

Steering the International Organization of Journalists through Détente and Cold War

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In symposium on Fellow-Travellers and ‘Useful Idiots’ from Lenin to Putin

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<https://blogs.helsinki.fi/fellow-travellers/>

The International Organization of Journalists (IOJ) is one of the following so-called “democratic” international non-governmental organizations (INGOs). They are listed here with founding places and years:

World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), London 1945

World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), London 1945

Women’s International Democratic Federation (WIDF), Paris 1945

International Organization of Journalists (IOJ), Copenhagen 1946

International Union of Students (IUS), Prague 1946

World Federation of Scientific Workers (WFSW), London 1946

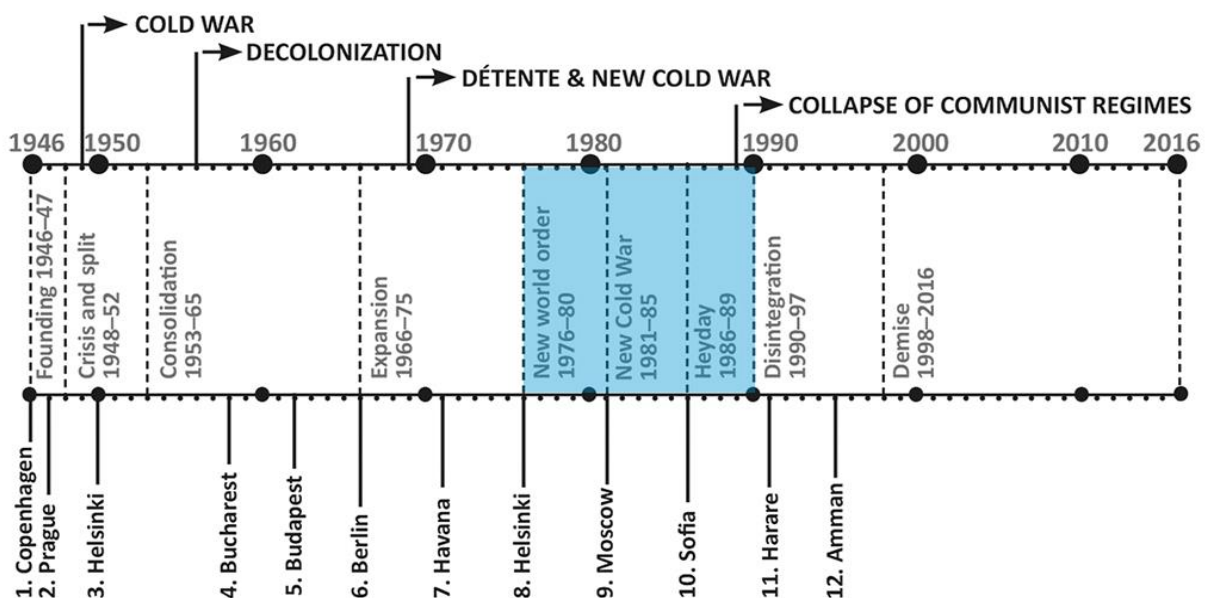
International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL), Paris 1946

World Peace Council (WPC), Paris-Prague-Warsaw 1949-50

(based in Helsinki 1968-99, since 2000 in Athens)

The first three of these were established in 1945, typically in the post-war ecumenical atmosphere, both Americans and Soviets included. The next four organizations followed in 1946: the IOJ, the International Union of Students, the World Federation of Scientific Workers and the International Association of Democratic Lawyers. The World Peace Council was founded a couple of years later in 1949-50.

My story is about one of these, and its whole life cycle is shown in this timeline:



The timeline shows four overall turning points in world affairs since 1946, nine stages through which the IOJ evolved under these geopolitical conditions and the 12 IOJ congresses as landmarks in its development.

The IOJ was founded in 1946. Then after the outbreak of the Cold War in 1948 there came a crisis and a split. The IOJ lost most of its western members and was consolidated within the Soviet-dominated Eastern sphere, expanding especially to the Third World, which is what also happened with the other democratic INGOs. In 1976 the IOJ congress in Helsinki highlighted détente and the new world order – in economy as well as in information. At that point I was elected President and continued in that position through a new Cold War with the coming to power in 1981 of Ronald Reagan. Thereafter came a thaw, with Gorbachev’s *perestroika* and *glasnost* after 1985 marking the heyday of the IOJ until 1989. I was President during those 14 years (blue in the timeline). So here you have a living example of those fellow travellers/useful idiots.

Following the fall of the Berlin wall and other developments in the socialist countries towards the end of 1989, the IOJ went through a period of disintegration lasting nearly 10 years. By the end of the 90s it had ceased to be active but on paper it survived until 2016. These last 20 years were mere nominal existence. They were brought to an end by a document signed by the last two Presidents – a kind of selfmade death warrant, which was handed over to our former rival organization, the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), which in the meantime had flourished and lured away many former IOJ members.

I have just finished writing the history of IOJ, to be published by the Charles University Press in Prague. My presentation here is based on that forthcoming book, mainly on photos from the manuscript. What follows is a quick tour through the 70 years of the IOJ’s history.

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Kaarle Nordenstreng

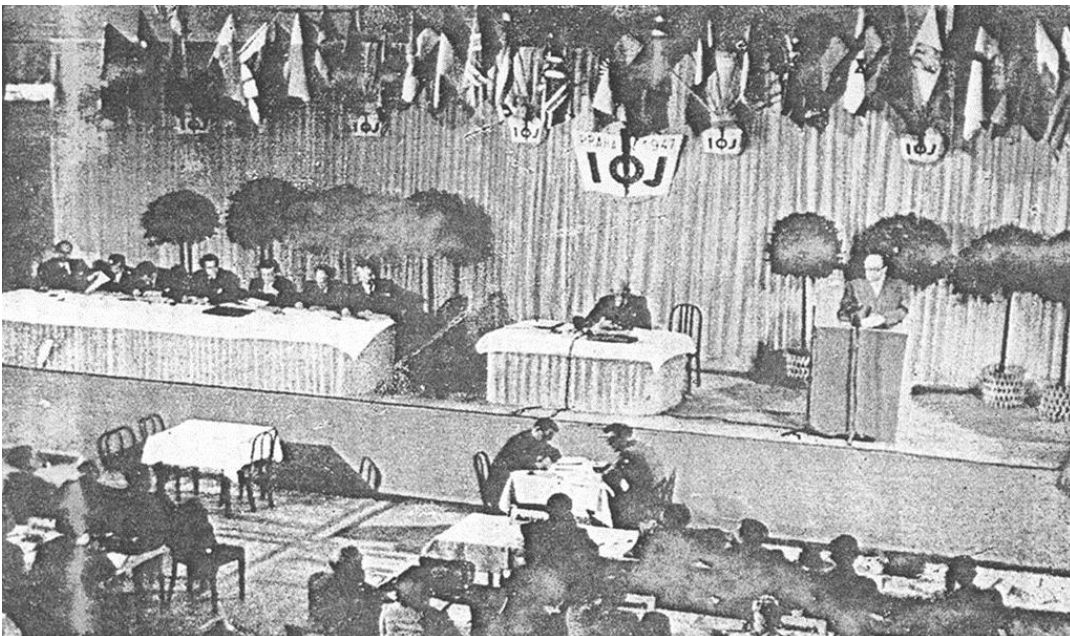
The Rise and Fall of the International Organization of Journalists Based in Czechoslovakia 1946–2016

Useful Recollections Part III



Opening session of the founding IOJ congress in Copenhagen.

The IOJ was founded in Copenhagen in 1946 in the House of Parliament in a post-war atmosphere of optimism and in the presence of 165 delegates from 21 countries, mainly European. Among those present were only a couple of women – journalism was typically a male-dominated profession until the 70s.



