



BULLETIN

Correspondents, Survivors and China Watchers
Discuss the Legacy of Tiananmen Square

EVENT RECAP

BY JONAS EKBLOM AND CONTRIBUTORS

THIRTY YEARS have passed since the world witnessed China's brutal attacks against pro-democracy demonstrators in Tiananmen Square, but the country's campaign against critics and dissidents has returned with renewed intensity, using more subtle tactics and new technology to carry out oppression. On May 9, the OPC gathered a small army of activists, survivors, experts and foreign correspondents to explore the legacy of Tiananmen, discuss the state of China's escalating crackdown, and illuminate the road ahead for democracy advocates.

At the first panel in a day-long event, five veteran correspondents who were there in 1989 said the event was groundbreaking, and at the time it seemed protests had emboldened more people to speak candidly about their concerns, clearing the way for foreign reporters to cover China.

"People were so open!" said author Dori Jones Yang, who covered the protests for BusinessWeek. "They were open about politics: what they were thinking about [Chinese leader] Deng Xiaoping."



CHAD BOUCHARD

Left to right: Susan Jakes, Bruce Kennedy, Dorinda Elliott, Adi Ignatius, Carroll Bogert and Dori Jones Yang.

Carroll Bogert, then with Newsweek, agreed: "It was a torrent of talk!" She also said that there was "the feeling that China was actually speaking. Suddenly everyone would talk to you about what was happening."

Several members of the panel had been correspondents in China for many years before the Tiananmen protests broke out. They had seen first-hand the increased unrest a stalling Chinese society had led to. "People were frustrated with the slowing of reform," Adi Ignatius, who reported for The Wall Street Journal,

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'Won't Shut Up' Despite Attacks

EVENT RECAP

BY PATRICIA KRANZ

SCOTT KRAFT, managing editor of the Los Angeles Times and third vice president of the OPC, urged journalists to stay focused on telling the truth and "resist the temptation to counter name-calling with our own name-calling" in his keynote

speech on June 8 at the Jerusalem Press Club's third international conference on press freedom. The theme of the conference was "Journalism under Siege."

"Our profession is indeed, under siege," Kraft said. "Too many of our colleagues have been murdered, attacked and harassed around the globe – in attacks orchestrated by powerful people and often-totalitarian governments."

But Kraft focused his remarks not on physical attacks, but on the challenges journalists in the United States face from President Trump's campaign against them as the "Enemy of the People" and Trump's "loose association with the truth."

Citing information from the Washington Post's Fact Checker tally, he said President Trump de-

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Bill Holstein Discusses China’s Tech Campaign Against US in ‘Art of War’

EVENT RECAP

BY CHAD BOUCHARD

THERE’S NO shortage of recent headlines about China’s digital incursions and boundless appetite for data, from cyberattacks on businesses and theft of personnel information for U.S. government employees, to spy chips in tech devices used by the U.S. military. Amid this trickle of stories, it can be easy to miss undercurrents. William J. Holstein, a past president and longtime member of the OPC, has placed these headlines in context, bolstered with his own reporting, in his new book *The New Art of War: China’s Deep Strategy Inside the United States*.

On June 5, Holstein discussed the book at Club Quarters with Barbara Demick, who served as Beijing bureau chief for the Los Angeles Times from 2007 to 2017. Demick told attendees that “I thought I knew this story of what China is doing in the United States, and I didn’t until I read the book.”

OPC Calls for Hong Kong to Withdraw Extradition Bill

BY PETE ENGARDIO

JUST DAYS ago, it appeared that press freedom was hurtling toward one of its most crushing blows yet. Despite a massive peaceful protest march by some one million Hong Kong residents – roughly one-seventh of the territory’s population – all signs suggested that the government of the Special Administrative Region was poised to ram a bill through the Legislative Council that would have allowed fugitives wanted by Chinese authorities to be extradited to the mainland. In a display of force not seen in memory in Hong Kong, riot police on June 12 started turning on peaceful protesters and journalists alike with tear gas, batons, water cannons, and volleys of plastic bullets. The Hong Kong Journalists Association has documented 26 cases of police abuse against press covering the protests.

In a breathtaking turn of events, disaster turned into what could be a stunning victory for press freedom at a time of seemingly relentless assaults against civil liberties by authoritarian governments around the world. Yielding to enormous pressure, Hong Kong Chief Executive Carrie Lam announced on June 16 that she was suspending consideration of the controversial bill. Massive protests have continued, however, amid demands that the government withdraw the bill entirely. Long-time Hong Kong journalist Philip Bowring, former editor of the Far Eastern Economic Review and a past president of the Hong Kong Foreign Correspondents Club, shared his account of the recent events (see sidebar).

The OPC calls on the Hong Kong government to end consideration of the extradition bill, for the threat against press freedom is by no means over. The extradition bill could be reintroduced, and swiftly passed by Hong Kong’s rubber-stamp legislature, at any time. The law not only would shatter the independence of Hong Kong’s legal system and the promise of “one country, two systems,” which is critical to preserving press freedom and for the SAR to remain a viable regional base for hundreds of reporters and editors representing international media organiza-

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Bill Holstein, left, and Barbara Demick

Holstein said China employs a style of hacking that leaves no fingerprints, like that of a hacker group known as APT 10 that infiltrated IBM’s cloud computing system by posing as legitimate users for four years.

“The clear and consistent Chinese pattern is that they make copies of the data they want, then exfiltrate it through email channels, so they left no footprints.”

Holstein said China’s Ministry of State Security is orchestrating much of the digital espionage campaign through other hacker groups, and has gained access to companies that are several levels down the U.S. Navy’s supply chain.

He said much of this high-tech war is being waged on an economic scale, with China legally acquiring technology companies, gaining

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Peaceful Protesters in Hong Kong Force Government to Retreat on Extradition Bill, For Now

by Philip Bowring

HONG KONG, June 17, 2019—It was an historic eight days in Hong Kong, culminating in the biggest demonstration the territory had ever seen. It showed that peaceful mass action can still work. The cause was the introduction to the Legislative Council of a bill which would have enabled the extradition of criminal suspects to jurisdictions, notably the mainland, with which Hong Kong had no extradition treaty.

Chief Executive Carrie Lam demanded that the bill be brought to an immediate vote, scheduled for Wednesday June 12. Few believed that the government could be forced by public opinion to change course. Nonetheless, on June 9 more than 500,000 people held a peaceful three-mile march from the city’s Victoria Park to the legislature buildings. Lam took no heed.

