

**UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK**

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF RELIGION; AMERICAN
ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS;
PEN AMERICAN CENTER; TARIQ RAMADAN,

Plaintiffs,

v.

MICHAEL CHERTOFF, in his official capacity as
Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security;
CONDOLEEZZA RICE, in her official capacity as
Secretary of State,

Defendants.

**DECLARATION OF
MICHAEL ROBERTS**

Case No. 06-588 (PAC)

DECLARATION OF MICHAEL ROBERTS

I, Michael Roberts, of New York, New York, do declare:

1. I am the Executive Director of PEN American Center (PEN). I have served as PEN's Executive Director since 1998.
2. I received my A.B. from Dartmouth College; and a J.D. in Law, as well as an A.M. and a Ph. D. in English and American Literature, from Harvard University.
3. From 1982 until 1998, I was employed at Harvard University, as a Special Assistant to Dean James Vorenberg (1982-83) of the Harvard Law School; a Teaching Assistant in English in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences (1984-88); and as an Attorney (1982-91) with the Office of General Counsel. Finally, I was the Secretary of the University and an Assistant to the President (1991-98) in the Offices of the President and Governing Boards at Harvard.
4. In my capacity as Executive Director of PEN, I am responsible for organizing, managing and overseeing some 14 programs, a staff of twelve full- and five

part-time employees, and a budget of \$2.5M a year, for a non-profit organization of 2900 writer/editor members from across the U.S. Additional duties include fundraising and resource development, proposing all income and expenditures for the fiscal year, setting of budgets, overseeing expenses, hiring and supervising staff, setting salaries and terms of employment, managing all aspects of day-to-day operations, and working with a 40-member Board of Trustees and eight-member Executive Committee.

PEN American Center

5. PEN is an association of authors, editors, and translators based in New York, committed to the advancement of literature and the unimpeded flow of ideas and information throughout the world. PEN has approximately 2,900 members.

6. PEN American Center is the largest of the 141 centers of International PEN. International PEN is the world's oldest international literary organization. Founded in 1921, International PEN is a worldwide association of writers founded to promote friendship and intellectual cooperation among writers everywhere; to emphasize the role of literature in the development of mutual understanding and world culture; to fight for freedom of expression; and to act as a powerful voice on behalf of writers harassed, imprisoned and sometimes killed for their views. As the largest PEN center, PEN American Center plays a major role in advancing PEN's mission both in the United States and overseas. PEN American Center has been leading an organization-wide effort to build PEN's presence in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East, to give writers outside Europe and North America a greater voice in International PEN, and to bring literature and writers from outside the European-American sphere more fully into the international literary mainstream.

7. PEN's mission is to advance literature, promote freedom of expression and oppose censorship in the United States and abroad, and foster international literary fellowship. These core principles are expressed in the PEN Charter, which stresses the organization's commitment to international dialogue and critical debate and its opposition to censorship. The charter states that "Members of PEN should at all times use what influence they have in favor of good understanding and mutual respect between nations; they pledge themselves to do their utmost to dispel race, class, and national hatreds, and to champion the ideal of one humanity living in peace in one world"; that "PEN stands for the principle of unhampered transmission of thought within each nation and among all nations, and members pledge themselves to oppose any form of suppression of freedom of expression in their country or their community"; and that "[PEN] believes that the necessary advance of the world toward a more highly organized political and economic order renders free criticism of governments, administrations and institutions imperative." PEN Charter (attached hereto as Exh. A). As Arthur Miller, a lifelong member of PEN American Center and a past President of International PEN, explained in a speech in 2001: "The idea [of PEN] was to try to unite the intellectuals of Europe in an organization, a fellowship is probably a better word, around the demand for unfettered communication and publishing, so that supernationalism might be stopped in its tracks by criticism from abroad."

8. The open exchange of ideas that PEN espouses has always been an essential ingredient of culturally and politically vital societies, and it is a core value of the United States. PEN believes that despite its historic commitment to fostering a vibrant marketplace of ideas and a fully open society, the United States has recently found itself culturally, intellectually, and politically isolated. This is true even in a globalized world

because the dominance of English and electronic media helps ensure that American voices and ideas are projected around the world but inhibits foreign ideas and voices from reaching the U.S. One symptom of this uneven exchange is the scarcity of international writing published here in the United States. Approximately 3% of the literature published in the United States last year was translated from another language, in comparison with significantly higher percentages of translated books published in most other countries and languages.

9. PEN is particularly troubled that in the post-9/11 world, when the need for an open and peaceful exchange of information is particularly urgent, America's cultural and intellectual isolation may be increasing.

10. PEN fulfills its mission and supports its members through conferences, readings, and public forums that bring international writers and scholars into contact with their American counterparts, and through advocacy campaigns designed to protect the right to free expression domestically and abroad.

11. In furtherance of its mission to ensure the unimpeded flow of ideas between authors, scholars, editors and translators, PEN has historically opposed restrictive immigration laws that limit the ability of foreign scholars and writers to visit the United States. During the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, PEN was a vocal critic of the government's practice of ideological exclusion. On May 3, 1989, Larry McMurtry, then a member of PEN's Executive Board, testified before the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Courts, Intellectual Property, and Administrative Justice about the ideological-exclusion provisions of the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act and their negative effect "on the free and open exchange of ideas among writers of differing national origins and ideological perspectives." Mr. McMurtry testified that the McCarran-Walter Act and the

practice of excluding writers and scholars because of their political views and ideas “abridge[ed] the rights of American writers to engage in face to face discussion and confrontation with foreign colleagues; it violate[d] the right of citizens to hear the speakers of their choice and make their own decisions about the ideas with which they are presented; [and] it deter[ed] foreign writers and others who hold controversial views from visiting the United States.” Testimony of Larry McMurtry to the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Courts, Intellectual Property, and Administrative Justice, May 3, 1989 (hereinafter “McMurtry Testimony”) (attached hereto as Exh. B).

12. PEN advocated on behalf of individual writers and scholars who were excluded under the ideological exclusion provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act. For example, when PEN American Center hosted International PEN’s annual World Congress of writers in 1966 and again in 1986, it sought waivers so that a number of writers who had been invited to participate but were excludable under the McCarran-Walter Act could attend the event in New York. Since the organization’s founding, PEN Congresses have been both the official business meeting of the international body and the principal means by which PEN carries out its mission of promoting international understanding through face-to-face exchanges among writers. In 1966, PEN American Center petitioned for and received a waiver that allowed Chilean poet Pablo Neruda, who had repeatedly been excluded from visiting the United States under the McCarran-Walter Act, to attend the Congress. In 1986, PEN petitioned the U.S. State Department for and received assurances that no writers invited to attend the Congress would be excluded. As a result, 55 prominent writers from around the world were able to attend as Guests of Honor, including Mahmoud Darwish, Adonis, and other writers who had

previously been excluded or refused to apply to travel to the United States because of the McCarran-Walter Act's restrictions.