The second congress took place in Prague a year later with over 200 delegates from 30 countries. Here the congress is being addressed by Czechoslovakia's Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk – the man who was killed 10 months later when he fell or was pushed from a window in his Ministry. The congress still enjoyed good conditions and it was decided to locate the IOJ headquarters in Prague. However, in March-April 1948 there was what is typically called a Communist takeover; later other countries in central-eastern Europe followed suite. Czechoslovakia became a centre of the emerging Cold War.

There's no place like
HOME NOTES

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 Oudlip, 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. Bundoock 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. Bundoock, NUJ general secretary, last Thursday refused to participate further in the International Organisation of Journalists' executive meeting in Budapest.

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

Mr. Bundoock 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.



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.

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 Schuber (Colliers), Bela Kolohivari (Look), Keebour (Life) and Cecil Brown, all of

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. Bundoock will be reporting to his NEO 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 informa-

In November 1948 the IOJ held its executive committee meeting in Budapest, here reported by a London-based press industry paper, showing that the Soviets were attacking the Western press and that the Americans walked out of the meeting. In the photo from the left: the British President, the Soviet Vice-President and the Czechoslovak Secretary-General. The split led to all western member unions leaving the IOJ, with the exception of Communist-oriented unions in France and Finland.

№ 2964
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Копия
Сов. секретно

ВЕСОСОЮЗНЫЙ ЦЕНТРАЛЬНЫЙ СОВЕТ
 ПРОФЕССИОНАЛЬНЫХ СОЮЗОВ

ПРЕЗИДИУМ Секретно

№ 4331
Москва, Карамзинское шоссе, 66
Декабрь 1950 г.

Заместитель Председателя
 Совета Министров Союза ССР
 товарищу МОЛОТОВУ В.М.

27 марта 1950 г. в Париже состоится третий Конгресс Международной организации журналистов ИОЖ.

ВЦСПС просит Вашего разрешения послать во Францию на Конгресс ИОЖ советскую делегацию в составе:

1. Един П.Ф.	- Главный редактор газеты "За прочный мир, за мирную демократию" /руководитель делегации/
2. Ваславский Д.И.	- член редколлегии газеты "Правда"
3. Сурков А.А.	- главный редактор журнала "Огонек"
4. Полевой Б.И.	- корреспондент газеты "Правда"
5. Кувов Г.А.	- корреспондент газеты "Правда"

сроком на 15 дней.

Одновременно ВЦСПС просит Вашего разрешения ассигновать 25000 инвалютных рублей для частичного покрытия расходов по проведению конгресса.

Председатель Внешнеполитической
 Комиссии ИК ВКП(б) & Филиппов (Б.Григорьян)

21 августа 1950 года

Копии разосланы товарищам: Ельциному, Молотову, Берия, Селезневу, Келевичу, Вулфовичу, Хрущеву

№ 25-С-1470

11-32

С-р В. М. Молотов
 14.11.1950г.
 № 30 М-1084

В. М. Молотов
 14.11.1950г.
 № 30 М-1084

In the Moscow State Archive of Social and Political History I was able to trace some documents from 1949-50 including these two. Foreign Minister Molotov was asked to approve the delegation

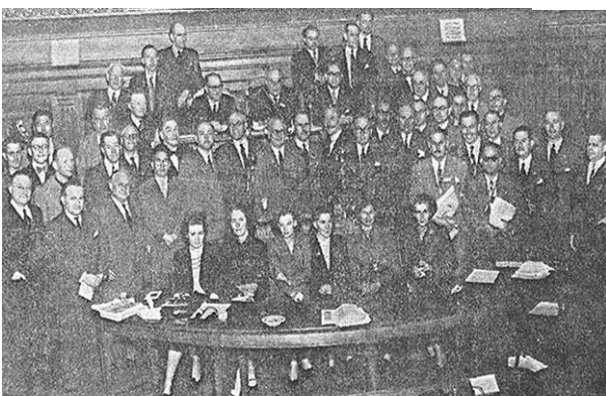
of Soviet journalists to the next congress and the donation of Soviet financing was likewise confirmed by Molotov. The other document was addressed to Comrade Stalin, not only secret but top secret, dealing with the visit of the IOJ Secretary General to Moscow to be provided with guidance for the next congress.

The third congress was first supposed to be held in Brussels, but after the Belgian union left the IOJ the invitation was withdrawn, the leftist CGT Syndicate of Journalists in France offered to host the congress in Paris in early 1950. However, the French government, obviously under pressure from the USA, refused to issue visas to eastern European delegates.

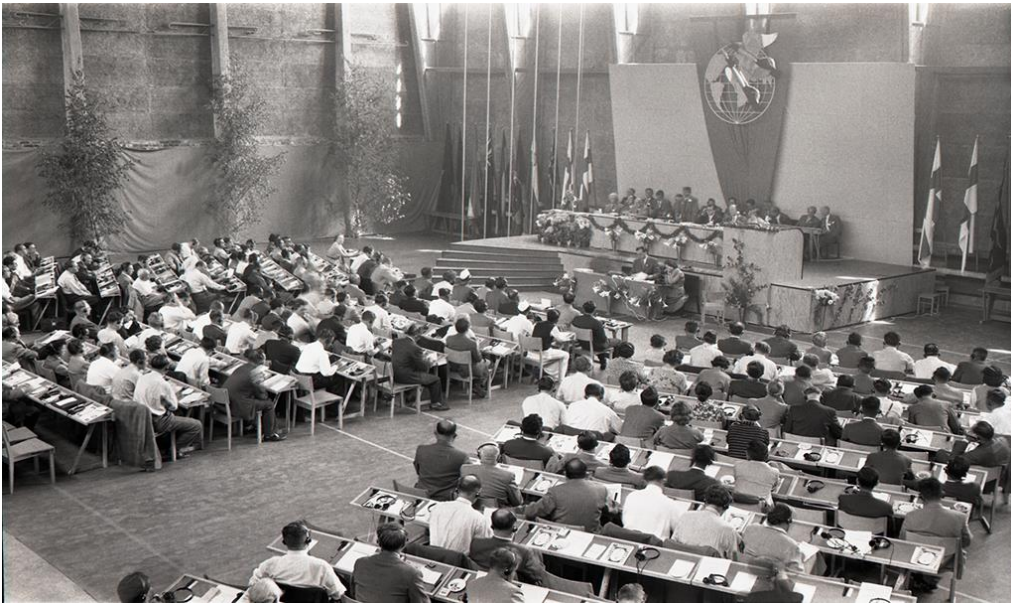


3rd IOJ Congress in Helsinki, 1950

The congress was rescued by Finland, which after the war adopted a friendly neighbour policy with the Soviet Union. The congress was held in the centre of Helsinki and the opening session was attended by Finland's Prime Minister, Urho Kekkonen. The congress was not hosted by the bourgeois-dominated main Finnish Union of Journalists (SSL), a founding member of the IOJ, since after the split, like other western unions, it had stepped back. The host was a small Communist-based political journalist association (YLL). The congress was attended by 62 delegates – fewer than Prague and Copenhagen. The Cold War split had taken its toll, but still they came from 30 countries, mainly from the Third World, notably China, Iran, Korea, Vietnam, Algeria, West Africa and South Africa.

