A History of the International Movement of Journalists

Professionalism Versus Politics

Kaarle Nordenstreng
Ulf Jonas Björk
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Kaarle Nordenstreng
University of Tampere, Finland

Ulf Jonas Björk
Indiana University, Indianapolis, USA

Frank Beyersdorf
Humboldt University, Germany

Svennik Høyer
University of Oslo, Norway

Epp Lauk
University of Jyväskylä, Finland

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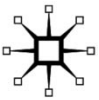

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Foreword

The International Labour Organization (ILO) was created in 1919 as part of the Treaty of Versailles that ended World War I, to reflect the belief that universal and lasting peace can be accomplished only if based on social justice. It pioneered in building a tripartite system of international cooperation on rights at work and labour issues not only between governments but including also employer and worker organizations in its decision making.

I concede that I had not realized how crucial the role of the ILO was in founding the first international federation of professional journalists, the FIJ, in 1926. The ILO can indeed proudly present this among its first achievements, together with the survey *Conditions of Work and Life of Journalists* (1928), which helped to mobilize the profession towards trade unionism.

In the late 1970s, when I was director of the Latin American Institute of Transnational Studies (ILET), I came to know the IOJ as a stalwart supporter of democratization and decolonization of information conditions in the world – a historical project which I was pursuing as member of the MacBride Commission, representing Latin America together with Gabriel García Márquez. But at that time I had no idea that the IOJ was the post-World War II successor to the FIJ – the NGO whose midwife had been the ILO.

It is fascinating to read about all these connections and to see the whole story of the international movement of journalists, beginning with the first conference in Antwerp in 1894 and ending with the new global unity in post-Cold War conditions. It is no simple success story but rather a zigzag of historical turns with many paradoxes. The latest paradox – even irony – is that introduced by the bloggers and other citizen journalists operating outside the organized profession; they, too, are getting internationally organized in order to gain recognition. Journalism certainly offers ample food for thought.

A key issue is globalization, which has a pervasive influence on this profession as on any kind of labour. The World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization at the ILO during my tenure produced a report titled *A Fair Globalization: Creating Opportunities for All* (2004). In assessing the current path of globalization, it notes that the

potential of globalization, in terms of growing connectivity and productive capacity, is immense, but it also points out that the current systems of governance of globalization at national and international levels have not realized such potential for most of the world's people and in many instances have even made matters worse. It reminds us that there can be no successful globalization without successful localization, calling for global governance that is genuinely supportive of national development strategies, where powerful actors are held accountable and where economic and social policies are primarily based on the needs and aspirations of ordinary people.

Such an approach also reminds us that a key contemporary task of professional journalism is to understand, explain and respect global diversity to help shape a positive interaction and dialogue among different cultures. A particular challenge for journalism today is to highlight the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) for 2015–2030. All this resonates well with the aspirations of the professional movement of journalists ever since the late 19th century, as this book shows.

My motto for the ILO – 'Working for social justice is our assessment of the past and our mandate for the future' – unites past and future. A concrete manifestation of this vision is the notion of Decent Work, which is the contemporary expression of ILO core values applicable to journalists today just as in the 1920s when the ILO backed their professional organization. Now Decent Work is included also in the forward-looking SDGs.

It is vital that the profession of journalists should acknowledge and comprehend its past while facing its future under the challenging conditions of globalization and digitalization.

Santiago de Chile, September 2015
Juan Somavia
Director, Diplomatic Academy of Chile
Director-General of the ILO (1999–2012)

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The authors wish to express special thanks to Mr Nils E. Øy from Norway for helping to locate several old photos. Heidi J. S. Tworek and Gabriel Cooper provided invaluable help for chapter three. Ms Virginia Mattila, and Derettens OÜ, provided crucial assistance in checking the English of the book. Derettens OÜ prepared the Index.

Introduction

Kaarle Nordenstreng

This book is an exercise in media history – 'an interdiscipline that brings historical research into dialogue with the unruly tribe of communication theories'.[1] As John Nerone reminds us, media history has produced several narratives such as 'libertarian', 'radical' and 'technological determinist', while it has not led to an established 'grand narrative' – but rather to a state of anarchy. Our contribution to this 'intellectual robustness' is to provide concrete evidence of how journalism as an emerging profession became internationally organized over the past 120 years, seen mainly through the associations founded to promote the interests of journalists around the world. This book is unique; no such history of the movement has so far been published.

Context and focus

Our focus is on a particular aspect of media history – not media at large (press, radio, television, etc.) but on the creative media workers called journalists and their international co-operation. Thus we are a part of what is known as 'journalism history' – an area inextricably linked to the history of Europe[2] and of international news networks.[3] Our exercise coincides with a paradigm shift in history studies in general, known as the 'global turn', whereby traditional imperial histories are increasingly merging with global histories.[4] The internationalization of press associations in the late 19th century is part of what historians call the first globalization. It was based on a massively increasing exchange of goods, people and information between countries. This process called for an intensification of institutional links to standardize cross-border contacts.[5] Although we do not focus on globalization – which is even more pervasive in contemporary media studies[6] – the very topic of our study

falls in this contested territory. Similarly, we find ourselves surrounded by many other trendy areas of media studies, notably: network theory,[7] changing conditions of labour[8] and the challenge of participation.[9]

These theoretical perspectives serve here as a mere reminder of the context of our topic, while our focus is on the empirical level, documenting the international press and journalists' associations from the 1890s to today. Throughout this history there is tension between the professional and political roles of journalists and their international associations, as highlighted in the title of the book. Whereas the evolution of professionalism has its own chapter, politics as a force employing journalists as its overt or covert agents is documented as part of the histories of the various associations. In general, the political side of the equation is left to be understood in light of the contemporary literature.[10]

The concept of a movement is used here in the same sense as in social or cultural movements and not to refer to the physical mobility of journalists. For example, foreign correspondents are not covered in this book as a special category of journalists but rather as journalists in general.[11] The idea of international organizations as movements leads us to consider whether the movement is an outcome of the interests and efforts of its national members or serves as a supranational agency exerting influence over national members. An intriguing perspective on this question is raised by Pertti Alasuutari, who suggests that the globalized world is not led by 'world culture' or 'world models' spreading to national states that act as passive recipients, but that global isomorphism is rather created by local actors introducing global ideas to advance their own views.[12] In this context, local actors appeal to the prestigious views of international organizations that stand for 'epistemic capital' and as a result national policies are synchronized with each other.

The history of the international movement of journalists begins in the late 19th century, when the press in Europe and its colonies was rapidly developing along with political movements and technological innovations, leading to increasing contacts between countries. The chronology of relevant events provided in Appendix I lists two milestones in the 19th century: the International Congress of the Press in Chicago in 1893 and the International Congress of the Press in Antwerp in 1894. The first of these produced no corollary, but the latter became the birthplace of the first international association, the *International Union of Press Associations* (IUPA). It held annual meetings in different cities of

Europe until World War I, but after the war it was gradually superseded by other associations. Antwerp in 1894, leading to the IUPA, is considered to have been the first noteworthy international meeting of journalists, while Chicago in 1893 remains an anecdotal curiosity in history.

