

SHOW SLIDE 1: JOSE PORTELL & FAMILY

I WOULD LIKE TO THANK THE BASQUE ASSOCIATION OF JOURNALISTS FOR THIS PRESTIGIOUS AWARD. IT IS AN HONOR TO SPEAK TO YOU TODAY.

THE WORK YOUR ORGANIZATION DOES BY PUBLICIZING THREATS TO JOURNALISTS AND DEFENDING FREE SPEECH IS INVALUABLE.

I'M DEEPLY HUMBLLED THAT THIS AWARD IS NAMED IN MEMORY OF THE MURDERED JOURNALIST JOSÉ MARÍA PORTELL.

THE ETA FANATICS WHO GUNNED HIM DOWN NOT FAR FROM HIS WIFE CARMEN TORRES WANTED TO RETURN US TO THE STATE OF ANIMALS.

WHAT SEPARATES US FROM ANIMALS IS THE FACT THAT WE CAN SAY WHAT WE THINK AND COMMUNICATE WHAT WE WITNESS.

FREE THOUGHT AND FREE SPEECH ARE THE ENEMIES OF INJUSTICE AND VIOLENCE.

THAT IS WHY ETA TELLS US: "THOU SHALT NOT THINK. THOU SHALT NOT BEAR WITNESS."

IN 1978, JOSÉ MARÍA DARED TO THINK FREELY ABOUT ETA, AND DARED TO BEAR WITNESS ON BEHALF OF PEACE. AND SO HE PAID THE PRICE. HE TOOK HIS LAST BREATH IN SIGHT OF HIS WIFE, AND HIS FAMILY BECAME MEMBERS OF A MOURNING TRIBE.

THEY JOINED THE RANKS OF THOUSANDS WHO GRIEVE BECAUSE A SPOUSE, A PARENT, OR A FRIEND WAS TAKEN FROM THEM IN THE NAME OF CENSORSHIP ENFORCED THROUGH MURDER.

SHOW SLIDE 2: TITLE SLIDE

HUNDREDS OF JOURNALISTS LIKE JOSE MARIA HAVE GIVEN THEIR LIVES TO EXPOSE VIOLENCE, CORRUPTION AND IMPUNITY IN THEIR HOMELANDS.

I'VE CALLED MY TALK "THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SACRIFICE" BECAUSE MOST OF THEM KNEW THEY WOULD PROBABLY BE MURDERED IF THEY STAYED ON A STORY, BUT THEY STAYED ON IT ANYWAY.

SHOW SLIDE 3: GREEK, SPANISH & IRISH MURDERED

IN THE LAST FIFTEEN YEARS IN WESTERN EUROPE, THREE JOURNALISTS BRAVELY FACED THREATS AND WERE MURDERED.

THE GREEK JOURNALIST SOKRATIS GIOLIAS WAS SHOT DEAD ONLY FIVE MONTHS AGO, ON THE DAY HE WAS TO PUBLISH AN INVESTIGATION OF CORRUPTION IN GREECE.

ANOTHER OF YOUR BASQUE COUNTRYMAN, THE *EL MUNDO* COLUMNIST LÓPEZ DE LACALLE, WAS MURDERED IN 2000 AFTER RECEIVING NUMEROUS DEATH THREATS FROM ETA.

HIS HOME WAS FIRE BOMBED, BUT HE ANNOUNCED HE WOULD NOT BE SILENCED BY ETA. THEY SHOT HIM DEAD OUTSIDE HIS APARTMENT.

IN 1996, THE IRISH CRIME REPORTER VERONICA GUERIN WAS GUNNED DOWN AFTER RECEIVING NUMEROUS DEATH THREATS BECAUSE OF HER BRAVE INVESTIGATION OF IRELAND'S CRIMINAL UNDERWORLD. SHE TOO ANNOUNCED SHE WOULD NOT BE SILENCED.

WE SHOULD REMEMBER AND HONOR THEM, BCS THEY STAND FOR THE NOBLEST REASON EACH OF US BECAME JOURNALISTS.

BUT WE SHOULD ALSO REMEMBER SOMETHING ELSE.

SHOW SLIDE 4: MONTAGE OF MURDERED JOURNALISTS

WHILE GREECE, IRELAND AND SPAIN HAVE EACH SUFFERED ONE MURDERED JOURNALIST IN THE LAST FIFTEEN YEARS, IN MANY COUNTRIES OUTSIDE THE EU, 40 OR 60 OR 100 JOURNALISTS HAVE BEEN MURDERED IN THAT SAME PERIOD IN EACH COUNTRY

AND NOT JUST MURDERED. THEY WERE DRILLED FULL OF HOLES WHILE STILL ALIVE, HAD THEIR TONGUES CUT OUT, OR WERE DECAPITATED.

IN MEXICO, 12 JOURNALISTS HAVE BEEN KILLED OR TORTURED TO DEATH IN 2010 ALONE.

IN COLOMBIA, 43 JOURNALISTS HAVE BEEN MURDERED OR TORTURED TO DEATH IN THE LAST 18 YEARS.

IN IRAQ, OVER 100 IRAQI JOURNALISTS HAVE BEEN ASSASSINATED OR TORTURED TO DEATH IN JUST SEVEN YEARS.

IN RUSSIA, FIVE JOURNALISTS WORKING FOR A SINGLE MOSCOW NEWSPAPER WERE MURDERED IN THE LAST DECADE, BRINGING THE TOTAL THERE TO 35 ASSASSINATED REPORTERS.

AND IN AFGHANISTAN, FROM WHERE I'VE JUST RETURNED, 22 JOURNALISTS HAVE BEEN KILLED IN RECENT YEARS.

TODAY, IN THESE AND OTHER COUNTRIES, JOURNALISTS KNOW THAT IF THEY PUBLISH THEIR NEXT STORY THEY MAY VERY LIKELY BE MURDERED.

AND YET THEY PUBLISH THAT NEXT STORY.

SHOW SLIDE 5: VARELA TORTURED

BY CONTINUING THEIR WORK, KNOWING THEY MAY BE TORTURED TO DEATH, THEY POSE A QUESTION TO US THAT IS BOTH UPLIFTING AND TERRIFYING.