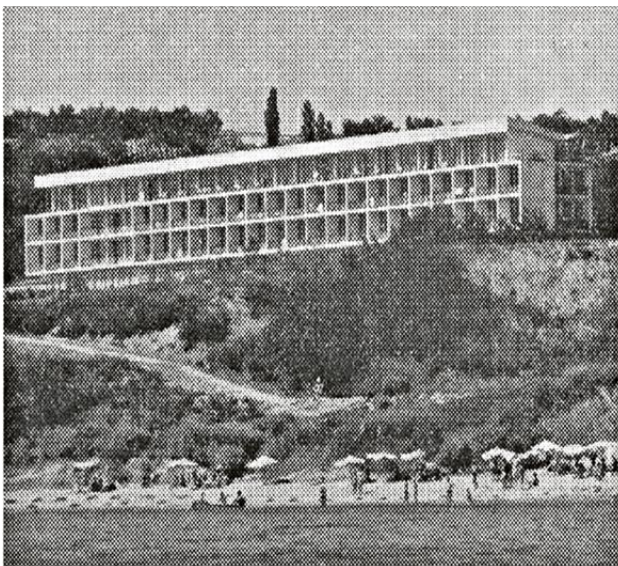


The western unions which had left the IOJ after 1948 established their own International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) in 1952 with a base in Brussels. So there was the pro-Moscow IOJ and the pro-NATO IFJ. It is obvious that the founding of the IFJ was arranged through some CIA machinations as was the case with other INGOs created to counter those that fell within the Soviet sphere of influence. Accordingly, the movement was split – in journalism as well as in other social and cultural fields.



However, many journalists around the world were unhappy with the Cold War division, and therefore in 1956 they convened in Helsinki (in Otaniemi, the present Aalto University premises) a World Meeting of Journalists which became the largest and most representative gathering of journalists held anywhere until that time. As many as 250 journalists from 44 countries were there, including 40 from Brazil and 20 from India. The IOJ sympathized with the initiative and supported its Finnish member which helped to organize it – the same YLL that had hosted the third IOJ congress. On the other hand, the IFJ was totally opposed to the World Meeting and even called upon its member unions, including the Finnish SSL, to boycott it. Consequently, unity was not achieved and the IFJ continued to work against the reunification attempts in two other World Meetings in the early 60s. The western powers preferred to have the journalist movement, the trade union movement, the student, youth and women’s movements in a state of disunity.

Meanwhile, the IOJ consolidated its own membership and co-operated with its Bulgarian member union on the construction of a rest home for journalists on the Black Sea, and on another one with its Hungarian member union on Lake Balaton.



A New International Journalists' House on Lake Balaton

ON SUNDAY May 16 numerous guests from Hungary and a number of other countries met together on the occasion of the ceremonial opening of the International Journalist House on Lake Balaton.

At the ceremonial meeting a speech was made by I.O.J. president Jean-Maurice Hermann in honour of the inauguration. He highly appreciated the great work done by the Association of Hungarian Journalists and their general secretary Norbert Siklós in getting the House built. This House will serve not only as a place of recreation, but also for strengthening friendly contacts among journalists of many countries. Together with the International Journalist House in Vienna, which needs no recommendation, the House of Journalists on Lake Balaton will undoubtedly win great popularity among colleagues from all parts of the world, who can always count on a cordial welcome there and the well-known hospitality of our Hungarian friends.

The I.O.J. General Secretariat together with the Association of Hungarian Journalists is now working out a general plan for the use of the House by those colleagues of ours whose health has suffered as a result of police persecutions organized by the forces of reaction and who need convalescence and medical treatment. Their stay in the House on Lake Balaton will be paid for out of the funds of the International Journalist Solidarity Fund.

On the occasion of the opening of the House the I.O.J. General Secretariat wished the entire collective of the new recreation centre every success and likewise congratulated the Association of Hungarian Journalists, which has put so much effort into guaranteeing the fruitful labours of this collective.



A view of the ceremonial opening of the House taken when the General Secretary of the Association of Hungarian Journalists was making his speech. In the picture (on the right of the speaker): I.O.J. President, Jean-Maurice Hermann (France), I.O.J. secretary Alexander Trefanec (U.S.S.R.), and István Szirmai (Hungary). The second of the left is István Szirmai, secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and member of the presidium of the Association of Hungarian Journalists.

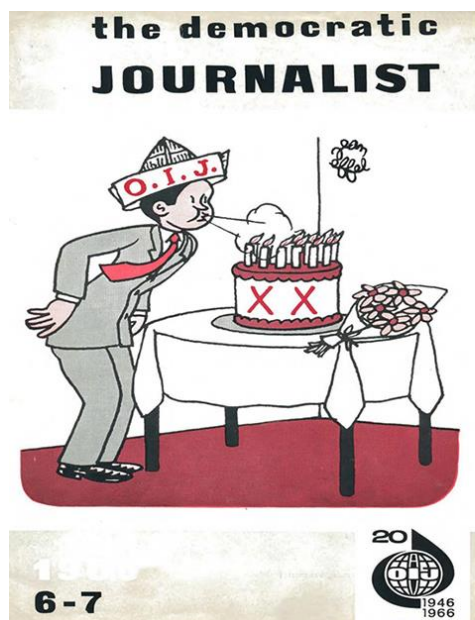
(Photo: Eva Kéleit — MTI)

Summing up the IOJ in the mid-60s:

The membership had grown to include 130,000 journalists in over 100 countries. The largest union was the Soviet Union of Journalists, over 20,000 – about the same as the earlier British member, the NUJ. Since 1950 the largest member had been the All-China Association of Journalists, but they had frozen their membership after the Khrushchev-Mao dispute in 1965. However, the Chinese never formally resigned from the IOJ.

The financing was based formally on membership fees. They became very big for large member unions like the Soviet one, but very small for smaller unions, and many of them did not honour their obligation to pay. On the other hand a lot of aid in kind was coming from the USSR and other socialist countries in the form of air tickets, accommodation, etc. There was no direct money from the Communist Party or any other state agencies; if there indeed was any, it always went through the national member associations. The system was the same as with the organizations of women, youth, students and so on.

In the case of the IOJ financing there was a unique arrangement through an international solidarity lottery. The GDR was very active in this, followed by Poland and other socialist countries. Sometimes it generated as much as half of the total income on which IOJ was running. At that time, the eastern countries were rather isolated and the civil society had few channels to demonstrate and be engaged in global activities. This was one of the few activities which occasionally led to huge rallies, for example in East Berlin.

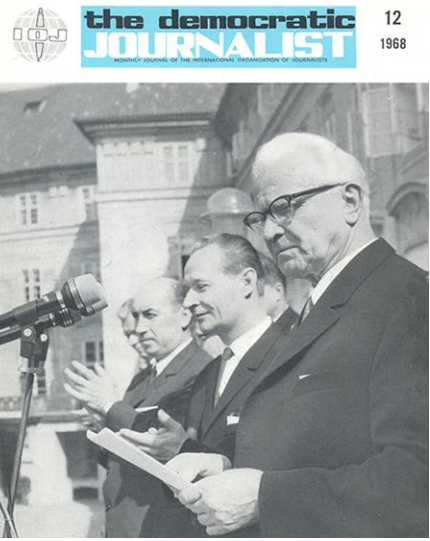


In 1966 the IOJ was 20 years old. By that time its congresses had been held in Bucharest, Budapest and Berlin. It had started publications including a monthly journal issued in English, French and Russian. It ran schools for Third World journalists in Berlin and Budapest, supported by the revenues from the solidarity lottery.

At that time the the western competitor, the IFJ, was still only about half the size of the IOJ. However, politically the image of the IOJ and the IFJ was like that of two equal rivals.

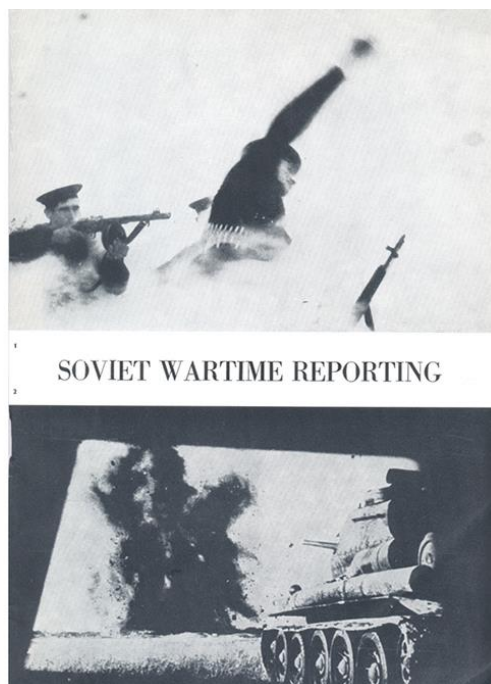
1968 was a landmark year with the Prague Spring. The IOJ was low key in its stance to this and after the Warsaw Pact tanks had entered Czechoslovakia the topic was not covered at all. However, the normalization after the occupation did not shake the IOJ: the staff remained at their posts and all publications and other activities continued, albeit rendering political correctness towards the prevailing powers.

