this afternoon for the 15 new members of the Board of Directors. The people selected will be in office for the next 3 years and they are the following:

Max Chauvet, "Le Nouvelliste", Port-au-Prince.
Luis Franzini, "El Día", Montevideo.
Alfonso Gonsé, "El Mundo", Havana.
Andrew Heiskell, "Life", New York.
Carlos Lacerda, "Tribuna da Imprensa", Río.
Herbert Moses, "O Globo", Río.
John O'Rourke, "Daily News", Washington, D. C.
Mons. J. M. Pellin, "La Religión", Caracas.
Leo Permuy, "Trinidad Guardian", Port of Spain.
Ismael Pérez Castro, "El Universo", Guayaquil.
Roger H. Ferger, "Cincinnati Enquirer", Cincinnati, O.
William Pepper, "Gainesville Sun", Gainesville, Fla.
Otilio Ulate, "Diario de Costa Rica", San José.
Edward W. Scripps, "Daily Herald", Provo, Utah.
Jorge Quintana, "Bohemia", Havana.

With the previous names, the Board of Directors for this year is completed. I will take the opportunity to remind you that at 10 a. m. sharp, tomorrow, members of the Board of Directors must meet to plan their activities. To close, and since this is the last time that I will have to address you all as President of the Association, since as from tomorrow the new President will be elected, I want to thank you for all services you have given to the Association and for the help you have given me; without it I would not have been able to carry out my duties. If I had not had the support of all of you I would not have been able to take the actions I did. Thank you very much. We are going to give the floor to Mr. John Knight, Chairman of the Mergenthaler Awards Committee, who will read the names of all those who have won prizes.

MR. J. KNIGHT:—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen. This was the first year of the Mergenthaler Awards, which are provided through the generosity and through the personal interest of Mr. Mirovitch. We have tried to model these awards after the Pulitzer prizes and we hope that in time they will equal them in prestige and recogni-

tion. The committee was disappointed this year in the number of entries which was small, but nevertheless it constituted a rather significant and important beginning. The committee met in Sao Paulo at 9.00 a. m. last Friday and all members of the committee were present, including Mr. Pepper, Mr. Field, Mr. Gonsé and Mr. J. Mesquita Filho. I presided as Chairman. After considering all of these entries very carefully and screening them we have the following announcements to make. I will read the citations and ask the representatives of the paper of the individual to come forward; the awards will be awarded by your President, Mr. Lanz Duret. In the first category which is that in recognition of the work done by a newspaperman on behalf of freedom of the press. The award goes to Jorge Mantilla Ortega, Sr. Mantilla displayed extraordinary courage by his refusal to publish a government communique that insulted the free press of Ecuador. This brought upon him the wrath of the government and closure of his paper. Through it all Sr. Mantilla stood firm in defense of his principles and the government had revoke its order of closure.

(Mr. Lanz Duret awards prize).

MR. JORGE MANTILLA (El Comercio, Quito):—Mr. Chairman. I should like to thank you in a very few words for this very great honor which the IAPA has given me with this prize. I am truly so moved that my words cannot express my feelings properly. I thank the givers of this award so very much for making the honor possible. I thank the judges for finding in me a worthy object. But in truth all merit that this award may have, I must pass to those who were with me in those difficult 45 days during which the newspapers of my firm were closed. With the permission of the judging committee and with the permission of the givers of this award, I should like to offer the pecuniary part of this award to the two Institutions which supported me in the difficult times of November and December last year. They are: National Union of Journalists of Ecuador, the group which unites all newspapermen of the country without distinction of political or religious creed, or race. To them I give half of this money. The second half to those people who fought with me shoulder to shoulder, and who are the reporters and manual workers of my newspaper.

This honor is not mine alone; I accept it on behalf of a person who helped me, who taught me to love liberty and who is the spiritual director of the newspaper which tomorrow reaches its 50th anniversary. I refer to my father Carlos Mantilla.

Mr. Chairman, thank you. Thanks to all of you. (APLAUSE).

MR. KNIGHT:—The next award is in recognition of meritorious public service on behalf of the community through editorials and special articles. We believe that through consistent editorial fighting corruption in government, in what might be considered the outstanding public service of the year, the award should go to Carlos Lacerda. (Mr. Lanz Duret hands him award).

MR. CARLOS LACERDA (Tribuna da Imprensa, Rio):—Thank you very much.

MR. KNIGHT:—I might say, for your additional information, that in making this award the panel was not influenced in any way by the political activities of the gentleman who has just received it. He received the award for outstanding public service in fighting corruption in government.

The next category reads: In recognition of meritorious public service on behalf of the community through the medium of news writing or reporting. The panel decided that none of the entries matched the intellectual or cultural perfection that we might expect in an award at this time. So, we have permission of the people who made these awards possible to set aside any unused money for the purpose of striking a special medal or some other award in a special category. We felt that the award should not be demeaned and that unless the candidates measure up to the standards expected no award be given. We felt that in the third category no entries were up to these standards.

In the next category, in recognition of meritorious public service executed by a cartoonist the award goes to Carmelo Filardi, staff cartoonist of "El Mundo", San Juan, Puerto Rico. The president will hand over the award to Mr. Angel Ramos to be presented to that gentleman on his return. (Mr. Lanz Duret hands award to Mr. Ramos).

MR. ANGEL RAMOS (El Mundo, San Juan):—It will be a great pleasure to present this award to Mr. Filardi on my return to

Puerto Rico. It is a real pleasure for me to accept this prize on behalf of Mr. Filardi, who has been working for the newspaper "El Mundo" for 27 years and is a very good cartoonist.

MR. KNIGHT:—The next award is in recognition of meritorious work by a photographer for the excellence of one or more press photographs during the year. This goes to Agustín Fuentes, staff photographer of "La Prensa", Managua, Nicaragua. He is not present this evening so we will ask the manager of the Association to see that this award reaches his hands.

And finally the bronze plaque for the publication which has especially distinguished itself during the year for meritorious journalistic work on behalf of its community is awarded to "El Imparcial", of Guatemala. This newspaper maintained a policy of complete independence from government influence and fought consistently on behalf of democracy at a time when the country was subjected to the gravest communist infiltration in the Americas.

(Mr. Lanz Duret hands bronze plaque to Mr. Blanco).

MR. RAMON BLANCO (El Imparcial, Guatemala):—Ladies and gentlemen, I find myself in the same position as Mr. Mantilla a few minutes ago. I who have fought tooth and nail during our sessions in defense of my ideas, am now at a loss for words. But I would like to accept this plaque in the name of the founder of "El Imparcial", whose blood was splattered over the pages of the newspaper. He was assassinated by the police of the dictatorship Oct. 1, 1944. I would like to think that it is he who is receiving this plaque through me. We have followed his footsteps even to the point of suffering the same fate. Many thanks to all. Thanks to the awards panel and may the example be followed so that soon we may all receive awards for being good boys.

MR. GNIGHT:—Ladies and Gentlemen, this concludes the distribution of awards for this year. Your committee wishes to extend its congratulations to all the winners and we hope you are in agreement with our selections.

MR. LANZ DURET:—I should like to ask Mr. Mirovitch, who is here with us this evening, to say a few words.

MR. EUGENE B. MIROVITCH (Mergenthaler Linotype Co.):
—Mr. Chairman. Ladies and gentlemen. I consider it a great honor to speak to such a distinguished gathering of newspapermen from every part of the Western Hemisphere.

Two years ago at the IAPA meeting in Chicago I was greatly honored when elected to life membership in the Association. But then, as now, I felt that the honor was not due to my modest person. Of course not. It was rather a tribute to a man whose genius produced a major milestone in the advancement of the modern printing industry. I refer to Ottmar Mergenthaler. It so happens that this year is the 100th anniversary of the birth of Mergenthaler and this seems to be a very fitting year for the initial distribution of the Mergenthaler awards.

July 6, 1886, I believe, is a date of equal importance to the day in the fifteenth century when Guttenberg gave the world movable type. It was on July 6, 1886, at the old New York Tribune that Whitelaw Reid, on seeing the results of a peculiar looking machine operated by Mr. Mergenthaler, exclaimed: "Why, it is turning out lines of type!" And in saying those words he christened the machine "linotype." And that machine, modesty apart, marked a new era in the developing of printing and the spread of education and the fight against illiteracy in many parts of the world.

About ten years later the first Linotype machine was installed at the Tribune. Around the same time the Linotype found its way into Latin America and today is used daily, not only in the great capitals, but in large and small cities from the Rio Grande to the Straits of Magallanes.

Incidentally, much is said these days in the newspapers, magazines and books about the industrialization of Latin America: power plants, steel mills, oil, etc., but rarely does one see a reference to one of the oldest industries of Latin America: typography.

I wonder how many of you, ladies and gentlemen, realize that the printing industry was born in Latin America in 1539. The first press was brought to Mexico in that year by a Spanish monk, thus initiating the art of typography in the New World. I had the honor of participating in a ceremony in Mexico in 1939 commemorating that event.

After the first century it was estimated that about 25,000 persons were employed in typography in Latin America. All this, keep in mind, occurred almost a century before printing was introduced to the United States.

We arrived at the conclusion, then, that printing is an industry of prime importance in Latin America and a basic factor in the development of the pattern of life in that area.

It might be asked why the printing industry grew so rapidly in Latin America. There are several answers, but we would like to stress one, and that is that the peoples of Latin America realized that a free and strong press is essential to democracy.

With the approach of the centenary of the birth of Ottmar Mergenthaler, we of the Mergenthaler Linotype Co. felt that we could pay no greater tribute to the inventor than by establishing a prize for Latin American journalists that eventually would parallel the Pulitzer prizes awarded in the United States.

In conclusion, allow me to express the hope that through the years the Mergenthaler Awards will become more and more a factor in making the press of Latin America strong, in the good sense of the word — a true fourth estate. I should also like to say to our Brazilian friends how happy I am that we are distributing the first Mergenthaler Awards here in Brazil. (APPLAUSE).

MR. BITTENCOURT:—Ladies and gentlemen, I suggest you do as I do and start moving out.

MEETING OF NEW BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Rio de Janeiro, Oct. 10, 1954

PRESIDENT MIGUEL LANZ DURET (El Universal, México) :—Called the meeting to order at 10.10 a. m.

Mr. Ramón Blanco (El Imparcial, Guatemala) invited the Board to hold its semi-annual meeting in Guatemala. He said it should prove interesting to the directors to observe his country in its present phase of transformation. He said the present government has been accused of being rightist but the fact is that it is neither rightist nor leftist and is above all partisan interests.

Mr. Lanz Duret asked whether there were any other invitations and Mr. John R. Reitemeyer (The Hartford Courant, Conn.), Chairman of the Executive Committee, said he had received an invitation from Ford Baxter, of Bermuda.

Mr. Jules Dubois (The Chicago Tribune) said he is sure Bermuda would be a very pleasant place to meet, but the selection should be based on whether the site provides the opportunity for constructive work. That's why, he added, he favors Guatemala, without taking into account the political situation there.

The directors were then asked to vote on Guatemala and Bermuda. Guatemala was selected unanimously.