TRYING TO ANSWER THAT QUESTION FROM MY BOOK CHANGED MY LIFE.

THE QUESTION IS THIS: WHY DO JOURNALISTS PERSIST IN THEIR REPORTING IN THE FACE OF THREATS OF CERTAIN DEATH?

SHOW SLIDE 6: DEAD FILIPINOS

THAT QUESTION IS ALL THE MORE POIGNANT BECAUSE THINGS ARE GETTING MORE MURDEROUS FOR OVERSEAS JOURNALISTS.

THE LAST COUPLE OF YEARS HAVE BEEN AMONG THE MOST DEADLY ON RECORD FOR LOCAL JOURNALISTS AROUND THE WORLD.

IN 2009, ON ONE DAY ALONE, THIRTY FILIPINO JOURNALISTS COVERING A CAMPAIGN BUS WERE HACKED AND SHOT TO DEATH BY THE MILITIA OF A LOCAL CLAN THAT HAD RULED THEIR PROVINCE ON MINDANAO ISLAND FOR A DECADE.

SHOW SLIDE 7: GOVERNOR, SON & PRES. ARROYO

ALL THE JOURNALISTS WHO BOARDED THAT CAMPAIGN BUS KNEW THEY WERE UNDER THREAT FROM THE LOCAL GOVERNOR AND HIS SON, WHO WERE ALLIES OF THE PRESIDENT.

THEY KNEW THAT OVER TWO DOZEN JOURNALISTS HAD BEEN MURDERED ON MINDANAO IN THE LAST TWO DECADES, MOST FOR EXPOSING THE SYSTEMIC CORRUPTION ON THEIR ISLAND AND IN THEIR NATION.

SHOW SLIDE 8: DEAD FILIPINOS

BUT THE JOURNALISTS BOARDED THE BUS ANYWAY BECAUSE THEY WERE DETERMINED TO COVER AN OPPOSITION CAMPAIGN NO MATTER THE DANGER.

THEY WOULD NOT BE CENSORED AND THEY PAID THE PRICE.

TODAY THE GOVERNOR AND HIS SON HAVE BEEN CHARGED IN CONNECTION WITH THIS ATROCITY, BUT I'M NOT CONFIDENT THAT JUSTICE WILL BE DONE.

THE TOTAL NUMBER OF FILIPINO JOURNALISTS KILLED ON THE JOB SINCE THE PRESS BECAME FREE IN 1986 NOW STANDS AT OVER 100, AND ALMOST ALL THE MASTERMINDS OF THE MURDERS HAVE GONE FREE.

MOST OF THOSE MASTERMINDS ARE SUSPECTED TO BE GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, RICH BUSINESSMEN, OR GANGSTERS IN LEAGUE WITH BOTH.

AROUND THE WORLD, THAT STORY OF IMPUNITY IS THE SAME.

THE CORRUPTION AND IMPUNITY THAT LED TO THE CARNAGE THAT DAY IN THE PHILIPPINES MIRRORS WHAT LED TO THE KILLING OF OVER 150 OTHER JOURNALISTS IN A DOZEN OTHER COUNTRIES IN 2009 AND 2010.

SHOW SLIDE 9: WAR CORRESPONDENT

THAT FACT IS OPPOSITE TO WHAT MOST PEOPLE THINK OF WHEN THEY IMAGINE JOURNALISTS DYING FOR A STORY.

THEY PICTURE THIS: AN INCREDIBLY BRAVE WESTERN WAR CORRESPONDENT SUCH AS JOSE COUSO KILLED COVERING A WAR ZONE.

BRAVE WAR CORRESPONDENTS DO MEET THAT FATE, BUT THAT'S NOT THE WAY MOST JOURNALISTS ARE KILLED.

SHOW SLIDE 10: STATS

ALMOST THREE-QUARTERS OF THE 840 JOURNALISTS WHO'VE DIED ON THE JOB SINCE 1992 WERE HUNTED DOWN AND MURDERED IN THEIR OWN LANDS.

NINE OUT OF TEN JOURNALISTS KILLED ON THE JOB FOR ALL REASONS HAVE BEEN LOCAL REPORTERS, NOT FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS.

NEARLY ALL THE MASTERMINDS OF JOURNALIST-MURDERS—95 PERCENT--HAVE ESCAPED PUNISHMENT.

SHOW SLIDE 11: "STOP KILLING JOURNALISTS"

NOW THE MURDER OF ANY PERSON IS TERRIBLE, BUT THE MURDER OF A JOURNALIST HAS CONSEQUENCES THAT GO FAR BEYOND THE INDIVIDUAL'S DEATH.

JOURNALISTS INFORM THE PUBLIC WHAT THEIR PUBLIC OFFICIALS ARE DOING IN SECRET.

THEY EXPOSE CRIMINALITY WHEN THE GOVERNMENT REFUSES TO PURSUE IT OR IS PART OF IT.

AND THEY ENLIGHTEN COMMUNITIES TO THE ACTIVITIES OF CRIMINAL GROUPS IN THEIR AREA.

DOING THESE KINDS OF JOBS, LOCAL JOURNALISTS ARE FULLY AWARE THAT THE GREATEST THREATS THEY FACE COME FROM THEIR OWN GOVERNMENTS.

SOME YEARS AGO I WAS UNDER POLICE PROTECTION FOR SIX MONTHS, BUT NOT ONCE DID I FEAR THAT THE POLICE PROTECTING ME WOULD BE THE ONES WHO KILLED ME.

IT'S EXACTLY THE OPPOSITE OVERSEAS.

OFFICIALS EITHER MURDER JOURNALISTS FOR EXPOSING THEM, OR GIVE PERMISSION TO POWERFUL BUSINESSMEN AND GANGSTERS TO MURDER JOURNALISTS.

SHOW SLIDE 12: LASANTHA WICKRAMATUNGA

NOT LONG AGO, A HEROIC EDITOR IN SRI LANKA WAS MURDERED JUST AFTER HE'D STATED THAT POINT PRECISELY.

LASANTHA WICKRAMATUNGA WAS FAMOUS FOR EXPOSING HIS GOVERNMENT'S CORRUPTION AND ATROCITIES COMMITTED AGAINST MINORITIES.