Figure 5.3 The cover of *The Democratic Journalist* 12/1968 showed the new leadership of Czechoslovakia: Ludvik Svoboda, Alexander Dubček, Oldrich Černík and Josef Smrovský. However, this issue of the journal in no way covered the developments of the “Prague Spring”, apart from a photo of Svoboda being sworn in to the office of President and Dubcek addressing the people’s militia; also, a photo of people signing resolutions in support of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in summer 1968. A three-page report on changes in the journalist organization of the country by Dr Stanislav Maleček, Secretary of the Union of Czech Journalists, was published in issue 9/1968. Otherwise the IOJ publications kept quiet about the Prague Spring and its aftermath of the occupation.




For the IOJ member union in Czechoslovakia the normalization was hard. About 1,500 journalists were purged, and the whole orientation of the union, once a leading force of the Prague Spring, was put into straitjacket. Jiří Dienstbier, the post-Velvet Revolution foreign minister in 1990, was one of those to be put to out to work as janitors, window cleaners and so on.

In the 70s the IOJ continued to promote a kind of pro-Soviet worldview, celebrating wartime achievements but also covering contemporary events, especially in Africa and Latin America.



The first signs of détente can be seen in photo competitions, declarations and posters highlighting peace and international understanding as cornerstones of progressive and democratic journalists.

INTERNATIONAL PHOTO CONTEST



The IOJ International Club of Photojournalists and the Editorial Board of the magazine "World Marxist Review" (Problems of Peace and Socialism) have agreed to launch an international photography contest in 1977 under the slogan "For peace, the relaxation of tension and social progress".

The organizers hope progressive and democratic photojournalists from different countries of the world will take part in this contest, photojournalists whose journalistic work is inspired by the ideals of the fight for peace, the relaxation of tension and social progress. The organizers assume that the entries in the contest will reflect the most diverse aspects of this struggle—its mass character, its daily heroism and its lofty humanistic purpose.

„FOR PEACE, THE RELAXATION OF TENSION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS“

A special jury composed of representatives of the publication "World Marxist Review", spokesmen of the International Organization of Journalists and leading photojournalists will decide on the winners of the contest.

Prizes for the three main contest winners are six thousand, four thousand and two thousand Czechoslovak crowns respectively. The awards will be presented either in the form of a material prize valued at this sum or in cash in Czechoslovak currency. Moreover, there will be other prizes and diplomas awarded in this contest.

The best entries will be published during the course of 1977 in the magazines "World Marxist Review" and "The Democratic Journalist".

Black-and-white photographs (control shots 18x24 cm) with a brief caption will be accepted as contest entries; they must be sent no later than October 10, 1977, to the following address: Editorial Office of the publication "World Marxist Review", Thakurova 3, 100 00 Prague 6, Czechoslovakia. Please print on the envelope: Photocontest "For peace, the relaxation of tension and social progress".

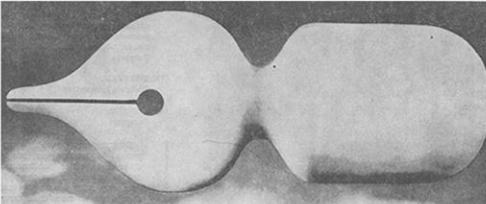
30 YEARS OF THE IOJ

DECLARATION OF THE IOJ

THIRTY YEARS IN THE SERVICE OF PROGRESSIVE AND DEMOCRATIC JOURNALISM

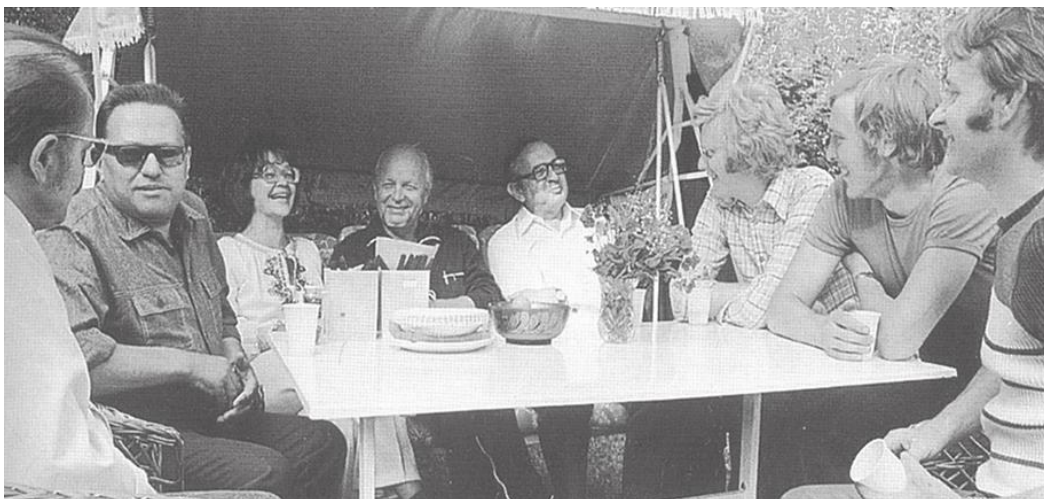
On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of its foundation, the International Organization of Journalists greets all its member and friendly organizations, all progressive and democratic journalists.

Today, the IOJ is the largest journalists' organization in the world, highly democratic in aims, character and structure.



**THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF JOURNALISTS
IN THE SERVICE OF PEACE
AND COOPERATION AMONG NATIONS**

Finland became an important platform for bridge building between East and West. Here an informal garden party with Finnish union leaders on the right, *The Democratic Journalist* editor-in-chief in the middle and the IOJ European secretary, Oleg Zagladin, second on the left. Zagladin's brother was the deputy head of the International Department of Soviet Communist Party Central Committee – one of the minds behind *perestroika* and *glasnost* – providing a direct link to the political centres in Moscow.



Then in 1976 came the 8th IOJ congress in Helsinki, held in the Finlandia Hall, one year after the CSCE summit. Of course, this was of great symbolic importance for the Soviets. It was attended by 250 journalists from 65 countries, and for the first time the IFJ leadership attended as observers.



Figure 6.2 Newly elected President Kaarle Nordenstreng addressing the Congress in Helsinki, behind him Saad Qassim Hammoudi, Vice-President from Iraq, next to him Vice-Presidents Viktor Afanasiev from the USSR, Harri Czepuck from the GDR and Luis Suarez from Mexico; last on the right Secretary General Jiří Kubka. (Photo from *The Democratic Journalist* 12/1976.)



Figure 6.3 The President of Finland, Dr. Urho Kekkonen, received a delegation of the IOJ Presidium in the presidential palace on the last day of the Congress. The President, seen from behind on the left, has just received a gift from Soviet Vice-President Afanasiev, second on the right, next to IOJ President Nordenstreng. In the middle Ernesto Vera from Cuba, Salah Hafez from Egypt and Cheick Mouctary Diarra from Mali. On the left behind the President: Tsend Namsrai from Mongolia. (Photo: Lehtikuva)

My election as IOJ President was a story in itself. First of all, the Soviets picked me out. For them I was an ideal case: I was from Finland, the country which under Kekkonen's leadership had brought détente to a milestone with the CSCE Final Act; I was a progressive western academic with a background in journalism; I was an independent left-winger with no affiliation to any political party; I was from the young generation – 35 years old – while the earlier President from France had just turned 80.

