

FORCED TO FLEE BUT NOT SILENCED EXILE MEDIA FIGHT ON

20 JUNE 2011, WORLD REFUGEE DAY





n World Refugee Day, celebrated today, Reporters Without Borders is paying tribute to those journalists who manage to continue working as journalists after being forced to flee their country. By so doing, they defy those who tried to silence them.

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For this report, Reporters Without Borders interviewed journalists, news media and organizations which it has helped and with which it works on a regular basis.



BURMA EXILE MEDIA OPEN A WINDOW ON BURMA

B urma is ranked 174th out of 178 countries in the 2010 Reporters Without Borders press freedom index. After China, it is Asia's biggest prison for journalists and bloggers. All permitted newspapers and magazines must submit each issue to the Press Scrutiny Board for censorship before it is published.

The severity with which the army cracked down on prodemocracy demonstrations in 1988 led many students to leave the country. Continuing their fight in exile, some created "free" radio stations and newspapers. The regime is as brutal as ever 30 years later, although the military junta disbanded itself and handed over to a "civilian" government on 30 March.

Democratic Voice of Burma, one of the most popular and influential exile media, launched a Free Burma VJ campaign on 3 May, World Press Freedom Day, to press for the release of all the video-journalists (VJs) who have been jailed in Burma for providing it with video reports. This campaign is being funded by Reporters Without Borders and the European Union's European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR).

DEMOCRATIC VOICE OF BURMA

Date created: 1992

Based in the Norwegian capital of Oslo and in Thailand **Media type:** Satellite TV station, short-wave radio station and news website

Popularity: - 5 million regular viewers and listeners in Burma

- 10,000 unique visitors a day to its website, www.dvb.no. They are based mainly in the United States and Singapore.

Democratic Voice of Burma (DVB) was launched as a shortwave radio station with support from the Norwegian government in 1992, one year after opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. It developed over the years and now broadcasts TV programming to Burma by satellite as well as short-wave radio programmes. Reporters Without Borders spoke with Aye Chan Naing, a founder member of *DVB* and now its editor in chief.

DVB's headquarters continue to be in Oslo. "This is where the station's editors are based and where we process the raw information that our contributors in Burma and Thailand send us," Aye Chan Naing said. "Once they are edited, our stories are broadcast to Burma via satellite and the short wave."

Other Burmese exiles had tried to set up radio stations on the border between Burma and Thailand before *DVB*. Tech-

nical constraints (including the weakness of the transmitters available to them, which prevented their broadcasts reaching the entire country) and the present of armed groups in the area quickly led to their closure. "*DVB* was able to overcome these problems by broadcasting from Norway."

"Nowadays we tend to have fewer staff members in Norway and more in Thailand, from where we also operate. One of our main goals is to increase the number of our reporters inside Burma, who are the cornerstone of *DVB's* work."

« FREE BURMA VJ » CAMPAIGN FREE BURMA VJ FREE BURMA VJ

DVB is campaigning for the release of its 17 video-journalists who are serving long prison sentences in Burma. The campaign was launched on 3 May 2011, World Press Freedom Day, a little more than a month after the appointment of the new Burmese government, which is meant to be the start of a transition to civilian rule.

The campaign and its website, www.freeburmavj.org, were created with a donation of €9,700 by Reporters Without Borders and the European Union.

Why did you decide to launch this campaign and to release the names of some of your imprisoned video-journalists?

Aye Chan Naing: For a long time we thought that saying nothing was the best way to help our imprisoned reporters. But at a time when the new government is saying it wants to give the media more freedom, this campaign is a way to send it a strong message: "If you really want a more democratic Burmese society, start by freeing all the political prisoners." This campaign is also targeted at the ASEAN member countries, whose accommodating attitude is, in our view partly responsible for the situation in Burma.

Although our goal is the unconditional release of our jour-

nalists, we hope that it will at least help them to be treated better. Similarly, we hope that it will protect our working video-journalists and that the authorities will think twice before arresting them for fear of their behaviour being exposed to the world.

How many people do you have working for you in Burma and how to they operate?

ACN: Our reporters in Burma are forced to work in the utmost secrecy. Every day the state media pump out their propaganda, insisting that the reports broadcast by the *DVB*, the *BBC*, *Voice of America* and *Radio Free Asia* are nothing but lies. Around 100 people work for *DVB* in Burma. They include video-journalists, information technology specialists and messengers, who organize the communication between them. Our employees do not know each other. Some work alone, some work in small groups of two to four people. This helps to reduce the risk of arrest.

How many are currently detained and on what charges?