IN RETALIATION, HE'D SUFFERED TWO BEATINGS AND A MACHINE GUN ATTACK ON HIS HOME.

BY EARLY JANUARY 2009, A WAVE OF JOURNALIST MURDERS AND DEATH THREATS ON HIS PHONE LET HIM KNOW THAT HE'D BE NEXT IF HE KEPT AT HIS WORK.

AND SO HE WROTE AN EDITORIAL. HE ASKED HIS PAPER TO PUBLISH IT AFTER HIS MURDER. HE CALLED IT "AND THEN THEY CAME FOR ME."

SHOW SLIDE 13: "AND THEN THEY CAME FOR ME"

"NO OTHER PROFESSION CALLS ON ITS PRACTITIONERS TO LAY DOWN THEIR LIVES FOR THEIR ART SAVE THE ARMED FORCES AND, IN SRI LANKA, JOURNALISM.

"COUNTLESS JOURNALISTS HAVE BEEN HARASSED, THREATENED AND KILLED. IT HAS BEEN MY HONOR TO BELONG TO ALL THOSE CATEGORIES, AND NOW ESPECIALLY THE LAST.

"WHEN FINALLY I AM KILLED, IT WILL BE THE GOVERNMENT THAT KILLS ME."

SHOW SLIDE 14: WICKRAMATUNGA SHOT

THREE DAYS LATER HE WAS ON HIS WAY TO WORK WHEN A HIT SQUAD CAUGHT UP WITH HIS CAR AND, AS HE PREDICTED, SHOT HIM DEAD.

THIS WAS NO CROSS-FIRE IN A WAR ZONE. HE WAS PREMEDITATIVELY ASSASSINATED, AND HE KNEW HE WOULD BE KILLED BEFOREHAND.

HE ALSO KNEW BY WHOM.

SHOW SLIDE 15: BOOK COVERS

FIVE YEARS AGO I EMBARKED ON A BOOK ABOUT MURDERED JOURNALISTS WHO WERE VERY MUCH LIKE WICKRAMATUNGA.

ON THE OPENING PAGE THERE'S AN EPIGRAPH FROM VACLAV HAVEL:

“I AM NOT INTERESTED IN WHY MAN COMMITS EVIL; I WANT TO KNOW WHY HE DOES GOOD.”

AFTER COVERING ORGANIZED CRIME AROUND THE WORLD FOR 20 YEARS, I HAD THAT INTEREST, TOO.

I HAD WRITTEN ABOUT WHY PEOPLE COMMITTED EVIL. NOW I WANTED TO WRITE ABOUT WHY THEY DID GOOD.

STUDYING THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF LOCAL JOURNALISTS WHO HAD RISKED CERTAIN DEATH TO GET A STORY OUT GAVE ME THAT OPPORTUNITY.

I BEGAN THE BOOK ON WORLD PRESS FREEDOM DAY 2005.

THE COMMITTEE TO PROTECT JOURNALISTS IN NEW YORK HAD JUST ISSUED A BULLETIN WHICH LISTED THE FIVE MOST MURDEROUS COUNTRIES FOR JOURNALISTS.

SHOW SLIDE 16: MOST MURDEROUS COUNTRIES

IN ORDER OF MOST KILLED SINCE 2000, THEY WERE: THE PHILIPPINES, IRAQ, COLOMBIA, BANGLADESH AND RUSSIA.

NOW WHILE THESE COUNTRIES HAD PROBLEMS SPECIFIC TO THEIR REGIONS AND CULTURES, I KNEW FROM MY PREVIOUS REPORTING THAT THEY WERE VERY SIMILAR IN THE WAY CRIMINALITY WAS LICENSED AND PROTECTED.

THEIR POLITICAL LEADERS ACTED LIKE GANG BOSSES. THEY APPOINTED THEIR SUPPORTERS TO BUREAUCRACIES WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT WHILE THEIR SALARIES WOULD BE LOW, THEIR INCOMES WOULD BE HIGH.

CORRUPTION, WHICH IS AN AD HOC ARRANGEMENT IN SOME PLACES, WAS A FORMAL STRUCTURE IN THESE NATIONS.

IN RETURN FOR SUPPORT AND THE SHARING OF SPOILS, THE LEADERS GRANTED IMPUNITY TO OFFICIALS.

LAWLESSNESS OCCURRED WITHIN THE LAW AND A SYSTEM IDENTICAL TO ORGANIZED CRIME WAS LOCKED INTO THE BUSINESS OF THE NATIONS.

THE PEOPLE WERE ROBBED AND THE RULERS GOT RICH AND ANYONE WHO ATTEMPTED TO EXPOSE THE RULERS FOUND OUT VERY QUICKLY HOW "ORGANIZED" ORGANIZED CRIME COULD BE.

THE MURDERED-JOURNALISTS ALSO HAD SIMILARITIES.

SHOW SLIDE 17: MANY NAMES

--MOST WORKED LOW-PAYING JOBS IN REMOTE AREAS;

--THEY EXPOSED CORRUPT POLITICIANS OR BUSINESSMEN

--MANY WERE THREATENED WITH DEATH BY THE PEOPLE THEY'D EXPOSED;

AND THOUGH A LOT OF THEM HAD PREDICTED THEY WOULD BE MURDERED IF THEY KEPT AT THEIR REPORTING, THEY PERSISTED UNTIL THE BLOODY END.

I THOUGHT ABOUT THOSE JOURNALISTS A LOT. THEY KNEW THEY WOULD BE KILLED, THEY KEPT AT THEIR WORK, AND THEY WERE KILLED.

NOW WHILE THE CPJ SCRUPULOUSLY REPORTED ALL THESE MURDERS, IT WAS NOT IN THEIR MANDATE TO OFFER PORTRAITS OF THE *PERSONAL* LIVES OF THE VICTIMS.

THERE WAS ALMOST NOTHING ON THE INTERNET ABOUT THEM AS INDIVIDUALS.

I WONDERED WHO THESE AMAZING PEOPLE *WERE?*

WHAT WERE THEIR PERSONAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL MOTIVATIONS, THEIR *INNER* LIVES, BIRTH TO DEATH, THAT LED THEM TO THEIR LAST DECISION?