I was not particularly happy about the invitation since it created a personal dilemma for a young academic who had at the time big plans to study the emerging developments in the information society. Moreover, the Finnish unions were annoyed at the very forceful way the Soviets were promoting me, just telling the Finnish colleagues what was good for them. Nevertheless, the problems were solved with an intervention by Afanasjev and my election was also welcomed by President Kekkonen, who saw this as another way for Finland to contribute to détente.

My mission in short was East-West détente and a North-South new order. I contended that the historical development was on our side and the initiative in the world arena was in our hands. You can read a lot of that sort of talk in those years, both by useful idiots and other progressive intellectuals.

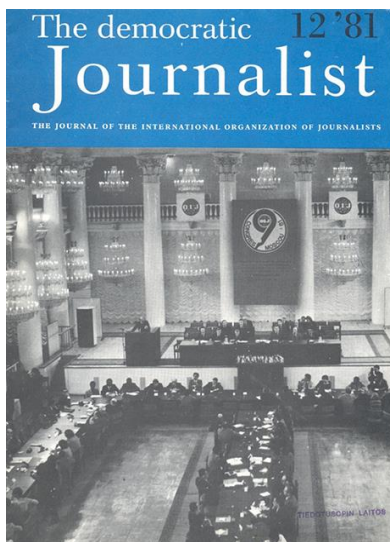
Was I a fellow traveller? Yes, I was, and intentionally so. I chose to pursue the course of East-West détente and decolonization of the global South. I had earlier also been a fellow traveller – not deliberately but just blown along in the wind to the new left in the 60s, as the child of a bourgeois home environment like many others including our former Foreign Minister, Erkki Tuomioja.



In 1978 UNESCO convened all major international and regional organizations of journalists to consult on what they could do together in matters of professional ethics, protection of journalists on dangerous missions, etc. This was just perfect for the IOJ and the line I took in it. This consultative circle served as the main platform for co-operation among journalists throughout the 80s.

Figure 6.13 The President of the United States of Mexico, Dr. José Lopez Portillo coming to open the Consultative Meeting in Mexico City on 1 April 1980. Greeting him IOJ President Nordenstreng next to Germán Carnero Roqué from UNESCO. On the left Marcel Furic of the International Catholic Union of the Press (UCIP) and the backview of Luis Jordá Galeana of the National Syndicate of Editors of the Mexican Press.





The 9th IOJ congress was held in Moscow in 1981 – in the Hall of the Columns, one of the most sacred political venues in Moscow. The congress had a surprise visitor, Yasser Arafat, who happened to be in Moscow for talks with Brezhnev; here seen between the IOJ President and Soviet Vice-President.

About this Vice-President, Viktor Afanasiev, the editor-in-chief of *Pravda* and a philosopher from the Soviet Academy of Science, later an Academician known for his book *The Scientific Management of Society*. I wish to point out that I enjoyed very good co-operation with him. I visited his office in the *Pravda* building practically every time that I went through Moscow on various trips, discussing all my plans and ideas with him. I don't remember him ever rejecting my proposals, nor dictating to me what to do. I was obviously very useful for his side, but he was also very useful to me because when I went to the Prague secretariat I only needed to tell them that this is what we shall do, "I checked it with Afanasiev". So, far from being pushed around and dictated to by the Soviets, I was rather using them to endorse my own initiatives. Afanasiev also supported my plan to spend the first part of 1977, just a few months after my election, as a visiting professor at the University of California, San Diego – a plan which had already been made before any talk of my presidency. At that time I had no problem getting a visa to the USA and I don't recall any instance when the CIA had tried to interfere with what I was doing.

The IOJ held practically every year a statutory meeting in some part of the world:

- 1981 October Congress in Moscow (USSR)
- 1983 January Presidium in Luanda (Angola)
- 1984 September Executive Committee in New Delhi (India)
- 1985 January Presidium in Quito (Ecuador)
- 1986 October Congress in Sofia (Bulgaria)
- 1987 March Presidium Bureau in Moscow
- 1987 October Presidium in Nicosia (Cyprus)
- 1988 March Presidium Bureau in Prague
- 1988 April Presidium in Brasilia (Brazil)
- 1989 January Presidium in Addis Abeba (Ethiopia)

This meant lot of travelling for me as President over and above my main job as a university professor in Finland. And life was not only hectic but also more complicated after a new phase of the Cold War erupted in the early 80s.

The new Cold War in 1981-85 was naturally not as fundamentally divisive as the Cold War proper from the late 1940s on, but it was still clearly felt in the ideological sphere of the international organizations. This is why the title of my presentation lists first détente – which dominated the beginning of my presidency in the late 1970s – followed by the Cold War, by which I refer to this new phase in the 1980s.

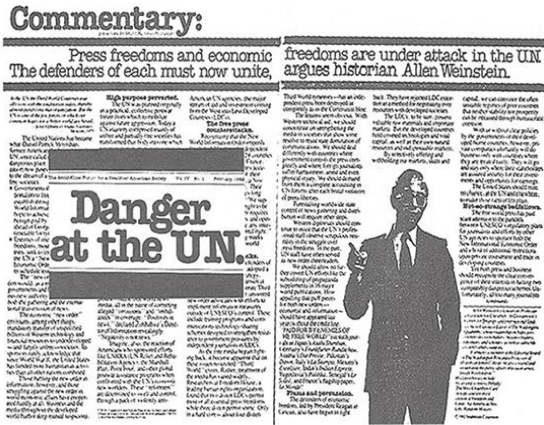


Figure 7.1 The US magazines *Time* and *Newsweek* published in February 1982 a four-page supplement paid for by the SmithKline corporation, with an alert: “Press freedoms and economic freedoms are under attack at the UN. Defenders of each must now unite.” The commentary was presented as a message by a historian, but its substance was from the WPFC.

Here is a reminder of the fact that the new Cold War focused very much on the media. American press proprietors had founded an NGO called the World Press Freedom Committee, which was leading campaigns against the socialist East and the militant South as shown in a paid advertising supplement published in *Newsweek* and *Time* magazines, warning about the danger at the UN due to calls for a new economic and information order.



PRESIDENT NYERERE:
**WE NEED
 A NEW INTERNATIONAL
 INFORMATION ORDER**

Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere declared that international media coverage of his recent address to Tanzanians had provided him with an object lesson about the need for a New International Information Order. This was reported by the Tanzanian paper *Daily News* which also wrote that President Nyerere had found it difficult to recognize his own speech dealing with the national economy from the reports he had read and heard from the international media. "Let me therefore make it clear now that we in Tanzania feel that we have not been wrong in the basic thrust of our policies (socialism and self-reliance)."

President Nyerere made these remarks at a New Year's Day reception held for members of the diplomatic corps. He also repeated Tanzania's critical attitude to the basic structure of the present-day international economic order. He pledged that Tanzania would continue to work with other Third World countries and with friends of justice everywhere to try to achieve a fundamental change—to move towards a New International Economic Order.

However, I went on with the IOJ mission and met with President Nyerere of Tanzania at my temporary base in Dar-es-Salaam. He recounted to me what Ronald Reagan had said to some 30 world leaders at the famous meeting in Cancun – that the time of multilateral international order was over and the USA was now working on a bilateral basis.



The high point of my term as IOJ President was the privilege to address the United Nations General Assembly. There was a special session on disarmament in summer 1982, with the NGOs having half a day for addresses. The IOJ was the only journalistic INGO to seize the opportunity, also that of meeting the UN Secretary-General.

Peace was very much on the agenda in the early 80s – in rallies around the world as well as in the IOJ activities. The Union of Journalists in Finland played a central role with its Peace Committee, which declared 27 October as Journalists' Peace Day.