By late morning on June 12, tens of thousands had assembled, bringing the central district to a standstill. The demonstrations carried on until around 4:00 p.m. when hundreds of riot police kitted out with masks, helmets, shields and batons and firing tear gas, rubber bullets and pepper spray advanced on the crowds. By the time the protesters were dispersed, many were injured and Hong Kong was in a state of shock at the unprecedented violence.

For two days Lam was silent, apparently meeting with mainland officials. Then she emerged on June 16 to announce the postponement of the bill.

The public response was a mega demonstration with a message: resurrect this bill and we will be back. Lam finally apologized for her failures. Her career is in ruins but more important for Hong Kong is that the mass movement to protect its separate identity has for now beaten the odds.

Philip Bowring is a former editor of the Far Eastern Economic Review and a past president of the Hong Kong Foreign Correspondents Club.

‘Tiananmen’ Continued From Page 1

observed. “There was discontent among the students and it had to come out some way.”

Ignatius also took a longer view and said that if the Chinese authorities had met what he called “moderate demands” from the protesters, “China would have taken off sooner.”

Dorinda Elliott, who covered the events for Newsweek, also pointed to the protests’ influence on present-day China. “It was a real turning point for China,” Elliott said. “It is what has led to the distortions in today’s China.”

The moderator for the panel, Susan Jakes, editor at ChinaFile, said she was the only one on the panel who hadn’t been at Tiananmen Square in 1989, and asked the panelists to recall what reporting was like on those burning days three decades ago.

Bruce Kennedy, who covered the events for CNN and NPR, vividly remembered that “at one point there was such trauma going on. People were wounded and people were shooting.”

The panelists also turned their eyes to the future and reflected on reforms the protests spurred, such as the presidential term limits that were recently scrapped by current president Xi Jinping. “One thing Deng Xiaoping hasn’t gotten enough credit for is creating term limits for the highest leaders in the land,” said Jones Yang. “I was very optimistic about the future of China until last year.”

The OPC invited three survivors from the Tiananmen Square protests to speak about their experiences during and after the protests. The panel started with a showcase of archival footage featuring all three protestors present: Wu’er Kaixi during a hunger strike, Rose Tang at the front lines of the protests, and Zhou Fengsuo at a hearing.

“I was honored being China’s most-wanted person,” Wu’er Kaixi said, and laughed when he said that his student activism and hunger strike around the Tiananmen protests put him at the very top of the Chinese government’s watchlist.

Rose Tang took the opportunity to reflect on her fellow protesters that did not achieve fame or even died protesting: “There are so many nebulous people that died for nothing or were jailed for nothing,” she told the audience.

The threat of persecution is still very strong, and even outside of China, many Chinese are wary of talking about the Tiananmen Square events. Former UPI correspondent William J. Holstein, a past OPC president who moderated the panel discussion, asked participants: “Is there a global war between the government and survivors?” To which all three nodded in agreement.

“A lot of the survivors are today afraid to talk,” said Zhou Fengsuo, who himself has fallen victim to abuse from supporters of the Chinese regime. “I was beaten a few times in San Francisco,” he said, adding: “This is the situation we are facing as survivors.”

Zhou Fengsuo also praised journalism and the journalists that covered the protests. “The most important thing is press freedom,” he said.

When the panel shifted focus to current-day affairs, Kaixi expressed frustration over the non-confrontational attitude other countries have toward China’s leadership: “Why are we so over-complimenting to the Communist regime?”

Rose Tang agreed, and appealed to the audience: “Let’s not over-estimate the Communist party’s power. They are afraid of ordinary people.”

There was a worry among all three panelists that the current regime could tighten their grip even more, a grip that was once loosened after the Tiananmen protests: “Before Tiananmen Square the Communist



Left to right: William J. Holstein, Wu’er Kaixi, Rose Tang and Zhou Fengsuo.



Left to right: Andrew Nathan, Wu’er Kaixi, Sheryl WuDunn, Jerome Cohen and Teng Biao.

OPC SEEKS NEW OFFICE MANAGER

The Overseas Press Club of America is looking for a person who can work 20 hours a week managing the office and writing for the monthly Bulletin newsletter. The job is four hours a day five days a week in the OPC’s midtown office. Administrative tasks include answering the phone, inputting membership information in the database, handling mailings, and doing routine banking and accounting. The job includes writing the People and Press Freedom sections of the OPC Bulletin and two short book reports. The job is ideal for freelance journalists who seek a steady income while also having the time and freedom to do their own reporting and writing for half the day. The hours also work well for parents of school-age children. Interested candidates should send a cover letter and resume to OPC Executive Director Patricia Kranz at patricia@opcofamerica.org.

party choked China to death, after, they decided to ease their grip a bit,” Kaixi said.

For the mothers of those who died at Tiananmen, the past bleeds into present-day, particularly when they raise their voices in a country that prefers to keep them silent. In a touching tribute between panels, Sharon Hom, a professor at NYU Law and the executive director of Human Rights in China, unveiled the next phase of an effort to send letters from the mothers that feature four demands: the truth about the events that transpired, full accountability for the government’s role, a formal apology, and compensation for their loss. As part of the project, the names, faces, and life stories of the deceased were posted online and incorporated into a 22-minute documentary that was released soon after the day of panels.

The project is called The Forgotten, serves as a memorial to those who have been silenced, and those who continue to speak on their behalf.

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The third panel discussion of the day was moderated by author Sheryl WuDunn, who won the OPC’s 1989 Hal Boyle Award and a Pulitzer prize for her coverage of China. The spotlight focused on Chinese president Xi Jinping and on the disproportionate effect that one man can have on the billion-member society that he governs.

The panelists analyzed both the man and his methodology: what he does, how and why he does it, and the ways in which Jinping’s policies have departed from previous leaders.

Columbia professor Andrew Nathan described the overarching goals of Xi’s policies: “Imposing control over society, including those who are not with the program.”

This is nothing new, said Kaixi, who survived Tiananmen Square. “That’s how Chinese governments have been ruling China: with fear.”

Those who comply are offered social and economic advancement. “I call it ‘the lousy deal,’” he said. “Economic freedom in exchange for political freedom.”

But even there, the government maintains a type of balance. “You cannot let go of the economy because that will empower actors who are stronger than you,” Nathan said.