IUPA was a common platform of newspaper publishers and journalists, that is, press owners and managers on the one hand and working journalists on the other. At that early stage the two roles were often combined in the same individuals, for example those involved in political party organs. The distinction between owners and workers in the press did not manifest itself until the beginning of the 20th century, when the press was rapidly commercialized. After World War I the two sides gathered mostly around their own international organizations.

Several associations were born in the 1920s – not only in media and journalism but in all walks of life – and one of them became the most prominent in the media field: the *Fédération Internationale des Journalistes* (FIJ), established by working journalists with the support of the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the League of Nations. It flourished for 15 years and then became a victim of World War II. After a wartime intermission, the *International Organization of Journalists* (IOJ) was founded in 1946 to continue the mission of the pre-war FIJ. However, the Cold War caused the IOJ to split in 1949, turning it into one of the Soviet-dominated 'democratic international organizations', while the *International Federation of Journalists* (IFJ) was founded in 1952 as a Western counterforce to the IOJ, under the slogan 'free press and free journalism'. The two internationals continued as rivals until the 1990s, when the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe gradually paralyzed the IOJ, driving the bulk of its members to join the IFJ, which became the single universally representative association of professional journalists.

These associations represented journalists – workers in the service of the press and later broadcasting – and not the editors and publishers of the media. The latter had their own international bodies such as the *International Federation of Newspaper Publishers* (FIEJ) and the *International Press Institute* (IPI), which in the second half of the 20th century became central platforms for promoting the interests of private media proprietors – both as industrial associations and as ideological exponents of press freedom. Some international associations combined the employers and workers: notably the *Commonwealth Press Union* (CPU) and the *International Union of Catholic Press* (UCIP), but they remain as branch

organizations such as several special interest associations of journalists in sports, tourism and so on. A truly international movement of journalists is constituted only by the above-mentioned organizations of journalists, also called professional or working journalists, to distinguish them from the publishers and managers who have their own industrial affiliations.

The movement began in Antwerp in 1984 as a broad platform of 'press people' but later it was divided mainly along employer–worker demarcation lines. This book traces the movement among the working journalists and therefore it is appropriate to call it *A* history.

Genesis of the book

This book has its origins in two independent discoveries in the 1980s. First, the present author – at the time President of the IOJ – was preparing a review for its 40th anniversary in 1986. It turned out that its foundation in 1946 was a logical continuation of the FIJ established in 1926. Further research in the libraries and archives led back as far as 1894, when the first International Congress of the Press was held in Antwerp. The prehistory of the IOJ turned out to be such a goldmine of ideas and adventures around the evolving profession of journalists that it filled a whole volume entitled *Useful Recollections* compiled by me with the then Secretary General of IOJ Jiří Kubka. This book, published by the IOJ in Prague in 1986, became Part I (by Kubka and Nordenstreng) and was followed in 1988 by Part II (by Nordenstreng and Kubka), focusing on the first 40 years of the IOJ. The third volume of *Useful Recollections* (by Nordenstreng) goes on to tell the whole IOJ story until the turn of the century. It has been prepared in parallel to the present book and will be published in Prague, like the two earlier parts, but no longer by the IOJ, which meanwhile had disappeared – indeed receding into history.

The second historical origin is to be found in the research of a young Swedish-born journalism scholar in the USA, at Indiana University in Indianapolis. Ulf Jonas Björk was the first academic to seriously examine the early international associations of journalists. He was prompted to examine the first international conferences and associations of journalists at the turn of the 19th century and presented his first findings in two conference papers, at the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC) and the American Journalism Historians' Association, respectively, in 1991.

The two roots were combined into a book plan in 1994 – a hundred years after the international movement of journalists was established.

Björk agreed to cooperate with me on a book chronicling a hundred years of little known history. However, my other academic commitments prevented any immediate materialization of the plan and it remained on the to-do list for two decades. By 2000, the plan came to involve two more colleagues: media historian Svennik Høyer from Norway and journalism scholar Epp Lauk from Estonia, co-authoring a contribution on the evolution of journalism as a profession. Ten years later another historian, Frank Beyersdorf from Germany, joined the team, with a focus on the period between the two world wars.

Actually the launching ground for the book was Antwerp, where a meeting was held on my initiative to mark the centenary of the beginning of the international movement of journalists. The one-day meeting took place in the Press Club of Antwerp in July 1994 – exactly 100 years after the first International Congress of the Press in Antwerp. Hosted by the International Association for Mass Communication Research (IAMCR) in cooperation with the IFJ and the European Commission,[13] it was attended by 20 journalists and media experts from various European countries. The meeting concluded that 'the history of organized professional journalists needs to be documented and put together into a common volume, based on contributions such as in the earlier "Useful Recollections" published by the IOJ and papers written by Prof. Ulf Jonas Björk'.[14]

The book has four substantive chapters. Chapter 1 provides a context of professionalism, reviewing the evolution of journalism as a profession regardless of its practitioners' international co-operation constellations. Chapter 2 covers the beginning of the movement in the 1890s, when the first international conference was held in Antwerp with the subsequent IUPA, followed by an American-led World Congress of the Press (WCP). Chapter 3 continues with the first trade union-oriented FIJ, founded in 1926 and lasting until World War II. Chapter 4 recounts the momentous post-war developments dominated by the IOJ and IFJ from the mid-1940s to the present time – before, during and after the Cold War. Each of these chapters is based on earlier studies published in various fora. They are drawn together here for the first time in a composite presentation, with the concluding chapter summarizing the main lessons learned from 120 years of history of the movement.

The final section is composed of several appendices providing documentary support for the chapters, beginning with a timeline of relevant events from 1893 on. Further documentation is provided in the three volumes of *Useful Recollections*.[15] These volumes are available online[16] and serve as a reference base for the present book (Figure I.1).

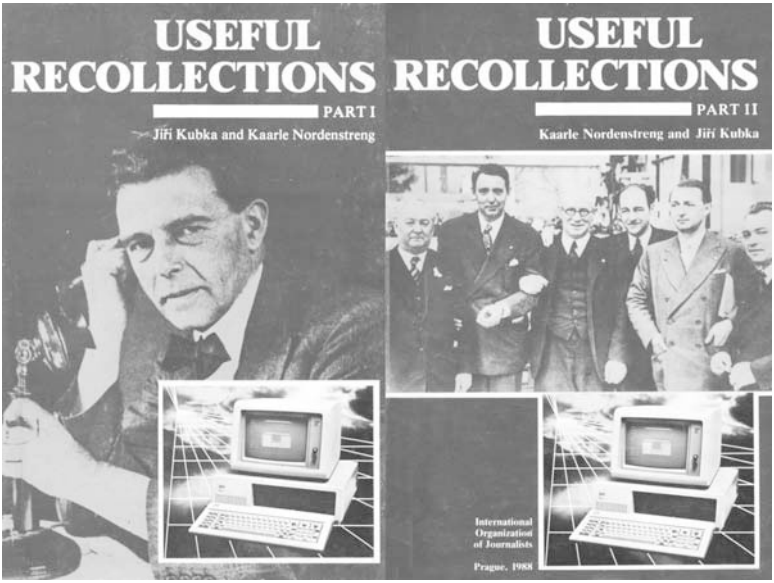

Figure I.1 Covers of *Useful Recollections I* and *II*.