ACN: Seventeen video-journalists are currently in prison. Most of them were jailed under the Electronics Act, which punishes use of electronic resources to receive or send information that could endanger "calm" or "national security." The law's applicability is so vague that the authorities can say you are breaking it from the moment you turn on your computer and connect to the Internet. They also find other grounds for jailing people who are a nuisance. Last year, our journalist Hla Hla Win was sentenced to 27 years in prison under the 1948 Import/Export Act for renting a motorcycle without a licence plate.

The conditions in the many Burmese prisons and forced labour camps are appalling. The detainees are mistreated and get no medical care. The authorities go out of their way to put them in prisons that are hundreds of kilometres from their homes and their families, who in principle are the only people that can visit them.

Given the risk and the consequences for your reporters if they are arrested, do you think it is really worth it?

ACN: I am often asked that question. My reply is always the same and refers above all to the 55 million Burmese living in Burma. Our video-journalists are speaking on behalf of the entire Burmese population. Without them, the international community would know nothing of what is happening inside the country and the Burmese would see and hear nothing but government propaganda. We are aware of the risks but

we all share the belief that saying nothing would mean giving in to the regime. Many journalists, not just in Burma, must compromise day after day with authorities who want just one thing, their silence. Some pay with their freedom. Some even pay with their lives.

We are convinced of the impact of our work on the population and the authorities. The crackdown on the 2007 demonstrations would without doubt have been much more violent without journalists there to report the methods being used by the army. It was their images that pushed the international community to react. It was the same in May 2008. Because of our video footage of the damage caused by Cyclone Nargis, the authorities were unable to deny the extent of the disaster. After talking of several hundred dead, they finally admitted that the death toll was more like 100,000. Finally, *DVB's* reports about human rights violations have resulted in international investigation by bodies such as the International Labour Organization.

One of our biggest victories has been knowing with certainty that certain members of the regime, including ministers, watch *DVB*. We know this from sources who are very close to them. The expression "I am going to report it to *DVB*" in response an act of injustice or abuse of authority has even entered common usage.



AYE CHAN NAING

Aye Chan Naing was studying dentistry when the pro-democracy demonstrations began in 1988. "I joined the thousands of students who took to the streets. Because of the violence of the repression, I decided to leave Burma with the idea of joining the groups that wanted to organize an armed uprising. I arrived in Thailand with three of my closest friends just a few weeks before the coup d'état. There we formed the "All Burma Students' Democratic Front" with other students. I became a member of this organization's press service. That is when I began to take an interest in journalism and to fight for a democratic Burma with my pen instead with arms. When the Norwegian government agreed to support our radio station project in 1992, the Burmese government in exile asked me to go to Oslo to run the station with three other students."

DVB AND THE AUTHORITIES

Described by Burmese police chief Khin Ye in 2007 as the "worst media for the Burmese people," *DVB* reaches the entire population.

In a poll conducted by Reporters Without Borders in 2010, 66 per cent of the 2,950 people polled said they watch *DVB* TV "every day" or "often." Only 351 said they never watched it and 528 (20.2 per cent) said they watched only rarely. *DVB TV* is watched almost as much as the over-the-air national TV stations that are funded by the state. Officially, the sale of satellite dish receivers is banned but there are lots of clandestine dealers and the authorities seem to turn a blind eye.

The central government continues to warn the population against the content of *DVB TV*'s programmes, but the local authorities "allow people to watch it in cafés or in public places in certain regions." According to Aye Chan Naing: "In some hotels, *DVB TV* is even one of the stations available to clients. We have never been told of reprisals against viewers or listeners."

Pour plus d'informations, consultez le rapport de Reporters sans frontières de décembre 2010 : Les médias birmans à l'assaut de la censure.

SITUATION OF BURMESE REFUGEES IN THAILAND

Large numbers of Burmese refugees have been entering Thailand for years. Some are fleeing the harassment and abusive treatment that dissidents receive from the authorities. Some are crossing the border for economic reasons, to seek a better future. Refugee camps have been forming in Thailand since the 1980s.

Maung Maung Myint, the president of the Burma Media Association (BMA), spoke to us about the situation of the thousands of refugees located just a few kilometres from the Burmese border.

BURMA MEDIA ASSOCIATION

The BMA was created by Burmese journalists in exile. It groups more than 120 journalists in exile and journalists in Burma, who are linked though its website (www.bma. co.cc). Articles about the political and human rights situation in Burma are posted on the site every day. The BMA has been a Reporters Without Borders partner organization since 2002. The December 2010 report Burmese media combating censorship was written jointly by the two organizations.

Thailand has not signed the 1951 United Nations convention on refugees. How does it treat refugees?