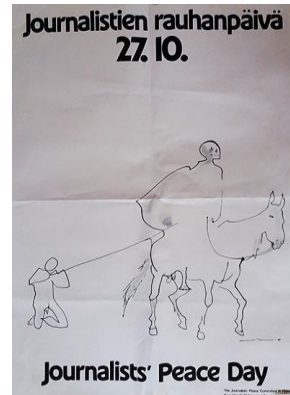
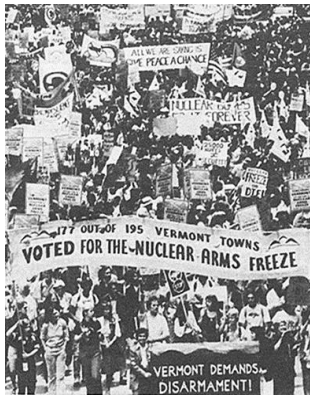


Figure 7.7 The World Peace Assembly in Prague in June 1983 was widely covered in *The Democratic Journalist* (7–8 and 9/1983). It included a dialogue of journalists with its steering committee seen here, from the right: Antero Laine from the SSL (Finland), Norma Turner from the JANE (UK), Alice Palmer from the BPA (USA), Phan Quang from the VJA (Vietnam), H. Werner from the dju (FRG) and H.L. Yilma from the EJA (Ethiopia). (Photo from Phan Quang's collection.)

Appeal for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War

WORLD PEACE ASSEMBLY, PRAGUE, JUNE 21–26, 1983

PRAHA 83

No to nuclear weapons in the West or in the East, around the world.
 Stop the arms race, nuclear and conventional.
 Yes to nuclear weapons-free zones.
 For general and complete disarmament.
 Peaceful political negotiations, not military confrontation.
 The work's resources for peace and life: Peace, freedom, independence and prosperity for all peoples.

From the welcoming address by the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Gustáv Husák:

Harmless words in a special moment of history. One step in the wrong direction – and the world could be irreversibly thrown into the abyss of a nuclear war. Never before has the arms race, especially in Western Europe, reached such a dangerous level. The realization of these plans will sharply increase the danger of a nuclear conflict. Such a conflict will not be limited to the continent of Europe, but will lead to a global holocaust. It is urgent to start the negotiation of a nuclear arms freeze in Europe, to reduce all nuclear weapons in Europe, and to work for the total elimination of all nuclear weapons throughout the world.

Being extremely concerned by the increasing danger of nuclear war and realizing our great responsibility as citizens of the World Assembly for Peace and Life, against Nuclear War from 21 to 26 June in Prague, the capital of Czechoslovakia. We, as citizens of 132 countries of the world, possess of various tasks and responsibilities, of different philosophical views, religious and political positions. We represent 1413 national organizations: trade unions, peace, women's, youth and students' movements, political parties and churches and 108 international non-governmental organizations. Representatives of 11 inter-governmental organizations also took part in the assembly.

Preparation for a nuclear war in the most serious sense against humanity, but war is not inevitable. It is not yet too late to prevent a nuclear holocaust, whatever is in the hands of the people themselves, of each

July - August 1983



In 1983, during the Media Conference of the Non-Aligned in Delhi, I was received by Mrs. Gandhi, who at that time was chairing of the Non-Aligned Movement, sharing with me her concern about the US-backed counter-revolutionaries in Nicaragua.

On that occasion I was pleased to announce a set of ethical principles prepared by the consultative circle of international and regional organizations of journalists convened under the auspices of UNESCO – the first time ever that such principles had been agreed upon on a truly universal basis.

IOJ
IFJ
UCIP
FELAP
FELATRAP
FAJ
UJA
CAJ

International Principles Of Professional Ethics In Journalism



The second consultative meeting (Mexico City, 1980) expressed its support to the UNESCO Declaration on the Principles concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racism, Apartheid and Incitement to War. Moreover, the meeting adopted the Mexico Declaration, with a set of principles which represent common grounds of widely national and regional codes of journalistic ethics as well as relevant provisions contained in various international instruments of a legal nature.

The fourth consultative meeting (Tegucigalpa and Paris, 1983) noted the lasting value of the UNESCO Declaration in which it is stated inter alia that "the free flow of information, recognized as an integral part of human rights and fundamental freedoms, is a vital factor in the strengthening of peace and international understanding". Furthermore, the meeting recognized the importance of such international instruments, both in national and international spheres, with a growing social responsibility being placed upon the mass media and journalists.

On this basis the following principles of professional ethics to journalists were prepared as an international common ground and as a source of inspiration for national and regional codes of ethics. This set of principles is intended to be promoted and followed by each professional organization through ways and means most adequate to its members.

Principle I **People's Right to True Information**

People and individuals have the right to acquire an objective, accurate and comprehensive information as well as to express themselves freely through the various media of culture and communication.

Principle II **The Journalist's Dedication to Objective Reality**

The foremost task of the journalist is to serve the people's right to true and authentic information through an honest dedication to objective reality whereby facts are reported objectively in their proper context, pointing out their essential connections and without causing distortions, with due deployment of the creative capacity of the journalist, so that the public is provided with adequate material to facilitate the formation of an accurate and comprehensive picture of the world in which the origin, nature and essence of events, processes and states of affairs are understood as objectively as possible.

Principle III **The Journalist's Social Responsibility**

Information in journalism is understood as social good and not as a commodity, which means that the journalist shares responsibility for the information transmitted and is thus accountable not only to those controlling the media but ultimately to the public at large, including various social interests. The journalist's social responsibility requires that he or she will act under all circumstances in conformity with a personal ethical consciousness.

Principle IV **The Journalist's Professional Integrity**

The social role of the journalist demands that the profession maintain high standards of integrity, including the journalist's right to refrain from seeking agents for their connection with disclosing sources of information as well as the right to participate in the decision-making of the medium in which he or she is employed. The integrity of the profession does not permit the journalist to accept any form of bribe or the persuasion of any party interested contrary to the general welfare. Likewise it belongs to professional ethics to respect intellectual property and, in particular, to refrain from plagiarism.

Principle V **Public Access and Participation**

The nature of the profession demands that the journalist promote access by the public to information and participation of the public in the media, including the right of correction or rectification and the right of reply.

Principle VI **Respect for Privacy and Human Dignity**

An integral part of the professional standards of the journalist is respect for the right of the individual to privacy and human dignity, in conformity with provisions of international and national law concerning protection of the rights and the reputation of others, prohibiting libel, calumny, slander and defamation.

Principle VII **Respect for Public Interest**

The professional standards of the journalist prescribe due respect for the national community, its democratic institutions, and public morals.

Principle VIII **Respect for Universal Values and Diversity of Cultures**

All journalists stand for the universal values of humanism, above all peace, democracy, human rights, social progress and national cooperation, while respecting the distinctive character, value and dignity of each culture, as well as the right of each people to choose and develop its political, social, economic and cultural systems. Thus the journalist participates actively in the social transformation towards democratic betterment of society and contributes through dialogue to a climate of confidence in international relations conducive to peace and justice everywhere; to detente, disarmament and national development. It belongs to the ethics of the profession that the journalist be aware of relevant provisions contained in international conventions, declarations and resolutions.

Principle IX **Elimination of War and Other Great Evils Confronting Humanity**

The universal commitment to the universal values of humanism calls for the journalist to abstain from any justification for or incitement to wars of aggression and the arms race, especially nuclear weapons, and all other forms of violence, hatred or discrimination, especially racism and apartheid; oppression, by tyrannical regimes, colonialism and neo-colonialism, as well as other great evils which afflict humanity, such as poverty, malnutrition and diseases. By so doing the journalist can help eliminate ignorance and misunderstanding among peoples, make nationals of a country sensitive to the needs and desires of others, ensure the respect for the rights and dignity of all nations, all peoples, and all individuals without distinction of race, sex, language, nationality, religion or philosophical conviction.