Notes

1. Nerone (2013) 'Introduction: Mapping the Field of Media History', p. 3. [For details of the publications throughout this book, see Bibliography at the end.]
2. Wilke (2013) 'Journalism History: Europe'.
3. Putnis, Kaul and Wilke, eds. (2011) *International Communication and Global News Networks. Historical Perspectives*; Silberstein-Loeb (2014) *The International Distribution of News. The Associated Press, Press Association, and Reuters*.
4. See Kaul, ed. (2006) *Media and the British Empire*; Potter and Saha (2015) 'Global History, Imperial History and Connected Histories of Empire'.
5. See Herren (2001) 'Governmental Internationalism and the Beginning of a New World Order in the Late Nineteenth Century'; Osterhammel (2014) *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century*.
6. See Ampuja (2012) *Theorizing Globalization: A Critique of the Mediatization of Social Theory*.
7. See Castells (2011) 'A Network Theory of Power'.
8. See Fuchs (2014) *Digital Labour and Karl Marx*; Maxwell, ed. (2015) *The Routledge Companion to Media and Labor*.
9. See Carpentier (2011) *Media and Participation. A Site of Ideological-Democratic Struggle*. For a bigger picture of participation as the last stage of normative traditions in long-term communication history (Corporatist, Libertarian, Social Responsibility and Citizen Participation), see Christians, Glasser, McQuail,

Nordenstreng and White (2009) *Normative Theories of the Media. Journalism in Democratic Societies*.

10. An analysis and classification of the political roles of journalists is provided in *Normative Theories of the Media* (see previous note). For a global overview, see Weaver and Willnat, eds. (2012a) *The Global Journalist in the 21st Century*.
11. For a recent review of foreign correspondents in Europe, see Terzis, ed. (2015) *Mapping Foreign Correspondence in European Countries*.
12. Alasuutari (2015) *The Synchronization of National Policies*.
13. The Commission together with the Council of Europe was at that time particularly interested in promoting activities against racism and xenophobia in the media. Therefore half of the day, after reviewing the history of the movement, was devoted to this topical issue. The meeting served as another incentive for the IFJ to launch two months later the 'International Media Working Group Against Racism and Xenophobia' (IMRAX). The meeting was financially supported by the Commission, facilitating the attendance of participants from Central and Eastern Europe (including Epp Lauk from Estonia).
14. Report of the Antwerp international meeting of journalists on 18 July 1994, Attachment of letter to the European Commission, Directorate General X, by Professor C.J. Hamelink, Past President of the IAMCR, 9 September 1994. IAMCR archives.
15. Kubka and Nordenstreng (1986) *Useful Recollections, Part I: Excursion into the History of the International Movement of Journalists*; Nordenstreng and Kubka (1988) *Useful Recollections, Part II: Excursion into the History of the International Movement of Journalists*; Nordenstreng (forthcoming) *Useful Recollections, Part III: The Rise and Fall of the International Organization of Journalists Based in Czechoslovakia*.
16. http://books.google.com/ Also online is a short version of the 120-year history, see Nordenstreng 2014 http://tampub.uta.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/95228/the_international_movement_of_journalists_2014.pdf?sequence=1

1

Frames and Contradictions of the Journalistic Profession

Svennik Høyer and Epp Lauk

Introduction

In his essay *The Soul of Man Under Socialism* Oscar Wilde wrote: 'In old days men had the rack. Now they have the press'. His words reflect the noticeable power the press had acquired in society already by the end of the 19th century. Journalism began to obtain characteristics of a profession, developing from craft towards an occupation demanding certain specific qualities.

The central effort of this chapter is to shed light on some focal points of the development of journalism as a profession throughout history and across nations.

We shall explore three fields that all relate to the process of professionalization. First, we will look at, how journalism became a full-time occupation with some social prestige and with a professional ethics in the 19th and 20th centuries.[1] Then, we will examine how a new text emerged that was distinctly journalistic and finally we will highlight some essential aspects of how education and university studies in journalism started to grow. In the end we will discuss some paradigmatic changes related to professionalism emerging in 21st-century journalism.

The diversified nature of journalism produces many sorts of chronologies when studied cross-nationally. Media technology has its own chronology. Media markets are of widely different sizes and demographics. The number of journalists will also differ widely, compared across markets and over time. Accordingly, the composition of a national press is often unique in many respects, but may not be so in all aspects. Certain factors that are influential in some countries may be marginal or absent in others. The speed of developments in the media systems is uneven. Thus the many chronologies criss-cross – they sometimes

overlap and sometimes are delayed relative to each other. This makes a narrative that is not history in the usual sense, but gives us a lot of examples, which illustrate the many conditions under which the journalism profession developed. Being aware of this, the reader may find it easier to understand the logic of our text.

From craft to occupation

No common agreement exists between scholars whether journalism is a profession, an occupation or simply a craft.[2] 'Hands-on-learning' – usually typical to a craft, is quite frequent in journalism. This differs from doctors or IT specialist, architects and other specialized occupations that are categorized as professions. In liberal media systems, journalism is a 'free' occupation, which does not require the proof of expertise through passing an exam for a license. On the other hand, journalism resembles professions in many ways; as they all share a certain professional ideology that includes codes of ethics, a certain work autonomy and standards of professional excellence. Journalism schools provide specialized training based on research and journalists have professional and trade associations.

As Kevin Barnhurst argues, 'sociologists have considered "professions" either a bundle of traits that characterize certain occupations or a way of organizing occupations that tends to enhance their power'.[3] The central quality of a profession is the relationship of professional workers to knowledge 'that colors their relations with the state, institutions, other groups, and individuals in society. In social communication, news-work is a central case in the history of professionalism'.[4]

Barnhurst's statement echoes the tradition in sociology of professions seeing occupations developing towards professionalism in similar stages, that is, evolving through a 'natural history',[5] along which particular characteristics or traits typical to a profession are emerging.[6] Working from this premise, Lenore O'Boyle assumes that these 'natural histories' are likely to repeat themselves within different countries as they modernize.[7] Geoffrey Millerson's definition captures the core of 'professional work' as: 'a service provided with a variety of specialized skills on the bases of theoretical or scientific knowledge, given by the individual professional according to a given practice controlled by the professional organization'.[8]

Professionalization, however, cannot be depicted only as a linear or unbroken progress of events repeating itself from one country to another because the very idea of a separate journalistic profession is

likely to be challenged differently from one political system to another. Journalism research has challenged almost all elements of the definition of a 'classical profession'.[9] Journalists can hardly practice their occupation as 'individual professionals' (even when working as freelancers), but they are always related to institutional settings – to news organizations.[10] The norms and standards of journalistic work differ largely across countries and also among news organizations. For example, Plaisance et al. confirm that ideological, cultural and societal factors are critical, and influence how 'journalists around the globe approach ethical dilemmas'.[11] Furthermore, while the codes of ethics are mostly addressed to journalists as individuals, social and political institutions articulate responsibilities for the media organizations. When complaints are taken to court or to a self-regulation body (e.g. Press Council), personal responsibilities easily become collective or institutional, the publisher and the editor having the ultimate responsibility for the content.