Mr. Lanz Duret said the IAPA had received invitations to hold its next annual meeting in Spokane, Washington, and in New Orleans, Louisiana. He recalled that Mr. William Cowles (The Spokesman Review, Spokane, Wash.) had extended an invitation verbally and in writing. Mr. Lanz Duret then offered the floor to Mr. Rolland T. Huson (The Plainsman, Zachary, Louisiana). Mr. Huson, in inviting the IAPA to meet in New Orleans, said he did not only represent that city but also the state of Louisiana. He pointed to letters, inviting the IAPA to meet in New Orleans, from state and city authorities and

newspapers. Mr. Huson said he had a cable that replies to a question raised by several members — the question of racial segregation. The cable assured the IAPA that there would be no problems in this connection. Mr. Huson pointed out that the mayor of New Orleans would not issue an invitation if there were the slightest danger of incidents because of the race of members.

Mr. Lanz Duret asked that assurances be given that no racial discrimination would occur in hotels, restaurants or other public places. Mr. Angel Ramos (El Mundo, San Juan, Puerto Rico), asked whether it is not true that Louisiana has a law forbidding negroes and whites to live at the same hotel.

Mr. Huson said there are certain laws on the books to satisfy one group, but that they are ignored to satisfy another. This is probably not the best system, he added, but that is the way it is.

Mr. Dubois recalled that he visited in New Orleans several years ago with his family and a colored maid and had no trouble at the hotel.

Mr. Blanco said the IAPA should accept the assurances given by the mayor of New Orleans and others in good faith.

Mr. S. G. Fletcher (The Daily Gleaner, Kingston, Jamaica) said discrimination will start at the airport when delegates see separate wash-rooms for negroes and whites and that no assurances can change this.

Mr. Tom Wallace (The Louisville Times, Kentucky) said a distinction is made between national and foreign negroes.

Mr. Carlos Lacerda (Tribuna da Imprensa, Rio) asked whether the mayor of New Orleans can guarantee that there will be no discrimination at a restaurant or movie to which a colored delegate may go alone. In the second place, and from a personal point of view, he said he would never vote for a town where there is a color line.

Mr. Mario Bermúdez (International House, New Orleans) repeated International House's invitation and explained generally the work done by this organization.

Mr. Herbert Moses (O Globo, Rio) said New Orleans is a very international-minded city and he is quite sure no racial incidents will occur.

Mr. Lacerda spoke in favor of Spokane. He said members should get to know a little-visited area of the U.S., particularly one where the IAPA could get many new members. He said Mr. Cowles has been a

consistent and devoted member of the IAPA and his city should have the honor of being the site of an annual meeting.

Mr. Blanco said, in connection with the color line in New Orleans, that while in New York he had seen posters saying "No Mexicans allowed" or "No Cubans allowed" or "No Puerto Ricans allowed" or "No Jews allowed".

Mr. Lanz Duret said he has no objection to New Orleans but that, as a lawyer, he was disturbed by a remark made earlier, to the effect that there are certain racial laws but they are violated. In the second place, he said, he does not like going to a place where the IAPA, whose fundamental objective is freedom of the press, would have to accept the violations of other liberties. He believes that a place where the IAPA can work and attract new members is much more important than the wonderful restaurants of New Orleans.

Mr. William Pepper Jr. (Gainesville Sun, Gainesville, Fla.) said that personally he would like to go West, to an area he has not visited. As far as New Orleans is concerned, he said he is sure it will not be the first time that organizations such as the IAPA have met there. He asked Mr. Bermúdez what has been the experience in these other conventions.

Mr. Guillermo Martínez Márquez (El País, Havana) said it is difficult to reject the very kind invitation extended by Mr. Cowles, who he said is one of the most agreeable, cultured and helpful fellow workers he has met at IAPA meetings. However, he felt that Spokane is too far away. Therefore, and because of his personal attraction for New Orleans he is in favor of that city. He suggested that in the future the IAPA should not have to be invited, but should simply select the sites of its meetings.

Mr. Bermúdez said he has been with International House 10 years and that his job has included playing host to many colored visitors. The first commercial mission to visit New Orleans 10 years ago was a Dominican one and it included a negro. Even then, he said, there was no disagreeable incident. Right now, he added, there are 1,500 Latin American students in the State of Louisiana and there are many who could not very well be called blond, yet they have no difficulties. He said if he thought there would be any incidents during the IAPA meeting he would be the first to oppose the selection of New Orleans as the host city.

Mr. Dubois said he would be disposed to vote for New Orleans under the assumption that Mayor Morrison will not repeat his embrace of Perón.

Mr. James G. Stahlman (The Nashville Banner, Tenn.) said he was born and raised in the South. His was the first newspaper in his part of the country to employ a negro reporter and he was the author of the report of a commission to admit negroes to Vanderbilt University. He said 99% of the so-called race question is raised for political or other reasons by people who know little or nothing about the situation as it really exists in the minds and hearts of the real people of the South. He believes there is less chance of discrimination in New Orleans than in New York. Most of the stories about the South are the bunk, he said, and added: I am sure that International House and the State of Louisiana would never dare stick their necks out if there was any chance of an embarrassing incident. If there was that chance I would be the first to advise against going there, but I say: forget it.

Mr. Lanz Duret then called for a vote on Spokane, followed by a vote on New Orleans. The result was Spokane 10 votes, New Orleans 16.

Mr. John S. Knight (Knight Newspapers, USA) said now that the matter has been decided he can say that there is no more likelihood of a racial incident in New Orleans than in Washington or some other part of the country.

Mr. Lanz Duret announced that the Board would next elect officers for 1954-55. He appointed a nominations committee formed by Mr. Martínez Márquez, Mr. S. G. Fletcher and Mr. Marshall Field Jr. He then called a recess for the nominations committee to meet.

The meeting was called to order again at 11.25 a. m. and a roll call was ordered. Twenty-seven directors were present. Mr. Lanz Duret then introduced the new directors and congratulated them.

Mr. Martínez Márquez, chairman of the nominations committee, said the persons nominated are well known to everyone, so he would simply read their names. Naturally, he said, the president should be Mr. Paulo Bittencourt. The first vicepresident, he added, should be a North American, in accordance with established practice. He nominated Mr. James G. Stahlman. As second vicepresident he nominated Mr. Luis Miró Quesada, of "El Comercio", Lima; secretary: Mr. Leo

Permuy, of the "Trinidad Guardian", Port of Spain; and treasurer: Mr. Robert U. Brown, of "Editor And Publisher", New York. Mr. Martínez Márquez said the committee proposes the re-election of Mr. John R. Reitemeyer, of "The Hartford Courant", (Conn.) as chairman of the Executive Committee, the members of which would be: Messrs. Andrew Heiskell, "Life Magazine", New York; Julio Garzon, "La Prensa", New York; Angel Ramos, "El Mundo", San Juan, Puerto Rico; John T. O'Rourke, "The Washington, Daily News"; (D. C.). Herbert Matthews, "The New York Times" and Raoul Alfonso Gonsé, "El Mundo", Havana, Cuba.

The nominations were all applauded and Mr. Lanz Duret declared the nominees elected unanimously. He said he would now ask Mr. Bittencourt to take over the presidency, but before he would like to thank all the directors for their collaboration during his term of office; he concluded expressing the wish that they continue their collaboration so that the Association might continue to grow strong and might mark up additional victories on behalf of freedom of the press. (APPLAUSE).

Mr. Bittencourt said he would not make a speech, but that he would like the directors to know how grateful he is. He said it is a great honor for him and that he thinks that with the help and sympathy of the Board he will be able to fulfill his duties.

Mr. Reitemeyer said he had an application for associate membership from Mr. George Mattox, of the Mergenthaler company of Brazil. He moved that the application be accepted.

The application was put to the vote and approved.

Mr. Dubois moved that the Mergenthaler prize awarded to a photographer of "La Prensa", Managua, be delivered by Mr. Otilio Ulate (Diario de Costa Rica, San José). Mr. Ulate accepted the mission, and the Board authorized him to deliver the prize.

Mr. Martínez Márquez proposed that the Freedom of the Press report be reproduced in the minutes of the meeting instead of separately. His proposal was approved.

Mr. Bittencourt adjourned the meeting at 11.45 a. m.

SIXTH PLENARY SESSION

Rio de Janeiro, October 11, 1954

MR. PAULO BITTENCOURT (Correio da Manhã, Rio):—The meeting is called to order (2.50 p. m.) You will remember that in our last meeting we were discussing the report of the Resolutions Committee. We will now reopen the discussion on that report with the proposal submitted by Carlos Lacerda, which it was recommended the delegates study.

JULES DUBOIS (The Chicago Tribune):—I assume you refer to the resolution which on Saturday you deferred until today. Mr. President, fellow delegates: With reference to the good intentions of Mr. Carlos Lacerda in submitting that resolution, which you will find on page 4 of Document 37, distributed on Saturday, I would like to point out that I believe it is an unnecessary resolution because on Saturday we already adopted one resolution which reads: "The Tenth Annual meeting of the IAPA reaffirms its will to fight for the cause of freedom of the press wherever and whenever such freedom is threatened and to make the defense of that basic principle . . .", etc. I shall continue by observing that the Association already goes on record in this resolution to fight attacks on freedom wherever they may occur. The resolution submitted by our good friend Carlos Lacerda is very dangerously phrased. I pointed it out to him the other afternoon. Paragraph 2 says: "In so acting the Association does not consider itself to be interfering with the sovereignty . . .". The IAPA never intervenes. The IAPA acts. The use of that word is a dangerous insertion. Furthermore, reference is made to the existence of supra-sovereignty of a continental or even world nature, referring to the UN and OAS. Not everybody accepts the super-national sovereignty of the UN or even the OAS and I might point out that there is absolutely nothing in the

charter of the OAS which obliges a single nation in the Western Hemisphere to observe and protect freedom of expression. In order to produce the same intention, the same intent, which Carlos Lacerda desires to give to the Association through his resolution, I have drafted a proposed constitutional amendment which requires only one more signature before it is official and can be officially submitted, but I would like to read it now to the delegates:

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

"The undersigned respectfully submit the following proposed constitutional amendment:

"There shall be only one committee to handle all matters relating to freedom of information, entrusted by the association to act promptly to defend that freedom wherever it may be threatened, to plan, act on, and recommend the enforcement of measures designed to forestall attacks against that freedom, to prepare and submit a semi-annual and annual report on freedom of information and such special reports as may be required.

"At no time shall this committee, or the association, intervene in the internal political affairs, or international policy, of any country but shall confine its activities to the purely professional aspects of attacks against freedom of information.

"This committee shall be called the Freedom of Information Committee."

As soon as I have the other signature it shall be formally submitted and will not be subject to debate until next year. Thank you.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—Obviously, that amendment will only be up for discussion at next year's meeting. We have the proposal of Mr. Lacerda before us and we must continue our discussion of it. I do not think that Mr. Dubois' proposed amendment should interrupt our discussion.