TO ME, THE PSYCHOLOGICAL SOURCE OF THEIR COURAGE WAS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT QUESTIONS I COULD EVER ADDRESS AS A WRITER, A JOURNALIST, AND A PRESS FREEDOM ADVOCATE.

AND SO I CHOSE REPRESENTATIVE CASES IN THE FIVE MOST MURDEROUS COUNTRIES AND SET OUT TO VISIT THEIR HOMETOWNS, INTERVIEW THEIR FAMILIES, COLLEAGUES AND, IF POSSIBLE, THE PEOPLE WHO HAD ORDERED THEIR MURDERS.

I ALWAYS HAD THAT ONE QUESTION UPPERMOST IN MY MIND:

--WHAT MAKES A LOCAL REPORTER STAY ON A STORY AFTER BEING THREATENED WITH CERTAIN DEATH?

I STARTED IN COLOMBIA AND I FINISHED IN IRAQ. THE RESEARCH AND WRITING TOOK ME FOUR YEARS.

SHOW SLIDE 18: MY FIXERS

I HAD TO MOVE VERY SLOWLY AND COORDINATE WITH SAFE SOURCES ON THE GROUND.

AT ALL TIMES I FOLLOWED THE ADVICE OF LOCAL JOURNALISTS AND PRESS FREEDOM ADVOCATES, ALL OF THEM UNDER THREAT OF MURDER THEMSELVES.

SHOW SLIDE 19: SECURITY TEAM IRAQ

IN IRAQ DURING THE CIVIL WAR I HAD A LITTLE EXTRA HELP.

NATURALLY, THERE WERE A LOT OF UNEXPECTED EVENTS IN THE COUNTRIES I VISITED.

AND TRAGICALLY, ONE OF THOSE EVENTS INVOLVED THE MURDER OF A JOURNALIST I WAS SCHEDULED TO INTERVIEW ABOUT TWO OF HER MURDERED COLLEAGUES.

SHOW SLIDE 20: POLITKOVSKAYA

HER NAME WAS ANNA POLITKOVSKAYA, AND SHE WAS SHOT DEAD WHILE I WAS IN THE AIR ON MY WAY TO MEET HER IN MOSCOW.

JOURNALISTS WERE BEING MURDERED ALL THE TIME WHILE I WAS RESEARCHING THEIR COUNTRIES, AND I ADDED VICTIMS TO MY LIST.

SHOW SLIDE 21: THE SEVEN JOURNALISTS

IN THE END I CHOSE SEVEN JOURNALISTS FOR FULL BIOGRAPHY.

THEY WERE ALL VERY DIFFERENT PEOPLE, BUT THEY WERE THE SAME IN A COUPLE OF WAYS:

THEY LIVED IN TOWNS WHERE 4 OR 6 OR 20 OF THEIR COLLEAGUES HAD BEEN MURDERED WITH IMPUNITY IN THE YEARS BEFORE THEY THEMSELVES WERE MURDERED.

AND THOUGH THEY HAD PREDICTED THE CONSEQUENCES OF THEIR REPORTING, THEY PERSISTED UNTIL THEIR LAST BREATH.

I'LL GIVE YOU CAMEO PORTRAITS OF EACH AND WHAT THEY WERE UP AGAINST, AND THEN GET TO THEIR COMPLEX INNER LIVES AND PERSONAL MOTIVATIONS.

SHOW SLIDE 22: GUILLERMO BRAVO

I BEGAN WITH AN ECONOMICS REPORTER IN COLOMBIA, THE WINNER OF COLOMBIA'S EQUIVALENT OF THE PULITZER PRIZE.

HIS NAME WAS GUILLERMO BRAVO VEGA, & HIS CHIEF TARGETS WERE THE CORRUPT GOVERNOR OF HIS STATE AND HIS CRONIES

SHOW SLIDE 23: LOZADA

ALL WERE UNTOUCHABLE BECAUSE THEY WERE MEMBERS OF A HEREDITARY CLAN KNOWN LOCALLY AS THE OPITAS MAFIA.

SHOW SLIDE 24: BRAVO WITH IMPUNITY QUOTE

BRAVO SURVIVED NUMEROUS ASSASSINATION ATTEMPTS AND WAS ORDERED TO GET OUT OF HIS TOWN NEIVA SIX TIMES.

THE SEVENTH ORDER WAS DELIVERED AT HIS HOME BY A HIRED PARAMILITARY ASSASSIN.

BRAVO BELIEVED THE FEDERAL POLICE WERE IN ON THE PLOT AND TOLD HIS COLLEAGUES: "THIS TIME THEY'LL GET ME."

HE WAS SO CERTAIN HE WOULD BE KILLED THAT FOR THE FIRST TIME IN HIS LIFE, HE FLED TO BOGOTA.

BUT HE STAYED AWAY ONLY TWO WEEKS. AGAINST THE ADVICE OF EVERYONE, HE RETURNED TO NEIVA AND HIS WORK.

SHOW SLIDE 25: BRAVO ON TV

A FEW WEEKS LATER HE WAS IN HIS BUNGALOW WORKING ON THIS DOCUMENTARY ABOUT COLLEAGUES MURDERED BY PARAMILITARIES WHEN, AS HE PREDICTED, THEY GOT HIM.

THEY SHOT HIM IN THE HEART, THE MOUTH AND FOREHEAD.

THE MESSAGE WAS CLEAR: DON'T FEEL THIS WAY, DON'T TALK THIS WAY, DON'T THINK THIS WAY.

SHOW SLIDE 26: MARLENE ESPERAT

IN THE PHILIPPINES, THERE WAS A MOTHER OF FOUR NAMED MARLENE GARCIA ESPERAT.

SHE LIVED IN A SMALL TOWN ON MINDANAO, JUST A FEW KILOMETERS FROM THE SITE OF THE 2009 MASSACRE.

SHE WAS TORMENTED BY THE PROBLEMS HER INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISM CAUSED HER CHILDREN--PARTICULARLY AFTER A HAND GRENADE DESTROYED HER LIVING ROOM.