Journalists' relationship with their audience is definitely not a *client–service provider* relationship. The tasks of journalists consist of understanding society and knowing where important information and relevant opinions are found, and then of knowing how to make this information public and easily understandable. This is the core of professionalism in journalism, which no other profession can perform better. The late professor James W. Carey writes that the true obligation of journalism is to 'provide a common focus of discussion and conversation'[12] and to bring it to a public space where everyone can share it.

Formation of a collective identity of journalism

Until the last decades of the 19th century, newspapers usually employed few if any journalists in middle-sized cities, and only a few editors full-time. For contributions the printers depended on correspondents and a milieu of freelancing writers, which most often belonged to the intellectual upper class: professional people, writers, civil servants, teachers, professors, politicians and the most renowned – the authors. For example, of the authors mentioned in the histories of Norwegian literature for the period 1814–49, 94 per cent were active contributors to the press, and served as editors or sometimes even as publishers. This number fell to 69 per cent for the period of 1870–88.[13] During the first five decades of the 19th century, half of the 114 Finnish editors were university teachers or schoolmasters.[14] Among 38 fully employed journalists in Germany between 1800 and 1848, 27 had worked as lawyers, officers, teachers,

diplomats and so on, before becoming journalists. All had academic degrees and among the 25 part-time employees, five were professors, four rectors, three clergymen, three lawyers and so on.[15] In smaller cities you could find a group of trusted citizens who had a deal with the printer/publisher/editor to contribute to newspapers and journals regularly.

Slowly freelancers got more regular positions, especially in the larger cities. By 1850, the *New York Tribune* employed 12 editors and reporters and bought material from 17 outside reporters. In 1854, the editorial staff had grown to ten associate editors, four fulltime reporters and 38 correspondents. Within the next 20 years, the newspaper craft remarkably diversified, and by 1870, the editorial department included a night editor, a city editor who directed local reporters, a financial editor, a literary editor and a drama and opera critic.[16]

In Europe at this time, London was the most advanced city in newspaper publishing with *The Times* as the leading daily. The number of regular contributors of the major newspapers exceeded 100 in the 1850s. The most numerous contributors were court reporters and foreign and provincial correspondents. The contributors worked from outside the editorial offices, borrowing a desk from where they reported – in Parliament, with the courts, the stock exchange, the police station or the fire department. Literary editors worked where it was most convenient, at home, in public libraries, at school or in the university. The editorial office was reserved for the senior editorial management, working with leading articles, with political and contemporary comments and with organizing the content. Few of the contributors worked for only one newspaper and almost none had journalism as their only income.[17]

The London scenes in the 1850s may be compared to Oslo, the small Norwegian capital, and to *Morgenbladet* as the leading Norwegian daily at the time. The owner and manager's office was on the first floor. The editorial office was a small room adjoining the print office on the ground floor where one of the two tables was reserved for the editor for a few hours until 4 p.m. to meet contributors. In the morning he was available at the public library, and in late afternoon he visited leading civil servants and politicians to collect their manuscripts, which were ordered in advance.[18]

Industrialization of the press

At the turn of the 19th century, in the US and in many European countries, the press became a regular newspaper industry addressed to a mass

market with the help of a new and fabulously efficient technology. The rotary press, made practicably useful in 1846 was improved by *The Times* in London, which could print 11,000 copies per hour in 1848. The invention of newsprint made of pulp and produced in large rolls to be used in rotary presses, further increased the speed and volume of newspaper production.

Falling copy prices opened the market for many new competitors and started a boom in circulation.[19] After a while the threshold of entry into the market was gradually raised by the amount of investments needed in new technology and to meet the payroll of an increased number of journalists. Investments in the metropolitan press intensified to a level where only wealthy businessmen could own newspapers. The start-up investments for newspapers in London increased from approximately £20,000 in 1855 to £150,000 in the 1870s, to £300,000 in 1906–08 and to £750,000 in the 1920s.[20] William S. Solomon concludes similarly for New York: in the space of some 53 years – from 1841 to 1894 – start-up costs had risen from a few thousand dollars to one million.[21] In 1871, Horace Greeley claimed that the production of an issue of his *Tribune* needed between four and five hundred workers at the cost of approximately $20,000.[22]

Low priced newspapers – the so-called penny papers or yellow press – pioneered the more volatile mass market, and eventually developed the sensational and visually oriented tabloid journalism. As low copy prices made it possible to reach new layers of society, a new kind of journalism became both possible and necessary. Tabloids or boulevard newspapers popped up everywhere, for example in New York, London, Paris, Berlin and Copenhagen. In Paris the *Petit Journal* reached a circulation of one million in 1887.

The first business entrepreneur in the Scandinavian press was J. C. Ferslew in Copenhagen who operated in the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s and started altogether four papers, both up-market and down-market at the same time. He demonstrated a clear market strategy unaffected by political ideology. Ferslew had probably the greatest publishing empire in Scandinavia in the 1860s and 1870s. The first of popular papers in Denmark started in 1860 as *Folkets Dagblad* (The People's Daily), which soon reached a wide circulation of 18,000 in 1863. In 1864, Ferslew started a competitor *Dags-Telegrafen* (The Daily Telegraph), which became the market leader around 1872–73. Nine years after his first newspaper Ferslew started *Aftenposten* (Evening Post) in the same market segment. Ferslew's strategy for the downmarket was to avoid opinionated articles in an abstract style. Instead, Ferslew's

editors stressed an apolitical stance, concentrating on news or on interesting trivialities of life in the 'Parisian' style of boulevard papers. This was partly meant to meet the upcoming socialist newspapers and their highly ideological agitation. Finally in 1876 Ferslew started *Nationaltidende* (The National Daily) with an aim not so much to gain a profit or to pronounce a social or political programme as to gain prestige in the upmarket.[23]

Other traits of the period were increased advertising, compensating for many investments, but adding to the fierce competition between papers. The first advertising agencies in the United States came in the 1840s. By 1897, the total input of advertising was approximately 350 million advertisements distributed over 16,000 newspapers.[24]

The relationship between increasing advertising and decreasing partisanship has for long been the topic of an intense academic dispute in the historiography of the American press, since Frank Luther Mott published his *American Journalism. A History: 1690–1940* in 1941,[25] where he claimed that advertising and commercialism decreased partisanship in the press and made it independent. Gerald Baldasty concludes, like Mott, that the amount of partisan news decreased as a result of commercialization in this period.[26] The causal link between changing technology and changes in journalism, however, is strongly challenged by Michael Schudson,[27] who demonstrates the opposite of Baldasty, namely that in amount of column space, political reporting increased in the period.