While that’s been the case for many decades, one critical change for the new guard, said Kaixi, is that “Xi Jinping wants to export his ideas to the world. That’s different than his predecessors.” That includes political crackdowns, censorship of the press and Internet, and the controversial social credit system that is currently under development.

Both Kaixi and Teng Biao, a former lawyer, law professor and law reformer who was kidnapped three times in China and is now living in enforced exile, strongly

supports intervention. Biao said that Chinese communism “is not just a threat to Chinese people, but to the whole world. It is maybe the most important thing that all countries, all people on this planet, are facing.”

For governments and entities who decide to intervene, Jerome Cohen, a professor at NYU Law, offered an observation: “They don’t respond to world criticism, but they do respond to world pressure. What the Japanese call *gaiatsu*, world pressure, is important in China.”

A short afternoon session on the outlook for contemporarryh Hong Kong followed, moderated by Minky Worden, OPC governor and Human Rights Watch director of global initiatives.

Lee Cheuk Yan, secretary of the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Democratic Movements in China, described being allowed on a plane and then detained once the authorities confirmed his name, due to his political efforts.

Martin Lee, founding chairman of Hong Kong’s Democratic Party, recounted his plan to buy a coffin with which to lead a political march, only to realize, ahead of the purchase, that the symbol could have unintended inflammatory results. When he changed the order, the person on the other end of the line said, according to Lee, ““This is first time I’ve ever heard of anyone ordering a coffin and canceling it,”” he said, provoking laughter from the audience.

On a more serious note, he warned that Honk Kong’s proposed extradition law would threaten the safety of everyone in Hong Kong (see the Hong Kong story jump on page 5).

Mak Yin-Ting, former chair of the Hong Kong Journalists Association, offered a grounding observation: “Telling the truth is our nature, our job as a reporter. But in China, you have to fight for it.” He said that sometimes activists and journalists win the fight, allowing



Left to right: Sophie Richardson, Rebecca Blumenstein, Bill Holstein and Dexter “Tiff” Roberts.

for the truth to escape, even when people cannot.

In the final panel of the day, the topic was how both new and long-established technologies have become tools of control for China. The conversation covered emerging technologies like artificial intelligence and smart cities, but also seemed to keep veering back to telecom giant Huawei and its major developments toward establishing 5G mobile networks both within and beyond China’s borders.

Holstein noted that those developments reflect not only differences in technological capabilities, but also larger philosophical differences in the ways that the two countries develop and roll out technology.

“China takes a long-term, 5-to10-year development cycles for transformational technologies. We don’t,” he said. The result: Though both countries are working to advance areas like AI and quantum computing, he said, the 5G rollout has been the first instance for which the U.S. doesn’t have an answer.

Moderated by Rebecca Blumenstein, Pulitzer prize winner and deputy managing editor of The New York Times, the panel included a look at the recent past. The panelists agreed that over the last decade, the U.S. tended to underestimate China’s ability to develop technologies that are

used today, while Dexter “Tiff” Roberts, a Mansfield Fellow at the University of Montana, suggested that the U.S. may now be overestimating China’s ability to advance other areas, like robotics.

Each of the panelists pointed to surveillance as a key area of concern. Roberts looked at domestic affairs, citing surveillance in Xinjiang, the province in Northwest China that houses many minority populations, including the persecuted Uyghurs. Holstein looked to China’s actions abroad, citing recent security breaches at large, multi-national corporations like Equifax and Marriott as evidence of the country’s ability to acquire big data. “The question among the American data people is: What are they doing with all of these data?” he asked.

Sophie Richardson, Human Rights Watch’s director of China, took a broader view, pointing to a tendency in the media to make spurious or unfounded claims that the Chinese don’t value privacy. “Why would you logically expect people to value a right that they’ve never had?”

The day of panels and social events to commemorate the 30th anniversary of Tiananmen drew capacity crowds at Club Quarters rivaling previous “China Hands” reunions, with media outlets and documentary crews covering the discussions. ❖

**‘Scott Kraft’
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livered more than 3,000 falsehoods in his first 18 months in office. Less than a year later, he crossed the 10,000 mark.

Kraft described how in the early days of the Trump Administration, the LA Times editorial pages ran a series of editorials titled “Our Dishonest President.” The newspaper made T-shirts for the staff with a phrase across the chest that reflected their commitment to telling the truth. The phrase was: “We Will Not Shut Up” – and it was translated into 10 languages, including Arabic and Hebrew.

He noted another concerning trend: The dwindling amount of information that Americans are getting from their government. He said there has not been a

formal White House briefing in months, and that at the Pentagon and State Department, it’s been a year. The same resistance to turning over public information is happening at the state and local level, he said.

“The challenge to us is to carry on. To stay focused. To tell the truth. To recommit ourselves to accountability reporting. To keep battling for more information from our government,” Kraft said.

Journalists from Israel and Poland at the conference also lamented the lack of access to high-level government officials. “[Israeli leader Benjamin] Netanyahu does not give interviews to people who will ask him hard questions,” said David Horovitz, editor of the Times of Israel.

“If every single story is about the government’s point of view, it is propaganda,” said Magdalena Rigamonti of the Warsaw Press Club.

Kraft closed with an appeal for journalists around the world to stand up for those who are punished for courageous reporting.

“The principles we hold dear have been tested before, and they will be tested again,” Kraft said. “But we aren’t going away. We won’t shut up.”

Patricia Kranz, executive director of the OPC, and Bill Collins, chair of the OPC’s Press Freedom Committee, also attended the conference. ❖

**‘Holstein’
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access to “pitch meetings” in Silicon Valley where Chinese-backed venture capital firms gained access to as much as 50 percent of the flow of deals, “giving the Chinese access to emerging technologies before the Pentagon does.”

Holstein posits that the two countries’ economic models have set the stage for an asymmetrical tech war. Demick quoted a line from the book, “It’s the very porous nature of American democracy that allows the Chinese strategy to work.”

He said while the Chinese system facilitates big moves and coordinated research, the U.S. has suffered problems that stem from policies on developing technologies.

“People who are against [U.S. regulation] say, ‘well, you’re picking winners and losers, you’re interfering in the free marketplace,’” Holstein said. “We just have not been able to overcome this ideological argument.”

He said China also uses soft influence to manipulate the U.S. system, such as funding at universities to quash possible criticism, and getting Hollywood to self-censor by funding studios.

Demick asked about Huawei, the Chinese tech company the U.S. blacklisted in May from doing business with U.S. firms over national security concerns. Holstein said the case illustrates how the Chinese state-owned enterprise system caught the U.S. off guard with advanced technology, namely 5th-generation cellular technology.