LEO PERMUY (Trinidad Guardian, Port of Spain):—As Mr. Dubois correctly pointed out, in my opinion there are two things in this resolution of Mr. Lacerda's which I think we should clarify. It is the word "intervention" in the proposal which I just read out to

you members in paragraph 2; in paragraph 4 the word is also mentioned. I do not believe Mr. Lacerda meant us to use the word "intervention" and it was probably wrongly translated from the Portuguese original and I would be glad if some other member could give a better word for "intervention". Mr. Dubois said "acts".

MR. BITTENCOURT:—I am very glad you mentioned that. I was going to do it myself. It is not wrong not quite correct. He does not mean intervention, he meant "atuação", which actually means doing something for or against. It is not nearly as strong and as definite a word as intervention. This is a matter for you to decide but in the Spanish translation the word written is "actuación". This is a matter of grammar. (It is decided that the Spanish will be altered to read acción). For the English we suggest "action". Would you be satisfied with that? Does anybody else wish to speak on this subject? Mr. Dunshee Abranches has the floor.

CARLOS DUNSHEE ABRANCHES (Jornal do Brasil):—In the same spirit of cooperation I should like to draw your attention to item (b) in this resolution. It seem the intention of Carlos Lacerda, which I consider very wise and correct, to refer to the executive power of the country; but instead he uses the word "government." It seems to me that the intention of the author was to say that who is to decide ove the capacity of the press, to use the freedom of the press, is not the executive power but the regular courts of the country.

I think this is a suggestion which could be taken into account when making the version in a different language. I should also like to make another declaration. If we approve this resolution of Mr. Lacerda's, we shall in a certain way be contradicting an earlier resolution because we are giving a moral value and efficacy to the ethical relations between Government and Press, and we will be rejecting an earlier decision on a code of ethics, which attitude I think is contrary to the interests of the Association. Therefore I vote against the first resolution which I was not able to vote against while it was discussed. It seems to me indispensable that a code of professional ethics be enforced. I believe that against real newspapers that code of ethics could never be invoked validly. Were it invoked, it would be up to the Tribunal of

Freedom of the Press to state that in such a case the government in question had no right to say that the code had been infringed. Probably a recent case of this kind had considerable influence in causing the rejection of the code offered by Lanz Duret, our distinguished colleague.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—Does anybody else wish to speak on this proposal? If not we considerer it sufficiently clarified and I put the proposal read by Mr. Permuy to the vote. Before the vote however, Mr. Jules Dubois wishes to take the floor.

MR. DUBOIS:—Mr. President, I would like to suggest that paragraph 3 be deleted because not all OAS and UN powers are recognized by our countries.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—As Mr. Dubois proposes an ammendment which is to delete paragraph 3, we shall discuss now the ammendment. If nobody wishes to take the floor we shall take the vote on Mr. Dubois' deletion of paragraph 3. Those in favor, please raise your right hands. (13 in favor, Approved). We shall therefore cancel paragraph 3 of Carlos Lacerda's proposal. The proposal of Carlos Lacerda shall be put to the vote with paragraph 3, deleted.

Those in favor? (Approved).

MR. MOSES:—This is a very short resolution. Annex to Report by Resolutions Committee.

The Resolutions Committee considered at length the relationship between the Inter-American Press Association and the Office of Certified Circulation.

It was agreed that the Office of Certified Circulation should function autonomously, as suggested by Mr. Carlos Mantilla, Chairman of the Advertising Committee, and by Mr. Reitemeyer, Chairman of the Executive Committee.

The relationship between the IAPA and the OCC is defined further as follows:

1. The OCC will incorporate as a separate entity under the laws of whatever country the Advertising Committee deems most favorable.
2. Immediately after incorporation has been effected the OCC will elect from its members a Board of Directors which must include,

the President and the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the IAPA Immediately on election of the Board the responsibility of the IAPA and its executives in the affairs of the OCC will cease.

3. The IAPA will continue to lend its administrative assistance until such time as the OCC is able to employ its own personnel.

MR. S. G. FLETCHER (The Daily Gleaner, Jamaica) :—Mr. President. As no mention in the resolutions as to who is going to hold the stock of this company which is incorporated, is made, I would like to know this: Is the stock going to be held by the Association until such time as the OCC is developed?

MR. JOHN R. REITEMEYER (The Hartford Courant, Conn.) :—This is not to be a stock corporation. It is to be what under our corporate laws we call a membership corporation. In the event that the corporation were ever dissolved, the corporate papers provide that none of the members will benefit from whatever assets it may have. The assets can be given to Hospitals, the community chest, etc. Nobody owns the corporation and none of the members will benefit in a financial way other than through services which may be rendered by the corporation. May I ask if this answers Mr. Fletcher's question? (Yes).

MR. BITTENCOURT :—If nobody else wishes to speak on this subject, I should like to make a small suggestion. Here in the second paragraph it says the president of the IAPA and the chairman of the Executive Committee should be on the OCC Board. It seems to me that for the President of the Society to be a member of the Board is rather difficult because every year the president comes from a different country; therefore I think that the place of the President should be given to some member of the Board who can undertake the work efficiently or that the President be represented by proxy in the same city where the Board works.

MR. PERMUY :—The proposal is: that we include after the words "President" in paragraph 2, the following: "President or his proxy" and the Chairman of the Executive Committee.

MR. RAMOS :—In the name of the Resolutions Committee, I think we can accept this ammendment to the resolution. It does not alter the fundamental principles.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—If nobody else wishes to speak we shall take the vote. Those in favor? (Approved). Now we come to the Report of the Board of Directors on the election of the new members and other subjects. The Secretary, Mr. Permuy, will read the report.

MR. PERMUY:—At the meeting of the Board of Directors yesterday the following were elected:

President: Paulo Bittencourt, "Correio da Manha", Rio.

First vicepresident: James G. Stahlman, "Nashville Banner", Tenn.

Second vicepresident: Luis Miró Quesada, "El Comercio", Lima.

Secretary: Leo Permuy, "Trinidad Guardian", Port Spain.

Treasurer: Robert U. Brown, "Editor & Publisher", N. Y.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

John R. Reitemeyer, President, "The Hartford Courant", Conn.

Herbert Matthews, "The New York Times", New York.

Andrew Heiskell, "Life Magazine", New York.

Angel Ramos, "El Mundo", San Juan, Puerto Rico.

John T. O'Rourke, "Washington Daily News", Washington, D. C.

Raoul Alfonso Gonsé, "El Mundo", Havana, Cuba.

Julio Garzon, "La Prensa", New York.

The Board voted to hold its semi-annual meeting in Guatemala and the next General Assembly in New Orleans.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—We have received a cable which I shall ask Mr. Permuy to read.

MR. PERMUY:—It is from Mr. Carlos Mantilla, publisher of "El Comercio", Quito, and reads: "On behalf of the publishing firm "El Comercio" I express to you and to the members of the IAPA our deep gratitude for the honor bestowed on Jorge Mantilla. It symbolizes the solidarity of the continental press and fundamental values culture, particularly defense freedom of the press which is cornerstone of democracy."

MR. REITEMEYER:—The earphone system which we are using here, as well as the people required to operate it have been furnished to us by International Business Machines without any charge whatsoever. They are not only furnishing the equipment, but are also paying the salaries of the people required to operate it. In view of this, I would like to offer a resolution thanking IBM; I might add that IBM has done this right along and we have never thanked them properly. The resolution reads as follows:

Whereas, the International Business Machines Corporation and its founder, Mr. Thomas Watson, have once more cooperated most generously with the Inter-American Press Association;

Whereas, the loan, without charge, of IBM simultaneous interpretation equipment contributed most valuably to the success of this Tenth Annual Meeting, as it has contributed to the success of past meetings;

Therefore, be it Resolved:

1. That the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Inter-American Press Association express its deepest gratitude to the IBM and to Mr. Watson for valuable assistance in the association's defense of the principle of freedom of the press in the Western Hemisphere.

(The resolution was seconded and approved by acclamation).

MR. JOSHUA B. POWERS (Editors Press Service, New York):—Mr. President, because I think that generally we all feel as I do, I would like to offer the following resolution to show our appreciation to one of our oldest and most faithful friends.

Whereas, the Inter-American Press Association has successfully begun the annual distribution of the Mergenthaler Awards donated by the Mergenthaler Linotype Co.;

Whereas, the Mergenthaler Linotype Co. has contributed to the success of the Tenth Annual Meeting with the loan of Davidson offset machines in Sao Paulo and Rio;

Whereas, Mr. Eugene B. Mirovitch is personally responsible for this and other assistance received;

Therefore, be it Resolved:

1. That the Inter-American Press Association once more express its gratitude to Mr. Mirovitch and to the Mergenthaler Linotype Co.

for making possible the institution of the Mergenthaler Awards and for valuable assistance that contributed to the success of the Association's Tenth Annual Meeting.

(The resolution was seconded and approved by acclamation).

MR. FRANCISCO VALDEZ GOMEZ (Pueblo, Havana):—After having seconded some of the motions presented here because it seemed that it was necessary to approve them, I wish to ask the Assembly how is it possible that a proposal submitted by us will only be discussed next year, even though presented in good time, while other proposals presented subsequently have been approved now. We have submitted a motion which began with a cordial greeting from General Batista who is the President of Cuba and the First Newspaperman of Cuba. The resolution offers a prize to the journalist who produces the best work in the field of harmonizing freedom of expression with the interest of the state. So I would like to suggest that our proposal be discussed now as has been done with some of these others.

MR. RAMOS:—I am sorry to report that this resolution has not yet reached the Resolutions Committee. I have been present at all these meetings but this resolution simply has not reached our Committee.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—The Chair is going to investigate the matter and find out why this motion has not reached the Resolutions Committee, but I herewith submit to the criteria of the Assembly that a motion like this ought to be submitted to the Committee and that no votes should be taken before the Committee has time to study it. Those two motions which have just been approved by acclamation were motions which really have no need to be considered by the Committee, but it is quite evident that motions containing suggestions have to be voted on. Since Mr. Valdez Gómez' resolution concerns the award of a prize, it is very essential that it be studied. Our last 24 hours will be used to find out why Mr. Valdez' motion has not been received by the Committee.

MR. VALDEZ GOMEZ:—Mr. President, no one argues against that. These courtesy resolutions had to be approved. But ours also, which donates a prize of 500 dollars and which contains greetings

from the First Newspaperman of Cuba, General Fulgencio Batista, is a matter of courtesy and should be approved in the same manner as the two we have just voted.

MR. DUBOIS:—I can appreciate the interest of Mr. Valdez in his resolution. Apparently there was an administrative error in not referring it to the resolutions committee. However, in as much as it has two parts I would like to make an observation about the first part. It is not a practice of the IAPA to take any political action no matter how kind or desirable it may be. I would have to vote against this resolution and this would not mean that I have anything against General Batista. As far as the second part is concerned, I believe we should give due consideration to the offer of a prize, but I also believe it would be more practical to refer it to the next meeting of the Board of Directors.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—One moment. The proposal is not up for discussion. The fact is I did not need the 24 hours I have mentioned to find out what happened to the motion. Our secretary, Mr. Canel, has just informed me that the motion was submitted in Rio on Saturday and the deadline for submitting resolutions to the resolutions committee was midnight last Thursday.

