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 3.—10. VI. 1947

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF JOURNALISTS BASED IN PRAGUE 1946-2016

USEFUL RECOLLECTIONS PART III

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From Czechoslovakian territory

from the Czechoslovak Union of Journalists

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Международная организация журналистов

KAROLINUM

**THE RISE AND FALL OF THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF JOURNALISTS
BASED IN PRAGUE 1946-2016**

USEFUL RECOLLECTIONS

PART III

Kaarle Nordenstreng

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Ing. Václav Slavík

(22. 3. 1937 - 26. 2. 2014)

is the main source of documents used for this book. He worked in the IOJ Secretariat from 1966 until 1992 in various tasks involving studies and documentation, notably as director of the International Journalism Institute (IJI). He was originally to have been the co-author of this book but he sadly passed away before the work proceeded from the compilation of materials to the systematic writing of the chapters. However, his personal recollections are included. The book is dedicated to the memory of this invaluable Czech professional.

PREFACE

This book is a sequel to *Useful Recollections: Excursion into the History of the International Movement of Journalists*, Parts I and II, published by the International Organization of Journalists (IOJ) in Prague, 1986 and 1988 respectively.¹ The first two volumes were written by the Finnish President (Kaarle Nordenstreng) and the Czech Secretary General (Jiří Kubka) of the IOJ at the time, covering the prehistory of the IOJ from the 1890s to 1945 and the first 20 years of the IOJ until 1966.

The original intention was to continue writing a third volume to record the history of the IOJ until the late 1980s. However, history itself derailed the plan: Kubka was removed from the IOJ in 1988, while I was first kept busy by the unstable ground of the IOJ after the “Velvet Revolution” in late 1989 and then as ex-President was only looking in from outside when the IOJ began to disintegrate. However, in 1994, when a hundred years had passed since the first international congress of the “press people” in Antwerp, I began work on the third volume. The work has progressed slowly, delayed by many other projects, but now – 26 years later – it has finally materialized.

Actually the project produced two books. First, *A History of the International Movement of Journalists* (2016) pooled separate histories of all the international associations of journalists into a single volume – the IOJ being just one of five main organizations throughout the 120 years of history. That book, co-authored with me by four academic colleagues, was published in England by Palgrave Macmillan, the three volumes of *Useful Recollections* being its major source. Consequently, the present volume of the trilogy should be seen as a more detailed chronicle of the IOJ.

The story of the IOJ offers an intriguing perspective on history from the eve of the Cold War in the 1940s until the new millennium. The IOJ was founded in 1946 as a truly universal association of professional journalists, but the Cold War caused it to split, whereby it turned into one of the Soviet-dominated “democratic international organizations” – along with those of

1 Both parts were translated into French and published by the IOJ. All the titles are out of print but the English originals are freely available online at <http://books.google.com> (search “useful recollections”).

women, youth, students, lawyers, scientific workers and trade unions as well as radio and television organizations – with the bulk of its membership in the socialist countries of central and eastern Europe.

However, in the 1950s and 1960s the IOJ membership spread to the developing countries of the global South and by the 1970s it had become the world's largest international non-governmental organization in the media field. Its growth continued in the 1980s, thanks to the financial means generated in Czechoslovakia through a number of commercial enterprises run by its headquarters in Prague – with the approval of the Government and the Communist Party of the country. Yet this success story was brought to a halt by the Velvet Revolution and the IOJ began to lose its political and material base in the country. The post-communist government even ordered the headquarters to be expelled, leaving only a nominal presence in the Czech Republic. Meanwhile, the once flourishing activities throughout the world disappeared.

Thus the history of the IOJ is really the story of the rise and fall of an empire. Today most of the earlier core IOJ member unions have moved to the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), which was established in 1952 as a Western antipode to the IOJ. The IFJ used to be a bitter rival of the IOJ during the Cold War period but now it enjoys fairly universal support.

The present Part III of *Useful Recollections* is not only a new volume as a sequel to the earlier two parts, but also the complete story of the IOJ from its antecedents until the present day. The book is unique, as no complete history of the IOJ has so far been published.

The book consists of three parts. First, ten thematic chapters present the story of the IOJ written as conventional history, proceeding chronologically and illustrated by a number of photos, followed by an overview in the final chapter. An epilogue concludes Part One. Second, 18 personal recollections by selected authors from inside and outside the IOJ provide perspectives on the organization and its principal actors. Third, a number of documents as appendices complement those already published in the two earlier volumes of *Useful Recollections* and in the Palgrave Macmillan book. The photos and documents displayed as figures in this book were chosen to be mostly complementary to those included in the earlier volumes. Accordingly, the three volumes together serve as comprehensive reference material on the IOJ.

The unpublished materials used as sources for this book and the earlier volumes are stored in the National Archives of the Czech Republic. Official publications of the IOJ are mostly to be found in the collections of *Klementinum*, the National Library of the Czech Republic. Several IOJ publications are also in the collections of the library of the Faculty of Social Sciences at Charles University. Details of the sources used appear in the Bibliography at the end.

I am the main author – both as a media scholar and as a former President. One might wonder how it is possible to reconcile these different roles. My response to such doubts is, first, that writing any history is inevitably more or less subjective, and personal experience may even add valuable elements to the narrative. Second, in this case I have benefitted from a great deal of unique inside knowledge and documentation accumulated during the nearly 15 years of my presidency. I do concede a certain bias attributable to my Finnish background and to the lifelong home base of the IOJ in Czechoslovakia, which accounts for the prominence of these two countries in this book.

I consider it my moral obligation to tell the story of the IOJ honestly and openly for posterity. I do not claim to present the definitive account but rather history as I see it, with the advantage of personal involvement.

After my earlier co-author Jiří Kubka left the IOJ in 1988, and passed away in 1992, I began to work with Václav Slavík, who, when retiring from the IOJ in 1992, took with him a lot of documentation, while most of the archives were lost in the lamentable shambles of the Secretariat in the 1990s. Slavík was first envisaged as my co-author, but his failing health and finally his death in early 2014 did not allow it. Yet a substantial part of the personal recollections in Part Two of this book is written by him. Also, his invaluable documentation served as source material for much of the rest of the volume. It is with good reason that this book is dedicated to his memory.

In addition to Slavík, I wish to acknowledge the assistance of three former employees of the IOJ: Rudolf Přebrátil, Chief Editor of IOJ publications 1985–90; Leena Paukku, Secretary for Europe 1987–91; Josef Komárek, Legal Advisor of the Secretary General 1994–97 and Director of Mondiapress 1997–.

Special support was provided by Markéta Ševčíková, who thoroughly studied the IOJ for her Master's thesis (2008) and for a PhDr. thesis (2015) at the Charles University. Ševčíková also prepared with me a paper on the rise and fall of the IOJ for presentation at the 6th European Communication Conference of ECREA in Prague in November 2016. On that basis we wrote in 2017 a joint article on journalist organizations in Czechoslovakia, published in the online journal *Media and Communication*.² The article includes an overview of the political history of Czechoslovakia from 1918 to the 1990s, providing a context to understand the story of the IOJ in this country.

These colleagues and friends deserve my sincere thanks. Special thanks are due to those colleagues, both from inside and outside the IOJ, who shared their personal recollections for this book in Part Two.

2 <https://www.cogitatiopress.com/mediaandcommunication/article/view/1042>.

Two more acknowledgements on my home front at the University of Tampere: Virginia Mattila, who meticulously checked the English of the texts, and Aila Helin, who skillfully processed the photos of varied quality and expertly did the model layout of the book.

Finally, I am grateful to the Faculty of Social Sciences at the Charles University for including this book in the publishing programme of the Karolinum Press. And the Karolinum team deserves a diploma for patience for having worked under the extraordinary conditions of the pandemic.

*Kaarle Nordenstreng
Tampere, September 2020*

PART ONE
HISTORY OF THE IOJ

CHAPTER 1

PREHISTORY 1894-1945¹

THE STARTING POINT IN THE 1890s

The first national associations of journalists began to appear in the UK, France and other countries in the second half of the 19th century. At first they were mostly informal guild organizations. Although at that time most journalists were already wage earners, they were not always closely associated with the trade union movement, which was rapidly getting organized. Journalists as creative writers typically considered themselves as independent publishers. Thus the first organizations of the field were associated with both the journalists and the owners of the press. Yet there were also organizations which followed a clear trade union orientation, such as the syndicate established in the Netherlands in 1884 and the syndicate of French journalists founded in 1886. In the UK, the National Union of Journalists was established in 1907 and affiliated to the British Trade Union Congress in 1920. This was the pattern for most national associations of journalists established after 1900 in Scandinavia, Australia, the USA and elsewhere.

The newspaper publishers and editors were even faster to organize than journalists. In the UK, the Newspaper Society was founded as early as 1836 to safeguard the interests of British newspaper owners. In the USA, the American Newspaper Publishers' Association was founded in 1887.

By the 1890s journalists and publishers in most European countries were more or less organized – not everywhere in solid associations but at least as loose fraternities around a common profession. Newspapers were growing along with increasing advertising and the press achieved a higher profile both in politics and as a form of industrial modernization.

Obviously the time was ripe for national groups to be internationally connected for mutual benefit: to learn from each other, to create rules for trans-border sales of news, and above all to strengthen the profession's prestige.

1 This chapter is based on *Useful Recollections, Part I, "The Shaping of International Cooperation: From the 1880s to the 1940s"* (Kubka & Nordenstreng, 1986, pp. 41-85). The quotes below are taken from this book. More on the early associations can be found in *A History of the International Movement of Journalists* (Nordenstreng & al., 2016, pp. 42-124).

The initiative for international conferences and a permanent international organization in the field was made at a small meeting of British, French and Belgian journalists arranged by the Institute of Journalism in London in 1893. This led to the convening of the **International Congress of the Press in Antwerp** (Belgium) on 7–11 **July 1894**, in connection with a World Exposition which took place in that city that year for several months.

According to Antwerp newspaper reports, the Congress was attended by over 400 participants. The conference proceedings² lists in the programme over 60 delegates from 17 European countries, including the three conveners and Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, Portugal, The Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, Sweden as well as Russia. The only delegate from outside Europe was from New Zealand. No Americans, either North or South.

The agenda and discussions are well documented in the proceedings. Six plenary sessions during three days discussed a wide range of topics, including the definition of a journalist, the characteristics of the profession, professional education, Sunday work, and problems faced by women journalists. Special attention was paid to issues of copyright.³

On the agenda was naturally also the question of how to continue the congresses and to establish a permanent association. Accordingly, the Antwerp Congress launched the **International Union of Press Associations (IUPA)**. This first international organization of journalists was formally established only two years later, once its constitution was drawn up and adopted by the next two congresses in Bordeaux (1895) and Budapest (1896). IUPA was based in Paris and by 1900 its congress was attended by 69 associations from 24 countries, representing over 10,000 journalists and publishers.

IUPA's congress met altogether 15 times between 1894 and 1914, when World War I disrupted regular activities. Participants came mostly from the European countries but occasionally also from Turkey, Egypt, Argentina, Brazil, Mexico and Japan. After the war the first disagreement erupted about admitting members from the former Central Powers, and by 1927, when the congress was able to meet again, it had lost much of its momentum to a new federation (FIJ). Moreover, in 1933 the newspaper publishers also established their own federation. Nevertheless, IUPA survived until 1938.

Consequently, while IUPA had a spectacular beginning, inspiring a generation of professionals to engage in international co-operation, its idea as a com-

2 *1er Congrès International de la Presse* (1894). This 104-page publication surfaced in some libraries and served as the main source on how the international movement really started (for both Kubka & Nordenstreng and for Björk). The proceedings contain as appendices five lengthy presentations, including Aaron Watson's "On Copyright, or the Protection of Literary Property" and Grace Stuart's "English Women in Journalism".

3 See Björk (1996) and Nordenstreng & al. (2016).

mon platform for both publishers and working journalists did not meet the challenges of the early 20th century and was therefore doomed to disappear.

Meanwhile, Czech journalists were active in creating a sub-regional Association of Slavonic Journalists in 1898. Prague also served later in 1929 as the venue of an important FIJ Executive Committee meeting.⁴

THE FIJ BETWEEN THE WORLD WARS

In the early 20th century there was a boom of international organizations. For the news media, these included special sectors of the press – the periodic press, the sporting press, the Roman Catholic press and even revolutionary-proletarian writers – as well as regionally based organizations such as the Imperial Press Union (1909, later the Commonwealth Press Union). A particular case was the Geneva-based **International Association of Journalists accredited to the League of Nations (IAJA)**.⁵

The most important of the post-World War I organizations was to be the international association of journalists, established in 1926 with the name **Fédération Internationale des Journalistes (FIJ)**. It was based on the initiative of the French Journalists' Syndicate, which hosted a founding meeting in Paris on 12–13 June 1926, attended by unions of journalists from 21 countries. The initiative was prompted by the ILO which already in 1925 launched an international survey on the working conditions of journalists.⁶ In the name of the commission which had prepared the meeting, Stéphen Valot of the French Syndicate pointed out that the profession of journalists was becoming increasingly international, making it imperative for journalists to be organized on an international level.

During the discussion in Paris, certain doubts were first voiced about the relations of the new organization to IUPA and IAJA. Yet after its special character was explained, the doubts were allayed and those present unanimously took a decision to set up a new organization. Its statutes, drawn up by the hosts, were then approved. The FIJ was defined to be an association of national organizations of journalists whose members were to be exclusively professional journalists, affiliated to the permanent editorial office of a news-

4 See Holoubek (1976).

5 The League of Nations, predecessor of the United Nations, and the International Labour Organization (ILO), played an important role in promoting press policies in the 1920s and early 1930s. See *Useful Recollections, Part I* (1986, pp. 69–73); Nordenstreng & al. (2016, pp. 80–104).