13. PEN also protested instances where individual writers were excluded from visiting the United States under the McCarran-Walter Act, and worked to raise public awareness of the impact of the McCarran-Walter Act on cultural and intellectual exchange. For instance, in April 1984, PEN, together with the Fund for Free Expression, sponsored a public reading in New York City where "American authors read from the work of their foreign counterparts whose entry into the United States had been made difficult and humiliating – or impossible – under [the McCarran-Walter] provisions." McMurtry Testimony, Exh. B at 1-2. Readings that evening included work from "Argentine novelist Julio Cortazar, Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish, Italian playwright Dario Fo, Colombian novelist and Nobel laureate Gabriel Garcia Marquez, Chilean poet and Nobel Laureate Pablo Neruda, and Uruguayan scholar Angel Raxna." *Id.* PEN also disseminated information about the problematic practice of ideological exclusion, including in the publication Liberty Denied: The Current Rise of Censorship in America. Donna A. Demac, Liberty Denied: The Current Rise of Censorship in America, (PEN American Center, 1988) at 139-143 (relevant portion attached hereto as Exh. C).

14. PEN continues to intervene on behalf of writers who are excluded from the United States. For example, PEN intervened on behalf of Professor Haluk Gerger, a Turkish journalist, writer and political scientist who was denied entry into the United States in October 2002 because his visa was cancelled without explanation. PEN wrote to the Secretary of State and the Attorney General, urging them to review the decision to deny Professor Gerger entry and to reinstate his visa. Similarly, in 2004 PEN protested the U.S. State Department's decision to revoke Cuban independent journalist Bernardo

Arévalo Padrón's refugee visa. Mr. Arévalo Padrón, who was jailed for six years in Cuba for his work as an independent journalist, had been granted political asylum in the U.S., but was informed a month before he was to leave Cuba that his visa had been revoked "without a right of appeal."

15. PEN and its members have invited foreign writers and scholars to speak in the United States, to attend and participate in literary and public education programs, and to meet with U.S.-based writers and with members of the American public. For example, through its Foreign Exchange program, PEN regularly invites foreign writers to visit the United States to discuss their works with an American writer and the general public. These one-on-one conversations, which have been presented to capacity or near-capacity audiences in venues seating from 180 to 485 people, allow well-known literary figures to introduce international writers to American audiences, and are thus an important part of PEN's efforts to promote international literature and voices in the United States. Foreign Exchange programs have featured Francisco Goldman in conversation with Guatemalan writer Rodrigo Rey Rosa; Amy Tan in conversation with Chinese writer Geling Yan; and Art Spiegelman in conversation with the Iranian-born, Paris-based graphic novelist Marjane Satrapi.

16. In addition to regular series and events such as Foreign Exchanges and PEN World Voices, which is described below, PEN presents other programs that are also aimed at promoting international dialogue and increasing awareness of and interest in literature in translation. For example, in December 2003 PEN brought together European and American writers for a program entitled "Mind the Gap: Writers Eye the U.S. – European Cultural Divide," and in September 2003, Susan Sontag hosted an event

featuring leading translators of international literature discussing the politics of translation in the United States.

17. PEN also works to ensure that writers across the world are free to write and express their ideas. Last year PEN followed the cases of 996 writers in 103 countries who were imprisoned, censored, or threatened for their work, conducting advocacy campaigns and providing solidarity and direct support to endangered writers around the world. In support of these efforts, PEN stages regular events and programs to publicize individual cases and to disseminate the work of endangered writers in the U.S. In the past year, PEN has used its annual PEN/Barbara Goldsmith Freedom to Write awards to generate publicity that contributed to the release of Ali al-Domaini, a poet who had been imprisoned in Saudi Arabia; coordinated an international campaign on behalf of novelist Orhan Pamuk, who faced possible prosecution in Turkey; sponsored the publication of *Strange Times, My Dear: the PEN Anthology of Contemporary Iranian Literature*; joined a lawsuit challenging Treasury Department regulations that restricted publications from countries under U.S. trade embargoes; held a “Banned Voices” reading at the World Voices festival featuring the work of writers not allowed to leave their countries and travel to the U.S.; and co-sponsored an event for poet and journalist Raul Rivero on his first visit to the United States after being released from a Cuban prison. On February 8, 2006, PEN co-sponsored and co-curated a “Selected Shorts” program at Symphony Space in New York called “Banned: Stories by Censored Writers and Dissidents” that featured the work of Iraqi writer M.T. Sharif, Indonesian writer Pramoedya Ananta Toer, and Iranian writer Shahrnush Parsipur. That program will be broadcast nationally as part of the National Public Radio “Selected Shorts” series this year.

18. As an organization engaged in international human rights advocacy to protect writers and freedom of expression, PEN is particularly concerned about policies that may serve to undercut the ability of the United States to promote democracy and human rights overseas or may be used to justify censorship or the suppression of freedom of expression abroad. PEN protested the McCarran-Walter Act in part because similar laws in authoritarian regimes had forced many leading writers to choose exile in order to have contact with international voices that were banned in their own countries. PEN believed that banning international writers from visiting the U.S. only encouraged authoritarian regimes to further restrict access to international ideas and voices in their own countries. Similarly, PEN joined a legal challenge to the regulations of the U.S. Treasury Department's Office of Foreign Assets Control restricting publications from countries under U.S. trade embargoes. PEN argued that the practice of erecting barriers to information from countries that are considered unfriendly or hostile both violated Congressional exemptions for informational materials and mirrored the practices of some of the very countries currently targeted by trade embargoes. PEN noted that such practices by the United States would inevitably be used by governments in those countries to justify their own restrictions on information and ideas.