“They’re trying to do this across the board. Quantum computing, supercomputers, artificial intelligence, and on and on. They are trying to use their considerable wealth and legitimate expertise as well as stolen expertise to leapfrog us,” he said. “So here’s a case where they have come up with a technology we have no answer for. We were caught sleeping. This is like Sputnik in the 50s, to my mind.” ❖

**‘Hong Kong’
Continued From Page 2**

tions. But as Hong Kong pro-democracy leader Martin Lee warned at the OPC’s May 9 event, Tiananmen Square Thirty Years Later, the law would also expose virtually anyone who says or publishes legitimate criticism of Beijing to be detained and sent to China for trial based merely on an affidavit or witness statement alleging a crime under Chinese law, however trumped-up the charge. “In other words,” Lee said, “Hong Kong cannot guarantee the safety of anybody in Hong Kong, not just us but any one of you.”

What’s more, the extradition bill would likely be followed by another attempt to pass a national security law provided for under Article 23 of the Basic Law to “prohibit any act of treason, secession, sedition, subversion against the Central People’s Government, or theft of state secrets.” Such a law was introduced in 2003 and withdrawn, again after vehement public protest. The Chinese government has expressed strong support for reintroducing the national security law.

These legislative actions are occurring in the context of other attacks on press freedom in Hong Kong, including abduction and detention of book sellers, physical attacks against staff and facilities of Next Media, and denial of a work visa for the Financial Times’s Asia news editor, apparently in retaliation for hosting a talk at the Hong Kong Foreign Correspondents Club by the leader of the Hong Kong National Party.

Hong Kong civil society is maintaining its vigilance. So must the global journalism community. The world has a lot to lose if Hong Kong ceases to be a global hub of information, especially for Asia and China. Once press freedom is gone, it will be very difficult to rebuild, and the world will lose its most important window on China.

Pete Engardio was Asia correspondent for BusinessWeek based in Hong Kong from 1990 to 1996. ❖

WELCOME NEW MEMBERS

J. David Ake

Director of Photography
The Associated Press
New York
Active Resident

Chelsea Dulaney

Freelance
Berlin
Active Overseas, Young
(29 and under)

Linda Kinstler

Freelance
Linda Kinstler, CA
Active Non-Resident, Young
(29 and under)

Hasan Oswald

Freelance
Spring Valley, NY
Active Resident, Young
(30-34)

PEOPLE

By Farwa Zaidi and Chad Bouchard

OPC SCHOLARS

Diksha Madhok, the OPC Foundation’s 2011 Theo Wilson winner, has returned to Quartz, this time as editor and director of the Quartz India platform. Previously she served as digital editor at ThePrint from 2017 to 2019, a stint at Quartz as India editor and ideas editor from 2014 to 2017, and before that was a reporter for Reuters in New Delhi starting in 2011.

Leticia Duarte, the winner of the 2019 Harper’s Magazine Scholarship in memory of I.F. Stone, has been named one of two GroundTruth Global Fellows for Democracy Undone, a new reporting initiative covering the rise of authoritarianism around the globe. Her project will focus on the connection between the rise of populism in Brazil and the U.S. Duarte’s OPC fellowship is with GroundTruth.

Maria Repnikova, 2009 Alexander Kendrick Scholarship winner, has won a book of the year award from the International Journal of Press and Politics at the International Communication Association for her book *Media Politics in China*. Repnikova had an OPC Foundation fellowship at Reuters in Beijing.

AWARDS

OPC past president **David A. Andelman** won the Deadline Club Award in Opinion Writing category for his Reuters work entitled “The World Through the Prism of Donald Trump.” This marks the second year in a row Andelman was winner in the opinion category. Last year, he won the Opinion Writing award for his work with CNN. The Deadline Club Awards were presented during a dinner on June 14. Finalists for that category this year included Jesmyn Ward of TIME for “My True South,” and Steve Dunlop of The Journal News/lohud.com for “Tappan Zee Bridge Name Change.” In the Deadline Club Award’s Digital Innovation category, winners were Maurice Tamman, Matthew Green, Mari Saito, Sarah Slobin and Maryanne Murray of Reuters for “Ocean Shock,” a story about the impact of biofuels in Southeast Asia that also won the OPC’s Citation for Excellence in the Whitman Bassow category this year.

OPC member and OPC Foundation scholar **Dake Kang** has racked up several accolades along with the Associated



Press team that produced the series “China Clamps Down” on the religious crack-down in China. The series won the Osborn Elliot Prize for Excellence in Journalism on Asia; the Society of Professional Journalists’ Sigma Delta Chi award for foreign correspondence; the Society for Advancing Business Writers and Editors Best in Business Award, in the International Reporting category; and the Wilbur Award for best national print publication reporting on religion. The series also received an OPC Citation for Excellence in the Joe and Laurie Dine category this year, and was a finalist for a Deadline Club Award for beat reporting as well as an ASNE-APME O’Brien Fellowship Award for Impact in Public Service Journalism. The AP team risked detention to document how China’s Communist Party is bearing down on the country’s far-Western Xinjiang region, suppressing religious freedom and minority rights. Kang won the OPC Foundation’s 2016 Fritz Beebe Fellowship that sent him to the Beijing bureau. He has reported extensively in Xinjiang, including a May 7 story co-bylined with OPC member Kathy Gannon, who is senior correspondent for Pakistan and Afghanistan for the AP, about Pakistani Christian girls being trafficked to China as brides for Chinese men.

OPC Olivier Rebbot Award winner **Nariman El-Mofty** was named with colleagues as winner of the Michael Kelly Award by Atlantic Media. El-Mofty, along with investigative journalist **Maggie Michael** and Yemeni video journalist **Maad al-Zikry**, won a Citation for Excellence this year in the Hal Boyle category for reporting on Yemen for The Associated Press. Judges for the Michael Kelly Award said the team untangled complexities of the war in Yemen that are very difficult for

outsiders to follow, confronting threats from several fronts and filing stories “that consistently broke new ground, brought the nature of the conflict vividly alive, and exposed the ruthless cynicism of those perpetuating the conflict.” The team’s work also garnered this year’s Pulitzer Prize for international reporting. El-Mofty and Michael are the first Egyptians to win the Michael Kelly Award.