6 The results of the survey were published in *Conditions of Work and Life of Journalists* (1928). Excerpts from this report are reproduced as an annex in *Useful Recollections, Part I* (1986, pp. 91–107).

paper or a news agency and who derived their main income from journalistic work. Thus the goal of the organization was clearly to safeguard the rights and trade union benefits of professional journalists and to improve their working conditions. Among the statutory tasks were the following:

The elaboration, preservation, and publication of statistical and other documents of a nature to assist in the work of defending professional interests;

The study of formulas capable of bringing about the institution of standard contracts for individual or collective employment, and the general surveillance of the enforcement of these contracts wherever they have been accepted;

The extension to journalists of all countries of the advantages and the rights won by national associations.

After the founding meeting in Paris, Valot sent out an invitation to the **1st FIJ Congress** (Figure 1.1). This Congress, which officially constituted the organization, took place in Geneva in the premises of ILO on 24–25 September 1926. It was attended by unions representing journalists from 16 European countries, including Czechoslovakia. Russian publishers and journalists, who were active in the launching of IUPA and attended its first congresses, were no longer prominently present in international professional associations after the turn of the century – certainly not after 1917. Attending as observers at the 1st FIJ Congress were the ILO and the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (the predecessor of UNESCO) as well as the Secretariat of the League of Nations and the IAJA.

The congress heard a report by ILO on the working conditions of journalists in different countries and pledged to help in the successful completion of its international survey. The congress also declared that it would strive for these freedoms to be guaranteed by law through its member unions.

At the time of its establishment, the FIJ united 25,000 journalists through its national member associations. By joining the Federation, each association implicitly acknowledged the principles of a syndicalist organization the main task of which was the conclusion of working contracts, the setting of minimum wages and the acknowledgement of a court of arbitration as an institution to settle disputes between journalists and the newspapers for which they worked.

The FIJ had a permanent secretariat in Paris, administrated by a Secretary General elected for four years, and an Executive Committee composed of two members for every country affiliated and meeting annually. A bureau, composed of the President and Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretary General and his deputies, was to meet more frequently. The President was elected for two years and the congresses had to be convoked every two years. Stéphen Valot was an obvious choice for Secretary General, and the first President was Georges Bourdon of the French Syndicate.

FÉDÉRATION INTERNATIONALE DES JOURNALISTES

F. I. J.

LE SECRÉTAIRE GÉNÉRAL :

Paris le 12 juillet 1926

SIÈGE SOCIAL :
 A L'INSTITUT INTERNATIONAL
 DE COOPÉRATION INTELLECTUELLE
 GALERIE MONTPENSIER
 PALAIS-ROYAL
 PARIS
 TÉL. : LOUVRE 34-95
 ADR. TÉL. : HEFFLUI-PARIS

Monsieur le Président,

Permettez-moi de vous rappeler que la Conférence Constitutive a décidé d'accorder aux Associations nationales un délai de six semaines pour régulariser leur adhésion. Faut de cette régularisation en temps voulu, les Associations retardataires risqueraient de ne pouvoir prendre part à la première Assemblée Générale à GENEVE.

Je suis convaincu que vous avez d'ores et déjà pris toutes dispositions pour nous faire parvenir le bulletin d'adhésion signé dans les formes voulues et le montant de votre cotisation telle qu'elle a été déterminée par le Comité provisoire, à moins que vous n'ayez quelques objections à faire au coefficient qui a été attribué à votre pays. En ce cas, je vous serais reconnaissant de vouloir bien m'en informer aussitôt que possible.

Dans l'attente d'une prochaine réponse, je vous prie de croire, Monsieur le Président et cher confrère, à mes sentiments bien cordialement dévoués.

Le Secrétaire Général

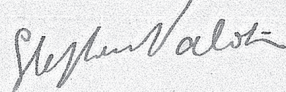


Figure 1.1 The circular letter of the FIJ to national journalist organizations after its founding conference in June 1926, inviting all to the constitutive 1st Congress in Geneva. The seat and address of the FIJ was established at the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (predecessor of UNESCO) where the FIJ had its address until September 1939.

In the first years of its existence the FIJ flourished. In early 1927 it issued a list of collective contracts in different countries with an index of subjects included in them, and at the end of the year it published a draft model contract drawn up on the pattern of existing instruments. It also continued the ILO survey on the profession and began compiling media laws in European nations.

In those years, issues of a more general character appeared among problems of a purely professional nature, such as concessionary fares on railways and ships for journalists and the setting up of schools for journalists. The FIJ was active in these issues and attended the League of Nations conference of press experts in Geneva dealing with better and cheaper international transfer of information that could “help calm down public opinion in different countries”.

The FIJ Executive Committee, which met in Vienna in May 1927, noted with satisfaction that more organizations had joined the Federation, including those of Australia, Switzerland, the Netherlands and Latvia. On the other hand, a problematic matter of principle was raised by the application for membership of an association of Russian journalists – a group of Czarist refugees based in Paris, while the FIJ practically ignored the new world of revolutionary journalism being created in the Soviet Union.

The **2nd FIJ Congress** was convened in Dijon (France) in November 1928 (Figure 1.2). It approved positions and activities on several important issues, such as concentration in the press industry, an international identity card for journalists, a new phenomenon of “radiophonic journalism” as well as a code of ethics and a tribunal of honour for the profession. Georges Bourdon voluntarily handed over the FIJ presidency to the head of the *Reichsverband der deutschen Presse*, Georg Bernhard.

Various projects were developed further in 1929 by the FIJ Executive Committee, meeting in Prague and Antwerp. The global economic depression brought a new item to the agenda – unemployment. Nevertheless, the main attention was paid to issuing the international journalist’s card and to establishing the tribunal of honour. The ruling of the tribunal began as follows:

1. In defence of the honour of the profession it is necessary to draw up strict rules determining the rights and duties of journalists as regards the good reputation of private and public persons.
2. As regards conflicts between journalists from different countries, the committee declares that no theory or comments are banned, but they must not be based on consciously distorted facts or on them known to be false.
3. Every journalist is responsible for the information he has personally obtained. The sending to any newspaper of false or intentionally distorted information so as to poison the international atmosphere shall be put before the tribunal. If the informer’s bad intentions are proved, he will be subject to strict sanctions.

Numéro 49 NOVEMBRE 1928

le journaliste

ORGANE DU SYNDICAT NATIONAL DES JOURNALISTES
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Un journaliste digne de ce nom

prend la responsabilité de tous ses écrits, même anonymes, tient la calomnie la diffamation et les accusations sans preuves pour les plus grandes fautes professionnelles, n'accepte que des missions compatibles avec sa dignité professionnelle, s'interdit d'invoquer un titre ou une qualité imaginaire, pour obtenir une information, ne touche pas d'argent dans un service public ou une entreprise privée où sa qualité de journaliste, ses influences, ses relations seraient susceptibles d'être exploitées, ne signe pas de son nom des articles de pure réclame commerciale ou financière, ne commet aucun plagiat, ne sollicite pas la place d'un confrère ni ne provoque son renvoi en offrant de travailler à des conditions inférieures, garde le secret professionnel, n'abuse jamais de la liberté de la presse dans une intention intéressée.

(Déclaration du Syndicat, juillet 1918).

LE CONGRÈS DE LA F. I. J.

« ... un groupement de forces comme il n'en existe pas d'autres exemples dans le monde intellectuel. Il est ailleurs des organisations plus fortes en effectifs; il n'en est pas de plus cohérentes par la rigueur de la constitution interne et de mieux préparées à l'action par la netteté du programme. »

(Extrait de l'ouvrage publié par le B. I. T. sur les Conditions de travail et de vie des journalistes.)

Les journalistes français ne sauraient donner trop d'attention aux importantes assises qui, dans quelques jours, s'ouvriront à Dijon.

Du 15 au 18 novembre, la Fédération Internationale des Journalistes y tiendra son assemblée générale statutaire, qui sera la seconde après l'assemblée générale de Genève, en 1926. La constitution de la F.I.J. veut en effet que le Congrès soit convoqué tous les deux ans pour se prononcer sur la direction générale de la Fédération, résoudre les questions étudiées par le Comité Exécutif et choisir son président. Dans l'interval, la conduite de la Fédération est assurée par le Comité Exécutif (qui se réunit tous les six mois dans une ville différente et qui, jusqu'à présent, a successivement débilité à Genève, Vienne, Paris et Cologne), et par son Bureau, qui siège tous les mois à Paris.

L'honneur et le soin d'organiser le Congrès revenant cette année à la France, pays du président sortant, nous avons pensé que nos hôtes nous sauraient gré de les conduire au cœur d'une grande et illustre région française; aussitôt que nous nous sommes ouverts à lui de notre dessein, M. Gaston Gérard, député-maire de Dijon, avec la promptitude de décision qu'on lui connaît, l'a fait sien, et c'est ainsi que, par la vertu de sa bonne grâce, la F. I. J. est assurée de trouver à Dijon un accueil digne d'elle et de la cité qui la recevra, et que ses délibérations auront lieu dans le palais des ducs de Bourgogne.

LA F. I. J.

Il est temps que les journalistes français comprennent que la F. I. J. est une grande institution. L'une des plus belles et des mieux charpentées qu'ait enfantées, depuis dix ans, l'esprit international.

International, elle l'est, au plein sens du mot, d'intention, de construction et d'action, et ceux qui la dirigent se sont appliqués à lui conserver son caractère essentiel, qu'elle ne laisserait entamer que pour s'affaiblir. Mais nous avons en même temps la fierté de nous rappeler qu'elle est une création française, que son secrétaire général, Stephen Valot, cheville ouvrière de l'institution, est français, que son siège social est à Paris, qu'en la constituant nos confrères étrangers ont entendu placer à sa tête un président français.

Ainsi sortie du Syndicat National des Journalistes, qui, en la créant, a manifesté sa force vitale et du même coup l'ampleur de son action professionnelle, elle lui fait grandement honneur sans doute, mais nous pensons aussi quelle mérite d'être, pour tout le journalisme français et pour notre pays, un sujet d'orgueil. Elle ne nous aura pas médiocrement aidés à obtenir les sécurités et les garanties depuis longtemps reconnues à nos confrères étrangers. Sans elle, le projet de Contrat collectif établi par le Syndicat National ne serait pas ce qu'il est. Sans elle, il serait privé d'un des arguments les plus forts qui nous permettent de le justifier auprès des directeurs. Ainsi aura-t-elle, en ce qui nous concerne, rempli une de ses premières fonctions, qui est de mettre au service des efforts particuliers et nationaux le rayonnement d'une force collective et internationale.

La F. I. J. répondait si bien à un besoin universel, que son succès a eu quelque chose de foudroyant. D'emblée, elle a réuni les plus grandes associations professionnelles d'Europe : la National Union anglaise (4.800 membres), le Reichsverband allemand (4.300 membres), l'Organisation autrichienne (1.650 membres), etc... Elle rassemble aujourd'hui à peu près l'unanimité des nations européennes, plus l'Australie, et cela fait déjà environ 25.000 journalistes. Elle est entrée en rapport avec les Etats-Unis et l'Amérique latine : le moment ne semble pas très éloigné où elle formera le faisceau, fortement noué de tous les journalistes du monde. Nous disons tous les journalistes, car la France est le seul pays où les journalistes, au mépris de tous leurs intérêts corporatifs, aient eu l'inconscience de se disséminer en une infinité d'associations. Partout ailleurs, sauf exceptions justifiées par des circonstances particulières, ils ont eu la sagesse de se réunir en un seul organisme chargé de les défendre. C'est cet organisme unique en chaque nation qui la représente à la F. I. J., et la puissance de la Fédération est en ceci que la motion votée à Vienne en 1927 interdit aux associations affiliées d'adhérer à nulle autre organisation internationale.

En relations régulières avec la Société des Nations, le Bureau International du Travail et l'Institut International de Coopération intellectuelle, elle participe à leurs travaux et y a sa place chaque fois qu'il y est question de la condition des journalistes. Elle a un siège dans la Commission des Travailleurs intellectuels, récemment créée par le B. I. T., et si l'on veut savoir quel est son crédit auprès des grands organismes internationaux nés de la guerre et qui sont comme des laboratoires où les peuples essayent de confronter et d'entremêler leurs âmes avec leurs intérêts, que l'on prenne la peine de lire plus loin l'extrait que nous reproduisons du grand ouvrage que le B. I. T. vient de publier sur la condition des journalistes dans le monde entier.

Figure 1.2 The information bulletin of the French National Syndicate of Journalists regularly covered news and events of the FIJ. The 2nd FIJ Congress in Dijon was naturally a leading topic of the bulletin in November 1928.

The International Tribunal of Honour of Journalists⁷ was formally established by the **3rd FIJ Congress** convened in Berlin in October 1930 (Figure 1.3). There H.M. Richardson, General Secretary of the UK National Union of Journalists (NUJ) was elected as the new FIJ President, while Valot was re-elected as Secretary General. Richardson was a firm supporter of an international code of honour as well as a court of honour to monitor it. This position not only highlighted high moral principles but also reflected the libertarian press freedom whereby the news media should be kept free from governmental regulation.

Richardson introduced the Tribunal of Honour at its opening ceremony in The Hague in October 1931 as the FIJ's contribution to the cause of peace. His speech ended as follows:

I do not anticipate that this court will often be called into session, because I believe that journalists, like everyone else, are recognizing more and more readily the inadequacy of a narrow nationalism as a basis for even national well-being. More and more is being realised that the nations of the world are one, and that an injury to one nation is an injury to all.

So far as the ethics of journalism are concerned, the International Federation seeks to inculcate that belief positively by endeavouring to improve the status of journalists of all countries, and negatively by bringing into public odium those journalists who are false to the ideal of their profession, which is the accurate recording of events and the reasoned comment upon authentic facts.