19. PEN also promotes international literature that might otherwise go unread in the United States by fostering the translation of world literature into English. The PEN Translation Fund supports the translation of book-length works of fiction, creative nonfiction, poetry, and drama that have not previously appeared in English or have appeared only in flawed translations, with a priority on underrepresented languages and authors and on previously untranslated works. In addition to providing financial support for translations, the PEN Translation Fund aims to promote the

projects it selects by pairing the international writers with writers of established reputation in the United States who provide introductions to the work and encouraging booksellers to make special ongoing promotions for the books PEN has supported. In all, 10 works translated with support from the PEN Translation Fund in the last two years have been or will soon be published in the United States. Writers whose works are translated through the program have then been invited to participate in PEN programs; for example Iraqi poet Dunya Mikhail, whose poetry collection *The War Works Hard* was published last year following a grant from the PEN Translation Fund, was a participant in the 2005 PEN World Voices Festival. This book was recently recognized by The New York Public Library as “one of the 25 Books to Remember of 2005.”

20. Since 2000, PEN has published *PEN America: A Journal for Writers and Readers*, which works to bring attention to works of fiction, nonfiction, poetry, and drama deserving of recognition or renewed interest. As part of PEN’s effort to promote international authors, *PEN America* often publishes the work of writers and scholars from abroad. For example, Issue 6, “Metamorphoses,” featured a PEN tribute to Gabriel Garcia Marquez, who was for many years excluded from the United States under the McCarran-Walter Act. That issue included work from winners of the 2004 PEN Translation Fund Grants as well as writing from many other international writers. It also presented excerpts from the PEN public program “Mind the Gap: Writers Eye the U.S.-European Cultural Divide,” which featured a spirited debate between Tariq Ali (Pakistan/U.K.) and Bernard-Henri Lévy (France) over the War in Iraq and current U.S. policies in the Middle East. The forthcoming issue of *PEN America* will feature excerpts from the 2005 World Voices Festival, including talks and readings by Michael Ondaatje,

Azar Nafisi, Wole Soyinka, Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, and Margaret Atwood, among many others.

21. As an organization believing that “the necessary advance of the world towards a more highly organized political and economic order renders a free criticism of government, administrations, and institutions imperative,” PEN is especially committed to convening conversations and debates that question existing orthodoxies and provide new and critical perspectives on important current issues and events. In the post-9/11 world, this includes discussions of terrorism and national security, of relationships between Islamic nations and the West, and of the role of the United States in the Middle East and the world as a whole. Crucial to these programs is the presence and participation of writers from the Islamic world, and in the past two years, PEN has sponsored programs or events that featured Tariq Ali (Pakistan/U.K.), Hanan al-Shaykh (Lebanon/U.K.), Fadhil al-Azzawi (Iraq/Germany), Khaled Mattawa (Libya/USA), Kader Abdolah (Iran/Netherlands), Anouar Benmalek (Algeria), Assia Djébar (Algeria/France), Nuruddin Farah (Somalia/South Africa), Ahmad Karimi Hakkak (Iran/USA), Nassim Khaksar (Iran/Netherlands), Kanan Makiya (Iran/USA), Dunya Mikhail (Iraq/USA), Azar Nafisi (Iran/USA), Shahrnush Parsipur (Iran/USA), Elif Shafak (Turkey), Niloufar Talebi (U.K./Iran), and Goli Taraghi (Iran/France).

22. After September 11, PEN initiated a “Core Freedoms” campaign to “protect public access to . . . a full range of voices from the United States and around the world” and “promote U.S. policies that reflect a core commitment to individual rights, preserve these rights at home, and expand them internationally.” The campaign reflects PEN’s ongoing concerns about the impact of anti-terror and national security laws worldwide, as outlined in International PEN’s 2004 report, *Antiterrorism, Writers and*

Freedom of Expression. Through its Core Freedoms campaign, PEN and its members have sought to raise awareness of U.S. laws and policies that, like the ideological exclusion provision, impinge on the freedom of expression, limit access to information or effectively censor the ideas that Americans are allowed to hear from abroad, and potentially violate international human rights standards and laws. As part of this campaign, as previously mentioned, PEN was a co-plaintiff in a lawsuit challenging restrictions the U.S. Department of Treasury's Office of Foreign Assets Control had imposed on publishing literature and other materials from countries under U.S. trade embargoes. It has also staged two sold-out "State of Emergency" events at New York's Cooper Union, taped by C-SPAN's Book TV for rebroadcast nationally, in which leading American and internationally authors read selections from U.S. and world literature reflecting on current U.S. domestic and international policies. Selections included writings by Nawal El Saadawi (Egypt), Eduardo Galeano (Uruguay), Raul Zurita (Chile), Curzio Malaparte (Italy), Jose Saramago (Portugal), and testimony from detainees at the U.S. military base in Guantanamo, Cuba.

The Effect of Tariq Ramadan's Exclusion on PEN

23. Last year, PEN inaugurated what is intended to be an annual international literary event: the PEN World Voices Festival of International Literature. The PEN World Voices Festival brings together some of the world's most celebrated writers and scholars for a week of discussions, readings, and face-to-face conversations before a large American audience. The theme of the inaugural festival was free expression, which both great literature and democratic societies need to flourish. 125 writers from 43 countries on five continents and nearly 8,000 guests gathered in crowded

venues throughout New York City for more than 40 events. Audience reached by radio, television, and the Internet numbered in the hundreds of thousands.

24. The PEN World Voices Festival advances PEN's mission and complements PEN's other programming by bringing writers and journalists to New York City for events that include perspectives that are largely absent from public discourse in this country. The World Voices Festival and the writers who participate in the festival dramatically highlight the roles writers play in stimulating and communicating ideas that reflect cultural diversity, innovation, and understanding across cultures. The festival is designed to contribute to a more informed world view both in and of the United States. PEN's members have the opportunity to converse face-to-face with colleagues from around the world. Audiences have a rare opportunity to hear directly from writers from different countries and cultures as they offer their perspectives on a range of pressing local and international issues; see these writers engage one another, and PEN's members, in discussion and debate; and, in many programs, question the writers directly about their work and views. In short, PEN's members and American audiences get a unique opportunity to exercise their First Amendment right to seek information and ideas that are not normally available in the American marketplace. At the same time, writers from distant countries, many of whom have never met each other and some of whom have never been to the United States, have the opportunity to hear a rich variety of viewpoints, interact with American writers and readers, and experience first-hand American life and culture.