MR. VALDES GOMEZ:—Naturally, the usual courtesy of the president has given me satisfaction, but I would like to clarify the following: The two resolutions approved at this session did not go to the Resolutions Committee. In the second place, Mr. Dubois speaks of something that does not exist, that is not true. The motion contains only a greeting from the First Newspaperman of Cuba to the Assembly. All we can do is acknowledge receipt. I do not know why he should oppose this.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—In any case, the motion is not up for discussion. We have with us a representative of the Sociedad Paulista de Radio, that generously donated the monument we are going to inaugurate tomorrow. It is the first monument in the history of journalism to freedom of expression. I shall ask our friend Mr. Eneas Machado de Assis to say a few words.

MR. ENEAS MACHADO DE ASSIS:—Gentlemen, I speak as a representative of the President of the Inter-American Association of Broadcasters.

At the outset may I express the wish of the Association that this meeting be another phase in the glorious history of journalism in defense of human rights. The free peoples owe a great deal to the fearless and faithful who remain in the first line of battle against oppression and despotism. Other peoples, crushed by misfortune and oppression, expect much from the power of the organs of freedom of thought in breaking the chains that suffocate a minimum and indispensable condition of human existence: freedom.

The president of the association, my friend Mr. Emilio Azcárraga, has asked me to restate here before you, legitimate representatives of the free press, the complete support of the Inter-American Association of Broadcasters; its 3,800 radio stations of the continent are ready for anything, for any sacrifice, if necessary, to struggle at your side to ensure better days for future generations. I address you in this manner on behalf of the IAAB, whose eight years of constant struggle for the defense of those same principles have taught us to respect and admire the formidable work performed by the healthy press in favor of all peoples, without distinction.

On March 23, 1952, the IAAB and the IAPA signed a joint declaration in Panama on freedom of expression; at that time our president, Mr. Goar Mestre, was not going through some meaningless routine; he was formally committing our sincere ideals, he was solemnly pledging the efforts of men who were well aware of the immensity of the task ahead. Colleagues of ours had already suffered reprisals for the only "crime" of having joined our organization in its fight for a free radio; but they were not intimidated and together we faced the consequences, ready to pay any price for our ideals.

The Panama Doctrine represented the urgent need to join the two forces on which is based the sublime mission of defending and divulging the truth.

The press and radio united will become the invulnerable trench that, sooner or later, today or tomorrow, will permit the raising of a universal flag, the flag that joins citizens, families and peoples, because

it draws humanity together; I refer to the flag of liberty, of right and justice in a word, THE FLAG OF DEMOCRACY.

MR. ANGEL RAMOS:—In the name of the IAPA I should like to express our thanks for the message sent by our very distinguished friend Mr. Azcárraga, president of the IAAB. For me it is a great pleasure to speak on behalf of the IAPA because I am also a member of that association and also one of those who voted in Panama in favor of the doctrine of which we have spoken so many times and whose effectiveness will increase steadily. We have invoked the Panama Doctrine many times, and I think that so long as there are countries where freedom of expression does not exist, where newspapers are closed and newspapermen imprisoned, we shall have to continue relying on that Doctrine.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—Thank you, Mr. Ramos, for interpreting our thoughts so well.

We shall now consider a resolution by Mr. Tom Wallace, which I shall ask Mr. Permuy to read.

MR. PERMUY:—Resolved: That the Inter-American Press Association has greatly valued the services of Jules Dubois as chairman of the Freedom of the Press Committee, and deeply regrets his resignation, and acknowledges obligation not only to Mr. Dubois and to the Chicago Tribune, and its distinguished editor, Colonel McCormick, but also to Mrs. Dubois and other members of Mr. Dubois' household in view of the fact that his absences from his hearthstone have been, unavoidably, numerous and prolonged in the course of his work, in which he has shown not only high capacity but also evangelistic interest.

MR. RAMON BLANCO (El Imparcial, Guatemala): — My friends and fellow delegates, the IAPA faces a serious problem in the resignation of Jules Dubois. It has been said that no one is indispensable and that a substitute can always be found. But in this task of informing on freedom of the press in the Americas I do not think there is a person in this room who could say: "I can wear Jules Dubois' boots." I say this from the bottom of my heart because I have seen Dubois in action in situations in which none of you have seen him. At times I

have said things about Dubois, but he knows me well enough to know that we are both in the same boat, sometimes on stormy seas. I want to knock at the doors of his heart and ask him to continue his fine work. Newspaper work is without end and those of us who dedicate ourselves to it must do so "until we leave our skin," as we say in Guatemala.

The work he has done has gained him distinction and honor. If he throws in the towel now he will disappoint me terribly. I have great faith in him. As a "brother in arms" and a brother of the heart I would ask him to withdraw his resignation.

MR. JORGE MANTILLA (El Comercio, Quito):—Mr. Chairman, fellow delegates. There is little to add to all that has been said not only today but on previous occasions in commending the work done in favor of this Association by our great friend Jules Dubois. In fact, it is perhaps the people who have worked with him who can with most authority speak of his very high merits and virtues, of his efficacious work, of his fighting spirit, his behaviour under all circumstances, no matter how difficult. He has known how to conquer in all these fights. He has been accompanied by all the newspapers of the Americas which belong to this Association, which number more than 400, if not in person, at least in spirit. I, as you all know, am especially grateful for his work, particularly during the difficult year 1953, during which four Equadorian newspapers were closed down as well as one radio station. The action taken by Mr. Dubois both in regard to the closing of "La Hora" and "La Nación" in Guayaquil, and "El Comercio" and "Ultimas Noticias" of Quito, caused him to undergo some very difficult times. In recognition of all this and admitting, as has already been said, that there is no one in our Association who could carry out the work so well, I add my own request to that of Ramón Blanco that Mr. Dubois continue his job for the sake of the Association and for furthering its fight for freedom of the press in our countries.

MR. GEORGE WILLOCK (Daily Chronicle, Georgetown, Br. Guiana):—As the saying goes out of the mouth of babes comes wisdom, and since I am the youngest member of this Association I merely join in the appeal to ask Mr. Dubois to retain his position and to reconsider his resignation. He has done a wonderful job and although I know that he feels tired and does not want to give the impression

that he desires to hang on to it, I should like to assure him that it is the unanimous wish of all of us here that he continue his fight for the freedom of the press. Since that is the most important subject at the moment, we ask him to reconsider and retain his position as chairman of the Committee.

MR. MIGUEL LANZ DURET (El Universal, México):—As ex-President of the IAPA, in office last year, I would simply like to say that Jules Dubois, during my term of office, was of inestimable value in solving our problems. He says that he is tired. I only want to remind him of one thing: The fight for freedom is a battle which has no end until victory triumphs. He as Colonel must continue this fight and must not resign and leave us at this moment, when his efforts are so essential. I beg him not to make his resignation irrevocable, but to continue as head of the committee and to help the IAPA as he has done in the last few years. Thank you. (APPLAUSE).

MR. BITTENCOURT:—Before Carlos Lacerda takes the floor I should like to advise him that Mr. Martínez Márquez also asked for the floor. I am sure that after Mr. Martínez Márquez and Mr. Lacerda all the delegates will want to speak, in order to reinforce our appeal to Jules Dubois. In view of the time element, however, I ask the other delegates to consider the matter closed once Mr. Martínez Márquez has spoken; I shall interrupt Carlos Lacerda briefly to say that I, as the President of the Association for 1954, would like to speak after the President who was in office last year and add my own appeal to Jules Dubois because since 1950 all the presidents enjoyed the invaluable cooperation of Jules Dubois and I would feel a bit frustrated and abandoned if he should now decide that he is tired and cannot help us, and we would really feel terribly disappointed. Carlos Lacerda has the floor.

MR. CARLOS LACERDA (Tribuna da Imprensa, Rio):—Mr. Chairman, I was asked by my colleague of the "Jornal do Brasil", and I am sure my other colleagues of the Brazilian press agree, to discuss the problem created by Mr. Jules Dubois' decision. I believe Mr. Dubois bases himself on the right principle only to come to the wrong conclusion. The right principle is that nobody is indispensable, but

the wrong conclusion is that we can do without him in an international organization facing the difficulties we face. It is really good luck to have a colleague who is a leader and who exercises his profession in the heart of the Continent, in Panama, and whose job allows him to travel throughout the Americas, getting first-hand information and reporting on the situation of the freedom of the press, a colleague who knows three of the four languages of the Continent well, a colleague who has acquired the knowledge of how to deal with the people in these countries and who in many cases knows the officials interested in matters of freedom of the press in each country personally and even intimately. For these and many other reasons this colleague has not only become synonymous, but has become a symbol of an IAPA reporter's activities. He is permanently dedicated to the cause of the freedom of the press. Our appeals and declarations in favor of freedom of the press would be of no value if they were not founded on an objective knowledge of the situation of press freedom in each country and of attacks on it. This is the priceless value of the reports made by Jules Dubois and it is for this reason that we Brazilian newspapermen consider his continuing as chairman of the committee indispensable and we think it would be a serious error against the prestige and success of our Association if Jules Dubois were to leave the Chairmanship of the committee.

MR. GUILLERMO MARTINEZ MARQUEZ (El País, Havana):—It is not only in order to repeat the pleasant words spoken here, headed by our colleague Ramón Blanco of Guatemala, in favor of Mr. Dubois' retracting his resignation that I raise my voice. I shall speak in the name of Jules Dubois, although he has not authorized me, because I have known him intimately for many years and I know what he thinks at the bottom of his heart as a democratic man, because I know that he does not feel like a colonel, as Mr. Lanz Duret said, but like a soldier among those who fight for freedom of the press, and I know that he will accept as such the unanimous wish of the assembly, which is a democratic verdict, and I am sure that he is a good soldier. I am sure he will say: "I shall continue at my battle post". (APPLAUSE).

MR. DUBOIS:—Mr. President, fellow members of the IAPA. Words cannot express my gratitude to you, to Ramón Blanco, Jorge Mantilla, George Willock, Miguel Lanz Duret, Paulo Bittencourt, Carlos Lacerda, Guillermo Martínez Márquez, for what you have said here today. I reiterate, nobody is indispensable. I believe Ramón Blanco said something about throwing in the towel. I do not think my good friend meant to imply that I have suffered a technical knock-out. Some of you may have seen me walking near the waterfront this afternoon prior to this meeting — I was debating with myself, and at this moment I am still debating with myself. Once I reduce something to writing and call it irrevocable, I do not like to retract it. Because it is a sign of weakness when one has to retract and to withdraw. After what has been said here today, after the very moving resolution introduced by that grand old man of the free press, Tom Wallace, I must admit, I must confess that I am still fighting the tears. I appreciate sincerely and most deeply your vote of confidence. I wish I could say no, but I cannot. (APPLAUSE). I hope my friends will not consider that retraction a sign of weakness. Thank you. (APPLAUSE).