News workers begin to organize

More regular work became available for newspapermen, news-workers, news-hunters, journalists, or in Germany 'Zeitungsschreiber', in Italy 'novelante' – or whatever was the favourite term for an aspiring profession. This was a new breed of writers for the 20th century, identifying themselves with their occupation and being increasingly fully employed. Gradually, a sense of a 'common guild' emerged, which sought for legitimacy among other occupations and the readers. The questions arose: Who is in and who is out? What are the particularities of this occupation? Who can be regarded a newspaperman/journalist?

The need for legitimacy and higher status, as well as for defending the values of the occupation, gave impetus to establishing associations of newspapermen. In 1917, the chairman of the Norwegian Conservative Press Association and editor Torstein Diesen characterized the

situation of journalists during the previous two decades in rather dark terms:

> A whole lot of us have collapsed at an all too young age. Journalistic work has been nerve-racking, a strain on the willpower, and all out exhausting, yet we have not attained the recognition we deserve, which is necessary for social progress. Daily we – the gentlemen of the press – must fight remnants of a prejudice that journalists and editors are a collection of hungry individuals, failed survivors, useless for normal work.[28]

The perception of the low social status of journalists and the need for an organization to raise their status permeates statements by European journalists at the turn of the century, but was absent in US discussions.

News workers started to organize like many trades in the late 19th century: first as social clubs, then as interest organizations and finally as combined organizations representing both economic demands and professional values. Associations for journalists appeared both on the local and national level: in Germany in the 1860s–1870s, in Scandinavia in 1880s–1890s, and in the Baltic countries in the 1900s–1920s (Figures 1.1 and 1.2).

Figure 1.1 The first Nordic press congress in Kristiania (Oslo) in 1899 pictured in Bygdø Sjøbad (Seabath), where king Oscar II gave a reception for the participants – all men except the young princess in the middle.
Source: Norwegian Press Association.

Figure 1.2 First national congress of Estonian journalists in Tallinn in 1909. Four ladies in the front row show that the predominantly male profession began to have some female flavour, although in these years women served mostly as proofreaders.
Source: Lauk et al. 2000.

Great Britain has the longest unbroken tradition of journalism as a regular occupation, and saw the formation of its pioneering Newspaper Society as early as in 1836. The National Association of Journalists with professional aims came in 1884 and founded the Institute of Journalists in 1890. A trade union – the National Union of Journalists – emerged only in 1907.

Associations in the United States did not cover both editors and journalists or to some extent publishers, like the early European associations. The American Newspaper Publisher Association came into being in 1887. The US news workers began to organize only in the 1890s, since publishers strongly opposed journalists' trade unions,[29] and finally founded The Newspaper Guild in 1933, which eventually became an effective organization for wage negotiations.

The first goals of the journalists' organizations were to define journalism as an occupation, to discuss among journalists themselves the problems with the authorities, to invite delegates from journalists' organizations in other countries to their conferences, and to represent the national associations internationally. As Ulf Jonas Björk found in his review of the Press Congress of the World of the 1920s,[30] the delegates had a rather ambitious view of what might become the professional status of journalists, stressing education, the

importance of professional associations and a code of professional ethics.

In national contexts journalists obviously developed a kind of 'double bind', being loyal to their newspaper and its ideology and then, secondly, to the ideals of their own craft. In Scandinavia, with a party press, press organizations were often early founded on a political basis, as press organizations for the conservative, the liberal and the labour press. These organizations were for long a barrier to the formation of national and non-political professional organization. By forming trade unions, journalists were labelled as defectors from the ideological platform of their publication, which raised prompt animosity from publishers and editors. Editors reserved for themselves the role as public spokesmen who defined the ideals of journalism.[31]

Only in the 1920s did codes of ethics begin to appear to which both journalists and editors could appeal to in conflicts. Dicken-Garcia finds in her comprehensive review of the public debate of journalistic standards in 19th-century America that in her material the word *ethics* appears for the first time in 1889.[32] Internationally: a French code of ethics for journalists dates back to 1918, a Swedish to 1923, and a Norwegian to 1936. A survey of 28 European countries, however, revealed ethics codes were in most cases adopted only from the early 1950s onwards.[33]

Thus, by the beginning of the 20th century, when the press was being industrialized in many countries, journalism had acquired several features approximating journalists to well-to-do professions like teachers, lawyers and the like. Journalism had become a regular occupation with a certain common identity and ethics that united journalists, and aspired to establish its own organizations to bolster the legitimacy of the occupation and raise the social status of its practitioners. Simultaneously, the increasing commercial pressures of the fluctuating press markets and competition for the readers and advertisers accelerated diversification and specialization of the editorial and news work.

Journalism obtained new dimensions and qualities along with the appearance of broadcasting in the 20th century, when the press ceased to be the only means of mass communication. The advent of television after World War II marked the emergence of 'the audience', and mass communication became 'the media'. Within this framework, notions such as 'professionalism', 'objectivity' and 'trustworthiness', 'accountability' and 'journalism ethics' as well as education became important

elements when discussing journalism as a profession. In addition, the relationship between journalists and public altered remarkably in comparison with the previous century.

Ambivalence of the status of journalists

Within approximately a century, from the first decades of the 20th century to the beginning of the 21st century the working environments and societal contexts for the journalistic profession evolved at a high speed. Journalists needed to consolidate their status as professionals, simultaneously adapting to the emerging new ways of work practices and changing division of functions in the newsrooms.

The increasing specialization of work tasks formalized the news organizations and clearer occupational hierarchies started to take shape. The specialization among journalists according to the fields they covered (politics, economy, sports, etc.) enlarged in the first decades of the 20th century, the subeditors appeared, then columnists, proofreaders, cartoonists and photographers. Along with the technological developments, the speed of the news work increased. Reporters were hired to hunt news and sensation, always in the haste to meet deadlines. Their education or qualifications were mostly irrelevant. The working conditions of reporters were not much different from the end of the past century, when, according to Curtis Smythe, journalists worked more and were paid less than plumbers, and not much more than compositors; and they were paid for volume of work in terms of column inches and lines printed, not for quality; they were hired and fired at the will of publishers.[34] Even editors were easily sacked when publishers became dissatisfied with how editors interpreted their intentions. Oral agreements mostly served for job contracts.

The reporters stood at the lowest rung in the editorial hierarchy. When in 1924, an Estonian newspaper published the list of their editorial staff, a man named 'reporter' became so insulted that he went into a pub and got as drunk as a skunk.[35] Arthur J. Kaul called American journalists in this period 'proletarian professionals'. Professionalism concealed latent class conflicts in the press, he claims.[36]

A contrast existed between the objective description of journalism and the subjective image, which journalists held of their work. Journalists endured long hours in news-factories combined with low wages and a lack of job security, and were exploited by publishers bent on earning money. Some editors – like Pulitzer, Hearst, Northcliffe, Beaverbrook and others – were incredibly rich. This system, of course, caused disdain

among the poorly paid journalists, both towards the editors and owners, and towards the practical value of their higher education.[37]

Journalists, however, rarely thought that low wages made them 'workers'. The charm and appeal of power and social respect, of being close to where important decision were made, gave many journalist an upward boost in social prestige and self-esteem. Being the last person before publication responsible for the content, journalists were also closer to public responses than other groups in the newspaper industry.