Maung Maung Myint: The attitude of the Thai authorities towards Burmese refugees varies according to the political climate between Thailand and Burma. It also depends on Thailand's need for poorly skilled labour. When relations between the two countries are tense or when Thailand need workers, the Thai government issues residence permits and work permits to Burmese. Conversely, when relations improve, more refugees are arrested and deported. Relations between the two countries have been improving since Burma's entry into ASEAN in 1997 and its emergence as an important economic player in the region. The Thai government is doing its best to keep the Burmese regime happy and that means expelling thousands of Burmese refugees including government opponents.

Although Thailand is not a signatory of the 1951 United Nations convention on refugees, the Thai government does its bit to ensure that the refugees can meet their basic needs (as regards food and accommodation). But the local authorities in the border area are not very nice to the Burmese. Many of them are the victims of exploitation, human trafficking, extortion, arbitrary detention and deportation.

Can you tell us more about the day-to-day life of these refugees? Do they manage to integrate into Thai society?

MMM: Their existence is very precarious. This is especially so for those who have no papers to justify their presence in Thailand. They are harassed by the police as well as being exploited.

Few refugees manage to integrate into Thai society. The fact that young Burmese don't have the right to attend Thai schools is an additional brake on their integration. Finally, there is no denying the fact that Burmese are the victims of discrimination in Thailand.

Reporters Without Borders is supporting and relaying the Free Burma VJ campaign that *DVB* launched on 3 May. How important are the Burmese exile media for you, for the Burmese population and the international community?

MMM: The Burmese exile media play a key role. They represent the only free and reliable source of news for all Burmese. For the international community, they are the only open window on to the daily reality of the Burmese living in Burma and on the actions of the country's rulers.

To mark World Refugee Day, Reporters Without Borders is also publishing an interview with **Aung Zaw**, the editor of Irrawaddy, a Burmese newspaper and news website based in the Thai city of Chiang Mai.

Go to en.rsf.org > Helping journalists > Exiled journalists.

SRI LANKA

JOURNALISTS FOR DEMOCRACY IN SRI LANKA (JDS) – COMBATING IMPUNITY



Journalists for Democracy in Sri Lanka

eporters Without Borders interviewed Bashana Abeywardane, a representative of Journalists for Democracy in Sri Lanka (JDS), an association of Sri Lankan journalists and human rights activists in exile, above all in Europe, which was created with the aim of informing the international community about the human rights situation in Sri Lanka. Nowadays it is a close partner of Reporters Without Borders, both in its support for journalists in distress and its efforts to tell the world about press freedom violations in Sri Lanka.

Everything began almost by chance at an informal meeting in Berlin in July 2009, just two months after the official end of the Sinhalese-Tamil civil war. The aim of the meeting was to examine the possibility of creating an organization capable of coordinating the activities of Sri Lankan human rights defenders in exile. "But no one thought that this first meeting would be the one that did it!"

And so the JDS blog (http://www.jdslanka.org) was created. It was originally intended as a place to post JDS press releases and campaign ads, and as an aggregator of everything else published online about the human rights situation in Sri Lanka, but it quickly turned into a news site where members were posting information every day.

Reporters Without Borders decided to provide it with financial support, with the help of the European Union and its European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights. JDS was given €3,820 to help it turn its blog into a full-blown website. The site is currently under construction and should be launched this summer. Bashana Abeywardane told us about the birth of the project and the impact on JDS and the international community of a video posted on the blog illustrating the war crimes that were committed during the Sinhalese-Tamil civil war.

On 27 August 2009, you posted a video showing the horror of the war crimes taking place during Sri Lanka's civil war. What impact did it have on your organization's work?

Bashana Abeywardane: The JDS blog was launched just two weeks after the July 2009 meeting. Initially it was just used for posting our statements and republishing articles from other sources about the deteriorating human rights situation in Sri Lanka. In August, we received a video showing Sri Lankan army troops executing men and women who were blindfolded and whose hands were tied . We sent it to Britain's *Channel 4*, which broadcast it on 25 August 2009. We posted it ourselves the next day.

The video played a major role in alerting the international community to the scale of the war crimes being committed in the course of this war. The number of visits to the blog soared. It suddenly became very important. We received requests for information from hundreds of news media.

In response to the Sri Lankan government's disinformation campaign, we made every effort to post as much material as possible on the blog. As the Sri Lankan government accused us of doctoring the video footage, we sent it to the office of the UN special rapporteur on extra-judicial, summary or arbitrary executions, which confirmed its authenticity.

The international community took up the issue of the war crimes taking place in the course of the armed conflict between the Sinhalese state and Tamil rebels. The international discourse changed dramatically after the posting of the video of the executions. Until then, the international community had only been interested in the situation of internally displaced people.