MR. JOHN KNIGHT (Knight Newspapers, USA):—I too have been walking along the water front this morning. Many thousands of miles from Rio, in Chicago, coast-guards, are working to help homeless people after 30 hours of the heaviest rain in history, with loss of 10 million dollars and displacement of many people. Cars are flooded, school buildings, fire stations, railroad stations are all flooded by the water. I am saying this to indicate both my gratification that Jules Dubois, in his waterfront experience, reconsidered his decision and also to pay a tribute to our friends in need. We have considered freedom of the press especially in Latin America. Those of us in North America have the least difficult time in this field. But this flood brought 40 feet of water to the sub-basement of the Chicago Daily News and destroyed our entire supply of newsprint and the plant is inoperative and we are being published today in Chicago by the Chicago Tribune. So I have two reasons to be grateful, both to Jules Dubois and the Chicago Tribune for their assistance to us in time of need.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—I submit to the Assembly that we make a vote of sympathy and regret with regard to what has happened

to our colleague John Knight and his newspaper, and I also suggest that we send a vote of thanks to the Chicago Tribune for their wonderful gesture of solidarity between professional journalists.

MR. DUBOIS:—On behalf of the Chicago Tribune, I wish to thank the President and the Delegates for that kind act.

MR. BLANCO:—I should like to ask the Board of Directors if the message sent by Lt. Col. Castillo Armas of Guatemala has been answered, in which he congratulates the IAPA on the start of its work in Brazil. He is the only President of a country who has sent a message of congratulations and it would be a lack of courtesy on our part not to reply.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—It would doubtless be a lack of courtesy, and if a reply has not been sent yet it will get off in the next few hours. Thank you.

The next and last item on the Agenda for today is . . . Mr. Gonsé has asked for the floor.

MR. RAOUL ALFONSO GONSE:—In the same way as Mr. Blanco has indicated to the Chair that a message has been received congratulating us for the opening of this Assembly, from the head of his country, I ask if it would not be possible for our friend of Havana, Valdez Gómez, to refer that at the same time when presenting a motion which included the granting of a prize he also included a telephone message received from the President of my country, and I think this motion should be divided into two parts. That one relating to the prize should go to the Board and the message of congratulations should be answered as a matter of courtesy.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—I accept with pleasure the suggestion presented by Mr. Gonsé, and I do not think that any member of the Assembly will oppose sending a cable to the President of Cuba thanking him for his good wishes. Now, to return to the Agenda. "Designation of a new jury to judge the distribution of the Mergenthaler awards." I have received various and numerous suggestions and requests to the effect that next year we should keep the same jury which we

had this year. I suppose that these suggestions come from the justice with which the prizes were distributed this year. If nobody wishes to speak on this subject I shall put it to a vote.

MR. MARTINEZ MARQUEZ:—I simply wish to ask that in re-electing the members of the jury to award the Mergenthaler prizes there be added to that group, if possible, another Latin American member, in view of the fact that most of the work relates to Latin America. If possible, I would say a South American country.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—It is necessary to clarify that only Latin American journalists can receive these prizes. I now put to vote the proposal of Mr. Martínez Márquez. Those who approve the addition of another member to the jury, please raise your hands. With regard to Mr. Martínez' suggestion I submit the name of Mr. Roberto García Peña, of Bogotá.

MR. GARCIA PEÑA (El Tiempo, Bogotá):—I simply want to express my cordial thanks for your kindness in suggesting my name as possible extra member of the jury for the Mergenthaler awards. I also thank the Assembly for their kindness in receiving my appointment. I should be pleased to work on that jury and hope that the Mergentraler awards will contribute to the continued development of the press.

MR. BITTENCOURT: — I would like to suggest Mr. John Knight, who is Chairman of the Mergenthaler Awards Committee to try and have the candidates send in their work earlier than the 15 of March, so as to give more time for the Committee to study thoroughly their work. I think we have reached the end of this meeting and almost the end of the Tenth Assembly.

MR. MARTINEZ MARQUEZ:—It is with certain sadness that we have reached the end of the Tenth Assembly which took place in Brazil. In reality this is the last working meeting, the last meeting at which I can submit to the consideration of our fellow Delegates some resolutions which as matters of courtesy, I take the liberty of submitting. The first is: to recognize the meritorious work of all the colleagues who have had executive positions during the last year and most especially our great President, Mr. Lanz Duret. Our kind and always

pleasant Vicepresident, Mr. Marshall Field, our dynamic and always nice companion Ramón Blanco and all the others who were unable to come here. The second motion is that we should inscribe in the minutes a vote of thanks to the press of Brazil and most especially to the Directors of the newspapers of Rio de Janeiro, who so kindly and so well have received us in this beautiful city of Rio de Janeiro. Third and finally, in a very special way, so that we should really express our gratitude to the two colleagues who for many years have fought along with us and who we have met again in Rio doing so very well with their tasks. Paulo Bittencourt and C. Lacerda. I have forgotten a very special friend and I apologize because I thought of him in the first place. This man, inspite of time and experience is still young. You may have guessed who I mean. Herbert Moses. (APPLAUSE).

MR. BITTENCOURT:—In order to enable us to express our gratitude for the words of Mr. Martínez Márquez, it would be necessary to have the eloquence of Mr. Carlos Lacerda, and, therefore, I ask him to speak for me and for Moses.

MR. LACERDA:—This is a rather underhanded joke of the chair. I will just say two words. When a Cuban speaks one can expect only generosity, eloquence and fraternal sentiments. We Brazilians have had the honor of receiving you in this your house and have nothing more to say but express the hope that you will visit us many more times in the future, and that we shall meet again frequently in other parts of the continent to strengthen the relations started by such men of courage and integrity as Guillermo Martínez Márquez. Many thanks.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—To close this meeting I would like to make a few social announcements. The buses which will take us to the Presidential Palace will be at the Avenida Copacabana waiting for you from 5.00 p. m. on. We should leave at 5.15 so as to have enough time to arrive at the Palace a few minutes before 5.30 p. m. because I received this morning a phone call from the Secretary to the President asking me to tell you that he is expecting you and that you will have some champagne. Tomorrow morning at 9.00 a. m. the buses will be here again but this time on the Avenida Atlántica side, to take us to the Quinta da Boa Vista where the inauguration of the monument to

freedom of expression will take place. I believe this is the first monument of this kind which will be erected, and we feel happy and honored that it happens here; and so that we may all retain a lasting memory of your stay here we shall plant as many palm trees as there are Delegates, by the Delegates themselves. Finally, tomorrow at 3.00 p. m. we shall hold the closing session here. I request most especially that all those who are not obliged to leave here tonight or tomorrow morning, should be present because we shall have a group of high authorities and members of the cultural elite of Brazil to hear the affirmation of our principles, and in order that we may have the happiness of hearing Mr. Otilio Ulate who has prepared a wonderful speech, which really interprets and presents our position within our principles, with regard to the freedom we are struggling for. And finally, the dinner has been set for 7.30; I know it will be a little early, but Mr. John Knight who will receive the most distinguished award is compelled to leave at 10.00 p. m., in order to take part in the meeting of the Associated Press in New York. So, therefore, I ask the Delegates to make sure that the 7.30 be not Brazilian time, but Britannic. The meeting is closed.

(Meeting adjourned at 4.40 p. m.)

SEVENTH (CLOSING) SESSION

Rio de Janeiro, Oct. 12, 1954

MR. PAULO BITTENCOURT (Correio da Manhã, Rio):— (Called the meeting to order at 3.40 p. m.) The energy with which I used the gavel this time shows the presence here among us of my friend Ambassador Maurício Nabuco, who donated this gavel to us. Ambassador, would you please stand up? (APPLAUSE). Mr. Permy will now read two cables we have received.

MR. PERMUY:—The first cable from the National Association of Newspapermen of Ecuador reads: "President Lanz Duret. National Association of Newspapermen of Ecuador sends warm congratulations on success defense freedom of press which great victory democracy. Thanks to distinguished members IAPA for award granted "El Comercio", Quito, in person Jorge Mantilla, great fighter for freedom of press. Signed Gerardo Chiriboga, vice president."

The second one is from David Michel Torino, Argentina, and reads: "Unable obtain police authorization to leave the country to attend meetings Tenth Assembly IAPA. I deeply regret it. My warmest congratulations task accomplished and my thanks once more, awaiting opportunity to personally receive award conferred upon me." (APPLAUSE).

MR. BITTENCOURT:—This last message evidently does not give us pleasure, but it does not surprise us.

I should now like to make an announcement that was not made at our last meeting. It is that our expresident, Mr. Miguel Lanz Duret, will continue as president of the Inter-American Tribunal on Freedom of the Press.

MR. JORGE MANTILLA (El Comercio, Quito):—It is my belief that this morning's ceremony at the Quinta da Boa Vista had a transcendental meaning for all that we of the IAPA behold precious and noble in our work. It is for this reason that I have prepared a draft resolution which expresses our thinking and our gratitude to the Sao Paulo Broadcasters Association. The resolution reads as follows:

WHEREAS: The dedication of the monument to freedom of expression sponsored by the Sao Paulo Radio Association, during the meeting of the Tenth General Assembly held in Rio de Janeiro, was carried out this morning at the Quinta da Boa Vista;

WHEREAS the noble gesture of the Sao Paulo Radio agencies has a meaning which should be recommended as an example, in view of the fact that this is the first monument erected to the greatest asset of human dignity;

WHEREAS the IAPA realizes with the greatest pleasure the materialization of the means of expression of the Americas;

RESOLVES: To express its gratitude to the Sao Paulo Radio Association, and to the Inter-American Radio Association for having dedicated the monument to Freedom of Expression as part of the program of the IAPA;

To request that this idea be followed by the other radio and press associations of the American continent in position to erect a similar monument;

To request the Sao Paulo Radio Association to forward photographs and details of the monument erected at Quinta da Boa Vista, to all the radio or press associations so that they may dedicate similar monuments to Freedom of Expression in their respective countries; and

To present to the Sao Paulo Radio Association its fraternal greetings and warmest congratulations for this eloquent and significant idea.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—If the delegates agree with the motion presented by our colleague Mr. Mantilla I shall consider it approved. Approved.

MR. ALEJANDRO MIRO QUESADA (El Comercio, Lima):— We have just heard two more telegrams concerning the work performed by Mr. Miguel Lanz Duret as president. I did not want to speak yesterday because we had an engagement at 5 p. m. and I did not want to use our time. I would like now to state the following: 1. I am deeply grateful to Mr. Bittencourt for the courtesies received here, and I congratulate him on his election as president; 2. I should like to stress the truly outstanding work performed by Mr. Lanz Duret who has personally visited the presidents of several republics in an effort to improve the lot of the press.

At the same time I should like to express my gratitude for the election of my father, Luis Miró Quesada, as vice president, in spite of the fact that he was unable to attend this meeting. I am sure he will thank you from the bottom of his heart. The first memory of my father was when I saw him at our newspaper defending his right to print what he saw fit, and now, 34 years later, he is still on the front line in the fight for freedom of the press. I know I run the risk of having our friend Ramón Blanco call me lyrical and sentimental, but I did not want to pass up this opportunity to express my gratitude.

MR. BITTENCOURT:—Thank you very much for your kind words.