DESPITE HER FEARS FOR THEIR SAFETY, SHE CONTINUED TO EXPOSE THE THEFT OF AGRICULTURAL FUNDS BY FEDERAL OFFICIALS, TRACING THE CORRUPTION RIGHT UP TO THE CABINET SECRETARIES OF PRESIDENT GLORIA ARROYO.

SHOW SLIDE 27: ESPERAT AND ARROYO

NEAR THE END OF HER LIFE, ESPERAT SENT PRESIDENT ARROYO A LETTER, ANNOUNCING: "I PREFER TO ACCEPT THE BULLET THAN TO REMAIN SILENT AND STARE AT THE MASSES DYING OF HUNGER. I AM READY TO DIE FOR THIS CAUSE."

SHOW SLIDE 28: ESPERAT WITH CHILDREN

AND, AS SHE PREDICTED, SHE DID DIE--SHOT TO DEATH IN HER HOME IN FRONT OF HER CHILDREN.

NOW THE JOURNALISM OF BOTH ESPERAT AND BRAVO WAS FILLED WITH ANGRY DENUNCIATIONS OF CORRUPT OFFICIALS, AND THAT ENRAGED THEIR TARGETS.

SHOW SLIDE 29: MANIK CHANDRA SAHA

BUT IN BANGLADESH I EXAMINED THE CAREER OF A SHY AND SAINT-LIKE HUMANIST WHO STUCK CALMLY TO THE FACTS, YET THE STRICT FACTS OFFERED HIM NO PROTECTION.

MANIK SAHA LIVED IN A REMOTE DISTRICT DOMINATED BY BENGAL MAFIA POLITICIANS WHO WORKED HAND IN GLOVE WITH ISLAMIC FANATICS AND MAOIST REBELS.

THEY STOLE HALF-A-MILLION ACRES FROM POOR FARMERS, RAPED HUNDREDS OF HINDU FARM WIVES, AND LOGGED WITHIN A PRESERVE SET ASIDE FOR THE BENGAL TIGER.

AFTER ONE OF SAHA'S EXPOSÉS, HE TOLD A PRESS FREEDOM ADVOCATE, "I AM IN DANGER, ANY TIME I CAN BE KILLED."

SHOW SLIDE 30: MANIK SAHA DECAPITATED

AND, AS HE PREDICTED, HE WAS KILLED, DECAPITATED BY A SMALL BOMB THROWN AT HIS HEAD OUTSIDE THE PRESS CLUB.

SHOW SLIDE 31: COLLEAGUES IN HORROR

THE MANNER OF HIS EXECUTION SENT A CLEAR MESSAGE TO THOSE IN THE PRESS CLUB WHO SHARED SAHA'S THINKING.

SHOW SLIDE 32: POLITKOVSKAYA

LIKEWISE, THE MURDER OF ANNA POLITKOVSKAYA THE DAY I ARRIVED IN MOSCOW ALSO SENT A MESSAGE.

TWO OF HER COLLEAGUES AT HER MOSCOW PAPER NOVAYA GAZETA HAD BEEN MURDERED, AND I LEARNED THAT AT THE FUNERAL OF THE 2nd, SHE'D TOLD A COLLEAGUE, "I WILL BE NEXT"

BY THE TIME OF THAT 2ND FUNERAL SHE'D BEEN ARRESTED, BEATEN, TORTURED, AND ENDURED A MOCK EXECUTION, YET SHE CONTINUED TO MAKE DANGEROUS TRIPS TO CHECHNYA TO EXPOSE THE ATROCITIES COMMITTED BY THE RUSSIAN ARMY AND THE WARLORDS VLADIMIR PUTIN HAD PLACED IN POWER THERE.

SHOW SLIDE 33: RAMZAN KADYROV

ON OCTOBER 5, 2006, SHE ANNOUNCED ON RADIO LIBERTY THAT SHE WAS INVESTIGATING PUTIN'S APPOINTED LEADER OF CHECHNYA, RAMZAN KADYROV. SHE SAID SHE WAS LOOKING FORWARD TO SEEING HIM IN THE PRISONER'S DOCK.

SHOW SLIDE 34: POLITKOVSKAYA IN CASKET

TWO DAYS LATER, AS SHE PREDICTED, SHE BECAME THE THIRD NOVAYA JOURNALIST TO BE MURDERED.

AND SO I NEVER GOT TO FIND OUT FROM HER WHAT SHE THOUGHT IT TOOK FOR TWO YOUNG NEWSPAPER EDITORS IN THE AUTO PLANT TOWN OF TOLYATTI TO STAY ON A STORY AFTER BEING TOLD THEY WOULD BE MURDERED.

SHOW SLIDE 35: IVANOV AND SIDOROV HEADSHOT

DAY AFTER DAY VALERY IVANOV AND ALEKSEI SIDOROV HAD EXPOSED THE CORRUPT RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TOLYATTI'S POLITICIANS, THE MAFIA, THE POLICE, AND THE AUTO PLANT'S DIRECTORS.

IVANOV, ON THE LEFT, WAS CONFIDENT AND FORCEFUL, A NATURAL DIRECTOR OF THE EVENTS AROUND HIM.

SIDOROV WAS YOUNGER AND SHYER, ALWAYS READY TO ADMIT HOW FRIGHTENED HE WAS—ESPECIALLY AFTER MOBSTERS MET WITH IVANOV AND TOLD HIM THEY'D PUT A PRICE ON HIS HEAD.

IVANOV NOT ONLY IGNORED THE DEATH SENTENCE BUT BEGAN WORK ON A SWEEPING ARTICLE THAT MADE HIM MORE OF A THREAT TO THE STATE'S ULTIMATE POWER BROKERS THAN TO THE MOBSTERS.

HIS GOAL WAS TO NAME ALL THE POLICE, PROSECUTORS AND POLITICIANS WHO POCKETED THE MILLIONS OF A GANG BOSS WHOSE MURDER THE POWER BROKERS HAD INSTIGATED.

SHOW SLIDE 36: IVANOV HEAD SHOT & CASKET

MIDWAY INTO THE ARTICLE, WHEN HE WAS 32, IVANOV WAS SHOT DEAD IN FRONT OF HIS APARTMENT HOUSE.