The team of Myanmar journalists that received this year’s OPC’s Bob Con-sidine Award, **Wa Lone**, **Kyaw Soe Oo** and colleagues, has won a Human Rights Press Award in the investigative feature writing category for “Myanmar Burning.” Wa Lone and Kyaw Soe Oo were arrested in December 2017 and convicted on trumped-up charges of disclosing state secrets but were pardoned and released on May 7 amid international pressure. On World Press Freedom Day on May 3, the two journalists were honored with the 2019 UNESCO/Guillermo Cano Press Freedom Prize. The team also won a Pulitzer Prize in International Reporting on April 15. The Human Rights Press Awards are a nonprofit organization based in Hong Kong recognizing rights-related reporting from around Asia, organized by The Foreign Correspondents’ Club Hong Kong, The Hong Kong Journalists Association and Amnesty International Hong Kong.

UPDATES

HBO announced on June 10 that the network has canceled **VICE News Tonight**, ending a seven-year partnership with VICE Media. The 30-minute nightly news program premiered in 2016, and quickly grew its viewership. Led by Josh Tyrangiel, the executive vice president of news at VICE Media, the show won several awards during its run, including the OPC’s 2018 David Kaplan and David A. Andelman and Pamela Title Awards, as well as five Emmy awards for various news segments. Tyrangiel told his employees that he would be leaving VICE at the end of June. VICE Media has seen significant upheaval over the past several months, starting with layoffs of 10 percent of its staff in February.

The **New York Times** announced on June 10 that the paper will no longer publish daily political cartoons that ran in the paper’s international edition and online. The decision came after complaints about a caricature of Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu that ran in April. The move means the Times has also ended its relationship with two contracted cartoonists, **Heng Kim Song** and **Patrick Chappatte**. Chappatte won the OPC’s awards for best cartoons in 2011, 2015 and 2018. The editorial page editor, James Bennett, said in a statement that he was grateful for the work of Kim Song and Chappatte, and that the decision had been in the works for more than a year. In an NPR interview with Chappatte, the cartoonist said that the Times’ decision and statement “sends a signal discarding a whole genre that is so rooted in the history and tradition of democracy.”

OPC member **David Fondiller** has joined Altran, a global innovation and engineering consulting firm. Fondiller will serve as the company’s new VP of communications for its North America division. In his new role, he will oversee public relations, executive and internal communication, and digital and social media. He will also lead communications at one of the division’s subsidiaries, Frog, a design and innovation firm. Fondiller has previously worked for Merrill Lynch, Marakon, and Boston Consulting.

OPC member **Johnathan Katz** has launched a newsletter to delve into the “backstory” behind big international stories. The subscription email, currently provided for free, is called The Long Version, and aims to “provide the deep context the 24-hour news cycle tends to miss.” So far he has covered U.S. influence in Venezuela, myth-making among white supremacists, and the political legacy of Nicaraguan civil wars, among others. The Los Angeles Times on June 9 asked him to adapt one of his Long Version pieces as an op-ed for the paper. The piece, entitled “Call Immigration Detention Centers What They Really Are: Concentration Camps,” examined President Trump’s Border Patrol processing centers and other immigration lockups, in which at least seven migrant children have died in the last year while in custody. More information and a sign-up form for The Long Version is available at

katz.substack.com.

Fifty images from OPC member **Nicole Tung** were featured in a photo exhibition in Hong Kong through May 26 to mark the centenary of Save The Children Hong Kong. The images focused on Iraq and Syria, many depicting the effects of conflict on children. Tung told the South China Morning Post that she had not consciously focused on children in her work, but on documenting the effects of war on civilians overall. She said only when she started curating images for the exhibition did she realized how many of her images showed kids living in a world of destruction. “There were kids working in fields or outside playing no matter what the conditions were around them. It’s like they had become used to this rhythm of war – it had become part of their life. And what’s even more frightening is they can name every type of weapon,” she said.

Two years after OPC Governor **Azmat Khan** and member **Anand Gopal** first filed their 2017 article “The Uncounted,” the investigative piece continues to serve as inspiration and a door-opener in the search for accuracy in underreported civilian casualties from U.S. airstrikes around the world. A May 15 piece in the Columbia Journalism Review called their reporting for The New York Times Magazine, which won the OPC’s 2017 Ed Cunningham Award, “an often-cited standard bearer of civilian casualty investigations.” The CJR article details reporting in 2018 by American freelancer Amanda Sperber on the Pentagon’s decade-long operations against al-Shabab in Somalia. Like Khan and Gopal, she uncovered denials and discrepancies in U.S. casualty reports. The article outlines steps Khan and Gopal took in reporting “The Uncounted,” including on-the-ground tours of wreckage of nearly 150 strike locations, recording of GPS coordinates, photos and 3D-mapping using a commercial drone that was cross-checked against satellite imagery, local news reports, and government records.

OPC Governor **Vivienne Walt** interviewed former Greek finance minister Yanis Varoufakis for a May 23 article in Fortune magazine. Varoufakis ran as an E.U. parliamentary candidate in May elections under a new political party called DiEM25, an abbreviation for “Democracy in Europe Movement

2025.” The group is one of the few international parties, having run in a total of 11 countries. Walt write that the party aims to solve problems of stagnation, inequality and high unemployment by “stopping Europe’s major corporations from sitting on mountains of cash, and by having central banks boost investment with higher interest rates.” Varoufakis said in the interview that a growing income gap, which many see as the root cause for Europe’s populism, “is the greatest gift to the fascists. I don’t call them populists. I call them fascists, just so we know what we’re talking about.”

OPC Governor **Minky Worden**, director of global initiatives at Human Rights Watch, penned an op-ed for The Washington Post for the May 15 edition calling for FIFA to reconsider naming Saudi Arabia as co-host of the 2022 World Cup. Worden outlined the country’s poor human rights record, including unlawful attacks in the brutal Saudi-led war in Yemen, restricting life-saving aid, beheading 37 Saudi nationals in April, criminalizing same-sex relations, and an egregious record on press freedom. Qatar had been slated as likely candidate to host the games, which sparked international outcry over human rights abuses. Qatar lacks the infrastructure for a recent expansion of the tournament from 32 teams to 48, so would likely need to share hosting with Saudi Arabia. Worden argues that groups had worked for years to improve conditions in Qatar, including better safety for migrant workers building stadiums, but that those efforts could not be repeated in Saudi Arabia where human rights activists are routinely jailed or silenced. She wrote that FIFA’s consideration of Saudi Arabia “stands in stark contrast to the organization’s claims that human rights are a key part of its values and the rules of the game.”