We are closing today the meetings of the Tenth Annual Assembly of the Inter-American Press Association, a society which consists of 390 publications, newspapers, magazines and news agencies — and includes the greatest part of the free press of America. In this meeting Delegates from Spokane, of the Far North West, have worked together with Delegates from Santiago de Chile. In this meeting cities like Buenos Aires and cities of New England were represented. This means that from North to South, from the Pacific to the Atlantic, with their different races, origins, languages, these Delegates have given proof of this mysterious content which forms the unity our continent. Europe is divided in large and small countries. In this our huge stretch of land with its fantastic topography and located between two great oceans, large and small countries have a different reaction from that of the European countries, and each country brings its contribution and forms a part of this reality which is America. In every country of our continent

there is a power of mutual attraction fighting against difficulties and contrary circumstances and almost always winning. The IAPA is an example of this power. Not long ago we could find within our organization different tendencies, whenever there was a matter of details, and these tendencies coincided with the language of their backers. Even among Spanish and English speaking groups one could find small groups of different Spanish & English accents. As years went by and with meetings like the one which is being closed today, we started to find out that it doesn't matter how the word Democracy is pronounced, its ideal remains always the same. We have arrived at a perfect agreement. This has been made possible only because of such meetings. Our common ideal was not enough. Human contact, the warmth of friendship today we are old friends, and the newcomers are immediately identified with our ideals — have made possible what we are seeing today. Within a few minutes the inspired words of Dr. Otilio Ulate will solemnly reaffirm the basic principles of the IAPA. His eloquence and talent will translate in the Universal language of intelligence the feelings of each one of us — who speak either Spanish, English, Portuguese or French — and who are proud of belonging to this Society.

We are very proud to welcome our distinguished visitors today. We feel honored.

I do not wish to take any more of the assembly's time and I am going to ask Dr. Otilio Ulate to come to the microphone. . . Mr. García Peña wishes to speak?

MR. ROBERTO GARCIA PEÑA (El Tiempo, Colombia) :— Please forgive me for postponing for a few seconds your pleasure in listening to Dr. Otilio Ulate, one of the great democrats of America; but I believe that this meeting would be incomplete if we did not express our thanks to Brazil for the wonderful example of democracy that it is giving to the continent. I would therefore beg permission to submit the following resolution:

"The Inter-American Press Congress greets the people of Brazil, applauds with pleasure the democratic recovery in which Brazil is engaged, and expresses sincere wishes for its increasing greatness and that the reality of its liberties be affirmed more each day, so that it can continue to be an example and prod for democracy in America."

MR. BITTENCOURT:—On behalf of the Brazilian delegates I would like to express our gratitude for the generous expressions by Mr. García Peña and our happiness over the applause with which his words were greeted. This applause tells me I need not put the motion to a vote. May I now ask Mr. Otilio Ulate to take the floor?

MR. OTILIO ULATE (Diario de Costa Rica. San José):—

It is a fortunate coincidence that the closing meeting of the Tenth Assembly of the IAPA should take place on the anniversary of the discovery of America. If we examine the present life of our continent, we shall reach the conclusion that America, as the centuries go by, made an appointment with destiny, and based it on universal fraternity, on freedom and on the defense of all human rights, including social justice, as the goal of the peoples who inhabit the Americas. This was a wonderful destiny for a New World, emerging from the middle of the ocean by the vision of its discoverers, at a time when the other continents were fighting in dynastic and feudal wars. Having learnt the history of other parts of the world, America established its course with such a precision of concept that we can now calmly judge the distant past, proud of the present and ready to face the future with confidence.

The Inter-American Press Association has given, since it was founded in 1942, its firm support to the American way of living through the defense of freedom of expression.

Our faith in the freedom of men, consolidated by our nature and by our love of our homeland, created and strengthened our faith in democracy, and nowadays we are used to it to such an extent that we could not live without it, for it has penetrated our life, our cities and our fields, and now we can no longer breathe without it, and would even give our lives to keep it.

The best way of government is still democratic government, the one chosen by the majorities within the freedom that makes us respect the opinion of our countrymen, through the debate with the minorities and within the framework of which justice is implicit. From the respect for human life, from the maintenance of a power that comes directly from the people, from the vigilance for the safety of the citizens and from the respect for the free vote, we reach the establishment of social

rights and the contact between government and people. The former can explain its activities and guidance through the medium of the press and the popular assemblies and defend its acts in the fulfillment of the tasks conferred on it. His Excellency President Café Filho, declared that while president he will be above all a newspaperman, and there is no clearer indication that the spirit of his government is the one that inspires public opinion. This type of government will some day be established as a conquest of every-day law. Furthermore, tearing down the walls that exist between the people and the government, it will contribute to prevent that those who are less intellectually prepared or ignorant may reach the government by means of coups d'état or lucky adventures; it will also make possible for the people to better select those who shall govern them.

This new way of government is far superior to that of "liberty, fraternity and equality", which has its origin in the great centre of liberal thought and which has already closed a stage of History, replaced in our days by a "government of the people, by the people and for the people". This latter way of government, can be presented to the conscience of the world as an American product.

This America presents itself for the great struggle of our century, synthetized in terms of East against West, with its own democratic aspect and with a meaning that makes it an important if not decisive, factor, in such a struggle.

Indeed, there is no democracy if its roots are not based on liberty. Otherwise it will be but a fiction, of which foreign totalitarianism or domestic despotism will make use. In America, the very basis of democracy is freedom of thought and expression. I am sure that there is nobody who has attended the meetings of the Tenth Assembly of the Inter-American Press Association who would considerer himself a good American if he could not have complete freedom of thought.

In this meeting we can duly weigh the accomplishments of the IAPA, as well as the moral authority deriving from its origin, its purposes and magnitude of its task.

We have not yet reached the end of the road. However the horizon becomes clearer and our steps are stronger. The freedom of the press has not won a definite victory in all the countries of the continent. It suffers difficulties and violences. However, the meaning of the limita-

tions imposed on it by arbitrary governments has but one effect, a stronger fight of the people for liberty. And the greater the battles won by democracy in the world, the greater the hopes for freedom of thought and expression in the Americas. The impatience that has blinded and destroyed many politicians in various countries of this continent, must never discourage associations such as the one that convenes here today, with its serious responsibilities of participating, through the medium of the press, in the democratic formation of the people. If it becomes necessary to make a direct appeal to the Latin American journalists I believe that the members of this Association can make it with confidence, in order to maintain the task being carried out by them, regardless of the uncertainties and difficulties that may arise. And let us warn that those writers who defend the power of the State also defend at the same time the right of the governments to hold power indefinitely, and therefore contribute to the establishment of a totalitarian state. The victory of western democracies over the autocratic empires during the First World War did not put an end to the crisis of liberty. Our victory during the Second World War, that destroyed the absurdity of an anthropological and biological principle of master races did not succeed in doing away with the crisis of liberty. However, this victory established, once and for all, the concept that the government is purely representative and the state is only a means of communication between men. The fight continues. The three dimensions of totalitarianism are, as regards human existence, the denial of political freedom, the denial of freedom of the conscience and the denial of economic freedom. These continue to be menaced, and the vigilance of free men, of which the press is a means of communication, must be alert to save human dignity. While the risks continue to exist, the peoples of the Americas must be alert.

Between the First General Assembly of this Association, held in Mexico City, and the Ninth Assembly held in the same city, in October 1953, much has been accomplished, during difficult times as those of the Second World War. Between the Ninth Assembly and the Tenth, which has its closing meeting today, the harvest has been even greater, and this contributes to strengthen our hopes. The resolutions of the Ninth and Tenth General Assemblies have proven that newspapermen are no longer afraid of expressing their points of view, and this can

be interpreted as a contribution in favour of freedom of the press, without any philosophical or political sectarianism. Some of the members who attended the Ninth General Assembly meetings brought up subjects that, in view of the circumstances, linked freedom of the press with temporary situations prevailing in their respective countries; and thanks to the firm action taken by the Board of Directors who made clear that the IAPA has no relation whatsoever with the internal situation of the countries in which it operates, the Association came out of the fight victorious. This concept gives the Association a moral power that will make it invincible, as long as it loyally fulfills its Charter, according to which an "honest, free and independent journalism is the best contribution for the peace of a world of free men", and without freedom of the press there is no democracy. Freedom of thought and its written or spoken expression are inseparable and essential rights. They also constitute the guarantee and defense of the other freedoms on which democracy is based.

The gratitude and the applause of the Assembly today, are for those who so diligently directed the Association from its start, and mainly during the 1953-1954 period. I am sure that we can interpret the unanimous feelings of the Assembly, pointing out the dedication of President don Miguel Lanz Duret to the cause of freedom, with the aid of Mr. Jules Dubois.

We beg to present in this farewell meeting our gratitude together with our fraternal expression of admiration for this marvellous Republic of Brazil, whose amazing development in every field of activity, whose cultural expansion and whose civic life, which is an example in itself, made it the most adequate place for a convention such as the one that closes today.

We already knew Brazil's history. We knew that during colonial days, the missionaries instead of killing the indians, used music and singing to attract them, and that in front of each church there was a school. We also knew that during the second part of the Eighteenth Century, the poets from the state of Minas Gerais who conspired for the independence of their country divided their time between fighting and sacrifices and the writing of poems which were sent back to Portugal to be printed. We had already read the biography of the Emancipator, who was a wise man before becoming an emancipator, and who had

gone to the depths of the mines before beginning to study political philosophy. The weaker countries of Latin America contemplate Brazil as an example, since the days when Ruy Barbosa enriched American International Law with its most cherished of its treasures: the equality of rights between small and large countries. The memory of Ruy Barbosa has been honored from the days of the Hague Conference, in 1917, for his ideas constituted the basis on which the United Nations Organization and the Organization of American States were founded and it was he who gave America the principles of juridical equality between the nations. Today, here in Brazil, we have more hopes, and feel ourselves safer, certain that the great country marching side by side with the weaker countries is an invincible fortress of the democratic system.

This is the exact moment for remembering our countries of origin.

From Spain, together with the blood and the language, we inherited the ancient culture which, throughout a large zone of this Continent, enriched our own land and gave strength to the new Indian-American formation. One should never forget, either, how the Spanish Crown gave constant proof of the deep concern it had for the welfare of the American Indian.

The strong and brave race that lives in another large sector of the American territory is the English speaking race. The authority and the prestige of the United States in relation to the rest of the world do not derive from their power, but from the well proven democratic faith with which they participated in two world wars. Instead of provoking these wars they tried to avoid them, instead of seeking political territorial or economic advantage, they gave part of what they had, they gave the life of their sons for the ideals of freedom. They have the confidence of the free men of this world. The United States now share with Great Britain and other countries of true democratic principles, the leadership of the Western world.

Brazil is, by itself, a continent. It could be self sufficient as we have well realized by now. Slavery was abolished in this country during the days of the Empire and Independence was proclaimed by those who had established monarchy but who later decided to separate themselves from their country of origin so as to give the New Nation a life

of her own — and thus unity was established. When signing, as Regent of the Empire in 1888, the decree that abolished slavery, Princess Isabel asked:

—“Have I won or lost the game?”

The answer was:

—“Your Majesty has won the game but lost the crown.”