What is your relationship with the authorities? Is the JDS blog accessible in Sri Lanka?

BA: Our site is still accessible from within Sri Lanka. But no one can openly display sympathy or links with JDS without risking serious reprisals. Our organization is on a blacklist of media that disseminate "anti-patriotic" information.

¹ http://www.jdslanka.org/2009/08/un-mulls-sri-lankan-murdervideo.html Sri Lankan online journalists have paid a heavy price in the past year. There have been many examples of harassment and reprisals by the authorities. They range from arbitrary arrest to kidnapping and arson attacks on news media. This is why most of the independent news websites are nowadays operated from abroad by exile journalists.

What is the press freedom situation like in Sri Lanka?

BA: The international community regarded the end of the end of the war in a simplistic, even naive way. It was as if all the observers agreed that "as the war is over, everything will be all right." One must not think that the end of the fighting automatically means the end of the conflict and a move towards more democracy in Sri Lanka. On the contrary, this victory has reinforced the intransigence and extreme arrogance of the Sri Lankan government, which seems to be relying more than ever on force to muzzle basic freedoms.

Less than a month after the proclaimed end of the war, the secretary-general of the Sri Lanka Working Journalists Association was kidnapped and tortured, and his unconscious body was dumped on a street in a Colombo suburb. The cartoonist Prageeth Eknaligoda has been missing since January 2010. The Prevention of Terrorism Act continues to be used as legal grounds for heavy sentences or suspensions of journalists and media who annoy the authorities. In the south, the offices of newspapers are attacked and torched. In the north, journalists must live with the threat of paramilitary groups. I think all this shows you that there is no desire on the part of the government to improve the media freedom situation in Sri Lanka.

In your view, what is the key to change in Sri Lanka?

BA: A lot of people have died in the past 35 years in Sri Lanka. No one is able to give an exact figure. Violence is an integral part of the way the state operates. Those responsible have always continued their lives as respectable citizens while the survivors have buried their dead. We must try to break this vicious circle. Ending impunity and calling the government to account pose an enormous challenge.

The recent United Nations report, despite its flaws, has the merit of highlighting an important point: the state's criminal nature. Right now as I am talking to you, I have just learned that an unarmed worker has been gunned down by the police in a Colombo suburb. The spiral of violence continues from the south to the north of the country and then from the north to the south. Things will change in Sri Lanka if the desire of justice prevails despite the circumstances.

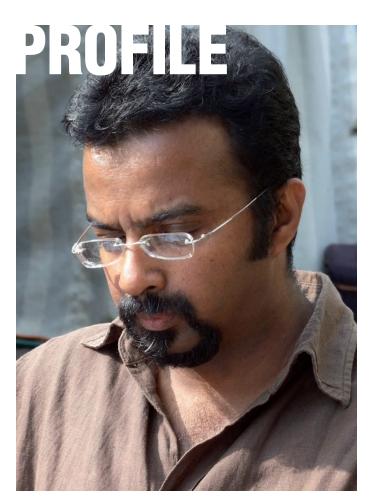
To mark World Refugee Day, Reporters Without Borders is also publishing an article by **Karunakharan Pathmanathan**, a Sri Lanka journalist from the Tamil minority and former BBC correspondent who has been an exile in the United Kingdom since May 2009. The article is entitled "Justice delayed is justice denied."

Go to en.rsf.org > Helping journalists > Exiled journalists.

²Published on 25 April 2011

WHEN JOURNALISTS IN EXILE DEFEND THEIR COLLEAGUES

In the past two years, JDS has put a lot of effort into supporting journalists in danger and in helping them get protection or get out of the country." JDS is a valuable ally for Reporters Without Borders. Together, the two organizations have helped threatened Sri Lankan journalists to find safe refuge and have supported asylum applications by journalists who have fled the country because of the threats they were receiving. "JDS has also waged several successful campaigns to inform the international community about the situation of media freedom and journalists in Sri Lanka. In August 2010, for example, we declared an international day of solidarity on the 200th day of cartoonist Prageeth Ekneligoda's disappearance. In January 2011, we launched a campaign aimed at denouncing the free speech situation in Sri Lanka ahead of the international literature festival in Galla (in the southwest of the country)."



BASHANA ABEYWARDANE: "I'LL NEVER GIVE UP HOPE OF RETURNING ONE DAY"

Before he fled Sri Lanka at the end of 2006, Abeywardane was a well-known local media figure and one of the few journalists to report impartially about the government's fight with the Tamil Tigers.

He exposed government atrocities against Tamils in articles in the Lakdiva, Hiru and Mawbima newspapers and urged reconciliation between Tamils and Sinhalese.