PEOPLE REMEMBERED

Tony Horowitz, winner of the 1990 Hal Boyle Award, died on May 27 at the age of 60. According to his publisher, Horowitz suffered cardiac arrest while in Washington, DC on tour for his newest book *Spying on the South: An Odyssey Across the American Divide*, which was released just two weeks before his death. He won the Hal Boyle award for his coverage of the Gulf War for The Wall Street Journal along with his wife,

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PRESS FREEDOM UPDATE...

by Farwa Zaidi and Chad Bouchard

Police in Sydney, Australia raided the headquarters of the **Australian Broadcasting Company** on June 5. Police said in a statement that the raid was part of an investigation into the publication of classified material. The statement also claimed the ABC raid was not related to the raid of Sunday Telegraph editor Annika Smethurst's home one day before. According to ABC employees, the raid lasted around eight hours, and focused on 2017 reporting on unlawful killings and misconduct by Australian special forces in Afghanistan. Police say these reports were based on leaked documents.

Unknown assailants attacked Russian video blogger **Vadim Kharchenko** on June 1. Kharchenko is the founder of the YouTube channel "Lichnoe Mneniye," which translates to "Personal Opinion." He reported that on the June 1, he was attacked while returning from an intended meeting with a potential source in which the source did not show up. He later stated in a video that two men shot at him several times with a non-lethal weapon, hitting him in the abdomen. He was also hit in the head and stabbed several times in his right hand and arm. Kharchenko linked the attack to his YouTube videos, which often cover protests and his investigations into alleged police abuse. He has more than 175,000 subscribers. Kharchenko said he had met with a police informant who promised to deliver evidence that a regional police department was falsifying cases. The informant had not shown up, and Kharchenko was attacked during his walk home.

Pakistani reporter **Gohar Wazir** was detained for covering protests in the Pashtun region. Wazir is a reporter with private satellite TV station Khyber News. Security officials arrested him on May 28 after he reported on demonstrations of the Pashtun Tahafuz Movement (PTM,) a mass movement promoting the rights of the Pashtun people. A day before his arrest, he had interviewed Mohsin Dawar, a prominent PTM leader who was elected to Pakistan's National Assembly last year. Wazir was arrested along with twenty-one other people under the Maintenance of Public Ordinance. This allows for "preventative" detention for up to six months.

Several Indonesian journalists were attacked during recent post-election riots.

OPC Denounces Turkey's Indictment of Bloomberg Journalists

NEW YORK, June 18, 2019 – The Overseas Press Club of America condemns the action taken by Turkey's judicial system to indict two Bloomberg journalists for routine reporting on the challenges facing the Turkish economy.

Bloomberg reporters Fercan Yalinkilic and Kerim Karakaya have been charged with undermining Turkey's economic stability, according to Bloomberg and media reports. The court accepted an indictment from a prosecutor who recommended a jail term of two to five years for the reporters, if convicted.

The charges against the journalists result from an August 2018 Bloomberg story about how Turkish authorities and banks responded to Turkey's biggest currency shock since 2001.

John Micklethwait, editor-in-chief of Bloomberg, said "we condemn the indictment issued against our reporters, who have reported fairly and accurately on newsworthy events. We fully stand by them and will support them throughout this ordeal."

A criminal court in Istanbul is scheduled to hear the case on Sept. 20.

Turkey is the world's leading jailer of professional journalists and ranks 157th in the World Press Freedom Index, according to Reporters Without Borders.

The annual index measures the state of journalism and press freedom in 180 countries.

At least seven journalists were attacked on the night of May 22. Reporters were allegedly targeted while covering violence in the central hub of Jakarta, where at least eight people were killed and hundreds more injured. The rioting began near the headquarters of the country's electoral commission on May 21, following the commission's announcement that incumbent President Joko Widodo, known as Jokowi, had won his bid for reelection. The Alliance of Independent Journalists the government temporarily blocked access to social media networks and slowed down Internet connection speeds during the crisis. Press freedom advocates say President Widodo has been a disappointing leader in terms of protecting journalists and free expression, failing to honor pledges to improve. Reporters Without Borders said that "authorities continue to suppress information and Jokowi's campaign pledge to open up the West Papua region to foreign journalists was just an illusion. If journalists can go there – under certain conditions – they are closely watched, exposing their sources to reprisals by the authorities."

Since May 22, at least **three journalists working in Syria** were injured in attacks by suspected pro-government forces in two separate incidents in Hama. Assailants fired shells at a group of journalists in Hama, including a crew from Sky News and American journalist and activist **Bilal Abdul Kareem**. Abdul Kareem was injured. A drone hovered above the journalists before the shell exploded. Abdul Kareem was hit in the arm and taken to a hospital. According to Sky News correspondent Alex Crawford, the group was "clearly identified as journalists" and was "deliberately targeted." Two days later, **Mustafa al-Abbas**, a reporter for Al-Jisr, was injured in an airstrike. He was hit in the face and shoulders.

Greek CNN reporter **Mina Karamitrou's** car was recently bombed in an overnight attack. A makeshift explosive device went off at 2:30 a.m. on May 14 after it was placed underneath her car. The car was parked outside Mina's home in northern Athens. The car was destroyed but no one was injured in the explosion. Karamitrou is a police reporter for CNN's Greek program. An investigation has been

opened into the attack on her car. She appeared on Good Morning Greece shortly after the attack and said she believes it is connected to her reporting on Dimitris Koufudinas, who is serving 11 life sentences for murders he committed while affiliated with an anarchist group.

Somali police arrested television reporter **Abdirahman Keyse Mohamed** without charge on May 13 and fired gunshots at him during the arrest. Abdirahman is reporter with the privately-owned broadcaster Bulsho TV. His arrest is linked to interviews he conducted about the recent arrest of a member of parliament. Abdirahman was injured when one of the officers fired his gun at the ground and debris hit the journalist in the leg. He is currently in prison pending an investigation into police allegations that he was making anti-national propaganda, spreading fake news, and disobeying a police order not to record interviews. No formal charges have been filed against him. Police took Abdirahman to a local hospital following his arrest. He was transferred back to jail at the police station after treatment.