During the days of the Republic the tree of nationality grew free and fecund. It has become strong and promising. Together with a sense of human freedom and national dignity, the State has acquired juridical structure. All journalists of America have witnessed its existence.

History has taught us that the great totalitarian States have a tragic fate — some have already perished and the others will have a similar end. America, when facing them, will never forget all she has inherited from across the ocean. (APPLAUSE).

MR. BITTENCOURT:—The work of the Tenth Assembly could not have come to an end in a more adequate manner than with the eloquent and inspired words of Dr. Ulate.

Now all that remains to be done is to adjourn this meeting. I hope that all of us will meet next year in the delightful city of New Orleans.

(The meeting was adjourned at 4.20 p. m.)

AMERICAS FOUNDATION BANQUET

Rio de Janeiro, Oct. 12, 1954

The Americas Foundation sponsored a banquet Oct. 12, Birthday of the Americas, in connection with the program at the IAPA's Tenth General Assembly. Mr. Farris Flint, President of the Foundation, presided. The proceeds, after expenses, were donated to the IAPA's Scholarship Fund.

High points of the banquet were presentation of the first Alberdi-Sarmiento Prize instituted by "La Prensa", of Buenos Aires, to Mr. John S. Knight and the Americas Foundation Award to Mr. Fred Aden, director of Ward College, Buenos Aires.

Mr. Flint introduced Dr. Alberto Gainza Paz, Director of the seized newspaper "La Prensa" and Dr. Gainza made the presentation of the award to Mr. Knight.

DR. ALBERTO GAINZA PAZ:—

Four years ago in the city of New York I was awarded the annual prize of The Americas Foundation. On that occasion, while expressing gratitude for the great honor bestowed upon me, I stated that the prize should in reality be given to the newspaper "La Prensa" for its work in strengthening the ties among the peoples of the American continent. And I announced that the newspaper was instituting an annual prize to be given to the journalist or author, citizen of an American country, who had proved himself outstanding in furthering inter-American understanding and goodwill. The prize would be named after two great Argentines who are an honor to America: Alberdi and Sarmiento. They understood and loved the peoples of our continent, They used newspapers and books to spread and strengthen ideas of democratic liberty, and fostered the desire for culture and cooperation among the American peoples.

Three months later "La Prensa" was closed and forced to suspend publication. The newspaper which I directed could not accept the principle held by all totalitarian regimes that the only right left to the people is the right to submit. Because of this, "La Prensa" was suppressed and later divested of the property it had accumulated honorably during a life of more than eighty years of dedication to the people of Argentina. But a newspaper is not merely some buildings, machinery and presses susceptible to confiscation by those who temporarily hold all the power and have no scruples; and that is the reason why the voice of "La Prensa" is not nor will ever be anyone else's but that of "La Prensa" itself, because no one can take possession of the spirit, either in law or otherwise.

This was understood by the members of The Americas Foundation, a worthy institution for whose hospitality we are grateful. They did not hesitate in proposing a provisory ammendment whereby the Alberdi-Sarmiento prize should be given on the 12th of October. No other date, in my opinion, could be more appropriate. The 12th of October is not just the anniversary of the advent of the Americas in history; it should be a day for reaffirming the ideals of brotherhood among the peoples of this continent, America, which is the hope of the world.

I accepted this suggestion with great satisfaction, inspired by the selfless help given to me by my colleagues of the Inter-American Press Association, who were invited to propose the candidate journalist or author who, in their opinion, should be awarded the prize for this year.

After nominations for candidates had been received, a board composed of the President of The Americas Foundation, the President and Vice-President of the Inter-American Press Association, Mr. Tom Wallace, Honorary President of the body, and myself, it was decided to award the Alberdi-Sarmiento prize for the year 1954 to Mr. John S. Knight, director and editor of the Chicago Daily News, Akron Beacon Journal, Detroit Free Press, and of the Miami Herald.

In a reunion of newspapermen such as this, it almost seems redundant to point out Mr. Knight's accomplishments. His enthusiastic dedication to the task of spreading knowledge and culture is reflected in the columns of his dailies and he won special acclaim during his

term as President of the Inter-American Press Association. As a member of the Board of Directors and later Vice-President and President of the Association, he unselfishly devoted all of his energies to the defense of freedom of the press wherever it was threatened.

John S. Knight realizes well that in inter-American relations the actions taken by the governments are insufficient and often contradictory. He does not overlook the fact that many times government action is divorced from public opinion, and for this reason it lacks that understanding so indispensable to the existence of genuine and lasting sympathy with the people. He believes that state monopoly of Pan-Americanism, if it continues progressing, carries within it the seed of its own degeneration, for it lacks that life-giving sap composed of the sentiments, desires and emotions of all peoples of the continent.

To fill this gap, organizations such as the American Foundation were created. This society, the Inter-American Press Association and all the existing voluntary organizations, or those that will be formed in the future, have before them a vast field of action to draw out new courses to open wide the doors that oppose expression and the diffusion of thought; to bring men closer to one another; to clear the air too often charged with distrust, resentment, and suspicion; and, to sum up, to eliminate the misunderstanding and to combat the prejudices that the enemies of peace and of American brotherhood use to raise the banner of a reactionary and weakening isolationism.

But John S. Knight knows very well that those goals can never be reached if there exist in the continent barriers which prohibit us from knowing what is going on in each country and in all the world. For many years now he has been enlisted in the ranks of those who fight for freedom of the press. In 1944 as President of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, he named a commission to investigate the status of freedom of the press throughout the world. In 1951 he presided at a forum at Northwestern University, in Evanston, Illinois, sponsored by the Medill School of Journalism and the Inter-American Press Association, at which time it was decided to urge the newspapers of the United States to advocate the fight to preserve and extend freedom of thought and of the press in the Americas.

Last year in Mexico, when presenting his report on the occasion of the ninth annual convention of the Inter-American Press Association, John S. Knight set forth the reasons for his refusal to accept the invitation of a South American president. His answer was "I will not visit that President unless the newspaper "La Prensa" is returned to its rightful owners." He further stated that under no circumstances would he cooperate in the deception of public opinion by allowing his visit to be used as propaganda.

From his editorial column, and in all his actions as a journalist and as a citizen, John S. Knight has exhibited exemplary conduct inspired by the best traditions of democratic thinking, which is the most worth-while and true endeavor of our hemisphere. Neither personal nor any other considerations have ever made him turn from the goal of his dynamic journalism; and he has been guided always by the rule "never to write as a journalist what you would not say as a gentleman". For this reason, I feel a great pride upon presenting him with the first Alberdi-Sarmiento prize instituted by "La Prensa", a newspaper temporarily silenced but always in the minds of the Argentines and in all who believe in human liberty and dignity.

MR. JOHN S. KNIGHT:—

At New York city, in 1950, I had the privilege of attending the dinner of The Americas Foundation at which the distinguished Dr. Alberto Gainza Paz was given the award of this educational organization.

As I listened to his eloquently expressed conviction of the need for strengthening and deepening the roots of America's ideal "union and peace in freedom" — little did I or the others in that audience suspect that only a few months later would the great "La Prensa" be taken away from its rightful owners and made the servile mouthpiece of a ruthless dictator.

I have but recently come from Buenos Aires, a truly magnificent city where wide boulevards, vast parks and impressive public buildings attest to the vision of those men who planned well for the future in the days when freedom was still the priceless heritage of the patriots who founded the Republic.

It was only when one looked beyond this beautiful façade that true understanding began. There could be sensed immediately the oppressive hand of the police state which has completely throttled freedom of expression, made a farce of legislative procedure and violated the sanctity of the courts.

Reputable and law-abiding citizens discuss their government, and the usurper of their constitutional rights, in whispered phrases lest what they say may reach the ears or the attention of Peron's police.

They have seen business and professional men suffer reprisals in the form of jail sentences and economic molestation for exercising the freedom of expression that is guaranteed by their country's constitution, but tragically destroyed by a power-drunk demagogue who has literally torn up constitutional government by the roots.

In the Argentina of today, a seeker of current information must depend either upon newspapers which are open apologists for the government, or on those which double-talk their way out of any direct criticism of the dictatorship.

The few courageous editors and publishers who have dared to oppose the state by proclaiming the truth now find themselves, like Gainza Paz and David Michel Torino, unlawfully dispossessed of their newspapers and cast into physical exile, or its intellectual counterpart, from the country they love.

Thus voices of freedom have been muted and the servile press crawls on its belly before the dictator for the dubious privilege of earning a living by printing six to eight pages daily of innocuous Peronista pap.

Such is the fear of the state. Dr. Gainza Paz has mentioned my statement last year in Mexico City that I would not visit Peron until "La Prensa" was returned to its rightful owners; that I would under no circumstances cooperate in the deception of public opinion by permitting such a visit to be used for propaganda purposes.

I have lived up to that pledge.

It is a frightful thing to see history books being rewritten to glorify the Perons of the past; to witness a whole new generation being indoctrinated in the schools never to forget that Perón is the state, and prevented from learning the meaning of their own republic's rich tradition of priceless freedoms.

But men are mortal, even dictators, and a nation which has known freedom can rise again to break its chains and repudiate the subjugation of liberty.

So long as men like Gainza Paz, exemplars of truth and courage, unbowed by adversity and unbroken in spirit, refuse to bend the knee to oppressors of freedom, our faith in the right must never waver.

An example of the futility of the confiscation of newspapers can be illustrated here in Brazil. The newspaper "O Estado de Sao Paulo", published by our esteemed friend and colleague, Dr. Julio de Mesquita, suffered that fate in 1937.

A temporary dictatorship confiscated "O Estado de Sao Paulo" and exiled Julio de Mesquita to Perú. But in 1945, when constitutional government returned to Brazil, Dr. Mesquita resumed publication of his newspaper and the courts of this country awarded him indemnification for damages suffered when the lights of freedom were extinguished.

"La Prensa" will rise again. It will be an even greater "La Prensa", strengthened in sinew and conviction by the fires of adversity, to proclaim once more the ideals and concept of human dignity which all of us in this audience hold so dear.

At its helm will be our revered friend, Dr. Gainza Paz, journalist without peer and a living symbol of integrity and unmatched courage.

With that days' dawn, the cause of liberty will be illuminated wherever the tiniest spark of freedom still remains.

Dr. Gainza Paz, I accept the first Alberdi-Sarmiento prize, given in the names of two great Argentines and your own imperishable "La Prensa", with sincere humility and pardonable pride.

Unworthy as I am of the distinction which you have conferred upon me, I can give you only my renewed pledge to ever uphold the principles of journalism which have exemplified your own brilliant and distinguished career.

As a token of faith, I am inaugurating through the Knight Foundation, the first annual scholarship "La Prensa".

It is my hope that it may serve to encourage in the youth of our countries a dedication to individual liberty and the inculcation of the

basic convictions of truth and justice by which you have held high the torch of freedom for all men to see.

Thank you very much.

Mr. Flint then introduced Mr. Carlos Lacerda and asked him to present The Americas Foundation Award to Dr. Fred Aden.