In hindsight, these words appear both prophetic and ironic – prophetic because the tribunal soon became paralyzed, and ironic as narrow-minded nationalism was propagated rather than discouraged by the rise of fascism in Germany and elsewhere in Europe. The proceedings of the FIJ throughout the 1930s show that the time for lofty ideas and initiatives such as the Tribunal was over and that journalists and their organizations became hostages of declining economics and of rising contradictions in politics.

Nevertheless, the **4th FIJ Congress** in London in October 1932 continued to promote collective contracts, copyright and support for unemployed journalists.⁸ Moreover, the Congress discussed the role of the press in the main-

7 The background and launching of the Tribunal in The Hague in October 1931 are presented in *Le Tribunal d'honneur international des journalistes* (1932). Excerpts from this booklet are reproduced as an annex in *Useful Recollections, Part I*. A summary is given *Useful Recollections, Part I* (1986, pp. 63–69).

8 The time of this 4th FIJ Congress was mistakenly given to be February 1933 in *Useful Recollections, Part I* (1986, p. 74). All the FIJ congresses except the last (7th) one in 1939 were held every two years as determined in the statutes.

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ORGAN DES REICHSVERBANDES DER DEUTSCHEN PRESSE E. V.
20. JAHRGANG NR. 43 BERLIN-SCHÖNEBERG, 25. OKTOBER 1930

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Tiergartenstraße 16, Fernsprecher: Kurfürst 2694

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Zum Kongreß der Fédération Internationale des Journalistes

in Berlin vom 22. bis 25. Oktober 1930

Gruß des Herrn Reichsministers des Auswärtigen Dr. Curtius

*E*s ist mir eine besondere Freude, die Teilnehmer an dem 2. Kongreß
der „Fédération Internationale des Journalistes“ in der Haupt-
stadt des Deutschen Reiches als Gäste begrüßen zu können.

Die Organisation der „F.I.J.“ hat in den vier Jahren ihres Be-
stehens bewiesen, daß der Gedanke, der zu ihrer Gründung geführt hat,
lebenskräftig ist. Die „F.I.J.“ verfolgt den Zweck, durch regelmäßige
Ausprache und Regelung vom nationalen Boden aus die internationale
Gemeinschaft zu befestigen, die internationale Gegensätzlichkeit aber zu
beseitigen. Dementsprechend will die „F.I.J.“ durch ihre Einrichtungen
und Verhandlungen die Kräfte der nationalen Presseverbände wahren
und dadurch kräftigen, daß sie die internationale Gemeinschaft pflegt.

In diesem Sinne begrüße ich die bevorstehende Berliner Tagung der
„F.I.J.“ und wünsche ihrem Arbeitsprogramm den besten Erfolg.



Figure 1.3 The host of the 3rd FIJ Congress, Reichsverband der deutschen Presse, published on the front page of its journal in October 1930 a letter of welcome from the German Minister of Foreign Affairs.

tenance of peace, confirming the doctrine that freedom of the press had to be defended particularly at a time when it was endangered by economic and political interests. This freedom, it was pointed out, was seated in the conscience of the journalist, and this conscience could maintain its full power only if collectively expressed. Its best guarantee was the will of professional journalists to respect the rules of honour of their profession as manifested by the International Tribunal of Honour.

An emphasis on peace and responsible reporting also came from the League of Nations, which convened further meetings of press experts in Copenhagen in 1932 and Madrid in 1933 and other meetings in the context of the World Disarmament Conference. These all were actively attended by the FIJ, also drawing attention to the question of inaccurate news and how to combat false information.⁹

However, all initiatives were paralyzed by the political developments, with media and democracy under increasing pressure all over Europe, especially – but not only – in Germany, where Hitler became Chancellor in January 1933 and the Parliament dissolved itself in February. Meanwhile, the FIJ continued its activities and organizational life after the 4th Congress in London, where Herman Dons of Belgium was elected as the new President.

The biggest problem for the FIJ's promotion of freedom of journalism turned out to be an increasingly common phenomenon in Europe: the rise of fascism, which defined the media as an instrument of the state. The proceedings of the FIJ Executive Committee in Budapest in June 1933 demonstrated the FIJ's inconsistent application of membership policy. The big German union, the *Reichsverband der Deutschen Presse*, had sent no delegates. A Dutch delegate, reporting first hand from his experience in Berlin, described the Nazi faction in the *Reichsverband* as amateur journalists bent on crowding out the old elite. In its conference in April 1933, the majority of the members of the *Reichsverband* voluntarily submitted to a ban on communist and Jewish journalists from the profession, who were forced to emigrate or incarcerated in concentration camps. After that in the Budapest meeting, hosted by the Hungarian fascist state and union, the Dutch, Polish, British and Belgian representatives called for the expulsion of the *Reichsverband*. Since the majority remained hesitant as to the wisdom of expelling one of its strongest members, the final resolution did indeed condemn Nazi persecution, but only suspended the *Reichsverband's* membership.

9 A reminder of the widespread support for this approach was the fact that the newly founded International Federation of Newspaper Publishers Associations even proposed a convention for the immediate retracting and correction of false news. (FI-ADEJ, later FIEJ is the predecessor of today's WAN-IFRA.)

The **5th FIJ Congress** was held in Brussels in October 1934. Paul Bourquin of Switzerland was elected as the new President and Valot was re-elected once again as Secretary General. The Congress admitted a significant new member: the American Newspaper Guild (ANG) established one year before with some 10,000 members representing about half of journalists in the USA. A less pleasant matter in the Congress was the discussion concerning the application for admission of an association of German refugee journalists. The application was submitted by Georg Bernhard, former FIJ President and of Jewish origin. He appeared before the Congress describing the circumstances under which he and his colleagues had been forced to leave the *Reichsverband* and emigrate. Yet his application was rejected by a majority in the Congress on the grounds that the association did not have a “national character” – something that the *Reichsverband* was considered to have although connections with it had been suspended because of its adherence to a Nazi position on journalism.

Similar problems arose with Spain, Italy and other countries. It became clear that more and more countries had divided factions of journalists who could not be admitted to the FIJ as nationally representative collectives with a clear press freedom position. Disagreement mounted among the FIJ members about how to navigate in the politically stormy waters. Still, in 1935 the Executive Committee meeting in Helsinki could note with satisfaction that FIJ had member organizations in all European countries except the Soviet Union and Italy. Furthermore, it had member organizations in the USA, Brazil and Australia. Discussions were under way with Indian and Japanese journalists to join the FIJ.

The **6th FIJ Congress** met in Bern (Switzerland) in September 1936. The FIJ was ten years old, but it was in no mood for celebration. From the outset, discussion centred on the problem of press freedom. The participants were divided into two camps. One stressed its fidelity to the principle of freedom of the press as formulated in the FIJ statute. The other questioned whether it was really reasonable to uphold this formulation of the FIJ statute if freedom of the press was becoming a rarity throughout Europe. After a long and passionate discussion the Congress decided to keep the statute unchanged but to organize a poll on the problem among member unions. This was a compromise which exposed the crisis which had been fomenting inside the FIJ since 1933.

A resolution was adopted appealing to the world press to lend its support to a peace policy and thus help to avert the danger of international conflicts. Given the real situation in the world and the press at that time, the resolution was mere wishful thinking. Karl Eskelund of Denmark was elected as the new FIJ President.

After this the FIJ proceedings of the Executive Committee meetings in Vienna 1937 and Paris 1938 show how the organization, while continuing to debate press freedom and conditions for membership under increasingly

difficult conditions, still managed to pursue such professional matters as limiting working hours and promoting deontological codes. Yet one topic was missing from the proceedings: a serious discussion of the concept of freedom of expression and of journalism. It was certainly looming behind the debates and controversies but it was kept under the carpet – obviously not to allow professional activities to be threatened by ideological and political clashes.

Escalating political problems in Europe led to a change of venue of the **7th FIJ Congress** from Denmark to Morocco and Strasbourg, but finally it was convened at Bordeaux in July 1939. It adopted an important document: the Professional Code of Honour for Journalists. Beyond this, there is little to be put on the historical record from this Congress – apart from the fact that it was the last FIJ Congress, with Archibald Kenyon of the UK elected as its President.

One of the first tasks of the new President was to join the Secretary General in appealing to the member unions for solidarity with those IFJ colleagues who were affected by the war (Figure 1.4). The circular letters from the secretariat discontinued in spring 1940.

In June 1940 Hitler's troops marched unopposed into Paris. The FIJ bureau was taken over by the Nazis and its archives confiscated.

DEVELOPMENTS DURING WORLD WAR II

In October 1940 a conference was held between the *Reichsverband* of the German Press and the fascist National Syndicate of French Journalists, which decided to “replace the International Federation of Journalists, a provocation centre, and a representative of Jewish-democratic intellectual thinking operating from Paris to corrupt journalists all over the world”. One year later, in December 1941, the so-called **Union of National Unions of Journalists** was set up in Vienna. Its head was Wilhelm Weiss, editor-in-chief of the main National Socialist newspaper, the *Völkischer Beobachter*, and chairman of the *Reichsverband* of the German Press.

At the same time, in December 1941 when World War II had been raging for two years, a new organization was established in London called the **International Federation of Journalists of Allied or Free Countries (IFJ AFC)**, which:

regards itself as holding in trust the spirit and work of the *Fédération Internationale des Journalistes*. Its fundamental principle is to safeguard and support the freedom of the Press; its activities will be guided by this and by the resolve to see the FIJ re-established on a stronger, universal basis after the war.



FÉDÉRATION INTERNATIONALE
DES JOURNALISTES

F. I. J.

PROVISOIREMENT
5, Rue Coq Héron
PARIS - 1^{er}
TÉL.: CUT. 41-38

~~SIÈGE SOCIAL:
4 - 6, RUE MONTPENSIER
27 & 28, GALERIE DE CHARTRES
(PALAIS-ROYAL)
PARIS (1^{er})
TÉL. : RICHELIEU 5632~~

Leeds, ~~PARIS~~ le 1er Octobre 1939

LE SECRÉTAIRE GÉNÉRAL
STEPHEN VALOT

N°

Dear Friend and Colleague,

PIECES JOINTES

It is my duty and desire to support in the strongest possible manner the eloquent and moving appeal that has been addressed to the organisations of the F.I.J. by Mr Stephen Valot.

It happens that both Mr. Valot and myself are citizens of countries engaged in the war. I am sure that no journalist will for one moment on that account attribute to us any motive of selfish concern in the appeal we make to those who are happily at peace for their help in the humanitarian and fraternal task of relieving the tragic needs arising from the war.

In our own organisation we face grave problems -- reduced membership and income, difficulties of one sort and another due to the departure of members on active service, new responsibilities to their wives and families, reduced opportunities of employment in consequence of smaller papers. We face these problems with inevitably diminished means and with the certain prospect of largely increased demands on all our resources.

But we make this international appeal on the ground of international solidarity, professional interest, fraternal duty and practical sympathy for all our organisations and their members.

With fraternal greetings,
Yours most sincerely,

A. KENYON

Stephen Valot
SECRÉTAIRE GÉNÉRAL

President, Federation Internationale des Journalistes

Figure 1.4 In autumn 1939 the FIJ was naturally preoccupied by the escalating war. The first circular letter about its impact on member unions and journalists was issued by Stéphen Valot (in French) in August and in October he and the President signed a joint appeal. There the seat is changed to a temporary address.

At the time of its second Congress in October 1942, the IFJAFc had members in Australia, Brazil, Belgium, Britain, Czechoslovakia, “Free France”, Greece, The Netherlands, Norway, Poland, the USSR and Yugoslavia. Its president was Archibald Kenyon of the UK, its two Vice-Presidents Alexander Sverlov of the USSR and Tor Gjesdal of Norway, its treasurer Jiří Hronek of Czechoslovakia and its secretary L. A. Berry of the UK.

The IFJAFc was guided by “the resolve to see the FIJ re-established on a stronger, universal basis after the war”. On this basis an appeal was launched by its last Congress, which met in London in March 1945, to set up a new organization with the widest possible participation of journalists from all over the world. It took another year until March 1946 when finally a letter of invitation was issued to the IFJAFc members and other potential participants to attend the World Congress of Journalists in Copenhagen in June that year.¹⁰

10 The letter is reproduced in *Useful Recollections, Part II* (Nordenstreng & Kubka, 1988, pp. 10-11).

CHAPTER 2

FOUNDING 1946–47¹

COPENHAGEN 1946

The war-time Federation IFJAF, carrying the legacy of the pre-war FIJ, convened the **World Congress of Journalists in Copenhagen** on 3–9 June 1946 (Figure 2.1). This Congress was a manifestation of the positive post-war spirit: the Danish Parliament building in a country liberated from fascism accommodated 165 delegates from 21 countries², in the presence of the Crown Prince of Denmark and high-ranking representatives of the new United Nations.

The official report of the Congress³ begins with the following summary:

Its formation followed the voluntary dissolution, in separate meetings on June 3, of the Fédération Internationale des Journalistes (F.I.J.), which was founded in 1926, and of the International Federation of Journalists of Allied or Free Countries (I.F.J.A.F.C.), which from 1941 carried on the idea of international co-operation of democratic journalists.

The I.O.J. is therefore soundly based in a respected tradition and experience of work for international co-operation in journalism. Its formation, indeed, was foreseen in the 1941 constitution of the I.F.J.A.F.C. which pledged the establishment of a journalists' international on a stronger, universal basis after the war.

1 This chapter is based on *Useful Recollections, Part II* (Nordenstreng & Kubka, 1988, pp. 9–28). The quotes below are taken from this book. Much of the text also appears in *A History of the International Movement of Journalists* (Nordenstreng & al., 2016, pp. 125–132). These books include chronologies of relevant events throughout the history of the IOJ, including its prehistory from 1893 on.