San Francisco Police raided the home of freelance journalist **Bryan Carmody** on May 10. According to police, the raid was in connection to leaked information about the death of public defender Jeff Adachi. Adachi died on Feb. 22, and details of his death were reportedly sold to local news outlets. The search warrant on Carmody's home came after city leaders demanded that the leak be investigated. Carmody was handcuffed for five and a half hours while police searched his home and then his office, five miles away. They were looking for the identity of the anonymous source who leaked the details of Adachi's death. Carmody says he was treated like a criminal, with the police "running around like they were a SWAT team." This is the first such raid of a journalist's home or office in recent American history. According to California law, Carmody should be allowed to keep a confidential source confidential.

MURDERS

Chadian reporter and cameraman **Obed Nangbatna** was killed on May 25. The reporter, who worked for Chadian National TV Broadcaster Tele Tchad, was traveling in a military vehicle when it

drove over a mine. The mine exploded, and Nangbatna was killed along with four soldiers in the same van. The vehicle was part of a military convoy heading to Lake Chad, where members of the Chadian army had recently been attacked by Islamist militants. Nangbatna was traveling with the convoy in order to cover the attack for his network. He was rushed to a nearby hospital following the explosion and was pronounced dead. He was forty-two years old.

Brazilian journalist **Robson Giorno** was shot and killed in Rio de Janeiro on May 25. Unknown assailants came to Giorno's home and lured him to a car on the street where the shot him six times. He died on the scene. Giorno was the founder of Jornal O Marica, a website covering local news and politics. He was the principal reporter for the site. Rio de Janeiro local police have opened an investigation into the attack. Police in charge of the investigation say Giorno was killed because of his reporting and his political activity. His news website had recently reported that he was planning to run for office in Marica. He also frequently criticized local politicians for corruption and absenteeism. A friend of Giorno's, who asked not to be named, said Giorno had received threats and had purchased a bullet-proof car just days before his death.

A well-known Afghan journalist, **Mina Mangal**, was shot dead in the streets of Kabul on May 11. Mangal worked for several Afghan television channels and later became an advisor for Afghanistan's parliament. She was on her way to work in the morning when two unidentified men shot her in broad daylight. A spokesperson for local police said the two escaped on a motorbike. According to friends and family members, Mangal had received threats in the recent past, and she had posted on her Facebook page that she was scared for her life. One of the shows Mangal hosted was focused on women's rights. Her death has prompted other female journalists in Afghanistan to speak out about the dangers they face in their profession. A spokesperson for the U.S. State Department on Twitter called Mangal's death a threat to press freedom worldwide.

Colombian documentary filmmaker **Lezama Rengifo** was killed on May 9.

Rengifo was conducting interviews in the village of La Esmeralda, a region near the Venezuelan border that has been plagued with violence, when he was shot and killed by two gunmen who sped away on a motorcycle. Camera operator **Ricardo Llaine** was also injured by a grazed bullet. He was transferred to a local hospital and later released. The two were working on a film about Mayo Villareal, a political activist and nurse from the region who treated victims during Colombia's guerrilla conflict. Rengifo also worked for the Arauca government as a film consultant. Arauca Governor Ricardo Alvarado blamed the killing on members of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia.

The body of Mexican journalist and political activist **Telesforo Santiago Enriquez** was discovered on May 2 in the southern state of Oaxaca. Enriquez was the founder and director of El Cafetal, a community radio station in San Agustín Loxicha. He was also politically active and a member of Section 22, a local chapter of the teachers' union National Coordinator for Education Workers. His body was found in the evening of May 2 with several gunshot wounds. According to a statement by the Oaxaca state attorney general's office, Enriquez died at the site where his body was found. Enriquez founded El Cafetal five years ago and ran several unsuccessful campaigns for mayor of San Agustín.

Mexican reporter **Francisco Romero Diaz** was shot dead on May 16. According to his wife, he had received a tip about a possible story. Around 6:00 a.m., he arrived near an establishment in Quintana Roo, where unidentified gunmen shot him twice in the head. Romero had been enrolled in a federal protection program since mid-2018. He was assigned government bodyguards after he received death threats around the time that two of his colleagues at Semanario Playa News were killed. Romero left his residence on the day of his death without informing his bodyguards. About a month ago, Romero made a video where he said he'd been abducted and threatened for his reporting, but that he would never be silenced. He covered crime and local politics for Quintana Roo Hoy, a major state newspaper. He was previously an editor and reporter for Semanario Playa News. ❖

‘People’
Continued From Page 7

Geraldine Brooks. Horowitz grew up in DC, and graduated from Brown University and Columbia University’s Graduate School of Journalism. He spend a decade overseas as newspaper reporter, mainly covering wars and conflict in the Middle East, Africa, and the Balkans for The Wall Street Journal.

Bill Seamans, longtime OPC member and award winner, died on April 21 at the age of 93. Seamans was a decorated World War II veteran who earned two Bronze stars and a Purple Heart for his service in the U.S. Army. He later attended Brown University on the GI Bill and graduated from the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism. He earned an Emmy for his work with CBS. He joined ABC News as a correspondent and served for 29 years, including five years as bureau chief in London, and 22 years as bureau chief in Tel Aviv. He covered the Gulf War and won an Emmy for the news special Nightline: In the Holy Land. In 1975, he won the OPC award for best interpretation of foreign affairs-television. He was an OPC member from 1977 to 2009. ❖

NEW BOOKS

By Farwa Zaidi

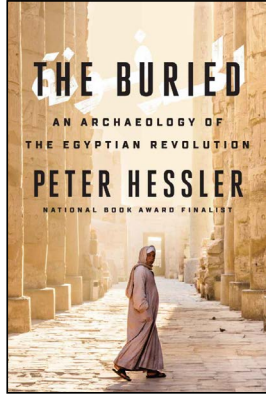
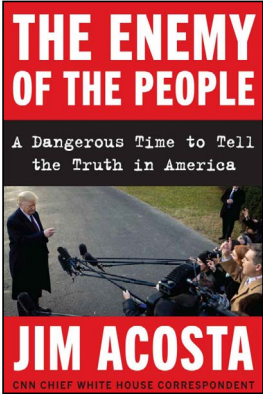
WHITE HOUSE

VETERAN CNN chief White House correspondent Jim Acosta, in his newly released book, takes readers into the trenches of his high-profile battle against President Donald Trump in the so-called war on truth. *The Enemy of the People: A Dangerous Time to Tell the Truth in America*, [Harper Collins, June 2019] follows the saga from Acosta’s unique point of view as arguably the administration’s most reviled journalist in the White House pool.