25. By assembling so many distinguished writers and intellectuals from around the world for a concentrated series of programs, PEN World Voices is able to attract considerable public and press interest, not only in the United States but around

the world. The 2005 PEN World Voices Festival generated more than 250 news and feature articles in the American and international press. The international press coverage serves to counter stereotypes of American insularity, while reportage in the United States conveys to audiences throughout the country a sense of the richness and diversity of world literatures and cultures and the universality of human experience. Programs from the 2005 World Voices Festival, such as a panel discussion entitled “Confronting the Worst: Writing and Catastrophe” featuring Svetlana Alexievich (Belarus), François Bizot (France), Carolin Emcke (Germany), Philip Gourevitch (USA), Ryszard Kapuscinski (Poland), and Elena Poniatowska (Mexico), are replayed regularly on C-SPAN’s Book TV.

26. The 2006 PEN World Voices Festival of International Literature is being organized around the theme of “Faith and Reason.” Over 60 writers from around the world will join leading American writers and members of PEN American Center for five days of readings, panel discussions, tributes, and dialogues, with many of the nearly 50 festival programs touching on the role of religion in literature and politics, relations between the Islamic world and the West, U.S. perceptions of the larger world, and current U.S. policies. Titles of contemplated programs include “Globalization, Fundamentalism, and Women”; “Religious Defamation and Free Speech”; “Faith and Politics: America and Elsewhere”; “The Global City”; and several “Conversations that Matter” featuring major international figures such as Nobel laureate Amartya Sen (India) in one-on-one conversations with American authors. In addition to these public events, festival participants will be meeting informally and socializing throughout the week with PEN members and leading American authors. Writers from the Islamic world and the Middle East who are committed to attending include Magdi Allam (Egypt/Italy),

Ammar Abdulhamid (Syria), Azhar Abidi (Pakistan/Australia), Ayaan Hirsi Ali (Somalia/Netherlands), Alaa El-Aswani (Egypt), David Grossman (Israel), Necla Kelek (Turkey/Germany), Etgar Keret (Israel), Elias Khoury (Lebanon), Venus Khoury-Ghata (Lebanon/France), Agi Mishol (Hungary/Israel), Orhan Pamuk (Turkey), and Ayu Utami (Indonesia).

27. On January 17, 2006, PEN invited Professor Ramadan to participate as a distinguished participant in the 2006 PEN World Voices Festival of International Literature scheduled for April 26-30, 2006, in New York City. Letter from Salman Rushdie to Professor Ramadan dated January 17, 2006 (attached hereto as Exh. D). Professor Ramadan has indicated that he will participate if he is able to obtain a visa. Clearly Professor Ramadan, as one of the leading voices of Islam in Europe and an incisive analyst of relationships between religious and secular traditions, would be a major contributor to the festival's formal programs, including discussions on "Religious Defamation and Free Speech" and "Faith and Politics: America and Elsewhere." Equally important for PEN and its members is the opportunity to meet Professor Ramadan informally and engage in direct discussions and conversations with him about contemporary issues and events.

28. As is evident from the current international crisis over the publication of cartoons depicting the Prophet Mohammad, there is a particular urgency to engage in cross-cultural dialogues that transcend the rhetoric of a "clash of civilizations." PEN is deeply committed to contributing to this dialogue by bringing writers from the Islamic world in contact with American writers. PEN believes that Professor Ramadan, who is a frequent contributor to public discussion on similar issues in Europe and the United Kingdom, should be included in these conversations in the United States, and that

American writers and audiences have a right to engage with him directly in a free exchange of information and ideas. Professor Ramadan has been interviewed on the cartoon crisis in Europe, and has spoken eloquently on the issue. For PEN, it is inconceivable that the World Voices Festival would not include an examination of an issue that bears so directly on PEN's dual mandate to promote cultural understanding and to protect free speech. Professor Ramadan should be able to make the same important contributions to this conversation in the United States as he has in Europe. Moreover, PEN believes that Professor Ramadan, as a respected Islamic scholar who has spoken forcefully against violence, written extensively on Islam and the West, and criticized current U.S. policies in the Middle East, will be a newsworthy presence and will make unique and valuable contributions in formal and informal events throughout the World Voices Festival.

29. The uncertainty over whether Professor Ramadan will be granted a visa imposes practical and financial burdens on PEN, and may itself have the effect of limiting audiences and opportunities to interact with him. For example, although Professor Ramadan has accepted an invitation to the festival, PEN cannot with certainty schedule him for specific events or finalize the line-up of participants in the programs in which he would participate. It may also be unable to make his travel arrangements with sufficient lead time to secure economical fares. If Professor Ramadan is barred from attending the World Voices festival, PEN will be compelled to explore arrangements for Professor Ramadan to participate in one or more of the festival programs by video conference, at substantial additional cost. Finally, if Professor Ramadan is able to attend but PEN has been unable to confirm and adequately publicize his participation, numerous PEN members and Americans who would wish to exercise their First

30. Defendants' exclusion of Professor Ramadan threatens not only to prevent Professor Ramadan from attending the World Voices Festival, but also compromises the ability of PEN and its members to invite him to other public literary forums and programs in the future, and prevents them from effectively collaborating with him on other intellectual projects.

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States of America that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed on this 10th day of March, 2006.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Michael Roberts", written over a horizontal line.

Michael Roberts

Roberts Declaration
Exhibit A

PEN American Center**PEN CHARTER**

LITERATURE, national though it be in origin, knows no frontiers, and should remain common currency among nations in spite of political or international upheavals.

IN ALL CIRCUMSTANCES, and particularly in time of war, works of art and libraries, the heritage of humanity at large, should be left untouched by national or political passion.

MEMBERS OF PEN should at all times use what influence they have in favor of good understanding and mutual respect among nations; they pledge themselves to do their utmost to dispel race, class, and national hatreds and to champion the ideal of one humanity living in peace in the world.

PEN STANDS FOR the principle of unhampered transmission of thought within each nation and among all nations, and members pledge themselves to oppose any form of suppression of freedom of expression in their country or their community.

PEN DECLARES for a free press and opposes arbitrary censorship in time of peace. It believes that the necessary advance of the world toward a more highly organized political and economic order renders free criticism of governments, administrations, and institutions imperative. And since freedom implies voluntary restraint, members pledge themselves to oppose such evils of a free press as mendacious publication, deliberate falsehood, and distortion of facts for political and personal ends.