MR. CARLOS LACERDA:—

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The Americas Foundation, through our friend Farris J. Flint, has honoured me with the mission of delivering to Dr. Fred Aden the prize he was awarded this year. The reason for this is simple, although a great honor to us. For the first time the ceremony of delivering The Americas Foundation prizes, awarded to those who have undertaken outstanding services to mankind, takes place in Brazil. And in view of this, the Foundation's directors wished a Brazilian to express our admiration for Professor Aden's task.

Ward College, founded forty years ago, thanks to a Pennsylvania citizen who wished to preserve the memory of his wife, Mrs. Nancy Gracey Ward, has been administered for over thirty four years by Dr. Fred Aden. He has made it what it is today, with its buildings and fields; the college began to operate in a small urban building and is now an immense establishment with pupils from over 50 different countries. This Methodist college was founded with a view to the respect of every religion, and its main purpose is to provide education "in the highest standards — according to its charter — trying to inculcate the ideals of work and citizenship and to develop a national élite inspired in these ideals". At the same time, or for this very reason, it aims at contributing, through education, towards "a greater understanding among the nations and a program of practical order, with a view to world peace."

In order to carry out such an ambitious program, he who is now awarded The Americas Foundation prize for 1954 went to Argentina. The prize has also been awarded to that citizen of the Americas, Alberto Gainza Paz, and to our dear and always remembered friend, Mrs. Madeleine Carroll Heiskell.

The Americas Foundation honored Gainza Paz as the representative of courage in the indefatigable work of preserving, through the

medium of a constant and ardent resistance, the priceless gift of the people, given in custody to newspapermen: freedom of expression.

Awarding Madeleine Carroll Heiskell, the Americas Foundation found an example in the dedication that made this charming creature serve France during its difficult moments, with the same enthusiasm with which she has been serving the Inter-American Press Association. And I am sure that the IAPA no longer wishes to see her absent from its meetings, in view of her continuous inspiration, and the charm that she brings to the Assembly meetings, reaffirming our own convictions in the value of an organization dedicated to the understanding among peoples, through the friendship that must always exist among the main representatives of public opinion.

Now, in Dr. Fred Aden, the Foundation has found an educator who started his activities as a journalist. It is, however, principally as an educator that the Foundation renders him this tribute. Therefore, we are mainly concerned here with his task of preparing individuals for the activities of life.

Education has suffered several distortions, according to the interests to which it has been subjected. In the United States, the professors complain of excessive specialization, which must be corrected after establishing its real benefits. As it is, according to the technicians, it wastes in the youth the sense of living — and a man is not expected to be only a technician but also to have a complete education so that he may truly become a human being.

In our countries, education became pedantically encyclopedic that confuses humanism with an extremely vast curriculum that the teacher has no time to go through and the student does not learn.

Between the narrow realism on one hand and the excessive irrationalism on the other, in both education methods, there is undoubtedly an area for mutual action, which would most certainly benefit both sides. The glory and the true utility of Christian humanism, that came from the ancient days and flourished in the monasteries of the middle ages, fathers of our modern universities, are, within this concept of education, methods to integrate the individual in society. Learning, to discover and give value to the sense of living, is what Christian humanism searches for.

The utility and true glory of education, such as it is practiced in modern schools, depend on a primary requirement: the division of man in parts of his own self, due to which the man is desintegrated becoming only an engineer or a dentist, and therefore disinterested or uninformed (words that are almost synonyms, as one condition describes the other) of what is happening in other fields of life, when a man is not only a professional, but a complete human being as well.

We believe in the advantages and urgent need of a close contact between the two concepts of educational methods, for a mutual benefit that would result in a education for life.

On the other hand, an education to serve the community, the ideal of "service", which is a constant line in American education, through the formation of a competent professional, merely impoverishes man's foremost qualities. A man cannot serve the community, through education, if he does not have a general and complete notion of life. One can become a technician but may not know what for. But education as it is given in our so-called Latin American countries, aims at preparing privileged people — and creating an alibi for the crime of omission, which constitutes in these countries the greatest crime of scholars.

Thus, in the first case an élite without a full notion of the world is created. And in the second case, we have an élite that considers itself free from any responsibility — because in going to school they have climbed a mountain, and from its top they can contemplate the human ocean, and write poems or make speeches for themselves.

The contact between these two concepts may result in highly desirable rectifications. According to those responsible for the delivery of this award, it was precisely this that Dr. Aden, of the Buenos Aires Ward College, obtained.

The Argentine atmosphere, prevailing during the time in which Dr. Aden went to work there, in his work of modeling human beings, must have greatly contributed towards this end.

Argentina of those days was the country of which James Bryce, the British Ambassador who wrote the famous story on South American Republics, said: "Everything there is new and modern. Argentina is like the West of the United States", and the U.S. of the Southern Hemisphere.

But it was a rather British Argentina, the élite that Dr. Aden was supposed to educate, and very much Italian and Spanish, the one he went to search as raw material for his work of sculptor of souls.

The warning of the great Argentine teacher was floating over the heads of the administrators: if the people is sovereign, we must educate the sovereign. But the residue of Rosas despotism was still ready to jump on the Trojan Horse of modern totalitarianism.

It is easy to imagine how the novelty of Dr. Aden's Americanism disturbed them, breaking the British walls of the Argentine élite, to announce to the people that the time had come for an American spiritual autonomy, whose characteristic was not the negation of contacts with Europe, but its perfect assimilation, on a national and continental basis.

However, it was not to talk about these matters that The Americas Foundation asked me to deliver this speech, but only to carry out a very pleasant task; that of showing a veteran teacher of boys and girls how we are so very grateful for his splendid job.

One day Cardinal Gibbons, wishing to express the importance of the mission undertaken by men like Dr. Aden, said that the most important thing was to teach a young man, for the boy of today will be tomorrow all that is left in the world.

Dr. Aden must have certainly understood that nothing in the world is more important than the heirs of that world. It is the loneliness of an impatient heir of an obscure world, the terrible loneliness of adolescence, the inner grandeur, that widens the eyes of youth, its hunger for understanding and being understood, its desire to save the world without knowing how to do it: it is from all this that the first certainties of creation of which depends the development of the world become more evident.

To this task this man has faithfully dedicated his entire life. It is therefore fair that, giving him this modest award we should greet him for having fulfilled a part of our dreams that were truncated by the needs of life and by our impatience.

The inscription on the award that I shall now deliver to Dr. Aden reads as follows:

“THE AMERICAS AWARD”

1 9 5 4

Whereas. The Americas Foundation is dedicated to the cause of unity among the nations of the New World as the greatest single contribution our peoples can make towards that lasting peace on earth to which all mankind aspires, and

Whereas, that unity must be manifest in the lives and works of countless fellow Americans as well as in the official acts of our respective governments, and

Whereas, the public recognition annually of the great and good deeds of those Americans who have done most to achieve this unity serves to stimulate and inspire others to similar acts of fealty and friendship, and

Whereas, the birthday of the Americas is the most appropriate occasion each year for such recognition, now therefore be it

Resolved, that

THE AMERICAS FOUNDATION

on the 462nd Birthday of the Americas hereby presents this

DR. FRED ADEN

educator, humanitarian, and eminent neighbor, in recognition of his lifetime devotion to inter-American accord as director and head of Ward College, Buenos Aires, and who, in the Columbus tradition, has charted new avenues to better understanding among the grateful children of all the Americas.

The Americas Foundation, October 12, 1954.

MR. FRED ADEN:—

Mr. President and Members of the Governing Board of The Americas Foundation: Representatives of the Inter-American Press Association: Special Guests:

We are gathered here tonight motivated by the common ideal of Inter-American concord and cooperation. It is peculiarly fitting that

this event should take place on October 12th, the birthday anniversary of the Americas. That this should be a joint dinner of The Americas Foundation and the Inter-American Press Association is deeply significant and a tribute to both organizations. What better birthday gift to commemorate the discovery of the New World than a representative and independent gathering of free men of high purpose such as we have here tonight, consecrated to the proposition of hemispheric solidarity and good neighborliness.

After having lived most of my lifetime under the southern cross, I know that it is singularly appropriate that the place should be Rio de Janeiro, geographically picturesque and commercially progressive, as well as a characteristic center of culture and international good will.

It has been said that the greatest force on earth is an idea when its time has come. Surely no one can doubt that the idea of international understanding and comity is the major aspiration toward which humanity is struggling today. Indeed, with the advent of the atomic age, which we have already entered, this appears to be the only salvation, and we are moved to believe that the time for this idea to be born in history is here and now, 462 years after the eventful landing by Columbus at San Salvador.

The basic and exclusive purpose then of The Americas Foundation to contribute to hemispheric good will and the closely related objective governing the Inter-American Press Association to work for better understanding in The New World along the lines of democracy, is not the result of a fanciful dream, but very evidently both practical and timely pioneering. Furthermore, the implementation of the idea calls for leadership and this too you have courageously undertaken.

Such a program will wisely emphasize the likeness of people rather than their differences. Language barriers, social idiosyncracies and commercial rivalry become insignificant in the face of our common desire for peace, prosperity, the education of our children, love of home, and the understandable and permissible pride in national heritage. I repeat, these latter are common to us all. To begin with, let us recognize that jealousy and ambition, so often the basic causes of war, are not limited to this or that national flag or race, and it is a dangerous generalization when such accusations are carelessly made. These are just natural

human failings that too often appear in the most unexpected places, whether one refers to the individual, the home, or the nation.

The finest type of international relationship is where each country borrows freely from the excellencies of the other to the enrichment of both. No country in this day and age is so poor that it does not have some contribution to make, and with pride, in the give and take among nations.

Lord Byron is quoted as having said, "It is easier sometimes to die for the woman one loves than to live with her". Perhaps the same could be said, and with some truth, of neighboring countries. Coalitions are entered into during time of war and we become allies pledged to defend each other to the death, and no ifs nor buts about it. But just how to consolidate such allied friendship in times of peace and then widen the circle to include even the former belligerents, is still to be worked out. The way is being found, however, for just such legal unions, based on necessity perhaps, but arrived at through common accord. Tennyson had the vision over a hundred years ago when he said in his "Locksley Hall", "And the kindly earth shall slumber, wrapt in universal law".

The Americas Foundation in its idealistic program of devising and encouraging cultural ties, and the Inter-American Press Association in its objective to use the strength of the press to propagate truthful information, a sine qua non of democracy, are both taking a laudable initiative that history will not fail to record. Indeed these agencies are making history, and deserve the appreciation and support of all the forward looking people of the Americas.

The Americas Foundation has made the speaker the recipient of "The Americas Award for 1954". His reaction is one of pride and gratitude, but he entertains no personal illusion of grandeur. In fact, he is inclined to believe that somehow achievement has been confused with dreams. On the basis of the latter, he may accept the award with no apologies or risk of the charge of vainglory, since the dreams in this case are based on the moral heritage of Christian faith and idealism,

common to all present this evening. He interprets his election then as simply symbolic, and while gratefully and proudly accepting the distinction, which he has, he, in turn, would gladly share the honor with all like-minded men and women in the Americas, in whatever walk of life, who believe in, and are working for, the cause of peace at this crucial hour in world history. Thank you!

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