A summary of the founding years 1946–47 is provided by a chronicle published in the IOJ magazine *The Democratic Journalist* 6–7/1966 on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Organization (available online at <http://books.google.com>, search “democratic journalist”).

Appendix 1 provides a list of all meetings of the IOJ statutory bodies from 1946 to 1996. The Presidium members throughout this period are listed in **Appendix 2**.

2 Australia, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Greece, Iceland, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, Poland, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, USA, USSR, Yugoslavia.

3 Published in July 1946 as *I.O.J. Bulletin No. I*. It is reproduced as Annex 2 in *Useful Recollections, Part II* (1988, pp. 101–120).



Kronprinsen ved Aabningsmødet.

Journalistkongressen.

Referat af de tre Dages Forhandlinger i Folketingssalen.

JUNGE DAMER modtog de internationale Journalistkongress' Delegerede i Rigsdagshuset med naa Buketter, lyserøde Roser til Damerne og mørke Nelliker til Herrerne. Blomsterne, Kongressens nukke Emblem og det lille Navneskilt paa Reverset mt Flagene udenfor Bygningen var det eneste Udyr. Præcis Kl. 9 samlede alle Delegerede og Gæster ; lidt efter kom Kongressens Protektor, Kronprins ederik. Formanden for Danske Journalisters Fællespræsentation, Redaktør *Niels Hansen*, bød i en kort skomsttale paa Engelsk og Fransk Velkommen til unmark. Saa talte Finansminister *Thorvil Kristensen*, r repræsenterede Udenrigsminister *Gustav Rasmusn*. *Thorvil Kristensen* takkede paa den danske Beknings Vegne Pressen i den frie Verden for den Opnring, den havde været for Befolkningen her i Lan- t under Krigen. Endvidere udtalte Finansministeren:

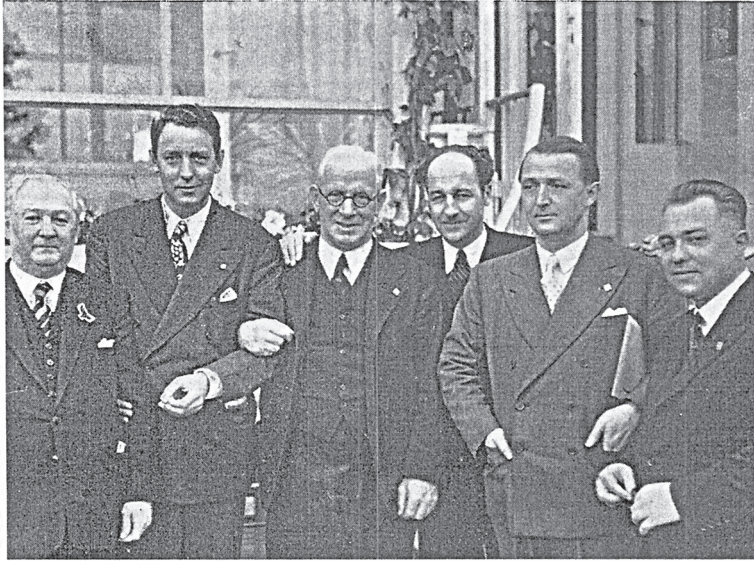
»Nazismen og dens Metoder lærte os alle, hvad Fri- d er værd, ogsaa Pressefriheden. Vi fik en haard ktie i, hvor vigtigt, ja fundamentalt det er for De- kratiets Bestaaen og Udvikling, at der er en fri

Presse. Jeg har derfor med Interesse bemærket, at Pressens Frihed staar paa Konferencens Program. Vi ønsker, at Kongressen under sin Drøftelse af Metoder til at sikre Pressens Frihed i det moderne Verdens- samfund vil naa til gode Resultater, saa Hindringer af enhver Art for en fri Udøvelse af Journalistens an- svarsfulde Gerning maa ryddes af Vejen.«

Kronprinsen fik derefter Ordet og udtalte paa Eng- elske: »Idet jeg byder Dem Velkommen og ønsker Dem Held med Kongressens Arbejde, erklærer jeg herved Kongressen for aabnet.«

Deltagerne i Mødet rejste sig og klappede, og dermed var Festiviteterne overstaet. Præsidenten for The In- ternational Federation of Journalist in Allied and Free Countries, Mr. *Kenyon* tog straks Ordet og holdt en Tale, der baade var en smuk Hilsen til Danmark og en tankevækkende Introduktion til de senere Forhandlin- ger paa Kongressen om de store principielle Spørgs- maal. Mr. *Kenyon* udtalte:

Figure 2.1 a The journal of the Danish Union of Journalists featured extensive coverage of the Copenhagen Congress in text and photos.



Den nye Ledelse: Fra venstre Morcl, Murray, Kenyon, Bean, Gjesdal og Sverlov.

neen mellem Kravet om Frihed og Ansvarsfølelse. Presse-Monopoler er Faren for Pressen, hvadenten er Statsmonopoler eller private Monopoler. En Nationalisering af Pressen fører til Diktatur og dermed rig.

»scalakis, Grækenland, forelagde en Resolution, der er skarpt præciserede Forpligtelsen for de nationale Journalistorganisationer til at arbejde for fuld »ad. Delegationen foreslog, »at alle Repræsentanter i nye Pressesammenslutning, der er samlet her, afgive en højtidelig Forsikring om, at der er » Pressefrihed i deres respektive Lande og at dette i Betingelse »sino non qua» for at deltage i den nationale Federation.«

»dividere ønskede den græske Delegation, at man le opfordre Regeringerne til at give alle frem- Journalister fuld Frihed til at undersøge Lande- »olitiske, sociale og andre Forhold.

»skussionen om Pressefriheden fortsattes Onsdag »en med et Indlæg af den russiske Delegerede »urkov, der bl. a. udtalte:

»ressens og Radioens Rolle i det moderne Samfund »a betydelig, at Friheden ikke udelukkende kan vor personlige Ejendom. I den franske Resolution der kun om Pressens Frihed, men der siges intet »ournalistens Ansvar. Nogle Journalister har, som e ved, brugt Pressens Frihed imod Folkenes sande »erved blev Pressefriheden blot Frihed til at for- »Forholdet mellem Nationerne. Ingen anden Stat »ret Genstand for saa mange Løgne som Rus- »Vi har kun det ene Krav og Ønske, at man skri- »andheden om Forholdene i vort Land. Hos os er »ens Frihed garanteret i vor Forfatning. Journali- »lever med Folket, har delt dets Lidelser under

disse Krigsaar. Det er efter vor Mening nødvendigt, at der skabes en »Æreslov for Journalister, saaledes at Folket kan have fuld Tillid til, hvad Pressen fortæller og vi kan naa dertil, at Folket betragter Journalisterne som deres Venner.«

»Bean, Australien, var enig med den polske Delegation i, at en etisk Kode var nødvendig.

»Herefter afsluttedes den forberedende Debat om Spørgsmaalet og en Redaktionskomité gik i Gang med at samarbejde de mange Forslag.

»Dernæst talte UNO's Repræsentant, Chefen for Verdensorganisationens Informations-Tjeneste, Vicegeneralsekretær Cohen, om Pressens Opgaver i Arbejdet for Freden. Der er et Problem, som har meget stor Betydning i denne Forbindelse, sagde Mr. Cohen — det er Friheden til at bringe Nyheder fra hele Verden. Alle Møder i Verdensorganisationen holdes aabne for Pressen. Kun i Undtagelsestilfælde, hvor det drejer sig om Spørgsmaal, der kan berøre private Personers Anliggender, holdes der lukkede Møder. 800 Presse-mænd er nu permanent knyttet til Verdensorganisationen, desuden 300 fra Radiotjenesten og mange fra Filmsproduktionen. Men maa har Opmærksomheden henvendt paa, at mange smaa Lande ikke er repræsenteret. Det skyldes i mange Tilfælde økonomiske Vanskeligheder og vi er meget villige til at lytte til alle gode Raad, som man maatte kunne give os om, hvorledes Kontakten kan gøres saa god som muligt. Sikkerhedsraadet er den Institution, som har haft størst Tiltrækningskraft for Pressen. Men i det økonomiske og sociale Raad udføres en lang Række vigtige konstruktive Opgaver, som fortjener mere Opmærksomhed end de nu faar. Gennem Arbejdet i disse Instanser skal vi give Folkene over hele Verden fornyet Tillid. Af denne

Figure 2.1 b The journal reproduced the same photo of the IOJ “founding fathers” as that on the cover of *Useful Recollections, Part II* (taken from *IOJ Bulletin No. I, July 1946*).

The Congress report as well as accounts in several journals of the national unions represented in Copenhagen describe the lively debate, beginning with the election of Congress officers and ending with the establishment of the new organization. After Archibald Kenyon of the UK was elected by acclamation as the congress chairman, the election of Stéphen Valot – the French Secretary General of the pre-war FIJ – to the Congress presidium was opposed by the French delegation, which represented a post-war line with less bourgeois orientation and proposed another representative of the French member union for this position. The compromise was that both French colleagues were elected.

Opinions differed regarding “liberty of the press”, but finally the Congress unanimously approved a statement of principle on this topic. Another much debated issue was whether the organization should be set up “purely on a trade union basis” as proposed by the general secretary of the British NUJ or whether it should be based on a more individualistic approach by “continental intellectualism” advocated by the Swiss delegates. The Soviet contingent supported trade unionism while also advocating the creation of “a moral code” for the profession – no doubt a code intended to eliminate fascist propaganda. The moral in this context referred to the Soviet notion of peace – after, for example, the paper *Red Star* alone had lost 17 of its 42 war correspondents. However controversial the issues, they were settled in an amicable atmosphere.

After the debate the chairman proposed that the **International Organisation of Journalists (IOJ)** be established without delay. The proposal was adopted with 16 votes, each delegation having one vote. Switzerland abstained and Turkey had not yet arrived at the Congress. The provisional constitution for the new organization was drawn up by one of the Congress committees composed of delegates from Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, South Africa, the UK, the USA and the USSR. In addition to these nine countries, the founding members were from Australia, Greece, Ireland, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey and Yugoslavia. The largest member unions came from the USSR (30,000 journalists), the USA (25,000) and the UK (8,000).⁴

The provisional constitution was adopted unanimously. Its Article 1 determines the name⁵ and places the provisional headquarters in London,

4 The resolution on Press and Peace calls upon “all the 130,000 members of the International Organisation of Journalists to do their utmost in support of the work of international understanding and co-operation entrusted to the United Nations”. The origin of this figure is shrouded in mystery, while the sum total of membership figures given by the national affiliates represented in Copenhagen is slightly over 80,000 (*Useful Recollections, Part II, 1988, p. 15*).

5 “Organisation” was written with s instead of z – consistent with the British spelling of the time.

where the war-time Federation also had its base. Article 2 defines the “Aims and Objects” of the IOJ as:

- a) Protection by all means of all liberty of the press and of journalism. The defence of the people’s right to be informed honestly and accurately.
- b) Promotion of international friendship and understanding through free interchange of information.
- c) Promotion of trade unionism amongst journalists.

The election of the IOJ leadership went smoothly. The six officers elected were President A. Kenyon (UK), Vice-Presidents E. Morel (France), T. Gjesdal (Norway), M. Murray (USA) and A. Sverlov (USSR) as well as Secretary-Treasurer K. Bean (Australia). Of these, President Kenyon and Vice-President Sverlov held the same positions in the war-time Federation.

Accordingly, with the founding of the IOJ in Copenhagen, the USA (Murray), USSR (Sverlov) and Scandinavia (Gjesdal) assumed leading positions in the international movement of journalists, which had so far been dominated by colleagues from continental Europe and the United Kingdom.

The first IOJ Congress report also puts on record – under the title “Dissolution of F.I.J.” – that representatives of the countries which had been in the FIJ met separately under the chairmanship of its president Archibald Kenyon and resolved that “this F.I.J. ceases to function as an international organisation of journalists as from the date when the new Federation has been formed and its officers elected”. Similarly the war-time IFJAFCA was dissolved. Accordingly, the transfer of organizational legacy and competence was made crystal clear: the successor to the FIJ was the IOJ.

PRAGUE 1947

The **2nd IOJ Congress** was convened in Prague on 3–7 **June 1947**, hosted by the Czechoslovak Union of Journalists (Figure 2.2). The spirit continued to be fairly good and the world of journalism still united, although international politics was already moving towards the Cold War. Winston Churchill had coined the term “iron curtain” in his speech in Fulton, Missouri, in March 1946, but 1947 was the year when Americans began to take institutional steps: The Marshall Plan was directed to Western economies to shield them against Soviet influence and the Central Intelligence Agency CIA was established.

The ceremonial part of the Congress followed the grand style established in Copenhagen. The sessions took place in the *Slovanský dům* in the centre of Prague, decorated with the flags of 30 countries and a special Congress emblem. The Congress was under the patronage of the President of the Czechoslo-

deník II. světového sjezdu mezinárodní organizace novinářů

орган II. всемирного съезда международной организации журналистов

daily of the II. world congress of the international organisation of journalists

journal du II. congrès mondial de l'organisation internationale des journalistes

Mezinárodní organizace novinářů
Международная организация журналистов
International Organisation Of Journalists
L'Organisation Internationale Des Journalistes

II. SVĚTOVÝ SJEZD · II. ВСЕМИРНЫЙ КОНГРЕСС
 II. WORLD CONGRESS · II. CONGRES MONDIAL

PRAHA · ČESKOSLOVENSKO
 3.—10. VI. 1947

Na pozvání vlády republiky Československé a Svazu československých novinářů.
 By the invitation of the Government of the Czechoslovak Republic and the Czechoslovak Union of Journalists.
 По приглашению правительства Чехословацкой республики и Союза чехословацких журналистов

Under the Patronage of His Excellency
 Dr. Edvard Beneš, President of the Czechoslovak Republic

Honorary Chairmen:
 Mr. Josef David, Chairman of the Constituent National Assembly, Mr. Klement Gottwald, Prime Minister, Mr. Petr Zelený, Vice-Premier, Monsignore Jan Bráma, Vice-Premier, Mr. Zdeněk Fieringer, Vice-Premier, Mr. Jan Urvásek, Vice-Premier, Mr. Vilém Široký, Vice-Premier, Mr. Jan Masaryk, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Václav Kopecký, Minister of Information, Mr. Vladimír Clementis, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Václav Vevera, Lord Mayor of Prague.