Principle X **Promotion of a New World Information and Communication Order**

The journalist operates in the contemporary world within the framework of a movement towards new international relations, in general and a new information order in particular. This new order, understood as an integral part of the New International Economic Order, is aimed at the decolonization and democratization of the field of information and communication, both nationally and internationally, on the basis of peaceful coexistence among peoples and with full respect for their cultural identity. The journalist has a special obligation to promote the process of democratization of international relations in the field of information, in particular by safeguarding and fostering peaceful and friendly relations among States and peoples.

Issued by the fourth consultative meeting of international and regional organizations of professional journalists, held in Tegucigalpa (Honduras) and Paris (France) in 1983, under the auspices of UNESCO, with the participation of the International Organization of Journalists (IOJ), the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), the Latin American Federation of Journalists (FELAP), the Federation of Arab Journalists (FAJ), the Union of African Journalists (UJA), the Confederation of ASEAN Journalists (CAJ), and the International Union of Pure and Applied Journalists (IUPAJ).

International Organization of Journalists

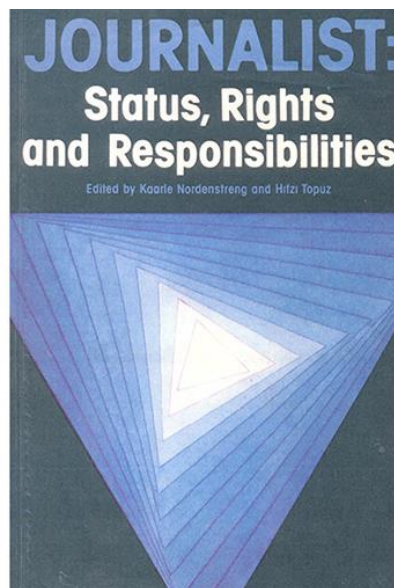
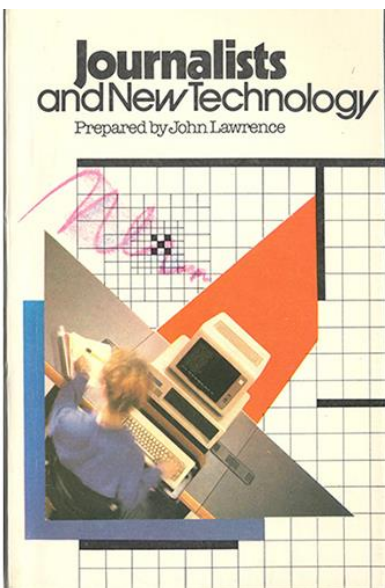
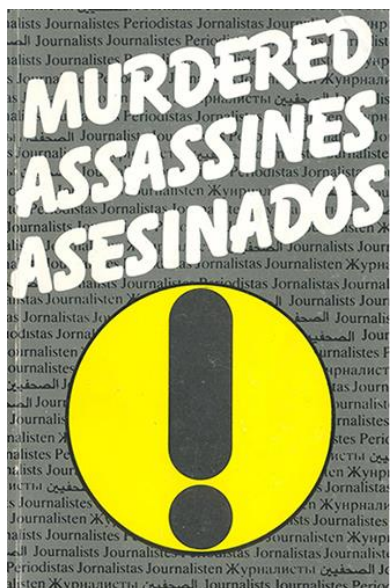
IOJ Videopress
Introducing



PRAGUE 1984



The IOJ was active in generating revenue not only from membership dues of journalism unions and from the solidarity lotteries, but also by plain business activity. It had created a publishing house and an interpreting service, which grew so large with the competence of Czech linguistic potential that it became the largest simultaneous interpretation system in eastern Europe, also serving the Soviets and other countries – at a handsome price. So the IOJ developed a business infrastructure, which I call an island of capitalism in a sea of socialism. The Czechoslovak Secretary General of the IOJ was very smart in ensuring the blessing of his Communist Party for the building of this business empire. It employed over 1,000 people and had its premises in the *Washingtonova* Street close to *Vaclavske namesti*.



Tens of books were published by the IOJ publishing house, among them these produced together with the international and regional organizations of journalists, including the IFJ.



The IOJ was a keen supporter although not a formal organizer of the CSCE journalist congresses. These were held first in Helsinki in 1985, 10 years after the CSCE Summit; the second one in Vienna in 1987, and the third in Warsaw in 1989, with President Jaruzelski attending with the IFJ and IOJ Presidents.

IOJ news
letter

1989
DECEMBER
24

THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF JOURNALISTS

On December 10, 1989, the IOJ Secretariat opened its new headquarters in Prague. The simple ceremony was attended by the IOJ President Kaarle Nordenstreng and Secretary General Dušan Ulčák as well as members of the IOJ Secretariat.

The new IOJ headquarters are situated in Celetná Street near the historical Old Town Square in the restored 13th century building. The new address of the IOJ Secretariat is Celetná 2, Prague 1, 110 00, Czechoslovakia.



If you go to the old town square in Prague, you will see at the beginning of *Celetna* street a building dating back to the 13th century. It was totally renovated by the IOJ at a cost of tens of millions of Czechoslovak crowns and became the IOJ headquarters in late 1989, just at the time when world history was turning a page after the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia. The following year, 1990, started with a crisis at the IOJ headquarters as its old member union was discontinued and the new syndicate replacing it refused to join. Later that year the government decided to expel the IOJ as well as the two other democratic INGOs from Czechoslovakia.



International Conference Centre Harare, Zimbabwe

THE DEMOCRATIC JOURNALIST

January 1991
The IOJ 11th Congress



International Conference Centre Harare, Zimbabwe
January 1991
The 11th IOJ Congress

(see page 3)

The new page of history was noted in the congress in Harare in early 1991, when I stepped down from the presidency. I had helped the Finnish and Soviet member unions to draft the main blueprints for the congress – new statutes and a new strategy – which were approved with only minor amendments. However, the elections went badly for us, and the new leadership elected was unable to cope with the organizational crisis in Czechoslovakia and failed to safeguard the prospects of the commercial enterprises under the new post-socialist circumstances.

One more congress was held four years later in Amman, with a new leadership attempting to stop the disintegration and financial crash. However, the executive committee celebrating the 50th anniversary of the IOJ in Hanoi in 1996 was the last statutory meeting and the secretariat became defunct when the energetic Secretary General suddenly died of cancer in late 1997. The remnants of the IOJ were offered to the All-China Journalists Association – with no response.



The demise of the IOJ was apparent in 2011 when I visited a leaking storehouse outside Prague. Most of the archives were simply lost to posterity and some had been dumped in this place. Whatever survived has now been moved to the National Archives of the Czech Republic. Building an IOJ section in the National Archives is an offshoot of my book project, as was the letter of the last two Presidents to the IFJ, announcing the end of the IOJ.



INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF JOURNALISTS

Message to the 29th IFJ Congress in Angers, France, on 7–10 June 2016

Dear delegates – fellow journalists!

On this occasion we are invited to recall the history of our international movement. It is indeed a long and complicated story. The movement started over 120 years ago in 1894, when the first international conference of “press people” took place in Antwerp. But it took until after World War I for the first proper association of professional journalists to be established in 1926 with the encouragement of the International Labour Organization ILO and the League of Nations. It took as its name *Fédération Internationale des Journalistes* (FIJ) and its secretariat was located in Paris. The FIJ was destroyed by the German army’s occupation of France in 1940. During World War II the movement was hosted by the British Union of Journalists, which helped to set up the *International Federation of Journalists of Allied or Free Countries*. This federation in exile organized new beginning for the movement in 1946 in Copenhagen, where the *International Organization of Journalists* (IOJ) was founded among Europeans together with Russians, Americans and Australians – as the legal successor of the FIJ.