SIDOROV WAS TERRIFIED HE WOULD BE NEXT. HE REFUSED TO TAKE OVER FOR IVANOV AND FLED TOWN FOR HIS LIFE.

SHOW SLIDE 37: COLOR HEAD SHOT SIDOROV

THEN HE RETURNED AND TOOK OVER THE PAPER, KNOWING HE TOO WOULD PROBABLY BE MURDERED IF HE PICKED UP IVANOV'S LAST STORY.

BUT THAT IS EXACTLY WHAT HE DID.

A FEW DAYS BEFORE THE ARTICLE WAS TO GO TO PRESS, SIDOROV WAS COMING HOME FROM WORK WHEN HE WAS ATTACKED AND STABBED TO DEATH IN FRONT OF HIS APARTMENT HOUSE.

HE WAS CARRYING ALL THE RESEARCH AND DOCUMENTS FOR IVANOV'S ARTICLE. THE MATERIAL WAS STOLEN AND THE ARTICLE WAS NEVER PUBLISHED. HE DIED IN HIS WIFE'S ARMS.

SHOW SLIDE 38: KHALID HASSAN HEAD SHOT

FINALLY, THERE WAS KHALID HASSAN, AN EASY-GOING LOCAL REPORTER FOR THE *NEW YORK TIMES* IN BAGHDAD, WHO WAS FIRST HIRED WHEN HE WAS JUST 19.

FOR YEARS HE FACED BEING MURDERED EVERY TIME HE MADE THE COMMUTE TO THE TIMES FROM SAYDIA, WHICH WAS BAGHDAD'S MOST VIOLENT NEIGHBORHOOD.

AND YET, AFTER THE COMMUTE, HE WOULD LEAVE THE SAFETY OF THE *TIMES* COMPOUND TO REPORT ON CAR BOMBINGS AND THE CORRUPTION OF POLICE WHO TOOK PAY-OFFS FROM INSURGENTS.

HE WAS THREATENED BY AL QAEDA IN HIS NEIGHBORHOOD, BUT HE REFUSED TO GIVE IN TO THEIR DEMANDS TO QUIT THE *TIMES*.

HE ALSO REFUSED TO FLEE HIS NEIGHBORHOOD.

ON JULY 10, 2007, AFTER FILING A REPORT ABOUT AN AL QAEDA MEMBER, HE TOLD HIS FIANCÉ, "IT'S NEAR THE END FOR ME."

SHOW SLIDE 39: KHALID HASSAN GRAVE STONE

THREE DAYS LATER, INSURGENTS FOLLOWED HIM FROM HIS NEIGHBORHOOD AND, AS HE PREDICTED, THEY SHOT HIM DEAD. HE WAS 23 YEARS OLD.

SHOW SLIDE 40: SEVEN JOURNALISTS

NOW, THE MASTERMINDS OF MOST OF THESE MURDERS, AND THEIR MOTIVES, WERE FAIRLY WELL-KNOWN WHEN I ARRIVED IN THEIR TOWNS.

SO A WHODUNIT BOOK WAS NOT WHAT I WAS INTERESTED IN WRITING.

FROM COLOMBIA TO THE PHILIPPINES TO IRAQ, OUTRAGED POLITICIANS, COPS, GANGSTERS AND INSURGENTS KILL JOURNALISTS FOR PRETTY MUCH THE SAME REASONS--

--BUT EACH JOURNALIST RISKS BEING MURDERED ACCORDING TO THEIR OWN COMPELLING LOGIC.

SO MY BOOK ISN'T REALLY A SERIES OF MURDER INVESTIGATIONS, BUT LIFE INVESTIGATIONS.

EACH CHAPTER IS A PSYCHOLOGICAL DETECTIVE STORY ABOUT HEROES WHO ADOPTED PRESS FREEDOM IDEALS THAT WERE CONSIDERED DEATH SENTENCES IN THEIR HOMELANDS.

**IN EVERY ONE OF THE JOURNALISTS' LIVES I DISCOVERED
HIDDEN, TRANSFORMATIONAL EVENTS--**

**--THINGS THAT HAD HAPPENED TO THEM, OR THAT THEY HAD
DONE TO OTHERS, THAT SHAPED THEIR CAREERS AND THEIR
DEATHS.**

**WHAT I FOUND WAS THAT EXTRAORDINARY GOODNESS
SOMETIMES HAS ITS SOURCE IN ITS OPPOSITE.**

**YOU'LL GET FOUR PAGES INTO MY BIOGRAPHY OF GUILLERMO
BRAVO IN COLOMBIA AND SEE THAT IN HIS LAST WEEKS THERE
WAS A MYSTERIOUS DIMENSION TO HIS EXTREME RISK-TAKING
THAT GOVERNED MY INVESTIGATION OF HIS LIFE.**

**I WAS ABLE TO FOLLOW THAT MYSTERY BACKWARDS TO A TIME
WHEN HE WAS REAPING THE REWARDS OF BEING THE SON OF A
MEMBER OF THE RULING CLASS—THE OPITAS MAFIA.**

**AT 23, WORKING FOR THE POLICE, HE'D MURDERED A LEFT-WING
WORKMAN IN A BAR.**

**IT WAS A CRIME THAT CHANGED HIS LIFE: FOR THE NEXT FOUR
DECADES HE SOUGHT REDEMPTION FOR IT, FIRST BY BECOMING
A LEFT WING ECONOMIST, THEN A CRUSADING JOURNALIST.**

**IN THE CASE OF POLITKOVSKAYA, I DISCOVERED THAT UNTIL HER
LATE 30S, LOOKS AND FASHION WERE VERY IMPORTANT TO HER.**

SHE'D LED A PRIVILEGED LIFE UNTIL THEN, AND HER REPORTING ON THE MOSCOW ELITE REFLECTED THAT.

SHE ALL BUT IGNORED THE SUFFERING OF CHECHENS DURING THE FIRST CHECHEN WAR.

THEN, ON AUGUST 27, 1996, AT THE END OF THAT WAR, SHE'D EXPERIENCED AN OVERWHELMING CATHARSIS OF SHAME AT A MOSCOW REFUGEE CENTER.