President of the Union of Czechoslovak Journalists:
 Mr. Otakar Wincch

President of the International Organisation of Journalists:
 Mr. Archibald Kenyon (United Kingdom)

Vice Presidents of the I.O.J.
 Mr. Eugene Morel (France), Mr. Tor Gjerdal (Norway), Mr. Milton M. Murray (USA), Mr. Alexander Sverlov (USSR).

Secretary-Treasurer of the I.O.J.:
 Mr. Keith F. Bean (Australia)

Organising Committee of the Prague Congress:
 Mr. Jiří Hronek (Chairman)
 Mr. Zdeněk Amlík, Mr. Stanislav Bažil, Mr. Karel Čadl, Mr. Karel Heřt, Mr. Eduard Maška, Mr. František Noska, Mr. N. Pavlovit, Mr. Jindřich Prokop, Mr. Karel Zvěřec.

The International Organisation of Journalists

was created at the World Congress of Journalists at Copenhagen, June 2 to 6, 1946.

Its formation followed the voluntary dissolution, in separate meetings on June 2, of the Federation Internationale des Journalistes (F.I.J.), which was founded in 1926 and of the International Federation of Journalists of Allied and Free Countries (I. F. J. A. F. C.) which, since 1941, carried on the idea of international co-operation of democratic journalists.

The I. O. J., thus founded based on a respect-ful tradition and experience of work for international co-operation in journalism, celebrates this year its anniv. of age. It is, in this sense, 21 years old.

The aim of the I. O. J., as set out in the provision constitution adopted at Copenhagen, were:

- 1) Protection by all means of all liberty of the press, and of journalism. The defence of the people's right to be informed honestly and accurately.
- 2) Promotion of international friendship and understanding through free interchange of information.

Международная организация журналистов

была учреждена на Всемирном конгрессе журналистов в Копенгагене 2-6 июня 1946 г. Ее учреждение последовало добровольной ликвидации Международной Федерации журналистов (Federation Internationale des Journalistes, F. I. J.), основанной в 1926 г., и Международной федерации журналистов союзных и свободных стран, с 1941 г. бывшей воспитательницей идеи международной сотрудничества демократических журналистов.

Международная организация журналистов, стоящая на традициях и опыте многолетней работы в области международного сотрудничества журналистов, отмечает в этом году свое 21-летие.

Целью организации, внесенной в ее уставом в Копенгагене, являются:

- 1) всемерно защита свободы печати и журналистской работы. Защита права граждан на честную и точную информацию;
- 2) поддержание дружбы и согласия между народами путем свободного обмена информацией.

1

Figure 2.2 a The daily Congress Journal issued by the local organizing committee in three languages (English, French and Russian) gave a comprehensive account of the proceedings.

vakia, Dr Edvard Beneš, who hosted a reception in Prague Castle. The opening session was addressed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Jan Masaryk, and a message was also received from the Prime Minister, Klement Gottwald, who, besides welcoming the guests, expressed the wish that they:

take a good look round our country which according to certain opinions is situated behind some mythical “iron curtain”. We trust that in describing their impressions of Czechoslovakia they will be faithful to the first and most dignified task of journalists, namely, to tell the truth and assist towards the victory of truth.

Amplifying this point, the Chairman of the Organizing Committee, Jiří Hronek, addressed the delegates:

We here in Czechoslovakia are convinced that it is the function of the Press to unite, and not to divide the nations. We know of course that it is not always so, and that in times of political tension the press often obscures the situation, instead of clarifying it and encouraging a state of public opinion conducive to the lessening of international tension. I believe that one of the tasks of this Conference ought to be to create in the International Organization of Journalists a powerful instrument of world peace, a powerful defence for peace, for good neighbourliness among the nations, and an instrument of truth.

The IOJ President, Archibald Kenyon, echoed these welcoming addresses:

The inspiration of our movement is service through friendship. In that spirit we meet in Prague, in that spirit we esteem and reciprocate the great goodwill and kindness that are being shown to us by the people, the President, the Government, and the Press of Czechoslovakia.

Kenyon also pointed out the special relationship which had been developing between the IOJ and the United Nations and, referring to the UN resolution which authorized the convocation of a Conference on Freedom of Information, he asked:

If there is not freedom of information how can we know the facts? If we do not know the facts, how can we form right conclusions? If we do not form right conclusions, how can we act wisely and justly? We may not come to the right conclusion or act wisely if we have full information, but without knowledge we are almost certain to go wrong.

Greetings to the Congress from the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Trygve Lie, were conveyed by his special representative, Tor Gjesdal – the same Norwegian who had been elected as one of the IOJ Vice-Presidents

at the Copenhagen Congress. He reported that the IOJ had been officially granted high consultative status on the UN Economic and Social Council ECOSOC. He also emphasized that the danger of having the international atmosphere poisoned by insufficient or unskilled representation of facts, or by misrepresentation, should be avoided. In his view the organization of journalists of the five continents could do much to improve the situation.

The Prague Congress was attended by 208 delegates and guests from 28 countries. In addition to those 21 countries which were present in Copenhagen, there were now also representatives from Austria, Bulgaria, Egypt, Hungary, Iran, Palestine, the Philippines, Romania, Spain (the exiled group as guests) and Venezuela. On the other hand, of those attending in Copenhagen, New Zealand, Peru and Turkey were absent from Prague. The UN was represented by Gjesdal and UNESCO's observer was the head of the division of mass communication, René Maheu, who later became its Director-General.

All those organizations attending were admitted as members, with the exception of Egypt and Iran. The applications of these two were problematic because they included not only journalists but also proprietors, and therefore the matter was referred to the Executive Committee. On this occasion the exiled group of Spanish journalists was accepted as a full member - by a majority vote after a "stormy debate" with a Soviet-American controversy.

Even more heated was the debate on the future headquarters of the IOJ.⁶ In Copenhagen it was decided that London would be only the provisional base of the IOJ; now Prague offered to host the headquarters. The British, supported especially by the Americans, wanted the wartime base London to continue, while most others, including Scandinavian and Central European members, voted for Prague - either as a permanent base or as the beginning of a rotation. Hence the headquarters were moved to Prague at least until the next Congress.

The debate on the headquarters followed after the unanimous adoption of the constitution, now called "Statute".⁷ There it is stipulated that the IOJ headquarters "shall be situated in such place as Congress shall determine".

6 This time we can follow the proceedings in greater detail in the official report, which contains ten printed pages describing the discussions, published by the new headquarters in Prague in 1947. The debates mentioned here are summarized in *Useful Recollections, Part II* (1988, pp. 19-22). Selected photos and cartoons from the Congress Journal are reproduced in the same (pp. 17-21).

7 The name of the organization was spelled in the Statute with z, but later in the 1950s and 1960s the IOJ documents and publications also used the old British spelling with s. However, between 1966 and 1991 the spelling was consistently with z.

It was inevitable then that the question of headquarters would surface as soon as the Statute was adopted.

The Article on "Aims and Objects" is essentially the same as already formulated in Copenhagen, but the new wording was more outspoken from the point of view of professional journalists (changes after Copenhagen in italics):

- a) Protection by all means of the liberty of the press and of journalists. The defence of the people's right to be informed *freely, fully*, honestly and accurately.
- b) Promotion of international friendship and understanding through free interchange of information.
- c) The promotion of trade unionism amongst journalists, *the protection of their professional rights and interests, and the improvement of their economic status.*

The membership conditions remained the same as laid down in Copenhagen. Thus only one organization from each country was eligible to affiliate, but in the event of more than one organization claiming to represent the journalists of a country, the Executive Committee was given the power to decide which organization, if any, should be admitted – subject to the decision of the following Congress.

The Statute determined that each delegation at the Congress, the supreme authority of the IOJ, should have one vote only. This was after voting down an American proposal, first also supported by the Soviets, who, however, reversed their position in the debate, that each Congress delegation should have one vote for every 1,000 members to a maximum of 10 votes. The number of members in the American Newspaper Guild was now 17,000, whereas in Copenhagen it was reported to be as many as 24,500. The same downward trend was true of membership in the Soviet Union of Journalists: in Copenhagen a figure of 30,000 was reported, but now it was explained that several thousand journalists had in fact been working on military newspapers which had since been discontinued and the actual membership figure given was 14,000. Obviously it was in the interest of unions with a large membership to report the lowest possible figure for purposes of determining the membership dues. With these lower figures the total membership of the IOJ at the time of the Prague Congress was reportedly 58,600.

Later on, the drafting committee (UK, USA, USSR, France, Norway, Austria and Yugoslavia) proposed a resolution on freedom of the press identical to the wording of the Copenhagen statement, except for the final paragraph which was replaced by a new formulation:

The peoples of the world are weary of war, ardently desirous of peace. As men and women of good will they seek to know and to understand each other so that con-

flict shall not arise among them. It is the basic right of the people everywhere to be informed, freely, honestly, accurately, and fully. It is from this right to the people that freedom of the press is born. The IOJ on behalf of its members and on behalf of the people they serve, declares:

1. There must be free access to news and information for all journalists.
2. There must be full freedom to publish news, information and opinion without restraint beyond the essential demand of decency, honesty and integrity.
3. Pending an international convention establishing universally a free flow of news and information, all nations should be urged to enter into bi-lateral or multi-lateral treaties to this end.

The Congress adopted this resolution unanimously – another proof that it was indeed a landmark statement. The last paragraph of the Copenhagen statement, calling for a mechanism to monitor press freedom in individual countries, was now incorporated in the Statute, where it appears under the paragraph “Disputes”:

Any affiliated organization shall be entitled to lay a complaint against any other organization on the ground of unconstitutional conduct. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council⁸ to investigate any such complaint and to submit to all affiliated organizations a precise of the complaint, the defence together with its findings and such recommendations as it may consider necessary. The Executive Council’s precise findings and recommendations shall be submitted to the next Congress which shall have the power to suspend, censure or expel the national organization against which complaint was made.

Other resolutions were likewise unanimously adopted, and the elections of officers were also unanimous. Archibald Kenyon (UK) was re-elected as President, and Milton M. Murray (USA), Pavel Yudin (USSR), Eugen Morel (France), and Gunnar Nielsen (Denmark) were elected Vice-Presidents. Jiří Hronek (Czechoslovakia) was elected to the combined office of the Secretary General and Treasurer.

After four days and one night of intensive proceedings, the Congress came to a close at 5 a.m. on 7 June. The last point, as noted in the official report:

By acclamation an invitation of Mr. Stijns (Belgium) was accepted that the next congress should be held in Brussels.

8 The earlier Executive Committee was called in this Statute a Council while its function remained the same – a broadly representative governing body between the congresses. In practice it was called Executive Committee and later renamed so.

The founding of the IOJ was completed in Prague in 1947, with a solid constitution and a fairly extensive membership as well as an established status of a non-governmental organization at the UN and UNESCO. The international movement of journalists was firmly organized and united.

One should note that the IOJ was not the only international non-governmental organization (INGO) established after World War II. The World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) was founded in 1945 in Paris, after a similar prehistory with another international federation during the age of the League of Nations. The same year the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) was also established in London and the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF) in Paris. The following year, 1946, the World Federation of Scientific Workers (WFSW) was founded in London, the International Union of Students (IUS) in Prague and the International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL) in Paris.⁹

Many other INGOs were established in different sectors, but these seven were to have a history similar to that of the IOJ. They all represent a wave of optimistic initiatives to enhance post-war co-operation in various sectors in the spirit of the United Nations, but became embroiled in the Cold War as fellow travellers on the Soviet side of the divided world. An intellectual catalyst for these organizations was provided by the idea of peace – Soviet style mobilizing an international movement led by the World Peace Council (WPC).¹⁰

9 For more on each of these, see Wikipedia <https://en.wikipedia.org/> Also Union of International Associations (UIA), International Organizations Search <https://uia.org/ybio/>

10 See Roberts (2014).

CHAPTER 3

TURMOIL IN THE COLD WAR 1948–53¹

The promising period of founding congresses in Copenhagen and Prague soon turned to a chilling period of Cold War. The developments ensuing from 1948 to 1966 were presented in *Useful Recollections, Part II* as four phases: (1) Crisis 1948–49, (2) Results of the Cold War 1950–53, (3) Striving for Unity 1954–60, (4) Emancipation of the Third World 1961–66. Here the same sub-division is followed, but under two different chapters.

CRISIS 1948–49

Soon after the Prague congress some British and American press reports accused the IOJ of “falling under Russian influence”, with the headquarters “taken over by communists” and its Secretary General named as a hardline puppet of Moscow. Such press coverage should be seen within the context of the political developments at the time: the German zones of occupation were divided into West Germany and the German Democratic Republic (1949), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization NATO was established (1949), while the Soviet Union and the new socialist countries created the Council of Mutual Economic Aid CMEA (1949) – the Soviet-led defence organization, the Warsaw Pact, being established only later (1955) after West Germany joined NATO. Already in 1947 the Soviets had set up the Information Bureau of Communist and Working-Class Parties COMINFORM.