The demands to establish qualification criteria for journalists, controlled by the professional organizations, became frequent in the press circles during the interwar period. Journalists identified themselves with white-collar occupations and not with trade union 'proletarians'. Hence, the emphasis on public service function and the ideals of impartiality and objectivity served well as distinctive elements of the developing professional ideology, especially as they were part of a general cultural 'zeitgeist' in the early 20th century.[38]

Objectivity, as the corner stone of the Anglo–American model of free and democratic journalism, was interpreted as a precondition for truthful and accurate reporting, free from bias and personal perspective. On the other hand, the professionalization of journalism with its public service ethos, has been seen as an 'adaptation manoeuvre' to insulate newspaper owners/publishers against profit-threatening commercial crises, class conflicts, and public disenchantment with the press.[39] It was in publishers' interests to bind journalism to socially and politically established 'objective' facts and opinions – most often represented by the elite.[40] By infusing journalists with an ideal of apolitical professionalism, politically deviant opinions could be controlled. Professional objectivity defused any radical potentialities that news comments could harbour. This applied across ideologies, which undermined the objectivity ideal. Possibly, this is also one of the reasons, why throughout the second half of the 20th century, journalists and researchers frequently discussed and even questioned the objectivity criterion.[41]

A modified interpretation of objectivity, which emphasizes factuality and balance as the main elements of 'objective' reporting, seems to have replaced the focus on the neutrality of representation. Objectivity is seen more as an element of the process of choice than a format of representation.[42] Today opinions have moved from a focus on the text to a focus of the attitudes of journalists. In 1996, *The Society of Professional Journalists* in the US dropped the notion of journalistic

'objectivity' as the key criterion for professionalism and emphasized accuracy, honesty and fairness of reporting instead.[43] In the revision of its code of ethics in 1994 *The Norwegian Press Association*, which includes both editors and journalists, emphasized 'credibility' of the text and the 'integrity' of journalists; in the 2001 revisions, 'accountability' and 'self-consciousness' by reporters were highlighted.[44]

Cornerstones of professionalization: Texts, skills and knowledge

The appearance of a specific journalistic text around the turn of the 19th century was also a sign of emerging professionalism. Barnhurst and Nerone assert that it was the regular use of newswires, which was the main incentive to develop the news-story as a distinct genre in American newspapers.[45] The gradual development of special education in journalism contributed to the formation of the body of specific knowledge, professional ideology and standards, as well as distinguishing the boundaries of the profession.

News journalism as a distinct text genre

The advent of newswire in the 1850s contributed to the development of the 'inverted pyramid' form of news stories. The most important and new information was put into the title and the 'lead', which encapsulated the kernel of the story. This gave journalists some leeway as to which aspects of an event should be stressed as the most important, thus indirectly contributing to the social definition of the event. The appearance of a specific journalistic text around the turn of the 19th century was also a sign of emerging professionalism.

When fact based reporting and 'objectivity' became central principles of journalistic discourse, the character of relationship between journalists and their texts started to change. News interview – an innovation in American journalism of the 1870s and 1880s – reserved opinions for experts, while the evaluations of journalists should be kept silent. The questioning technique put the sources of information on the defensive, but also required a bargaining strength on the part of journalists, which they took from the prestige of a growing newspaper industry. Mastering these routines, journalists could more easily decide what was important and relevant for their readers, and then seek their desired information where it was accessible. Newspapers were no longer dependent on the evaluation of an elite, who traditionally had given their information

and opinions by calling the attention of an editor or writing articles themselves when it suited their own interests.

Along with the ascending news press, manned by reporters rather than by opinionated writers, the age of the front-page editorial was over. In the 1890s, the editorial was moved inside the newspaper to a special editorial page. Gradually, the front page also became the space for the most important and expensive advertisements, which reflects the growing competition in the press market.

But the 'new journalism', as it was termed at the time, was slow in coming. Harold Stensaas recorded the growth of several indicators of textual forms in six American newspapers during five 10-year periods spaced evenly over 90 years post Civil-War period up to the post-World War II period.[46] He found that the use of 'objectivity', the 'inverted pyramid', and authoritative information sources was rare in the 1865–85 period, but increased and became nearly universal after 1925. Since 1905, the standard news story was an objective report written in the inverted pyramid format citing authoritative sources. This news format – rooted deeply in the Anglo–American liberal model of journalism – travelled to other parts of the world at the beginning of the 20th century.

Danish editor Henrik Cavling was the first in Scandinavia to introduce 'American style' journalism in the early 1900s. He had visited the US several times in the 1880s and 1890s and was much impressed by American journalism. After becoming the editor of a major Copenhagen daily *Politiken* in 1905, he changed the newspaper instantly by giving priority to topical news on the front page and hiding editorials and comments inside on special pages. Influenced by Cavling's example the deputy editor Oscar Hemberg of *Dagens Nyheter* in Stockholm reshaped his paper after an American model.[47] In the Baltic countries, narrative storytelling continued along with 'telegram' news (as translations of telegraph news from Russian via the Russian Telegraph Agency) until the end of World War I. In Estonia, the genre conventions of news story modernized as late as the 1920s, when the Estonian press slightly developed towards an Anglo–American news paradigm.[48] There was also a connecting link between Scandinavian, American and Estonian journalisms: a well-travelled Estonian journalist Harald Wellner, who also worked as news correspondent for Scandinavian newspapers, was a proponent of 'American style' journalism in Estonia. He also published a handbook for journalists (*Reporter*) in 1932,[49] which introduced the basic techniques of news gathering and reporting, following the American example (Figures 1.3 and 1.4).

"See noormees elab kuritöödest!"
? ? ?!
"Ta kirjutab ajalehtedes kuritöö sõnumeid!"
(*Gori joonistus. Õitsituled V, 1926*)

Figure 1.3 Cartoon from Estonia by the famous cartoonist and journalist Vello Agori (Gori) in 1926. The caption reads: 'This young man makes his living with crimes!' ???! 'He writes crime news for newspapers!'
Source: Lauk et al. 2000.

Figure 1.4 Cover of the first handbook for journalists in Estonian *Reporter, The techniques of newspaper writing*, written by a well-known journalist Harald Wellner in 1932.
Source: Lauk et al. 2000.

Even more than genre or representation standards, the advancement of communication technology changed the relationship between the journalistic text and its creator, and also diversified journalistic work and altered its environment. Radio multiplied the possibilities of using the word, and various new genres developed, which led to the emergence of a new kind of journalism – radio journalism. Journalists became known not only via their texts, but also very much by their voice. The distance between the journalists and their texts increased in news broadcasts, where newsreaders and not journalists themselves presented the texts.[50] On the other hand, radio enabled more immediate contact with public, who were not only readers anymore, but also the audience. The interview received new dimensions on radio, and later on television, becoming the main tool for both newsgathering and news presenting. Simultaneously, journalistic work developed into teamwork – not only on radio and television, but also in the newspaper editorial offices, where journalists maintained only partial control over their texts. The 'computerization' of the editorial process during the 1980s and 1990s changed journalism from a creative work into an industrial production with a strictly pre-planned structure of pages, and consequently – the format and content of the stories.