He was verbally attacked for his outspokenness and received anonymous death threats. But he refused to be silenced and continued working. Renewed fighting in 2006 brought a new wave of threats to the media and neutral journalists and he left the country. He intended to return after a few weeks but was compelled to stay abroad.

"Your instinct tells you when you have to leave," he says. "You very rarely get 'formal' threats that you can react to. I knew it was time for me to leave. My instinct told me I'd pushed my luck far enough over the previous 18 months."

He has lived since 2007 in Germany, where he went on a scholarship from the Heinrich Böll Foundation and PEN Germany. He was granted refugee status in 2010 with the help of Reporters Without Borders.

He is one of the founders of Journalists for Democracy in Sri Lanka (JDS) and one of the leading Sir Lankan journalists in exile. But he has not given up hope of returning. "That hope is what keeps us alive. We can see people around the world finding ways to rise up against their oppressors. We hope to play our part when such a day arrives in Sri Lanka."

RWANDA *UMUVUGIZI* HAS NOT LOST ITS VOICE

Reporters Without Borders interviewed Rwandan journalist Jean Bosco Gasasira, who edited the bimonthly *Umuvugizi* ("The Voice") in Kigali for more than four years, from the start of 2006 to 13 April 2010, when it was closed down by the Rwandan government. He now lives in exile in Sweden, where he edits the *Umuvugizi.com* news website.

Widely read and appreciated for its independence and outspoken style, *Umuvugizi* quickly became a target for government wrath. Its investigative reporting on the secretive government and violence by President Paul Kagame's thugs and associates resulted in harassment, threats and prosecutions against Gasasira from 2006.

"Intimidation attempts escalated in 2008, after Umuvugizi became the first Rwandan news media to publish an interview with Col. Patrick Karegeya, the former Rwandan intelligence chief and president of the FDU opposition party, who had been in exile in South Africa since the end of 2007," Gasasira said. "Kagame associates came looking for me and told me *Umuvugizi* should change its editorial line for my sake and for the sake of all my journalists."

Umuvugizi's reporters subsequently found themselves banned from government news conferences and official events. The authorities also banned government ministries, state agencies and privately-owned companies linked to the ruling party from buying any advertising space from *Umuvugizi* and *Umuseso*, one of the few other independent newspapers. "As with many other news media, advertising was the source of a major part of our income. The government was trying to silence us by attacking our wallets."

The reprisals intensified in 2009 and 2010. "There were several prosecutions. The authorities wanted to reduce Umuvugizi to silence by jailing me." The climate for the media worsened in the spring of 2010, as the August 2010 presidential election approached. The government's attempts to destroy the newspaper entered a new phase in April 2010. "Because we refused to shut up and because I had refused to apologize publicly to President Kagame, they were going to silence us for good." "I learned from reliable sources that an order had been given to kill me. I went to Uganda on 21 April 2010. The same week, I received a call from the Rwandan deputy attorney general. He told me I had been charged with inciting civil disobedience and defaming the president, and he ordered me to present myself to him at once. I replied that I was now in Uganda and that the case would therefore have to be transmitted through the Ugandan justice system."

Gasasira's departure did not mean the end of the harassment of *Umuvugizi*. On 13 April 2010, a Rwandan court suspended it for six months and then, six weeks later, deputy editor Jean-Léonard Rugambage was fatally shot four times at close range outside his Kigali home on the night of 24 June. At the time of his death, he had been investigating the presumed involvement of the Rwandan intelligence services in the attempted murder of a Rwandan general living in exile in South Africa. Rugambage was the first Rwandan journalist to be murdered since Emmanuel Munyemanzi in 1998.

Although in exile, Gasasira launched an online version of *Umuvugizi* in May 2010. By 3 June 2010, access to the website had been blocked within Rwanda on an order from the High Media Council. "An associate of Kagame's offered me a lot of money and the promise of being able to return to Kigali without any problems if I agreed to change the website's editorial line. After I refused, I was the victim of a kidnap attempt in broad daylight in Kampala. I owe my survival to the intervention of Ugandan policemen. Jean-Léonard Rugambage was murdered two days later."

"I arrived in Sweden on 14 August 2010. I continue to post information on the *Umuvugizi* website thanks above all to the help of other journalists in exile. The site receives more than 5,000 visitors a day despite still being blocked in Rwanda."

President Kagame has been on the Reporters Without Borders list of Predators of Press Freedom for years.