The Cold War since the late 1940s led to a split in the movement, whereby the Western member unions left the IOJ and in 1952 established a new association, the present *International Federation of Journalists* (IFJ). Meanwhile, the IOJ consolidated itself in Eastern Europe and spread to the developing world. The world of journalist associations was divided between the Prague-based IOJ and the Brussels-based IFJ, with some, like the French and the Finns, having membership of both. The two internationals followed the Cold War division between “Communist East” and “Free West” leading to a politicization of the movement and a competition for new associations in the Third World.

* * *

Today it is obvious that the IFJ is the sole representative of professional journalists around the world. This does not mean that the IFJ is the direct successor of the pre-war FIJ, whose legal heritage was passed to the IOJ. On this occasion of the 29th IFJ Congress in 2016 it is important that the IFJ perceives itself correctly in history as a successor of both the pre-war FIJ and the post-war IOJ. While celebrating the 90th anniversary of the founding of the FIJ, we should not forget that a common IOJ was founded in Copenhagen exactly 70 years ago, on 3–9 June 1946 – with high hopes, until it was split by the unfortunate Cold War.

Dear colleagues,

As the President of the IOJ and its Honorary President elected in the last IOJ Congress in Amman in 1995, we note that the historical development has led to a natural demise of the IOJ as an operational organization. While closing this page in history, we are pleased to pass on to the IFJ the heritage of the pre-war FIJ. We wish you every success in taking good care of this valuable heritage.

Amman and Maputo, 3 June 2016

Suleiman Al-Qudah, IOJ President

Manuel Tomé, IOJ Honorary President

And now my conclusions in short:

- The IOJ has been inseparable from the geopolitics of its time; first post-war ecumenical idealism and then embroiled in the Cold War, where it was not possible to remain neutral – the same applied to the western IFJ.
- But the IOJ still had considerable room to manoeuvre, notably in the 1970s, when I embarked on the platform to promote East-West détente and North-South decolonization.
- I had the unreserved approval of the Soviets and other socialist countries on the strategic line; they were my fellow-travellers rather than vice versa.
- On the other hand, I was their ally and was a marked man in the West as head of the “Prague-based communist organization”.
- I do not regret my decision to accept the nomination; it has been an exciting journey offering a lot of experience and insight.

Discussion (chaired by Professor Kimmo Rentola)

Question: You said that you were reluctant at first to accept. Can you just say some more about your thought processes at that time?

KN: Well, the main hesitation concerned my academic career. I knew that there would be a price to pay. The presidency was not full-time and I retained my professorship, but of course such a role would take a lot of time and attention. Nevertheless I thought that I could still continue publishing and teaching and that this was also an opportunity for an academic career. I was at that time focusing on studying the process of information society developments. I had to leave that behind but my research interest also included East-West international communication and media in the developing countries. In fact, in my IOJ capacity I got better access to UNESCO’s media policies, including the MacBride Commission, than I would have had as a mere Tampere University professor. Actually, there was one of the most difficult instruments of UNESCO’s diplomacy, the so-called Mass Media Declaration, which at one point threatened to paralyze the whole organisation. Director-General M’Bow from Senegal tried to break a deadlock by setting up a little behind-the-scenes drafting group, composed of one person from the West, a British veteran journalist, one person from the East – me as the IOJ President – and one person from the Third World, a Peruvian diplomat. I had no mandate from the Soviets but I was happy to get inside a hot international communication diplomacy. So the IOJ presidency brought to me opportunities. But the price was high: I spent nearly half of my time in Prague or somewhere else with IOJ engagements while also taking care of my professorial duties. I only had all through these 14 years maybe 3 or 4 months’ leave of absence to concentrate on the IOJ, in addition to normal sabbatical and research leaves, including a year and a half based in Tanzania.

Question: During your tenure as the IOJ President, were you ever approached by western government officials or did they consider you a hopeless case?

KN: I din’t remember any western governments approaching me with specific projects; probably they indeed considered me a hopeless case. I was typically seen as the head of the Prague-based communist organization. On the other hand, my experience of eastern Europe was fairly good, both in governmental and non-governmental circles; they were flexible and accommodating (although I was not approached with specific projects by the eastern governments either). On the western side the governmental attitude was mostly dogmatic with a Cold War mindset.

Question: I'd like to focus on your remark on considerable room for movement or manoeuvre. When you talked about Czechoslovakia and Dubček, you mentioned that there was silence afterwards although there was an initial recognition of the Prague Spring. On the positive side of the story you could promote détente development with the Non-Aligned Movement, etc. Were there certain things which you couldn't say, which couldn't be questioned? Was there a limit to what was possible and what was that limit?

KN: Surely there were limits. For example, press freedom was an issue which was very delicate. I was not too outspoken in all respects. But, relatively speaking, it was more open and the margins were more flexible than I had expected. I think it's the same point that my Finnish colleagues have discovered in their book on cultural exchanges.

Question: What precisely was the nature of press freedom and its limits.

KN: Of course there were limits to press freedom and there was censorship although it was not always officially executed. Then there were dissidents and I never talked to them although I had earlier had some contacts with them. I knew that it would lead to problems and I rather wanted to pursue the positive side. Of course I can now look in the mirror and self-critically ask what I could have done, but I'm pretty sure that it would have been counterproductive for my position. And in a way I was quite happy with the IOJ until the end of 1989, when the communist system began to crumble. My priority was not human rights at the national level; my ambition was to make the IOJ into a force for uniting the world journalist movement. Unfortunately all the fortunes of the empire were rapidly lost in the political and financial crises.

Question: During your presidency was there something that you wanted to say but didn't say?

KN: I don't remember any particular cases. I was too busy with doing what I did. That's a good question. I should go back and contemplate what I could and should have said.

Question: Just wanted to ask whether your role ever brought you into contact with ordinary Soviets or Eastern bloc journalists rather than the elite figures you showed us in your presentation, and if so, whether their membership in this organization was important to their professional identities, and whether that in turn ever conflicted with their own roles as servants of the state. How important was it to be a member of this large international community of fellow professionals for an ordinary Soviet or Czech or Polish journalist?

KN: I had in practice little opportunity to interact very much with rank-and-file journalists, but those whom I could meet, and there was also research which I was following, showed that there was no basic conflict between them and the IOJ. On the other hand I saw a lot of positive potential in the IOJ for the senior and middle-range journalists who typically were involved. The IOJ gave them a platform to reach out beyond their country and the socialist community in eastern Europe. Also, the Finnish journalists who often attended IOJ meetings and workshops throughout the 80s were quite impressed by the way the ordinary journalists welcomed the IOJ activities as a breath of fresh air for them; in addition, the IOJ also brought for them certain prestige in their local circles.

Question: Thinking about your personal trajectory, you didn't tell us a lot about what you had been doing before you got elected to the IOJ. I was wondering whether you'd done any travelling in eastern Europe or had you been studying there.

KN: I was very internationally oriented well before the IOJ. I had been several years a Vice-President of the International Association for Mass Communication Research (IAMCR), and already since the late 1960s I was involved in advising UNESCO on new approaches to communication research. So in that hardcore academic area I was internationally involved and frequently visited Moscow, Berlin, Prague and Cracow. Accordingly, the IOJ did not come to me as completely new mode of internationalism. I had also Third World connections before the IOJ, beginning with a UNESCO consultancy in Malaysia in 1972. On the other hand, I never studied abroad.

Chair Rentola: Thank you very much. I would like to put one final question, for which you can answer simply by yes or no. Have you tried to obtain the personal files prepared on you by eastern European or other security organizations? The Czechs certainly have them and East Germans of course.

KN: It's still on my agenda. I regret that I had no time to do it while preparing this book. I'm sure there is a Stasi file on me and naturally the Czechs must also have compiled one. And the same goes for the Soviets. This is something to be done in due course and to be published as a follow-up article.