--THERE SHE ENCOUNTERED 100 WOUNDED AND MOURNING CHECHENS WHO'D ARRIVED FRESH FROM AN AERIAL BOMBING OF GROZNY.

SHE FELT THAT CATHARSIS OF SHAME BOTH FOR HERSELF AND ALL RUSSIANS, AND IT DROVE HER EVERY DAY OF HER LAST DECADE.

SHE LIVED NOT BY OUR CREDO—"NO STORY IS WORTH A LIFE"—BUT BY HER OWN CREDO, PHRASED TO PBS TV: "THAT STORY"—THE CHECHEN STORY—"IS WORTH A LIFE."

IN THE CASE OF THE SAINT-LIKE MANIK SAHA, I ENCOUNTERED SOMETHING THAT WAS EVEN MORE DIFFICULT TO EXPLAIN: SELFLESSNESS THAT SEEMED TO COME FROM PURE GOODNESS.

I DISCOVERED THAT AT 9 SAHA HAD LOST HIS MOTHER.

BEREFT, HE HEADED THE ADVICE OF AN AUNT TO SET UP A SCHOOL UNDER A BANYAN TREE, WHERE HE FOUND THAT HE COULD TAKE HIS MIND OFF HIS MISERY BY HELPING OTHERS.

TEN YEARS LATER HE'D HAD AN ATHEISTIC REVELATION THAT NATURAL SELECTION HAD ACTED LIKE A CONSCIOUS DEITY TO PRODUCE A LAW OF GOODNESS THAT MOST PEOPLE INSTINCTIVELY KNEW THEY SHOULD FOLLOW.

FOR EVIDENCE HE POINTED TO THE FACT THAT THERE WERE FAR MORE GOOD PEOPLE IN THE WORLD THAN THERE WERE BAD PEOPLE, AND THAT ACTING GOOD MADE HIM FEEL GOOD.

THE ESSENCE OF THE LAW OF GOODNESS WAS PUTTING OTHERS AHEAD OF HIMSELF AND, SINCE LIVING BY THE LAW OF GOODNESS MADE HIM HAPPY, HE HAD A SCIENTIFIC CODE OF TRUTH HE COULD ALWAYS TURN TO THAT INSTRUCTED HIM ON THE PROPER WAY TO BEHAVE.

NOW, APART FROM SAHA MY SUBJECTS WERE NO SAINTS.

--SOME WERE INURED TO THEIR LOVED ONES' SUFFERING EVEN AS THEY HELPED THOUSANDS OF STRANGERS.

--A FEW HAD PERSONALITIES THAT COULD MAKE THEM CRUEL FRIENDS AND INSUFFERABLE COLLEAGUES;

--AND TWO HAD SEXUAL LIVES THAT WOULD FILL SEVERAL SCANDAL SHEETS, AND WHICH I DISCOVERED WERE CONNECTED LIKE HOT WIRES TO THEIR CRUSADING JOURNALISM.

THERE WERE SO MANY DIFFERENT THREADS THAT BRAIDED INTO THEIR PSYCHES THAT MY FINGERS WERE OFTEN FROZEN ON THE KEYBOARD.

I SPENT OVER SIX MONTHS ON EACH ONE TRYING TO EXPLAIN WHO THEY WERE WITH COMPASSION AND UNDERSTANDING.

IN THE TIME ALLOTTED HERE, I CAN'T REPLICATE THAT UNDERSTANDING BY SINGLING OUT THEIR FLAWED PERSONALITIES AND THEIR FALLIBLE LIFESTYLES.

FOR NOW, WHAT I'D LIKE TO EMPHASIZE IS WHAT I DISCOVERED THEY HAD IN COMMON.

BECAUSE THEY ALL ARRIVED AT EXACTLY THE SAME MINDSET AT THE END OF THEIR LIVES: THEY ALL CONCLUDED THAT IN ORDER TO ADVANCE THEIR WORK, THEY HAD TO ACCEPT DEATH AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THAT WORK.

I'VE CALLED THAT ACCEPTANCE OF DEATH "THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SACRIFICE."

I FOUND THERE WERE TWO COMPONENTS TO THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SACRIFICE IN THE LIVES OF THESE JOURNALISTS.

THE FIRST WAS THE OVERPOWERING EMOTIONALITY OF THE EVENTS THAT HAD TRANSFORMED THEM.

THROUGH GUILT, REVELATION OR GRIEF, THOSE EVENTS MADE THEM BELIEVE PASSIONATELY IN THE PRINCIPLE THAT THE POWERFUL HAD TO BE PREVENTED FROM OPPRESSING THE WEAK AT ALL COSTS.

THE SECOND WAS THAT THEIR HOMETOWNS WERE DOMINATED BY CRIMINALS WHO BELIEVED IN THE OPPOSITE PRINCIPLE: THAT THE WEAK OFFERED OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE ENRICHMENT OF THE POWERFUL.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS PREDATORS WHO ORGANIZE GOVERNMENTS PERMIT NO INVESTIGATION INTO THEIR ULTIMATE MOTIVES AND THEY REACT VIOLENTLY WHEN JOURNALISTS REVEAL THAT THEY SERVE THEMSELVES.

IN ONE FORM OR ANOTHER, ALL OF THE SLAIN JOURNALISTS IN MY BOOK ATTEMPTED TO EXPOSE THE ORGANIZED CRIMINAL GOVERNMENTS THAT RULED THEIR NATIONS.

AND THAT BROUGHT THEM FATALLY CLOSE TO THEIR TRUE WORKINGS AND AFFILIATIONS.

AS JOURNALISTS UNDER THREAT, THEY HAD THREE OPTIONS: THEY COULD FLEE; THEY COULD AGREE TO STAY SILENT; OR THEY COULD CONTINUE TO EXPOSE THE MURDERERS AND THIEVES WHO DOMINATED THEIR COUNTRIES.

THEY WERE METHODICAL AND RATIONAL PEOPLE, AND MAKING THAT DECISION TOOK TIME.

THE CONSEQUENCES WERE WEIGHED.

THEY STRUGGLED WITH THEMSELVES AND FINALLY PUSHED THEIR FEARS ASIDE.