Regarding the Czechoslovak Secretary General and Treasurer Jiří Hronek, in reality he was not a communist but a progressive patriot – one of those who due to their Jewish origin had fled the fascists and gone into exile in London and then returned to participate in the national democratic reconstruction. The American Vice-President Murray, for his part, proposed right after the Prague Congress to his own union ANG that the Americans should disaffiliate from the IOJ. His proposal was turned down by the ANG membership and

1 This chapter is based on *Useful Recollections, Part II* (1988, pp. 29–55). The quotes below are taken from this book unless otherwise noted. Some of the text also appears in *A History of the International Movement of Journalists* (Nordenstreng & al., 2016, pp. 132–142).

consequently he resigned. Then Harry Martin was elected as ANG President and assumed the American place in the IOJ leadership.

Martin represented the IOJ at the ECOSOC Sub-Commission of Freedom of Information and of the Press, which met in the temporary UN premises at Lake Success, New York in early 1948. This important session prepared articles for the draft international declaration on human rights and issued a statement of principle on the rights, obligations and practices to be included in the concept of freedom of information. Even more vital was the **UN Conference on Freedom of Information in Geneva in March-April 1948**. Since the IOJ was granted the highest status of an NGO at the Conference, the **IOJ Executive Committee** in a meeting in **Brussels in February 1948** prepared a set of resolutions to be taken to the UN Conference and decided to send to Geneva a delegation composed of the President, the Secretary General and both the American and the Soviet Vice-Presidents.

The resolutions agreed by the Executive Committee to be brought to Geneva contained, firstly, a general proposition to the UN's ECOSOC adopted already by the Prague congress, making eight proposals to overcome economic problems faced by the media and journalists as well as to ensure that "in all countries equal facilities of access to sources of information are granted to journalists of all countries without discrimination on ground of race, nationality, creed or politics" and also "to seek the establishment of inter-governmental machinery for the protection of journalists unjustly accused of legal or political offences".² Secondly, the Executive agreed to pass to Geneva two resolutions with specific recommendations: to start a "Day of Friendship and Mutual Understanding in the Press... to propagate lasting peace, real democracy, mutual understanding and friendship among nations" and to "consider (1) the possibility of formulating a *code of conduct* for journalists and newspapers in reporting and presenting news and views in international interest, and (2) of establishing under United Nations authority and with the co-operation of the IOJ and newspaper owners a *Court of Honour* before which complaints and accusations of falsification and distortion could be brought and examined". It is important to note that these resolutions were adopted unanimously, endorsed by the Americans as well as the Soviets. Accordingly, the spirit of Copenhagen and Prague still prevailed in February 1948.

The UN Conference in Geneva produced two months later a mixed bag of resolutions, the most significant of these being the draft Article 19 for the Universal Declaration on Human Rights finally adopted by the UN General Assembly in December 1948. The Conference resolutions also included a UN Draft International Code of Ethics for journalists and even the idea

2 For the full text of this resolution, see *Useful Recollections, Part II* (1988, p. 27).

of the Court of Honour was embedded in the Final Act of the Conference. However, most of the Conference proposals were frozen by the Cold War – the “Day of Friendship” proposal already at the Conference table in Geneva. Yet it was obvious that the contribution of the IOJ to the UN Conference was positive.

What definitely was not positive was a public attack by Vice-President Martin against Secretary General Hronek while the two attended the UN Conference. Actually Martin did not appear in Geneva as an IOJ Vice-President but as part of the US governmental delegation representing American trade unions. From this position Martin publicized a letter he had written to President Kenyon after the Brussels Executive, suggesting that the IOJ headquarters be moved from Prague to the West and claiming that Hronek was misusing IOJ funds for communist propaganda. Thus the new ANG President, like his predecessor, turned against the IOJ Secretary General and the Czechoslovak headquarters. Hronek replied immediately in a letter which was also made public. The tide was changing at least in the American ANG approach to the IOJ right after February 1948.³

No doubt this clash served the interests of those pursuing the Cold War. The forces of confrontation advanced on several fronts, from international security with the founding of NATO to the trade union movement, which was divided, both nationally and internationally, into a left-wing and mostly pro-Soviet faction on the one hand, and a right-wing and pro-western faction on the other.⁴ These developments were naturally reflected within the IOJ. For example in France, Vice-President Morel, who represented the right-wing *Force Ouvrière*, withdrew and his place was taken by firm leftist forces, including Jean-Maurice Hermann, who later became the IOJ President.

3 Parallel to these events in early 1948 Czechoslovakia was drawn into a constitutional crisis which led to a takeover of the Social Democratic Party by pro-Soviet communists – something that was seen as a “communist coup” (see Ševčíková & Nordenstreng, 2017). Later in 1948 the same occurred in Hungary, Poland and Bulgaria. The most dramatic event in Czechoslovakia in early 1948 was the death of Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk. This son of Czechoslovakia’s first President Tomáš Masaryk had a long record as a diplomat before World War II, resigning from the service in 1938 in protest against the Nazi occupation of the country. During the war he served as the Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia’s government in exile in London and after the liberation in 1945 he continued in the same position in a coalition government. When the communists seized power in February 1948, he did not resign as did other non-communist Ministers, as he wished to preserve the formal unity of the political forces. He was found dead after falling from the window of the Ministry on 10 March 1948, with an explanation that it was suicide. However, another political version claimed that he was pushed out of the window to pave the way for a complete communist takeover.

4 See *Useful Recollections, Part II* (1988, pp. 35–36).



Figure 3.1 The United Nations Conference on Freedom of Information took place in the UN premises in Geneva in March–April 1948. In May 1948 UN Assistant Secretary-General for Public Information, Benjamin Cohen, right, talks in New York with members of the Advisory Committee of Information Experts, called by the UN Secretary-General. Next to Cohen are Vernon Bartlett, M.P. of the *London News Chronicle*; Jiří Hronek, Chief of the Political Division of the Czechoslovak Broadcasts; Raul Noriega, Mexican journalist and diplomat; and Whitelaw Reid, Vice-President of the *New York Herald Tribune*. (Photos from the UN Photo Library in New York)

It was obviously the political development relating to a communist takeover rather than what happened within the IOJ itself that was the real cause of controversy. In response to the events in Czechoslovakia, protests were also expressed by the Danish, Swedish and Norwegian unions of journalists, referring to information according to which 80 journalists had been dismissed by the local action committees. In April the Confederation of Scandinavian Unions of Journalists warned that the forthcoming session of the IOJ Executive Committee might lead to an explosion as the Czechoslovak union was bound to deliver there a full explanation of what had happened.

It was natural that Hronek was brought into the spotlight following the crucial changes in the Czechoslovak political arena during the first months of 1948 – widely and aggressively covered by the western press. Nevertheless, he is seen still in May 1948 smiling with other information experts at a UN meeting at Lake Success, New York – not as the IOJ Secretary General but as a Czechoslovak state broadcasting executive (Figure 3.1).

In the course of 1948 the situation escalated both in international relations in general and in public opinion and media coverage in particular.

Against the backdrop of these developments, the **IOJ Executive Committee** met in **Budapest in November 1948**. Attended by representatives of 15 member unions, it was indeed an explosive session, but not so much around the purges in Czechoslovakia as around the issues of war and peace. The Soviet Vice-President Yudin attacked the Americans for “waging war

psychosis” and the Secretary General emphasized the journalists’ obligation for peace. There was no mood for reconciliation and the American Vice-President Martin simply walked out of the meeting, while the delegates of Austria, Belgium, Sweden and the UK took no further part in it. (Figures 3.2–3)

As confirmed by the personal recollections of Klánský in Part Two of this book, the Soviets pursued a hard line which left no room for compromise.⁵ Obviously the American and British delegations were also following a similar Cold War script from the opposing side, although we have no inside evidence of their motives and instructions. In any case Hronek was typically seen in the West as a puppet of the Soviet Stalinists. Yet in reality he tried to maintain a common ground, although it was hopeless under those circumstances to prevent an escalation of an East-West split.

The results of the Budapest Executive were reported in *IOJ Bulletin No. 1* of January-February 1949.⁶ Its editorial by Secretary General Hronek provoked President Kenyon to single out the following formulation: “...most newspapers in Great Britain...reflecting the moods, plans and intentions of the groups to which they belong, they speak of war, they call upon their readers to hate other nations, they openly incite them to bloodshed”. In a letter to Hronek in March 1949, Kenyon wrote: “I must protest against Cominform propaganda of this character being circulated through the machinery and at the expense of the IOJ!”

The unpublished correspondence between Kenyon and Hronek in 1948–49 shows that while the two leading IOJ officers had several disagreements and were clearly tied to their increasingly divergent political environments, they still tried to maintain some degree of consensus. In April 1949, after learning that the majority of the British NUJ members who voted in a referendum about the international relationship were against continuing in the IOJ, Hronek wrote to Kenyon:

Now the NUJ and probably the Americans are solving a very complicated and a very important question with a butcher-knife instead of doing it with a surgeon’s scalpel. What we need is an honest co-operation and plenty of plain talking, unity of purpose, but, of course, not a meaningless unity. About your remark that the IOJ being either political or un-political: well, I think that there is no escape from it being what you term “political”. If you look at our resolutions from the very beginning, you will see that the IOJ was meant and always wanted to be political, in the broad sense of this word.

5 See also Klánský’s testimony quoted in *Useful Recollections, Part II* (1988, p. 38).

6 Reproduced as Annex 3 in *Useful Recollections, Part II* (1988, pp. 121–122).

There's no place like
HOME NOTES

A NEWNES-PEARSON PUBLICATION

World's Press News

The National Newspaper
of the Press, Advertising,
Paper and Printing

Offices: 20, Tudor St., E.C.4. Phone: CENTral 4040

Vol. 40. No. 1,028. LONDON, NOVEMBER 25, 1948 Price 9D.
Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.

A N

Brian Chapman is New 'Daily Herald' Managing Editor

BRIAN CHAPMAN, former managing editor of the "Daily Express" has joined the "Daily Herald" in the same capacity. His duties will include taking charge of production at night.

This appointment, announces the editor, Percy Cudlipp, is part of a rearrangement of executive duties in anticipation of larger papers. A. William Farrar,

U.S. Delegate Walks Out

Political Attack on Western Press Splits IOJ Executive

C. J. Bundock Refuses to Take Further Part

DECLARING "I am not authorised by my organisation to agree to the use of this meeting as a platform for partisan political propaganda," C. J. Bundock, NUJ general secretary, last Thursday refused to participate further in the International Organisation of Journalists' executive meeting in Budapest.

That he did not follow the example of Harry Martin, president of the American Newspaper Guild, who walked out of the meeting altogether can possibly be put down to the fact that he felt he owed it to the president of the IOJ, Archibald Kenyon, to remain.

Mr. Martin picked up his papers and left the council meeting after Pavel Yudin, one of the Russian representatives, had made a long speech attacking the "Western capitalist Press" for warmongering.

Yudin singled out the United States, Greece, Turkey and the Netherlands as having reached the climax of inciting war. He went further and labelled Lawrence (New York Times), Drew Pearson (New York Daily Mirror), Paul Schubert (Colliers), Bela Kolchvari (Look), Keebore (Life) and Cecil Brown, all of

America, and Jakid Yalcin, of Turkey, as "befoulers of journalism" for articles "inciting to war."

Mr. Bundock was joined in his protest by the delegates from Holland, Belgium and Sweden, who all abstained from taking further part in a meeting which was being utilised for political propaganda.

New International Body

Harry Martin told New York reporters on his arrival home this week that he would recommend the withdrawal of the American Newspaper Guild from the IOJ. He stated further that he would recommend his executive when it met in February next, to join the British, Scandinavian and "other free newspaper unions" in the formation of a new international body.

What steps the NUJ will take remain to be seen. Mr. Bundock will be reporting to his NEC this week, and it may be that no final action will be announced until the next Congress of the IOJ due to be held in Brussels next May or June.

The imminence of the next Congress led to deferment of consideration of the demand made early this year by Harry Martin for the removal of Jiri Hronek, Czech State Information chief, from his office of secretary-general of the Organisation.

Political Attacks

Last week's three-day executive meeting became a political platform from the moment it opened. The Hungarian delegate tabled a resolution adopting the factual report of the secretary-general, but tacked on to it a violently worded addendum criticising member-unions for the participation in war-mongering journalism and in "anti-democratic" propaganda.

When Mr. Bundock demanded a straightforward resolution which merely adopted the report the executive sought a way out of the difficulty by forming a sub-committee of five—of which Mr. Bundock and Mr. Martin were members—with instructions to produce an acceptable resolution. A three-and-a-half hour meeting of the sub-committee that night produced



Jiri Hronek, head of the Czech State Information Department and Secretary-General of the International Organisation of Journalists, addressing the executive meeting at Budapest last week. Next to him is P. Yudin, USSR, editor-in-chief of Durable Peace, People's Democracy, and on the left is Archibald Kenyon, president of IOJ.

associate editor, will supervise the work of the various editorial sections during the day.

When Mr. Chapman announced his resignation "for personal reasons" in March, 1947, he had been with the Beaverbrook organisation 15 years and was right-hand man to Arthur Christiansen, editor-in-chief. In 1933 he left the chief sub-editorship of the Evening Standard to succeed Mr. Christiansen as editor of the Daily Express Manchester edition, and later returned to London as assistant editor of the Sunday Express. He joined the Daily Express in 1940 as assistant managing editor and became managing editor five years later.

Mr. Farrar, who joined the Daily Herald in 1940 as assistant editor, was formerly an assistant editor at the Daily Mirror. His appointment as associate editor is a new one in the Herald organisation.

Return to Five-page Papers at Noon, Sunday, January 2

THE Board of the Newsprint Supply Co., Ltd., with the approval of the BoT, have decided that the return to five-page papers and to freedom of sale should take effect as from noon on Sunday, January 2. The first issues to be affected will therefore be those of the morning papers dated January 3.

This first upward step, the newsprint rationing committee states, is designed to restore for all newspapers the position prevailing before the last cut was made.