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Roberts Declaration
Exhibit B

PEN American Center

TESTIMONY OF LARRY MCMURTRY

Subcommittee on Courts, Intellectual Property, and Administrative Justice of the House Judiciary Committee

Chairman: Jack Brooks

May 3, 1989

My name is Larry McMurtry. I am a writer. I have published several novels, including *Lonesome Dove*, *Terms of Endearment*, *Texasville*, *Anything for Billy*, *The Last Picture Show*, *Somebody's Darling*, *Cadillac Jack*, *All My Friends are Going to be Strangers*, and *Horseman, Pass By*. I am a member of the Executive Board of PEN American Center, the international association of poets, playwrights, essayists, editors, novelists, and translators. I am appearing before you as a writer, bookseller, reader, and spokesperson for the 2,300 American writers of PEN.

I am submitting for the record PEN's statement about the effect of the ideological-exclusion provisions of the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act on the free and open exchange of ideas among writers of differing national origins and ideological perspectives. I also would like to make my own comments and answer any questions you may have.

The right to freedom of expression has been the focus of intense and almost worldwide attention and debate in recent months as a result of the crisis of a single writer, Salman Rushdie, and the violent reactions his book has evoked. The threat to this man—and, by extension, to all individuals who work for and believe in the right to express one's views without fear of persecution—has produced a sharp reexamination of what is meant by freedom of expression and how far we as individuals, as a nation, and as a global civilization are willing to go to recognize and protect this most precious of rights.

Here in the United States we have heard our leaders and representatives in Congress and the White House decry terrorism and proclaim our dedication as a nation to the principle of free expression. But do we honor and protect this principle as vigorously as we should? Do we fully sustain the high standards against which we judge the practices of others?

An objective look at the laws that govern the flow of people and information across our borders reveals some serious shortcomings in this regard. One of the most glaring examples of our failure to consistently and fully protect First Amendment rights is the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act whose ideological-exclusion provisions—still in effect for those who seek to reside here permanently—are an affront to all who cherish the constitutional guarantees of freedom of expression and association. To a writer whose living depends upon the uninhibited interchange of ideas and experiences, these provisions are especially appalling.

International PEN - the only worldwide association of writers - has survived and thrived, throughout its 68 years of existence because its members, who together represent the sweep of cultural histories and political systems that define the world today, have met, and continue to meet, annually at conferences and congresses held in different countries. Because we are writers, we know that reading one another's work is vital, but we also know that meeting one another face to face, in free discussion and debate, is vital, too. As readers of foreign books, we respond strongly to the truths inherent in all serious literature; we try hard to remain sensitive to the social and cultural subtleties that are apt to be lost in translation. But when we meet, the dialogue that ensues both expands and clarifies the perceptions and experiences we have in common; with hope and good will we begin to forge common perspectives. Such nourishing exchanges might have once been deemed the luxuries of intellect; cultural feasts, if you will. Today, in a world of truly international dependencies, these meetings are more than luxuries; they are moral imperatives.

The American Center of PEN has been working since the early 1960s on behalf of writers and readers who have become victims of the ideological exclusion provisions (Section 212(a) (28)) of the McCarran-Walter Act. Our involvement has ranged from writing letters of protest on behalf of forbidden writers and holding readings of their work to testifying before congressional committees, filing amicus curiae briefs on behalf of plaintiffs in cases rising from application of the McCarran-Walter Act, and joining in a suit against the Attorney General.

While the history of the McCarran-Walter Act spans three decades, the 1980s brought a dramatic increase in the number of cases brought before us and a corresponding increase in our work on this issue. In the world's leading democratic model and only country with broad free-speech protection provided in law and ensured by an independent judiciary, it is unacceptable that legislation still exists to circumscribe this protection and exclude from it those with whom a particular administration may have a difference of opinion.

In April 1984, in an effort to bring attention to the growing threat to our First Amendment freedoms posed by the ideological exclusion provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act, PEN American Center, together with the Fund for Free Expression, sponsored a public reading in New York City. American authors read from the work of their foreign counterparts whose entry into the United States had been made difficult and humiliating—or impossible—under these provisions: Argentine novelist Julio Cortazar, Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish, Italian playwright Dario Fo, Colombian novelist and Nobel laureate Gabriel Garcia Marquez, Chilean poet and Nobel Laureate Pablo Neruda, and Uruguayan scholar Angel Raxna. Other writers who have been similarly considered excludable over the past 30 years include Graham Greene (Great Britain), Doris Lessing (Great Britain), Michel Foucault (France), Dennis Brutus (South Africa), Farley Mowat (Canada), Kobo Abe (Japan), Carlos Fuentes

(another Nobel Laureate) (Mexico), and Jan Myrdal (Sweden). These men and women are some of the finest literary figures of our time. How shameful it is that they have been deemed unworthy or threatening to the well-being of our country and its citizens.

For 30 years, writers of this caliber have been denied normal visas to visit or become permanent residents in the United States because their political beliefs or associations are not in accordance with the politics and ideology of the administration in Washington. Another great and embarrassing irony is that this sort of arbitrary and ideologically motivated legislation when enacted in authoritarian regimes has forced dissident writers to flee their own countries. Many of these writers, such as Vladimir Nabokov, Joseph Brodsky, and Czeslaw Milosz have sought refuge in the United States and subsequently enriched American letters by their presence among us.

Unfortunately, not all writers fleeing persecution are welcomed with open arms. When Angel Rama, noted Uruguayan scholar living in exile, applied for a residence visa so he could accept the position of "Distinguished Scholar" offered him by the University of Maryland, he was refused under the 212(a) (28) provision. Rama had never been a communist or terrorist, nor did he ever belong to a political party. Here is an excerpt from the transcript of Rama's interrogation by the Immigration and Naturalization Service:

INTERROGATOR: You have been quoted as saying . . . that you are a "man of socialist ideas." What, exactly, do you mean by this statement?

RAMA: This means I believe in a regime of social justice, of respect for human rights, of political democracy, and of economic democracy.

INTERROGATOR: How do you differentiate, in your own mind, between socialist and communist ideologies? Are they not merely different degrees of the same politico-economic philosophy? . . . What are your feelings about the doctrine of world communism?

RAMA: The problem with this question . . . is that I do not know what you are referring to as the "doctrine of world communism." I am in disagreement with the regimes found in the Soviet Union, Poland, Cuba, etc., and I prefer regimes such as those in Austria and Sweden. The presidents of those countries . . . are socialists.

Rama was still deemed excludable at the time of his death in a plane crash in the spring of 1984.