STILL A TARGET, ALTHOUGH IN EXILE

Jean-Bosco Gasasira

The Rwandan supreme court sentenced Jean Bosco Gasasira to 30 months in prison on 3 June 2011 on charges of calling for civil disobedience and insulting the president. Gasasira called it a "desperate decision issued by old media predators." Although he has been living in exile for more than a year, it seems the Rwandan government has not abandoned its desire to silence him.

The *Umuvugizi* website has been the target of cyber-attacks and attempts to block it. A false version of the site (http:// umuvugizi.wordpress.com/), probably created by people close to the government, has appeared online. Gasasira says it allows the government to see who is reading it and, above all, to put out false information.

KENYA KANERE « KAKUMA REFUGEE FREE PRESS »

The refugee camp in Kakuma, a Kenyan town located 100 km south of the Sudanese border, houses more than 80,000 people from the Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes region.

Over the years, the camp has become a town within a town, with one big difference between the camp's residents and those living in the town: the camp's residents cannot leave without permission from UNHCR (the UN refugee agency) and the Kenyan government.

Kakuma is remote, it is like a town "at the end of the line." The refugee journalists trapped in it decided to cover the camp's life and to offer fellow residents a window on the outside world, either to keep practising their journalism or out of a sense of vocation, despite being in exile and facing an uncertain future.

The first issue of *Kakuma News Reflector* or *KANERE* appeared on 22 December 2008. Its editor, heads a team of a dozen volunteer reporters. It is above all an online newspaper, although copies of the first three issues were printed and distributed within the camp.

"We are trying to produce a print version of *KANERE* but currently do not have the funds for this. The lack of resources continues to be our main obstacle. We have to use an Internet café to post entries on the *KANERE* blog. That means we have to pay every time we want to publish an article."

KANERE's journalists cover camp news, the conditions and rights of the refugees, and even international news. They covered the referendum in South Sudan and the voting that was held inside the camp. The newspaper originally had 23 journalists. "Seven of them were either repatriated or benefitted from the UN's resettlement programme. Others gave up because of the harassment and threats we regularly receive. Some of the threats are really worrying."



As a refugee camp of the size of Kakuma ends up becoming a society in its own right, *KANERE's* journalists have to deal with the same kind of problems as other journalists. They have earned themselves a lot of hostility for trying to cover all the problems of camp life, above all the hostility of fellow camp residents who fear that the newspaper's often critical articles could jeopardize their chances of resettlement.

Reporters Without Borders wrote to the UNHCR officials in charge of the camp in June 2010 asking them to provide better protection for *KANERE's* members. Since its launch, members of the staff have been physically attacked several times. Some have had equipment destroyed and their homes in the camp damaged. Reporters Without Borders asked UNHCR to dispel misconceptions and to explain that resettlement is decided on a case by case basis. As the harassment has continued, Reporters Without Borders wrote to UNHCR again earlier this month.

The editor in chief is still getting threats, which he continues to report to the camp authorities. However, they have not taken any concrete steps to provide protection.



CUBA

"A LA CARTE" EXILE - INTERVIEW WITH

FORMER REPORTERS WITHOUT BORDERS CUBA CORRESPONDENT RICARDO GONZÁLEZ ALFONSO, NOW A REFUGEE IN SPAIN

My destiny was determined by a trio over whom I had no control, the Cuban and Spanish governments and the hierarchy of the Cuban Catholic church. We prisoners of conscience, who were serving long jail sentences because we did not agree with the western world's oldest dictatorship, were sullying the Cuban regime's political pedigree.

With Cuban State Security's permission, Cardinal Jaime Ortega phoned me at the Combinado del Este prison. His task was to offer me release from prison if I agreed to emigrate to Spain. He just said that I could travel with my family and that my home would not be confiscated, which is what usually happens when someone leaves the country. I had to give an immediate reply. I was not allowed more time to seal my destiny.

I was taken from the prison to the airport. On arriving there, I was united with my family in a small hospitality room. We took off at 11 p.m. on 12 July 2010. My Spanish exile began nine hours later. I lived, or rather survived, during the first six months in the Welcome Guesthouse, with my wife and my 13-year-old daughter. The rent was paid for an apartment for my sons and their mother in Vallecas, a working-class neighbourhood in southern Madrid.

My situation was different. The Spanish Commission for Refugee Assistance (CEAR), could not take responsibility for my wife and daughter because they had Spanish citizenship. After we had tried a lot of bureaucratic doors, the government of the Community of Madrid helped us to get funding for the rent of an apartment near the apartment of my sons. Our food and transport was paid for by the Spanish Red Cross and CEAR. I must emphasize that at all times since our arrival in Madrid, I have appreciated the moral support of Reporters Without Borders and other NGOs.