THEY EACH EXPERIENCED A MOMENT WHEN THEY REALIZED THEY WERE WILLING TO DIE TO GET THE STORY OUT.

I THINK ANYONE CAN IDENTIFY WITH THE DANGEROUS DECISION THEY MADE IF ONE REMEMBERS THAT THEY WERE STANDING UP FOR THEIR HOMES.

THEY DID NOT ARRIVE FROM SOMEWHERE ELSE TO REPORT ON THEIR CORRUPT AND VIOLENT LANDS.

THEY LIVED WHERE THEY DIED, AND THEY TRIED TO DEFEND THE PEOPLE WHERE THEY LIVED.

WHEN THEY MADE THE DECISION TO EXPOSE THE RULERS THEY CEASED BEING MERE MESSENGERS AND BECAME UNARMED COMBATANTS.

THEY ENTERED THE PUBLIC ARENA TO BATTLE AN OPPONENT WHO STOOD AT THE HEAD OF AN ARMY.

THEY KNEW THEY WOULD PROBABLY LOSE THAT BATTLE.

**AT THE SAME TIME, THEY BELIEVED THAT SOMETHING GOOD
WOULD COME FROM NEWS OF THEIR LOSS.**

AND THEREIN LIES THE KEY TO UNDERSTANDING THEIR HEARTS.

**BY LEADING THE CHARGE AGAINST CORRUPT FORCES, THEY
BELIEVED THEY WERE SETTING AN EXAMPLE FOR OTHERS TO FOLLOW**

**THEY KNEW FROM THE OUTSET THAT THEY MIGHT BE THE FIRST
TO FALL, BUT THEY CHARGED ONWARD, BELIEVING THAT,
MONTHS OR YEARS IN THE FUTURE, THEIR FELLOW CITIZENS
WOULD FIND THEIR COURAGE AND JOIN THEIR STRUGGLE.**

**THEY LIVED AND DIED FOR THAT HIGHER PURPOSE—THE SOURCE
OF THEIR OWN COURAGE.**

**CONVINCED THAT THE OUTCOME OF HISTORY COULD BE
AFFECTED BY THEIR REPORTING--**

**MOTIVATED BY TRANSFORMATIONAL EVENTS TO EXPOSE
DESTRUCTIVE FORCES--**

**THEY REACHED A POINT WHERE PUBLISHING THE TRUTH WAS
THEIR ONLY OPTION--**

**AN UNAVOIDABLE STEP ON THE ROAD TO SOCIETAL CHANGE,
AND, IN SOME CASES, PERSONAL REDEMPTION.**

THEY THEN BECAME UNSTOPPABLE EXCEPT BY MURDER.

AND SO THEY WERE MURDERED, AND THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT IN MANY COUNTRIES MURDER WORKS.

IT IS THE ULTIMATE FORM OF PRESS CENSORSHIP, ELIMINATING THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEM AND OFTEN INTIMIDATING OTHERS INTO SILENCE.

IT WORKS BEST WHEN IT OCCURS WITH IMPUNITY; AND IN THE MOST MURDEROUS PLACES FOR JOURNALISTS, IMPUNITY REIGNS

IMPUNITY SCARS THE LIVES OF INNOCENT PEOPLE, AND IT SCARRED THE LIVES OF THE JOURNALISTS IN MY BOOK.

AND YET THEY KEPT AT THEIR WORK, WITH THE FULL KNOWLEDGE THAT THEIR COUNTRIES WERE RULED BY MURDEROUS THUGS WHO LIVED BY THE PRINCIPLE OF ORGANIZED CRIME.

IT IS SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT THE NEXT TIME YOU HEAR ABOUT JOURNALISTS MURDERED IN FARAWAY PLACES, OR EVEN CLOSER TO HOME.

OFTEN ENOUGH, THEY WILL HAVE FOLLOWED IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF COLLEAGUES WHO PRESSED ON, KNOWING THE FATE THAT AWAITED THEM.

THEY REFUSED TO BOW TO THREATS, WROTE THEIR LAST EXPOSÉ, AND WOULD HAVE WRITTEN THEIR NEXT HAD NOT THE EXPECTED ASSASSIN ARRIVED TO STOP THEM.

IN WHATEVER WAY WE CAN, WE MUST HONOR THEM BY BRINGING THEIR LIVES AND THE STORIES THEY WORKED ON TO LIGHT, TELLING TRUTH TO THOSE WHO WOULD MURDER TRUTH TELLERS.

I WANT TO URGE YOU ALL TO WORK TO ACCOMPLISH THAT GOAL.

IF WE ALLOW THEM TO BE MURDERED FOR THEIR WORK WITH IMPUNITY, THEN WE'RE CONDEMNING THEIR SOCIETIES TO THE RULE OF SOCIOPATHS.

SHOW SLIDE 41: PORTELL & FAMILY

LET ME CLOSE BY SAYING THAT OVER THE DECADES, MANY IN YOUR REGION HAVE GIVEN THEIR LIVES IN THE NAME OF TRUTH.

I HONOR MEN LIKE JOSÉ MARÍA PORTELL AND HIS PROFESSIONAL BROTHER, LÓPEZ DE LACALLE.

THEIR SPOUSES AND CHILDREN STILL BEAR THE TERRIBLE SCARS OF THEIR MURDERS.

SUCH TRAGEDY IS ALMOST TOO MUCH FOR A LOVED ONE TO ENDURE, BUT OUR CONSOLATION IS THAT JOURNALISTS LIVE FOR THEIR REPORTING, AND LIVE IN THEIR REPORTING.

THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, THEIR REPORTING STILL LIVES. ALL THE MURDERED JOURNALISTS STILL LIVE.

THANK YOU FOR INVITING ME TO BILBAO, AND THANK YOU TO MY PUBLISHER ENRIQUE MURILLO WHO HAS BROUGHT MY BOOK TO A SPANISH-SPEAKING AUDIENCE.

ONE HOPES THAT IN PLACES LIKE COLOMBIA AND MEXICO, IT WILL MAKE THE KILLERS AWARE THAT THE OUTSIDE WORLD IS WATCHING THEM. THANK U AGAIN.

[END SPEECH]