Rama's experience with the McCarran-Walter Act is not unique. Pablo Neruda was a member of the Chilean Communist Party. He was also Latin America's most famous poet and his work still exercises an influence on contemporary literature worldwide, comparable to that of T. S. Eliot's. Neruda won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1971, and was Chile's ambassador to France. Could anyone truly think that this great man of letters would have posed a threat to the government or the people of the United States? The celebrated Colombian novelist Gabriel Garcia Marquez was at one time a member of the communist party. He has been welcomed in every democratic capital in the world except this one.

Before the recent October 1988 amendment to the McCarran-Walter Act, many writers and intellectuals who are considered excludable were invited to apply for waivers. But the process of obtaining one is time-consuming and insulting. Some find the waiver process so humiliating they refuse to apply. The English sociologist Tom Bottomore wrote to Sophie Silberberg of the Fund for Free Expression in February 1980, about his second attempt to obtain a visa:

. . . in 1977, having received several interesting invitations, and being under the impression that the immigration laws had been amended, I again applied for a visa. To my surprise, the same issues were raised as in 1951, and I was asked to provide an account of my political affiliations and to apply for a waiver. I consider all this an indignity, and of course I withdrew my application again.

In 1986, when American PEN was to host an International PEN Congress, there was a serious question as to whether such a meeting could in fact take place in this country. PEN members from everywhere in the world had been welcomed for congresses in far less free countries, such as Yugoslavia. But the 212(a) (28) provision of the McCarran-Walter Act could have effectively prevented such a gathering in the United States.

In the end, no writer was denied entry to the U.S. for the 1986 Congress; but ensuring the presence of all participants was an elaborate, expensive, and time-consuming process. Norman Mailer, then-president of American PEN and president of the 48th International Congress, met with State Department officials to explain the extraordinary importance of the Congress for writers and intellectuals around the world and to plead for similarly extraordinary cooperation in waiving the excludability status of some of our most illustrious guests of honor, such as Jorge Amado from Brazil, Kobo Abe from Japan, Stephan Hermlin from the German Democratic Republic, Danilo Kis, a Yugoslav dissident living in Paris. Tracking the foreign participants who were considered excludable was a major task, undertaken with the cooperation of people in the State Department—including a Deputy Assistant Secretary of State—to ensure that waivers would be granted and that they would be expedited through the vast bureaucratic network in time for the opening of the Congress. We also had to persuade these prominent writers to endure the humiliating and sometimes grueling questioning which accompanies the application for such a waiver.

These pernicious provisions continue to be applied. One example of note is the ongoing saga of Margaret Randall. Born and raised in the United States, she married a Mexican and subsequently took Mexican citizenship so that she could work in that country. Randall is now remarried to an American; the petitions for her permanent residency in the U.S. submitted by her husband and adult son rightfully entitle her to an immigrant visa. But the INS is pressing for her deportation: It cites her work-essays, poetry, journal entries, compilations of oral histories-which contain criticism of some United States policies, or depict women and artists of countries not in favor with the present administration. The INS translates these opinions and portraits into Communist Party membership and advocacy of world communism. Even if the INS could prove the former or provide a definition of the latter, neither of these conditions should be grounds for exclusion. In any case, as Randall does not advocate violence or the overthrow of the U.S. government by force, engage in violent or threatening activities, or otherwise pose a physical threat to society, it is absurd to pursue her case with such vigor.

Today, in May 1989, her status remains unresolved. In February 1988 Randall's appeal was pending before the Board of Immigration Appeals when Congress amended the McCarran-Walter Act to forbid the use of ideology as grounds for visa denial and deportation. The BIA was told that a favorable decision should be rendered in Randall's case in accordance with this legislation. However, in October 1988 the Board had not yet acted on her case when Congress replaced the temporary amendment with another which disallowed ideological exclusion of visitors but reinstated the provision for applicants for permanent residence. Based on this legislation a decision in favor of deportation is once again a possibility. Randall's lawyers have petitioned the Supreme Court on her behalf. Are the writings of a single individual so potent and threatening that they warrant this gross and misplaced expenditure of time, energy and money to have this individual removed from the land of her birth?

The McCarran-Walter Act abridges the rights of American writers to engage in face to face discussion and confrontation with foreign colleagues; it violates the right of citizens to hear the speakers of their choice and make their own decisions about the ideas with which they are presented; it deters foreign writers and others who hold controversial views from visiting the United States, and-finally and perhaps most perniciously-it prevents those who wish to make the United States their new home from adding their often great gifts to the mix of our cultural life.

Suppose the McCarran-Walter Act had been in effect before World War II, when a stream of intellectually and artistically gifted writers, musicians, filmmakers, and thinkers poured out of Europe to make their homes here. Many of them were from countries with complex political histories; many of them had led politically complex lives, as commonly happened then and commonly happens now. The whimsies of McCarran-Walter would surely have turned some of them back; we might have lost the gifts of such people as Albert Einstein, Thomas Mann, Bertolt Brecht, Max Ophuls, Bela Bartok, Fritz Lang, Theodor Adorno, Arnold Schoenberg, Erik Erikson, Herbert Marcuse, and Hannah Arendt, to name only a few of the distinguished immigrants who arrived here then. Is it not folly-moral as well as cultural-to risk losing even one immigrant of this caliber to this capricious Act?

In addition to the deleterious effects of this Act on the First Amendment rights of individuals, the very existence of ideologically-based legislation undermines the effectiveness and moral authority of American organizations such as PEN that are dedicated to promoting free and open communication "within all nations" and "between all nations" as they work to fulfill this mandate and aid writers who are persecuted regardless of national origin. How can we presume to be the "leaders of the free world" and criticize the more egregious practices of other governments when we fail to live up to the standards we set for ourselves - that serve as a model for the internationally recognized human rights standards against which all nations are judged?

We believe that the ideological-exclusion provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act serve no useful purpose and cause inexcusable damage to individual rights and to the ability of the United States to champion the cause of individual liberties around the world. As writers and U.S. citizens we urge the elimination of those provisions so that we can fully enjoy the constitutionally guaranteed freedoms which are our birthright.

We thank you for the opportunity to present our views to this Committee.

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[More "PEN Members Speak Out"]

Roberts Declaration
Exhibit C

LIBERTY DENIED

THE CURRENT

RISE OF

CENSORSHIP

IN AMERICA



DONNA A. DEMAC



PREFACE BY ARTHUR MILLER

FOREWORD BY WALTER KARP

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the press during other overseas military activities. As the use of press pools became more entrenched as an acceptable entity to press organizations, the public could no longer count on having individual news accounts that were not managed in some way by Pentagon officials. To the disadvantage of all, reporters continued to find themselves excluded during the most significant moments of military activity.¹⁶

The press has hardly been blameless in these matters. In their eagerness to maintain access, reporters have consented to let the lead and the subsequent content of their stories be dictated to them by senior pool representatives. Another of the mistakes press organizations made was to believe that compromises reached on a limited number of issues would allow the press and the government to develop more cooperative relations. But there were signs from the very beginning of the Reagan years that the administration's agenda was more sweeping.