"This is the principle to which the Government has agreed," the Committee emphasises, "and it is not at this stage possible to consider any amendment to the system as it existed prior to the cut."

With freedom of sales it fol-

lows that rationing by tonnage will also be abolished from noon on January 2, when rationing will once again be operated by pages. The only exception will be that the sporting papers and certain others which were on a tonnage ration prior to 1947 will continue on that basis.

As from the agreed date, morning papers selling at 4d. will run an average of five pages per issue, those selling at 1d. six pages, and those at either 2d. or 3d. a maximum of eight pages. Penny and three-half-penny evenings will be allowed a five-page average, and 2d. evenings eight pages. Sunday papers will be granted eight pages per issue whatever their selling price, while weekly papers will be at six pages.

(Continued on page 4, col. 1)

(Continued on page 7, col. 1)

of newsprint shortage.

Figure 3.2 The British special paper on the print industry gave prominent coverage to the IOJ Executive Committee right after its divisive meeting in Budapest in November 1948. The photo shows Secretary General Hronek speaking, next to Soviet Vice-President Yudin and British President Kenyon.

for your advance information to my free press. Any news without doubt, my help is very welcome. I will be ever yours Allen

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INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE MEETS

by C. J. BUNDOCK

I HAVE just returned from a meeting of the Executive Committee of the International Organisation of Journalists in Budapest, and it is a sad tale I have to tell.

It seems impossible in these post-war days to work in an international organisation unless you are prepared to regard it as a battleground for conflicting political systems.

Our view has always been that, as in our own Union we do not allow party politics to intrude into our professional affairs, so in the IOJ we should assist each other in the professional matters that interest us as journalists, not as political partisans.

The Eastern View

It is not the view of the Eastern group, and we have come back feeling that we cannot continue to participate in an organisation which is made the platform for fierce attacks by the Eastern countries on the Western.

The countries represented at the meeting were Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, Netherlands, Palestine, Poland, Rumania, Spanish Exiles, Sweden, United Kingdom, USA, USSR and Yugoslavia.

I should mention that I understand the French Union has split into three sections—one remaining with the CGT, one attaching itself to *Force Ouvrière*, and one being independent.

It was a Communist of the CGT Faction who came to Budapest. He cannot be regarded as representing the journalists of France, though no doubt he represents some.

Remitted to Congress

The Danes and I think the Norwegians were prevented from coming by fog which grounded the planes in which they would have travelled. Mr. Martin, the President of the American Newspaper Guild, arrived to attend for the same reason.

Mr. Kenyon presided with his usual success in that capacity, being firm in his ruling when that was necessary but always genial.

As the full Congress is to be held within six or seven months at Brussels all parties agreed that the question of the secretaryship and the headquarters should be left for decision then.

For nearly three days we discussed the Secretary's report, for this presented the opportunity for the political barrage.

Secretary's Report

The Hungarian representative moved that the Secretary's report be noted, and that.

The Executive Committee declare that the IOJ in its capacity as an international organisation has not been a fighting and progressive international organisation of journalists.

"In the complicated international situation when a hard fight is going on between the democratic camp and the anti-democratic, between the partisans of peace and warmongers, the IOJ stands aside, which is contrary to the interests of nations and to the interests of the progressive journalists of the world."

"This has happened because after two Congresses many organisations have not given the necessary assistance to the General Secretariat in its activity and have not taken any initiative to fulfil their duties laid down by the statutes and decisions of the Congresses."

By means of such resolutions the Eastern countries seek to gain the authority of the IOJ for their claim to be the democratic and peace-loving nations opposing the undemocratic forces and warmongers.

The Hungarian was followed by a spate of speeches on the warmonger theme.

Striving to Agree

I proposed that we accept the Secretary's report as a factual statement and consider the more contentious matters on a Polish motion on the same lines.

That was not agreed, and a sub-committee consisting of the Russian, Hungarian, Polish, and American

representatives and myself was appointed to try to produce an agreed draft.

We sat from about 10 p.m. on the second day to 1.30 in the morning when we broke up unable to agree.

We reported this when the committee reassembled in the morning, and were asked to go out again. We made another attempt.

Mr. Martin and I said we were prepared to support a resolution declaring that it should be the aim of all journalists to promote Peace and to work to remove the cause of misunderstanding among peoples, which was regarded as being above the political conflict, but we were not prepared to subscribe to the propa-

ganda about warmongers and anti-democratic forces.

Ultimately we did reach a resolution on which I cannot say Mr. Martin and I were particularly keen, but which was shorn of the objectionable phrases and on which we were prepared to compromise.

Reciprocal Holidays

During the sitting of the sub-committee two items of more legitimate business were taken. The President (Mr. Kenyon) reported on the Geneva conference of the United Nations on the Freedom of the Press and of Information.

He also suggested a scheme for reciprocal hospitality for holidays among journalists. This was approved and referred to the Secretariat for communication to the unions willing to participate in the scheme.

The Polish Resolution

When the sub-committee returned to the full committee the agreed resolution was put and carried unanimously.

Then the Polish representative moved his resolution—a long one, containing such passages as the following:

"The world has been living during the last few years in an atmosphere of steadily increasing anxiety and tension caused by 'war of nerves' or 'cold war' which is led with a growing and irresponsible ruthlessness by the capitalist groups of the Western countries."

"In the West propaganda a paramount role is played by powerful news agencies and press organs wielded by capitalist press monopolies. By means of false information and columns and open insinuations to 'atomic war' and 'preventive war' they foment war psychosis."

"The black war propaganda is going on with increasing strength in the press of the majority of Western countries."

And much more to the same effect.

I urged the Polish representative to withdraw this resolution. We had just reached an agreed resolution after much effort in the sub-committee and this raised the conflict all over again.

He would not withdraw, and the weary succession of "warmonger" speeches began once more.

After a long attack by the Russian vice-President of the IOJ on the American press and members of the American Newspaper Guild Mr. Martin remarked—

"We have listened to a shocking thing; an attack on one of our great unions in the IOJ and I do not propose further to be a party to such proceedings."

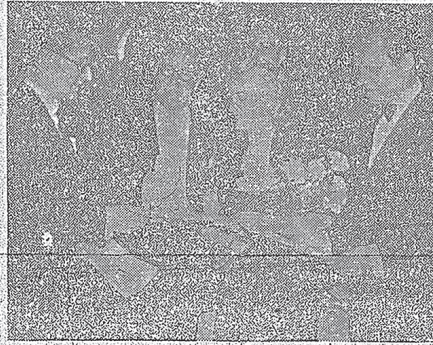
He walked out of the Committee. I said—

"I have made the position of my Union perfectly clear. I am not authorised to consent to the use of this International Organisation of Journalists as a platform for partisan political propaganda."

We came here to deal with the proper business of an Executive Committee. That is the administrative business of the IOJ.

We have spent three days in political partisanship with which my Union has nothing to do. Therefore in justice to my organisation, I cannot take any further part in the proceedings."

NEWS FROM THE PRESS BALLS



Mr. O. W. Fletcher, joint editor of "Press Bowl", presenting first copies to film stars Susan Shaw and Albert Lieven at Croydon's first Press Ball staged by the editorial staffs of the "Croydon Times" and "Croydon Advertiser", which was an outstanding success. The target of £100 was doubled.

Birmingham Does It!

BIRMINGHAM has done it again. Everyone said that it would be impossible for this year's Press Ball to get anywhere near last year's total of over £2,000 for the Widow and Orphan Fund and the Newspaper Press Fund.

Well, they were wrong. A midnight film show, the ball itself—at the Grand Hotel on November 11—industrial appeal, and the publication of the stunt newspaper *Brighter Times* all helped to bring this year's figure within a few pounds of the 1947 total.

Lord Iliffe was among the guests. *Brighter Times* carried one of Giles' cartoons from *The Journalist*, and this has given a big fillip to sales in Birmingham of the 2s. 6d. booklet.

About midnight on November 5 the lights in the ballroom of Doncaster Mansion House were dimmed—and Guy Fawkes himself was wheeled into the South Yorkshire Branch's Press Ball.

He was pushed round the floor by three 6-ft. branch members, dressed

up as schoolboys, who collected coppers in the approved fashion.

The W. & O. Fund is estimated to gain £100.

So successful was the effort that the branch is to inquire into the possibility of a midnight film show.

Guy Fawkes also presided over Keighley Plot Night Press Ball.

Prizes were handed out by radio commentator Stewart MacPherson; this first post-war event to be held by the branch has realised about £50.

Joining the 420 dancers at Darlington Press Ball on November 11, Film Star Maxwell Reed presented the prizes, competed a novelty elimination dance and signed hundreds of autographs.

Second to be held since the war, the Ball has re-established itself as one of the chief events in the Quaker town's social calendar.

Ayrshire's first ever Press Ball was an outstanding success, and the W & O Fund will benefit by nearly £80 from this non-earnest effort.

Figure 3.3 The British NUJ journal published an article on the Budapest Executive in its December 1948 issue, written by Clement Bundock who as NUJ General Secretary played an important role in mobilizing a Western opposition against the influence of Prague and Moscow in the IOJ. A copy was sent personally by Kenyon to Hronek "for your advance information".

In July 1949, after the NUJ had announced its exit from the IOJ, Kenyon wrote to Hronek:

I share your feeling of sadness about the split of the IOJ. I am afraid we shall have to agree to differ about the reasons for it. In my view, the cause is the party political vote so strongly sounded at the Budapest meeting [...] The general body of members of the NUJ have undoubtedly been influenced in taking the decision to leave the IOJ by what they regard as party political propaganda and the reiterated suggestions in it that unless they follow the Budapest line they are to be regarded as indecent journalists who are not interested in the preservation of peace. [...]

Though disagreeing with the conduct of the IOJ at and since Budapest, I have not resigned. I do not like dramatic personal demonstrations which accentuate divisions and create fresh difficulties. So, if I am permitted to do so, I will preside at the Brussels meeting in the same spirit of objectivity which I have tried to show in the past. For I still hope that some day international journalists of all political beliefs and opinions will find a common ground for mutually beneficial co-operation, as we do in the NUJ.

In August 1949, Hronek responded to Kenyon and closed his letter as follows:

I share your hope that a common ground for mutually beneficial co-operation of international journalists of all political beliefs can be found. May I add that in my opinion this common ground must be looked for in the IOJ which already is the existing common ground of international journalism if really co-operation and not a split is sought.

After this exchange an administrative conflict arose between the President and the Secretary General on convening the **IOJ Executive Committee** to prepare for the forthcoming 3rd Congress. Kenyon did not consider a pre-Congress Executive to be necessary, while Hronek responded to the request of the Polish and French member unions and arranged it in **Prague in September 1949**. The controversy was exacerbated by the failure of its invitation to reach Kenyon on time and consequently the President not attending the meeting. Representatives of the member unions from the Benelux and Scandinavian countries as well as from the USA were also absent. Attendees included delegates from France, central and east European countries as well as new member candidates from Albania, China, "Free Greece" and the "Eastern Occupied Zone of Germany".

In September 1949, *IOJ Bulletin* No. 4 displayed a grim picture of the state of affairs (Figure 3.4). Five letters of the NUJ responding to IOJ requests and appeals were displayed on the front page as a demonstration of the totally negative approach of the British Union to international cooperation. On the second page was a brief item: "The British National Union of Journalists will disaffiliate



INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF JOURNALISTS

Organisation Internationale des Journalistes • Международная Организация Журналистов

BULLETIN
БОЛЛЕТЕНЬ 4

PRAGUE, JULY-SEPTEMBER
ПРАГА, ИЮЛЬ-СЕНТЯБРЬ 1949

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF IOJ CONVENED TO PRAGUE.

CONVOCATION A PRAGUE DU COMITÉ EXÉCUTIF DE L'O.I.J. • Исполнительный Комитет МОЖ собирается в Праге.

Upon a request by the Polish Union of Journalists and the French Trade-Union of Journalists the Executive Council of the International Organisation of Journalists was convened at the Prague headquarters for September 15th in order to prepare the Brussels Congress. This decision is based on § 8 of the IOJ Constitution which says that "all motions for discussion at Congress must be in the hands of the Executive Council at least four months before the opening of the Congress. The agenda and the copies of all motions for submission to Congress should be sent to the national affiliated organisation at least two months before the opening of the Congress".

Le Comité Exécutif de l'Organisation Internationale des Journalistes vient d'être convoqué sur la demande de l'Union des Journalistes Polonais et du Syndicat National des Journalistes Français pour le 15 septembre dans la ville du siège de l'Organisation, à Prague pour y préparer le Congrès de Bruxelles. Cette décision se fonde sur le paragraphe 8 de la Constitution de l'O. I. J. qui stipule que « toutes les motions en vue d'une discussion au cours du Congrès doivent être remises entre les mains du Comité Exécutif au moins quatre mois avant l'ouverture du Congrès. L'ordre du jour du Congrès ainsi que toutes les motions qui y seront présentées doivent être envoyés aux organisations nationales affiliées en questions au moins deux mois avant l'ouverture du Congrès ».

По просьбе Польского союза журналистов и Французского профсоюза журналистов, в Праге, месторезидовании ее Генерального Секретариата, 15 сентября э. г. собирается Исполнительный комитет Международной организации журналистов для подготовки Брюссельского Конгресса. Это решение основывается на п. 8 Устава МОЖ, гласящем, что все предложения, вносимые на обсуждение Конгресса, должны быть вручены Исполнительному комитету по крайней мере за четыре месяца до начала Конгресса. Повестка дня и копии всех предложений, представляемых для обсуждения на Конгрессе, должны быть посланы национальным организациям-членам по крайней мере за два месяца до открытия Конгресса.