Journalism education and research

The first decades of the 20th century saw the early beginning of journalism as part of university studies. In the United States, schools of journalism were founded at the University of Missouri in 1908 and at Columbia University in New York in 1912.[51] The first institute and chair of 'Zeitungskunde' in European universities was established at the University of Leipzig in 1916 with Karl Bücher as head and professor.[52] Regular studies in journalism outside Germany were started with seminars on journalism in Zurich and Bern in 1903, in King's College, City University of London between 1922 and 1939, and in Finland with a 2-year course in journalism at the college level from 1925.[53]

Journalism training in Poland started as early as 1917 with the first school of journalism established in Warsaw, and in following years also in Cracow and Poznan.[54] In the Baltic countries, Lithuania was the only one to establish courses for journalists in 1922 by the news agency ELTA and 1926 by the daily *Trimitas*. In 1933, several news organizations together arranged a national distance-learning programme (*Journalism Courses at Home*), in which about 500 journalists participated. In the

University of Kaunas, lectures on journalism started in 1925, but the Department of Journalism was not opened until 1941, during the Nazi occupation, and closed again together with the whole university in spring 1943.[55] For most of Western Europe, regular trade schools and university studies in journalism were added after World War II. In the countries controlled or occupied by the Soviet Union, Communist Parties supervised journalism education, since journalism was regarded as an ideological occupation for the support of socialist/communist political systems. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, these countries started to rebuild their journalism education, taking example from the principles of the 'Western/liberal' model of journalism. In 1990, the European Journalism Training Association (EJTA) was established in Brussels. Today, it unites 55 journalism teaching centres and universities from 24 countries across Europe. They work together to improve journalism education in Europe, enabling members to collaborate on exchanges and teaching and research projects, and meet regularly to exchange ideas and information.[56]

As an independent field of research, journalism established itself by the beginning of the 2000s. When the journal *Journalism: Theory, Practice and Criticism* was launched in 2000, it largely discussed the questions: 'What is journalism studies? What are the objects, methods, approaches and theories of it? What is the future of journalism studies?'

We know from history that early attempts at conceptualizing journalism as a specific science were not successful. The efforts of German *Zeitungswissenschaft* ('newspaper science') in the 1930s and *Publizistikwissenschaft* ('journalism science') from the 1960s onwards to define specific objects, methods and theories of journalism as science, arrived at a conclusion that this *Wissenschaft* ('science') is a certain junction of various disciplines.[57] Although 'journalism science' as such does not exist, 'journalism studies' has achieved the status of an independent multidisciplinary field of research, which combines a range of methodological approaches that are used in various fields of scholarship. A large community of journalism scholars exists, who contribute to a number of specialized academic and professional journals. Academic journalism education in many countries uses scholarly research as the basis of professional knowledge. Journalism-specific theories are developing (e.g. gate-keeping theory, agenda-setting theory; several theoretical concepts for studying news, news sociology). Journalism studies provide the necessary vocabulary for public discussions and critical analysis of how the 'watchdog' is doing.

Professional ideology – A variety of roles and values globally

The discourse of 'free and responsible press' as the ideal of professional journalism goes back to the 1940s, when ownership concentration and increasing political and economic influence of the media companies in the United States initiated a debate of the media's role in a democratic society. The Report of the Hutchins Commission in 1947 declared that moral obligation of the 'agencies of mass communication' is to prioritize the needs of society and stated that only their responsible performance can guarantee them freedom from government control.[58] In the consequent decades, this concept seeped into the international discourse, where the liberal model took shape in the attempts of journalists' organizations to define professional journalism.[59] This model views the media as a communication channel between government and citizens, but still professionally separated from the government. The media are to provide citizens with objective, balanced information, necessary for individual decision-making. Their main task is to form and mediate public opinion, scrutinize and criticize the activities of politicians and of the power elite in general. In order to fulfil these functions, the media must have legal and institutional support from the state, such as protections of freedom of expression, access to information and an independent judiciary. In turn, the media are expected to use their power responsibly and to establish self-regulatory institutions in order to safeguard this responsibility.

Although there is a big discrepancy between this model and reality (for instance, the impact of self-regulation on media performance is rather an exception than a rule), the liberal model has become a shared ideology in industrialized countries for the professionalization and for interpretation of the mass media systems.[60] Furthermore, it has also become the basis of journalism education, especially at the university level. The success of this model in forming the perceptions of professional roles of journalists clearly appears in the study by Colin Sparks and Slavko Splichal of journalism freshmen from 22 countries. They concluded that, measured by their attitudes, there is not a typical 'European', 'Western European', 'American', 'Latin-American', 'socialist' or any other politically or geographically defined student of journalism.[61] University education very obviously promotes the Anglo–American journalism model as a transcultural professional canon and a unified perception of roles, which journalism graduates acquire globally.

When it comes to practitioners who are not always journalism graduates – and the representative surveys always include them as well – the picture changes remarkably. The global surveys, done by the teams of David H. Weaver in 21 countries between 1986 and 1996 (among more than 20,000 journalists) and in 31 countries between 1996 and 2011 (among 29,000 journalists) reveal that journalists in different countries represent a variety of attitudes towards professional values.[62] Compared nation by nation the survey answers demonstrate little or no international consensus about the purpose of journalism, except to bring the news as fast as possible to the audience. There 'are strong national differences that override any universal professional norm or values of journalism around the world.... 'In short, it seems that no country or territory has a monopoly on professionalism among journalists'.[63]

A comparative study on ethical orientations of journalists in 18 countries by Patrick Lee Plaisance, Elizabeth A. Skewes and Thomas Hanitzsch also demonstrates that 'ethical orientations do indeed vary across news organizations'[64] and that 'country-level differences matter more than [media] organizational differences'. 'Ideological, cultural and societal factors [...] are critical, and sometimes, dominant, influences on the way journalists around the globe approach ethical dilemmas'.[65]

In their seminal work *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics*, Daniel Hallin and Paolo Mancini take professionalism as one of the dimensions for outlining the three models of media systems: Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist, North/Central European or Democratic Corporatist and North Atlantic or Liberal model.[66] The names of the models well reflect the areas, which had to some extent similar features of journalistic professionalism. The differences between the models, however, were bigger than the similarities among the countries.