A 1982 executive order established new standards for the classification of information, instructing agencies: "When in doubt classify." The order also removed the earlier requirement that agencies balance the government's secrecy-related interest against the public interest in the requested information and, for the first time, allowed the reclassification of information (see chapter 7). Moreover, the president was quick to issue a new executive order giving intelligence agencies authority to wiretap and search newsrooms.

By 1985 press pools, secrecy contracts, and the "line of the day" were firmly in place, and the administration's appetite for control remained unsated. Moreover, new curbs had been imposed by Congress, including still more categories of information to be exempted from release under the Freedom of Information Act, and a law that made it a crime to publish the names of intelligence agents.¹⁷ A plan was also in process to establish an American equivalent of the British Official Secrets Act, by making the publication of classified information a criminal offense. Toward this end, the administration moved against a civilian Navy employee, Samuel Loring Morison (see chapter 7). At the time of Morison's conviction in 1985, writer David Wise observed that the case had been part of a two-pronged strategy "to intimidate officials for unauthorized leaks at one end and intimidate reporters at the other end."¹⁸

Patrolling the Ideological Border

The Reagan administration's efforts to confine the parameters of public debate included restrictions on information flowing across our borders in both directions. In 1983, relying on regulations that allowed the government to deny films duty-free certification if they lacked "adequate American points of reference," the USIA refused to grant a permit for the export of *The Killing Ground*, an ABC documentary about toxic waste, claiming that the film "would mislead a foreign audience into believing that the American public needed arousing to the dangers of hazardous wastes when this is no longer the case."

During the next several years, certification was denied to dozens of films on such topics as teenage drug use and the dangers of uranium mining. Though films denied certification could still be distributed abroad, their makers could no longer qualify for the usual exemptions from paying taxes and duties in other countries.¹⁹ In 1987 a federal court ruled that the criteria the government was using to grant and deny duty-free export status were unconstitutional. Shortly thereafter, new rules were issued, but they did little to lessen the danger of indirect censorship, since they allowed films to be labeled as "propaganda" if they did not offer an acceptable range of opinion on controversial subjects and did not present topics in what was determined to be a "primarily factual manner." According to attorney David Cole, who represented a group of independent filmmakers in a suit that challenged the new regulations, "essentially what they're saying is that unless you put out a view of America that is absolutely Ronald Reagan rosy clean, they're going to say it's propaganda."²⁰

The USIA also restricted the entry of dozens of films into the United States by refusing to approve them as fit for educational or other use. For example, three films produced by the National Film Board of Canada on the perils of nuclear war and acid rain were labeled as "political propaganda."²¹

The administration's political litmus test also extended to other areas. In 1984 it was discovered that the USIA was keeping a blacklist of people whose views rendered them undesirable for overseas speaking tours. Walter Cronkite, Coretta Scott King, and Gary Hart were among those the agency believed could not be trusted.

The Reagan administration's move away from the free exchange of ideas and information is also visible in its attempts to control travel. Restrictions on the right to travel are justly denounced by conservatives in their critiques of the policies of the Soviet Union, yet similar curbs have been placed both on American citizens and on foreigners trying to visit the United States.

In the first instance, two Supreme Court decisions of the 1980s have greatly expanded the government's authority to limit foreign travel. In one case, filed during the Carter administration, the Court held that the secretary of state could revoke the passport of former CIA agent Philip Agee, an outspoken critic of intelligence agency abuses and a writer who, according to the government, was guilty of exposing the identity of CIA officers and agents. The broader meaning of the Court's ruling was that the freedom of American citizens to travel was subordinate to the needs of national security and foreign policy.²²

The second Court decision upheld regulations that established criminal penalties for Americans traveling in certain countries. At issue were rules requiring people (other than journalists and academics doing research) to apply for licenses in order to travel to Cuba. According to the Reagan administration, these regulations were necessary to ensure that money spent by Americans in Cuba would not be used to finance subversion in Central America. In 1987, on the same grounds, the American Psychological Association was denied an exemption to attend the Inter-American Congress of Psychology in Cuba. It now appears that most U.S. citizens cannot travel to Cuba, and that they may be prevented from going elsewhere if the government decides that it would endanger the national interest.²³

The curbs on travel by foreigners were based on the 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act, better known as the McCarran-Walter Act. The law, passed during the McCarthy era, established a long list of reasons for which foreigners could be denied visas to visit the United States. The most serious of these had ideological grounds: Those who were deemed excludable included anyone who had been a member of a communist or anarchist organization, who had written materials advocating such views, or "whose activities would be contrary to the public interest."

Over the following three decades the law was used to exclude countless foreigners, including Belgian Marxist economist Ernest

Mandel, French radical theoretician Régis Debray, and such Latin American literary figures as Gabriel García Márquez, Carlos Fuentes, and Julio Cortázar, among many others. In 1972 the Supreme Court upheld the law, saying that the "plenary government power to make policies and rules for the exclusion of aliens" outweighed the First Amendment rights of U.S. citizens to hear what the foreigners had to say.

The Reagan administration has used the law extensively. In 1982 it withheld visas from some five hundred people from around the world who planned to attend a special session on disarmament at the United Nations. In the following years the "undesirables" kept out of the country have included Italian playwright Dario Fo and actress Franca Rame, Nicaraguan interior minister Tomas Borge, Canadian naturalist and author Farley Mowat, and Hortensia de Allende, widow of the slain Chilean leader.

The law was sometimes used against those who already had visas. In 1986, when Colombian journalist Patricia Lara arrived at Kennedy Airport in New York to attend an awards dinner at Columbia University, she was taken into custody. Although her papers were in order, Lara's name had appeared on an Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) list of some 40,000 people suspected of "subversive, Communist or terrorist activities." She was jailed for five days and then deported.

Another case concerned the American-born writer Margaret Randall, a critic of American government policies who had lived abroad for many years and had relinquished her American citizenship. In 1984 she returned to the United States to be near her elderly parents and to teach at the University of New Mexico. Using the McCarran-Walter Act, the INS denied her application for permanent residency and moved to deport her—clearly because of her political views; she had written widely in support of the Cuban revolution and had lived in Cuba.