I continue to work as a journalist, as I did in Cuba both before and during my imprisonment. I have written pieces for *The New York Times, The Miami Herald, Tourw* (in the Netherlands), the Barcelona-based newspaper *elPeriódico* and *the Revista Hispano-Cubana*.

During the first three months, I travelled to Brussels to talk to the European Parliament about the lie that there has been real change in Cuba; to Frankfurt, where the German PEN Centre invited me to give two talks on my experiences; and to Paris, where I attended the Reporters Without Borders 25th anniversary celebration.

I have also given talks in Madrid at the newspaper *El Mundo* and the Fundación Concordia; in Valencia at the Fundación Hispano-Cubana; in the Catalan city of Gerona at the Casa de Cultura; and in Barcelona at the Association of Journalists and the Catalan PEN Centre. At the moment I cannot leave Spain because my Cuban passport was withdrawn when I requested political asylum. I am waiting to be able to go to Denmark to receive a prize, and to Finland on the invitation of PEN.

Exile is a relatively benign sentence compared with prison, but it is a sentence all the same. I will be free on the day that my country is free. My future is linked with my country's future. Despite everything, I am optimistic. And I apply that attitude to my work as a journalist, as I did before and during my imprisonment, as I continue to do since my politically sensitive expatriation, and as I usually do with life's obstacles.

Ricardo González Alfonso.

RICARDO GONZÁLEZ ALFONSO

Born in 1950 and a former employee of the state TV agency, where he was in charge of children's broadcasting, Ricardo González went to work for *Cuba Press*, an independent news agency, in 1995 and became Reporters Without Borders correspondent in 1998. He and his friend Raúl Rivero set up the Manuel Márquez Sterling Association in May 2001 to train Cuba's independent journalists, who are often self-taught. In December 2002, he and other journalists launched the bimonthly *De Cuba*, with a first-issue print run of 200 copies. It tackled subjects ignored by the government such as racism in Cuba and the Varela Project campaign, which gathered more than 11,000 signatures to a petition calling for democratic change by constitutional means.

For daring to challenge the state's monopoly on news and information, González and 26 other dissident journalists

were arrested during the so-called "Black Spring" crackdown on 18 March 2003. Accused of being "in the pay of the United States" and of "attacking Cuba's independence and territorial integrity," he was sentenced to 20 years in prison. Held in Havana's Combinado del Este prison from late 2004 onwards, he underwent four operations in 2006 and 2007. After a long spell in the prison hospital, he was returned to his cell in January 2008. He was awarded the Reporters Without Borders Press Freedom Prize in the "Journalist" category in December 2008. Thanks to mediation by the Spanish government and the Cuban Catholic church, he was released on 13 July 2010 but was forced to go into exile. Since then, he has lived in Madrid, where he is assisted by the Spanish section of Reporters Without Borders. He received a letter from the Spanish authorities on 17 June 2011 saying he had been granted refugee status.



IRAN KAVEH GHOREISHI : "FACEBOOK IS MY LIVING-ROOM"

Being a member of the minority Kurds – longtime targets of discrimination by Iran – built Ghoreishi's character from a very early age and he decided to become a journalist to expose such injustices.

His refusal to do compulsory military service was the beginning of his stormy relationship with the authorities. "As a conscientious objector, you lose all your civil rights," he said. "You can't marry, get a driving licence, change your address, enrol at university or get a passport." So he left Iran for Iraqi Kurdistan to continue studying sociology and discovered there what would allow him to express his thoughts freely – the Internet.

He started out working with the news portal *Roozonline* and his critical articles were quickly noticed by the Iranian authorities. But he returned to Tehran in November 2009 and was able to see first-hand the harsh repression of the Green Movement and denounced it online. He was threatened with arrest and fled to northern Iraq.

But he was still being hunted by Iranian agents, and found refuge in Germany with the help of Reporters Without Borders, which backed his request for a visa.

In Berlin, he resumed his work online. He keeps contact with his friends in Iran and says: "Facebook has become my living-room. In this new country, I play Iranian music on my computer and navigate between two worlds."

To mark World Refugee Day, Reporters Without Borders is also publishing a video interview with **Nikahang Koswar**, an Iranian journalist, cartoonist and editor of the Khodnevis.org news website, who is a refugee in Canada.

Go to en.rsf.org > Helping journalists > Exiled journalists.



He continues his work from exile in Germany and his articles criticizing the regime in independent newspapers Xural and Alma and on the news website *www.yovsan.com* brought him new threats from 2007 onwards. After a few months of respite, they began again in April 2010 when he wrote about the pro-Aliev diaspora in the opposition paper Azadlig.