Trump positioned himself as an anti-media candidate soon after announcing his candidacy in 2015, vilifying journalists and undermining the credibility of newsrooms with relentless verbal assaults, framing them as “the enemy of the people” and coopting the term “fake news” to mean reporting that is critical or unflattering to his administration. Acosta quickly found himself in the crosshairs, prompting death threats, confrontations with foul-mouthed supporters at political rallies, and pipe bombs delivered to CNN headquarters.

Acosta recounts his front-seat coverage of major stories from the campaign trail and administration, from probes into collusion with Russia, travel bans on Muslim-majority countries, hardline immigration policies, to the head-spinning rotation of appointments and firings. The book also gets readers closely drawn portraits of iconic administration cast members, such as Sarah Huckabee Sanders, Stephen Miller, Steve Bannon, Sean Spicer, Hope Hicks and Jared Kushner. Ultimately, Acosta’s questions resulted in a temporary revocation of his press pass in November 2018. He frames the job of covering politics under Trump as a showdown between secrecy and transparency, writing that “neutrality for the sake of neutrality doesn’t really serve us in the Age of Trump.”

Acosta cites unnamed sources in his examination, notably at one point quoting a senior White House official as saying bluntly that “the president’s insane.” Acosta writes that Trump’s frustration overt journalists’ use of anonymous sources within his own administration may have helped to fuel the war on media; when he could not find leaks and critics inside the White House, he turned his antagonism toward journalism itself. However, Acosta cites three unnamed sources who pointed to Steve Bannon as the originator of the strategy to paint journalists as “enemy of the people,” possibly originating the phrase while he



where a weak state has collapsed, but its underlying society remains in many ways painfully the same.

Hessler is a staff writer at The New Yorker, where he served as Beijing correspondent from 2000 to 2007 and Cairo correspondent from 2011 to 2016. He is also a contributing writer for National Geographic. He is the author of *River Town*, which won the Kiriyama Book Prize, and *Oracle Bones*, which was a finalist for the National Book Award. He won the 2008 National Magazine Award for excellence in reporting. ❖

still served as Trump’s top White House adviser. Acosta continues to serve as CNN’s chief White House correspondent. He previously reported on the Obama administration from the White House and around the world. He regularly covers presidential press conferences, visits by heads of state, and issues impacting the executive branch of the federal government. ❖

EGYPT

AFTER A celebrated career covering China for The New Yorker, American writer and journalist Peter Hessler set his sights on what colleagues warned would be a much quieter assignment. In 2011, he and his family decided to move to Egypt. Then, soon after the move, the Arab Spring began and pitched the country into chaos. Hessler has distilled his years of travel, experience and reporting into a new book, *The Buried: An Archaeology of Egyptian Revolution* [Penguin Press, May 2019].

Hessler explores Egypt’s modern identity and revolution through the lens of an ancient concept from Pharaohs, that the past does not fade away, but exists “forever in the present.” He draws connections between contemporary and ancient Egypt, showcasing the lives of ordinary people during a time of tragedy and heartache. He and his wife learned Arabic, and became close friends with their instructor, who provides sophisticated but cynical political commentary. He writes about his translator and friend, a gay man struggling to find a place in a severely homophobic culture, and the neighborhood garbage collector, an illiterate man whose access to the city’s trash becomes a kind of archaeological excavation. Despite upheaval, Hessler traveled to digs at Amarna and Abydos, where residents live beside the tombs of kings. The book chronicles the story of a country



Meet the OPC Members: Q&A With Jim Huylebroek

Jim Huylebroek is a freelance photographer currently based in Kabul, Afghanistan. His work has been published by a range of organizations and news outlets, including The New York Times, The Guardian, Al Jazeera, The Washington Post, Bloomberg, Der Spiegel, The Telegraph, VICE, UNICEF, UNHCR, The Norwegian Refugee Council and others. He has reported on a range of stories, including following opium production and smuggling from Afghanistan to Western Europe, and exploring the aftermath of conflict in Mali. His first photo book, *Afghanistan: Unsettled - Three Years Documenting Afghans on the Move*, was published in 2018.

Hometown: Antwerp, Belgium.

Education: Bachelors degree in Photography from Karel de Grote College, Antwerp, Belgium.

Languages you speak: English, Dutch, French, Spanish, German, Persian, Pashto (not fluent).

First job in journalism: Freelancer (still am).

Countries reported from: Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia, Mali, Nigeria, Iran, Turkey, Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, Kosovo, Bosnia, Croatia, Germany.

When and why did you join the OPC: In 2016. I had been asked for identification by security forces during reporting a couple of times, and decided it was time to get a press card.

What drew you to Afghanistan? The conflict, the natural beauty and the people. I was looking for a place to begin my career as a photojournalist after doing a graduation project about the conflict in Mali and its impact on civilians. It was the end of 2014 and a big troop drawdown of U.S. and NATO forces was happening in Afghanistan. Since many of the foreign press left too, I figured there would be space for me to get started.

Major challenge as a journalist: Confidence.

Best journalism advice received: Not really advice, but I learn a lot from conversations with more experienced colleagues.

Worst experience as a journalist: Emails from outlets claiming to have no budget but offering to publish photos for “exposure.”

When traveling, I like to ... Go to isolated places without phone or Internet coverage, since I can then catch up on editing backlogs. When I’m in Kabul there’s always something on, which doesn’t facilitate time management.

Journalism heroes: The men and women who cover their own country’s conflicts despite the risks. The fixers, interpreters and drivers, who often don’t receive praise.

Hardest story: A story on the deadly toll on a family after a group of its children found an unexploded rocket near their house.

Advice for journalists who want to work overseas: I don’t feel like I’m in a position to give advice yet, but if I would: Find a place you’re interested in and give yourself the time to learn about it. Know that it requires an investment. Keep in mind potential risks.

Favorite quote: I and the public know
What all schoolchildren learn,
Those to whom evil is done
Do evil in return.
- W.H. Auden

Place you’re most eager to visit: Colombia/Venezuela.

Most common mistake you’ve seen: Having preconceived notions about the “frame” into which a story fits – it’s always apparent in the final product.

Country you most want to return to: Mali, to revisit the people who were so helpful when I came there without money or experience during my studies..

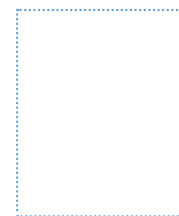
Twitter handle: @jimhuylebroek ❖

Want to add to the OPC’s collection of Q&As with members? Please contact patricia@opcofamerica.org.



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