Working with the Center for Constitutional Rights and receiving support from groups including PEN American Center, Randall challenged the INS. After three years of litigation, her problems appeared to end in 1987 as the legal legitimacy of McCarran-Walter began to erode. That October, the Supreme Court let stand a lower court ruling limiting the power of the administration to exclude aliens for ideological reasons. Then Congress passed a partial and temporary (one-year) repeal of the law. Nevertheless, Randall and others fear that until a broad and

permanent law is enacted, the use of ideological restrictions is likely to continue, and to inflict the worst injury on those who are not well-known and thus will be less able to avoid the stigma attached to being excluded as political "undesirables."²⁴

The Reagan administration's preoccupation with controlling foreign opinion was perhaps clearest in the initiative known as Project Democracy. The asserted aim of the program was to promote American values abroad. In fact, the broader agenda was to counter widespread criticism of U.S. military and foreign policies in Europe.

Operating under the auspices of a group called the National Endowment for Democracy, the project represented a continuation of the foreign propaganda efforts carried out by the U.S. government since the end of World War II. But while such previous initiatives were taken directly by federal agencies, such as the USIA—which remained active and was involved in new projects like the Worldnet satellite channel—Project Democracy was to be implemented by private groups, including the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the AFL-CIO, and other organizations known for their anticommunist ideology. It was later made known that a large percentage of the funds for the project, which were appropriated by Congress only after the CIA promised that it would not be involved, ended up in the hands of foreign political parties, labor unions, and publishers who were friendly to the administration. Another issue that has been raised concerns possible links between the aboveground Project Democracy and the covert network of the same name overseen by Oliver North. The Tower Commission reported that it could find no evidence linking the two organizations, but it seems that the full story has yet to be told.²⁵

A democratic society must afford opportunities for the expression of a wide variety of political, religious, and social values. The Bill of Rights exists because its authors were determined to prevent the government from regulating the expression of American citizens.

As we begin to emerge from a period in which both individual rights of expression and freedom of the press have been weakened by a multitude of regulations and by the remarkably successful public relations initiatives of the Reagan administration, we must recognize how narrow we have allowed the field for free

expression to become. Once in place, such policies tend to become entrenched and to produce self-censorship. We must be on guard against "the gradual and silent encroachments of those in power" that James Madison warned about, for these encroachments, none too silent in recent years, are today perhaps the gravest in the history of the Republic.²⁶

Notes

1. West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette, 319 U.S. 624 (1943).
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3. Richard Steele, "Preparing the Public for War: Efforts to Establish a National Propaganda Agency, 1940-41," *American Historical Review* 75, no. 7 (1970) p. 1640.
4. Cited in Walter Brasch and Dana Ulloth, eds., *The Press and the State* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1986), p. 399.
5. Statement by Edward R. Murrow, Director of the USIA, before the Subcommittee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 28 March 1963. See Theodore Sorensen, *The Word War* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968).
6. "The CIA's Use of the Press—A Mighty Wurtitzer," *Columbia Journalism Review*, September/October 1974.
7. Carl Bernstein, "The CIA and the Media," *Rolling Stone*, 20 October 1977, and a series of articles on the CIA and public opinion in *The New York Times*, 25-27 December 1977.
8. The Frankel affidavit can be found in David Wise, *Politics of Lying* (New York: Random House, 1973), pp. 105-106.
9. Daniel Schorr, *Clearing the Air* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977).
10. Snapp v. U.S., 444 U.S. 507 (1980).
11. "Why Johnny Can't Speak," *The Nation*, 30 January 1988.
12. Alexander Cockburn, "Beat the Devil," *The Nation*, 26 December 1987, 2 January 1988; Joe Pichirallo, "U.S. Capitalizes on a Defection: Nicaraguan's 'Betrayal' Helps to Make Case for Contras," *The Washington Post*, 8 January 1988.
13. See *The Reagan Administration and The News Media*, a summary of more than 130 actions taken to restrict the media, prepared by the Reporters Committee on Freedom of the Press.
14. Steve Weisman, "The President and the Press," *The New York Times Magazine*, 14 October 1984.
15. Mark Hertsgaard, "How Reagan Seduced Us," *The Village Voice*, 18 September 1984.

Roberts Declaration
Exhibit D

January 17, 2006

Mr. Tariq Ramadan
Via email: tariq.ramadan@freesurf.ch

Dear Mr. Ramadan,

The second annual PEN World Voices Festival of International Literature, exploring the theme "Faith/Reason," will be held Wednesday, April 26, through Sunday, April 30, 2006 here in New York. It is our great pleasure to invite you to join us as a distinguished participant. The issues and concerns that gave rise to this initiative are, if anything, more urgent today than ever before. Your attendance at PEN World Voices would send a message that prominent writers from around the world are determined to sustain and enrich a literary and political dialogue with the United States and its writers and literary audiences. We very much hope you will be able to join us. Already confirmed for the Festival are Adonis, Roberto Calasso, Hans Magnus Enzensberger, Nadine Gordimer, David Grossman, Helen Oyeyemi, Colm Toibín, and Asne Seierstad.

Last spring, PEN American Center inaugurated a new era in its 85-year tradition of support for international cultural exchange and literary translation by launching PEN World Voices, New York City's first international literary festival. World Voices was an outgrowth of PEN's deepening concern over American cultural insularity and the estrangement between the United States and much of the world, so evident in the strikingly small amount of world literature available today in this country.

Last year's seven days of public dialogues, panels, readings, conversations and tributes brought together more than a hundred writers from 43 countries and drew a total live audience of more than 8,000 to the 40-odd events in some 20 venues. The audience reached via the Internet and television and radio broadcasts of some of the programs was, of course, much larger. The festival also attracted a great deal of attention in global media, garnering some 240 articles in many of the world's major newspapers and magazines. Full listings of last year's participants and schedule of programs, along with recordings of many of the sessions, are available at the PEN website www.pen.org.

We would greatly appreciate it if you could let us know as soon as possible whether you are able to be part of the Festival and, in the happy eventuality that you can, which of the Festival's days would fit in best with your other commitments. Michael Roberts can be reached by phone at (212) 334-1660, ext. 103, by email at mroberts@pen.org, or at fax number (212) 334-2181. We look forward to hearing from you.

With best regards,



Salman Rushdie
President



Michael Roberts
Executive Director