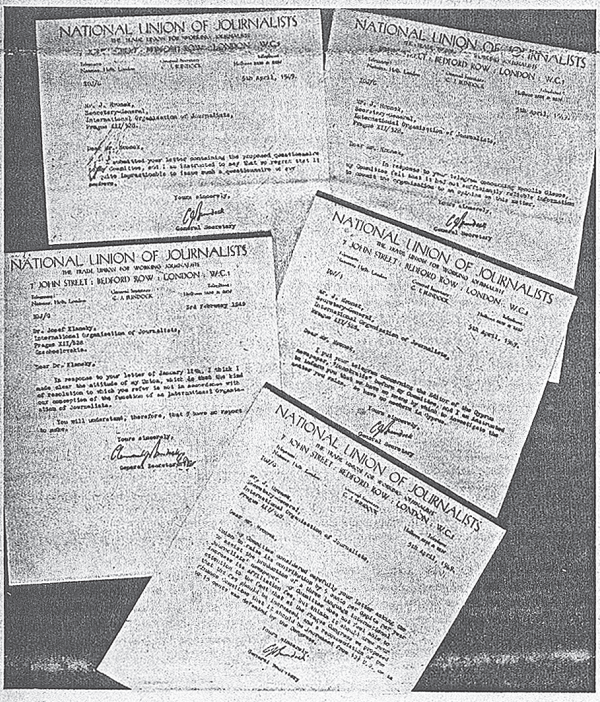
NO... NO... NO...

The leadership of the NUJ and international cooperation. • Voici les réponses qui nous sont parvenues aux cinq lettres que nous avons envoyées à l'Union nationale les journalistes britanniques. • Приводим ответы на наши пять писем Британскому национальному союзу журналистов.

Letter No 1 is a reply to our request for information on professional, economic and social conditions of journalists in various countries. Reply No. 2 concerns our efforts to save the life of the Greek journalist Manolis Glezos. Reply No. 3 concerns a request for records on the fulfilment of tasks which the Executive Council resolution on war newspapers put before the national organisation.

No. 4 is a rejection of our request to investigate the case of the Syrian newspaper "Democratie", which was suppressed by British colonial authorities. No. 5 is the negative answer to our request for an increase of per capita payments in order to enable IOJ to publish a printed journal. To the Holiday-Exchange proposal published in No. 1 of this Bulletin the NUJ didn't reply at all.

Письмо № 1 — отрицательный ответ на анкету, посланную Британскому национальному союзу журналистов. Между прочим, она была послана всем другим национальным союзам и опубликована во втором номере настоящего бюллетеня. Цель анкеты — собрать информацию о профессиональном, экономическом и социальном положении журналистов в разных странах. Письмо № 2 является отказом принять участие во всемирной кампании за спасение жизни греческого журналиста Маноласа Глезоса. Французский, советский, датский, норвежский, польский и многие другие национальные союзы журналистов, также как и Ассоциация корреспондентов-Организации-Объединенных наций в Льеж-Сассонс и другие международные и национальные организации протестовали против смертного приговора над этим героем греческого движения сопротивления против нацистов.



Письмо № 3 говорит «нет» на наш запрос представить доклад о деятельности против военной пропаганды, согласно резолюции Исполкома, принятой 10 голосами при пяти воздержавшихся.

Письмо № 4 — отрицательный ответ на нашу просьбу помочь в расследовании случая с одной газетой на острове Кипр, запрещенной колониальными властями.

Письмо № 5 является отказом на нашу просьбу добровольно увеличить членский взнос на 5 центов в год, чтобы дать Секретариату возможность продолжать выпуск настоящего бюллетеня. Эта просьба опровергается фактом, что бюджет МОЖ не был покрыт, вследствие отказа 17-ми американских журналистов, одной из самых крупных организаций, покрыть задолженность за два года.

На просьбу, опубликованную в февральском номере настоящего бюллетеня, о сотрудничестве национальных организаций по вопросу организации каникулярного обмена журналистов, Британский национальный союз журналистов вообще не дал никакого ответа.

Figure 3.4 IOJ Bulletin September 1949. The front page of a six-page publication issued in English, French and Russian.

from the IOJ”, followed by a longer piece quoting the NUJ Nottingham branch and the trade and technical branch as well as three individual NUJ members opposed to the disaffiliation. Likewise reported was the American ANG attack on the IOJ headquarters, with Secretary General Hronek’s response. Another piece of news reported: “Chinese journalists want to adhere to IOJ”.

Once Kenyon had received the results of the Prague Executive Committee, he wrote to Hronek on 5 October 1949:

It is now clear from the decisions of the Executive Committee that the main purpose of the meeting was to plan the coming Congress of the IOJ as a party political demonstration. I refer particularly to Item 3 of the proposed agenda and the instruction given to you on the composition of the Congress.

Item 3 of the agenda reads: “The Press and Journalists in the struggle for peace”.

The instruction reads: “The Executive Committee instructs the General Secretary to invite to the Congress, in addition to representatives of member organisations of the IOJ, representatives of the United Nations, representatives of the World Movement of Peace and of its progressive international organs, as well as distinguished representatives of progressive journalists, whether members or non-members of organisations affiliated to the IOJ.” [...]

Since the meeting of the Executive Committee in Budapest last year the IOJ headquarters in Prague has become in effect a branch office of the Cominform and the IOJ Bulletin a Cominform propaganda sheet. [...]

The Executive Committee having agreed to take part in a political movement, and thus to the use of the IOJ as a party puppet, I must dissociate myself completely from this degradation of principle and purpose.

I therefore resign the office of the President as from September 14th.

The resignation of Kenyon as President was followed by the withdrawal of the Belgian union’s invitation to host the 3rd Congress in Brussels. In December 1949, the French member union – a branch of the communist-dominated trade union CGT – invited the Congress to Paris. However, the French state refused to grant visas to all delegates and the venue was once more changed, now to Helsinki – the capital of Finland, a country which after World War II adopted quite friendly relations with the Soviet Union, her Eastern neighbour, against which she had fought two wars between 1939 and 1944.

While the Congress arrangements were faltering in late 1949 and early 1950, the IOJ lost most of its members in Western Europe. For example, the Union of Journalists in Finland (*Suomen Sanomalehtimiesten Liitto*, SSL) – a founding member of both the IOJ and the pre-war FIJ – regretted that “the struggle between countries representing different ideological orientations within the IOJ has become more and more violent and there seems to be little hope for fruitful cooperation among journalist organizations in all coun-

tries". Therefore it discontinued its membership of the IOJ, but expressed its "wish that the political situation in the world would take such a turn that the journalist unions of the world could once more be seen in a constructive fraternal cooperation for pursuing the common interests of the press and journalists in the IOJ".

Meanwhile, Hronek with his executive secretary Klánský operated in Prague under the prevailing conditions, accepting the split and more intensive adherence to the Soviet orbit. This is confirmed by Hronek's contacts with Moscow between September 1949 and September 1950.

Documents found in the Russian State Archive of Social-Political History in Moscow⁷ include, first, a letter by V. Kuznetsov, Chairman of the All-Union Council of Trade Unions, to the USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs V.M. Molotov, dated 6 September 1949 and labelled "Secret", suggesting three persons to constitute the Soviet delegation at the Executive Committee meeting in Prague on 15 September. Second, another "secret" letter from the same Council to Molotov, dated 3 March 1950, suggests a five-person delegation for the IOJ Congress in Paris scheduled for the end of March and requests the allocation of 25,000 French Francs to partly cover the expenses of the Congress. An appendix to this letter was a "Directive" for the delegation regarding the Congress agenda and how to behave and vote there. Third, a letter signed by V. Grigorian, head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, addressed to "Comrade Stalin", dated 21 August 1950 and classified as "Top secret", requesting permission to invite Hronek to visit Moscow for 10 days to meet with Soviet journalists in preparation for the next IOJ Congress. This clandestine visit was naturally not reported in the *IOJ Bulletin*.

No doubt the East-West division was inspired by the U.S. State Department as well as the British and French Foreign Ministries in these years.⁸ Additional support came from the Marshall Plan administration in Paris, where former ANG President Martin was now working. Moreover, as was later revealed by former CIA agent Philip Agee: "In addition to propaganda against IOJ and operations to deny Western capitals for IOJ meetings, the Agency promoted the founding of an alternative international society of journalists from the free world."⁹

A candidate for such an alternative was an anti-IOJ organization called the **International Federation of Free Journalists of Central and Eastern Europe and Baltic and Balkan Countries (IFFJ)**.¹⁰ It was based on exiled

7 The author visited the Russian State Archive in November 2012 and October 2014. Key documents are reproduced as **Appendix 3** of this volume.

8 See Beyerdorf & Nordenstreng (forthcoming).

9 Agee (1977, p. 78)

10 *IFFJ* (1952) and Nekola (2017).

journalists staying in London during the war and organized mainly by a fairly large Union of Journalists of the Polish Republic and a smaller Syndicate of Czech Journalists. Both groups belonged to the war-time IFJAF but the Polish Union was not invited to the IOJ founding Congress in Copenhagen, where Poland was represented by another national association. Accordingly, the IFFJ became a home for exiled journalists as an opposition to those unions who established the IOJ and were mainly concerned about reconstruction of post-war journalism in their respective countries.

This opposition was represented as an alternative to the IOJ at the UN Conference on Freedom of Information and it was formally established later in 1948 under the leadership of Polish exiled journalists. Political developments in Czechoslovakia and the rest of the new socialist countries gave new impetus to the IFFJ, which became a clearing house for the deprivation of freedom behind the “iron curtain”. In 1952 the IFFJ was recognized by the ECOSOC Sub-Commission on the Freedom of Information and Press – at a time when the Cold War had led to a situation in which the IOJ was deprived of its relationship with the UN. However, IFFJ did not succeed in constituting itself as a true alternative to the IOJ – a role finally assumed by the IFJ.

SPLIT 1950-53

As a consequence of the development in the late 1940s, the IOJ became an organization whose core membership was made up of national journalist unions in the socialist countries of central and eastern Europe, including the recently established German Democratic Republic (GDR), and of such smaller journalists’ associations in the western world which had a “progressive and democratic” orientation. In addition, the IOJ increasingly acquired members from the developing countries, including China. A special case was the socialist country of Yugoslavia: its member union was expelled from the IOJ – after Belgrade, in keeping with President Tito’s policy of independence and non-alignment, turned it against Moscow.¹¹

The **3rd IOJ Congress** was convened in **Helsinki** on 15-17 **September 1950**, at the invitation of a relatively small Finnish association of left-wing socialist and communist journalists (*Yleinen Lehtimiesliitto*, YLL), which replaced the nationally representative SSL as the IOJ member (Figure 3.5).

11 Again the context of the time should be recalled, including events such as the Korean War (1950-53) and the anti-communist campaigns especially in the USA (McCarthyism). In the Soviet Union and its East European allies these were years of hardline communism until Stalin died in 1953.



Figure 3.5 The 3rd IOJ Congress in Helsinki in September 1950 took place in the cultural house of the left-wing political movements. Although it was arranged at short notice and hosted by a small association, the staging was impressive, with the Government of Finland officially greeting the Congress. Prime Minister Urho Kekkonen seen here being welcomed by Secretary General Jiří Hronek. (Photos by Yrjö Lintunen, from The People’s Archives in Helsinki)

The Congress was attended by 62 delegates – less than one third of those in the 2nd Congress in Prague. However, there were now more countries from which they came: 30, including the UK, the USA and Scandinavia – not from the main national unions but from smaller “progressive and democratic associations”. The majority of the delegates came from eastern Europe, but Asia was also represented by unions from China, Iran, Korea, Mongolia and Vietnam, while African participants came from Algeria, West Africa and South Africa; there were no delegates from Latin America.¹²

12 No report survives from this Congress, apart from what is included in *Useful Recollections, Part II* (1988, pp. 43–49). A mimeographed report of the Secretary General exists.

The Statute of the IOJ was modified to accommodate different membership categories: (a) national unions, (b) national IOJ groups and (c) individual members. Accordingly, the IOJ abandoned its former principle of mandatory national representativeness and welcomed all likeminded groups and even individuals to join – obviously in order to welcome members from countries with no unions or from countries whose unions were hostile to the IOJ.

Otherwise the Statute was retained largely in its original form, but a major reformulation was done in the first Article on Aim and Tasks to accommodate the Cold War realities – no doubt following a Soviet line – as follows:

1. The maintenance of peace and the expansion of cooperation among nations, as well as international understanding through free, accurate and honest informing of public opinion. The struggle against the spreading of war psychosis and war propaganda, against fascist propaganda of any sort, against nationalist or racial hatred and against the creation of international tension by means of falsehoods and calumnies.
2. The protection of freedom of the press and of journalists against the influence of monopolist and financial groups. The defence of the right of every journalist to write according to his conscience and conviction. The protection of the rights of colonial peoples and national minorities to publish newspapers in their native language. Support for journalists who have been persecuted for having taken up their pens in defence of peace, justice and the liberty and independence of their countries.
3. The protection of all journalists' rights. The struggle for the bettering of the material conditions of their existence. The gathering and dissemination of all information concerning the living conditions of journalists in all countries (collective agreements, salaries, professional training). Support for the trade union movement in the struggle for journalists' demands.
4. The protection of the peoples' rights to receive free and honest information. The struggle against falsehood, calumnies and the systematic misinformation of the people by the press, as well as against every form of journalistic activity in the service of individuals or particular groups of society whose interests are contrary to those of the working masses.

The Congress elected Jean-Maurice Hermann of France as the new President with Vice-Presidents coming from the USSR, China, Poland, Finland and West Africa (see Appendix 2).

Czechoslovakia was confirmed as the site of the headquarters and Hronek was re-elected as Secretary General and Treasurer. On this basis, with a total membership of about 50,000 journalists from over 30 countries, the IOJ continued with its new profile to expand both geographically and professionally, emphasizing peace and development instead of trade unionism, although this was retained as one of the objectives in the Statute.