In March 2011, he was badly beaten up by a dozen thugs in a Berlin street and still has the physical scars. The Reporters Without Borders Assistance Desk is helping him with the complaint he has filed. He has not given up journalism. "I know I'm in the right about the attacks on media freedom in my country," he says, "and I cannot keep silent."

AZERBAÏDJAN FEXREDDIN HACIBEYLI: "I KNOW I'M IN THE RIGHT"

Hacibeyli has lived in exile in Germany since 2004. In Azerbaijan, he was a correspondent for *Radio Free Europe - Radio Liberty* and worked for various local papers, including *Yeni Müsavat*.

While reporting on the 2003 presidential election alongside observers from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), he was thrown out of a polling station. Fearing reprisals, he went into hiding. A few days later, state security police broke into his home and searched it. After threats, he left the country.

ACTIVITIES OF ASSISTANCE DESKS IN PARIS AND BERLIN SINCE START OF 2010

he Reporters Without Borders Assistance Desks in Paris and Berlin have helped nearly 150 journalists, netizens and media in distress since the start of 2011. Depending on their needs, they were given financial support (assistance grants) or the desks interceded on their behalf, writing letters supporting asylums requests, visa applications and so on.

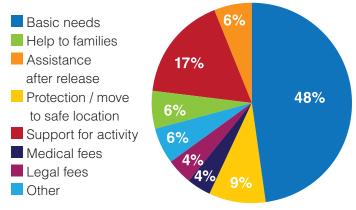
Requests for help from journalists in Russia or other countries that are members of the Commonwealth of Independent States and from journalists seeking asylum in Germany are handled by the Berlin desk. The Paris desk handles other requests.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT

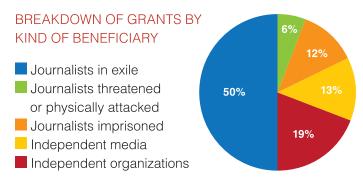
The two Assistance Desks have awarded 48 assistance grants worth more than \notin 45,500 since the start of 2011.

Seventeen per cent of the grants went to support the activities of journalists and media in distress. In April, for example, Reporters Without Borders awarded \$8,000 to Radio Payman, an Afghan radio station based in Baghlan province, whose equipment was destroyed in an attack by gunmen in January. The station used the money to buy a transmitter and an antenna to resume broadcasting.

BREAKDOWN OF GRANTS BY PURPOSE

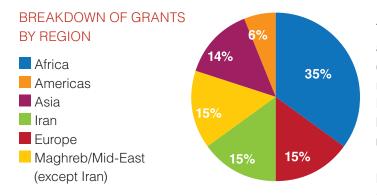


Some of these grants were used to pay the medical bills of journalists who had been injured in physical attacks or the legal fees of imprisoned journalists. Grants to four Belarusian newspapers that had sustained damage in attacks by the security forces allowed them to resume operating.



As well as helping journalists to continue their activities, the Assistance Desks pay a great deal of attention to the plight of journalists who have fled their countries and are seeking asylum. Half of the beneficiaries fall into this category. The grants they receive are mainly to cover "basic needs" (above all food and lodging) in countries where they are in transit.

• The adjoining pie chart shows the breakdown of grants by geographic origin of beneficiaries.



The recipients of financial support came from 17 different countries. They included six Iranians, three Eritreans, two Ivorians, three Cubans, two Tunisians, two Uzbeks and three Azerbaijanis.

Reporters Without Borders does not limit itself to providing financial support. It also defends the cause of journalists in distress before international bodies and national authorities.

REPRESENTATIONS ON BEHALF OF JOURNALISTS IN DIFFICULTY

The Berlin and Paris Assistance Desks have supported asylum requests by journalists and bloggers in France (7), Germany (12) and other countries (12) and asylum requests addressed to the Office of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (31). In all, our two desks have written a total of 86 letters of support in the past six months.

Paris and Berlin also continue to lobby the French, German, European Union and US authorities to give visas to journalists and netizens who have had flee their country. Since January, two Iranian journalists and an Iranian netizen have been able to travel to France on emergency visas that were issued in response to requests by Reporters Without Borders. At the same time, two journalists and a netizen supported by the Berlin desk arrived in Germany. Reporters Without Borders has made or supported other requests to French consular services for visas for exile journalists which are currently pending a decision. The Berlin desk continues to support a dozen asylum requests currently being examined by the German authorities.

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REPORTERS WITHOUT BORDERS is an international press freedom organisation. It monitors and reports violations of media freedom throughout the world. Reporters Without Borders analyses the information it obtains and uses press releases, letters, investigative reports and recommendations to alert public opinion to abuses against journalists and violations of free expression, and to put pressure on politicians and government officials.