After the collapse of the Soviet communist regimes in Europe, journalists and media professionals in former communist bloc countries faced the task of re-evaluating and redefining the role of the media and journalists in society. It was largely assumed that the newly free media in democratizing societies would naturally follow the path of the liberal model of journalism. However, regardless of numerous efforts to export the liberal model (sometimes also put on a par with 'Western' journalism) and experiences of 'profession-building' to Eastern-Central European new democracies, there was no success in replacing the communist model with a liberal or Western one,[67] although the favourable framework of democratic government, market economy and freedoms

of the press and expression were present. The research, conducted in some of these countries in the 1990s, demonstrated that the value systems of the societies and journalisms were incompatible with the liberal concept. According to a Latvian survey conducted in 1998, journalists still largely saw themselves as providers of opinion and interpretation (53 per cent of Russian-speaking journalists and 32 per cent of Latvian-speaking journalists) and guardians of the public's interests (53 per cent of Russian-speaking journalists and 36 per cent of Latvian-speaking journalists). In Estonia, a quarter of journalists in 1995 believed that helping people to form opinion, to influence their value assessments and attitudes is a very important task of journalists, while another 58 per cent considered it important. The only adopted 'Western' role model was that of a quick transmitter of information.[68]

Nurhaya Muchtar and Thomas Hanitzsch describe a similar situation concerning the efforts to introduce the liberal model in Indonesian journalism.[69] They conclude that 'adoption of Western journalism practices was hampered at least temporarily by various factors, most notably a clash of professional values during training in addition to tough competition and the high costs of news production'.[70]

Furthermore, the ideals and values of the liberal model, though theoretically widely appreciated, do not fully function in journalism practices even in Western countries. Taking an example from Italian journalism, Mancini argues that 'there is a striking contradiction between a sort of theoretical wisdom diffused among most of the professionals (journalism has to be neutral and detached from power) and the real practice (journalists are advocates and close to different social powers)'.[71] The higher the degree of media commercialization and uncertainty of balance between public and business interests, the lower the chances of journalists adhering to their professional ideals.

During the 25 years of transformation of society and the media systems, the education of journalists in Central and Eastern European countries (especially those, which have joined the European Union) has closely followed the philosophy of the liberal model and in this way, contributed to the adoption of its values and standards among journalists. Thus, even if the actual adherence to these values and standards varies from country to country, journalists appear to appreciate them and largely base their evaluation of professional performance on the criteria of the liberal model.[72]

Comparisons of codes of ethics show certain global agreement on some central professional values. In 1994–95, the Department of

Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Tampere collected codes of professional conduct from 31 European countries from the Atlantic to the Urals.[73] The most widely accepted responsibilities for journalists in these documents are the accountability towards the public and towards sources and referents.[74] Yehiel Limor and Itai Himelboim compared 242 codes of ethics from around the globe[75] and concluded that media organizations worldwide have adopted mainly US norms and ideals of professional conduct, and therefore, being neutral, distant from politics and loci of power appear as central qualities of professional journalist.

The idea that rapidly developing online journalism may reshape the traditional model and role of journalism is a common theme in much of the research and is also shared by many journalists working in online news services.[76] On the Internet, journalism obtains new dimensions that affect a number of ethical issues and give them different significance for journalists and the public than before the Internet era. Cooper lists 40 effects created by new technology that are inextricably linked to ethical issues.[77] He argues that each new communication technology retrieves, amplifies, transforms, obsolesces or mixes ethical issues from the past or creates new issues for the future.

Among crucial issues related to the ethics online are credibility and verification of information. The possibility of using hyperlinks enables journalists to be more transparent about the sources of their stories and provide the readers with additional information about the issue concerned. It is not easy to track down the original source of the material if there is no reference or link to it, and this makes unauthorized copy-paste tempting. This is both a legal and moral issue. Copyright laws give a general framework for using somebody else's creative production or intellectual property. In journalism, concerning quoting or borrowing from another media outlet, two practices exist: the rules may be inserted in the codes of ethics (e.g. Finland) or agreed upon among news media organizations (e.g. Estonia).

Various ethical problems also arise in connection with online news-gathering methods, for example identifying as a journalist when joining online groups; protection of sources, when every bit of information can be 'googled'[78], quoting email messages in the stories and so on. An important ethical issue arises concerning online archives of news outlets, where the editorial offices are to decide what should be stored and preserved and what should not.[79] How all these issues will be addressed in the ethical codes is yet to be seen. Richard van der Wurff

and Klaus Schönbach, on the basis of interviews with 60 experts in the Netherlands, propose 'a voluntary but binding code of journalistic conduct as an instrument to protect and stimulate the quality of journalism in the online environment.[80] The proposed code is strongly focused. It only contains the core standards of journalism: a relatively small selection of the norms to be found in virtually all traditional journalistic codes all over the world'.[81]

Alternative journalistic cultures

Journalistic cultures, different from the Anglo–American culture, existed on the continent of Europe and developed differently due to historical circumstances, especially in Russia and the Soviet Union. In 1902, Lenin wrote – in his pamphlet *What Is to Be Done?* – that 'objectivity' should not, by any means, be a quality of the party press for communists. Journalism should be subjective, in the sense that it should always defend and advance the cause of the party. This became a foundation for the press and media all over the Soviet Union and its satellite countries for four decades following World War II.[82]

The strictly censored journalism in the Soviet Union contained no dramatic or sensational news: no accidents, no murder, adulteries or corruptions. The news focused exclusively on positive occurrences. Important news could be delayed for many days or not reported at all for ideological reasons. Political decisions and important events were published only when the party found it opportune. The interpretation of history was reserved for party officials and for approved historians. News stories in the Soviet media followed a chronological order, except in newswires delivered by foreign news agencies.[83] The 'inverted pyramid' was re-introduced in Estonian journalism only in the early 1990s, when censorship and ideological supervision were removed. However, the genre standards of liberal journalism were adapted to only a certain degree in Central and Eastern European countries. The efforts of thousands of Western experts who flooded Central and Eastern Europe almost immediately after political changes had occurred were only conditionally successful in exporting their journalistic philosophy to these countries. In many countries (Hungary, Slovakia, Romania, Estonia, Latvia, etc.), where, historically, the early press had strongly contributed to nation building, the development of national culture, languages, literature and education, literary traditions valuing individual style and expression maintained continuity in the news discourse.[84]

Polish journalism, for example, had gone through a far-reaching modernization and professionalization process in the 1900s–1930s, in several aspects different from the Anglo–American model. Polish journalism remained closely connected with literature and arts, and preserves the narrative/literary style up to the present day. Polish journalists do not regard themselves proponents of fact-centred journalism, but 'tend to give their stories an individual touch by playing with words, creating pictures, using associations and providing interpretations'.[85] The most famous Polish reporter – Ryszard Kapuscinski – used a literary style that was not accepted for Western journalists, even when he wrote from Africa. As Pamela Shoemaker and Akiba Cohen found in their ten-nations study; social and political system differences influence the attitudes of journalists also of what and how news can be published.[86] Local criteria of what ought to be selected and published as national and local news dominate the editing process. The same is not true about news agency dispatches and today's online news production, where the primary criteria are speed and prominence (Figures 1.5 and 1.6).

Journalism and innovative communication technologies

The introduction of computers both in the printing and in the editing of newspapers radically changed editorial routines and the internal chains of command. Merja Helle,[87] a former experienced journalist, describes how computer technology changed editorial routines in a large Finnish newspaper. Computer technology shifted the focus of collegial discussions from the individual news story towards the whole newspaper edition. Jobs could rotate across earlier professional borders and – as one particular consequence – it removed the task of the former news evening subeditor.

In Helle's analysis, news stories are not primarily authored individually; they are as much planned in groups, co-authored and co-edited. Stories can be written directly into the editorial database, even from overseas locations. 'Computer assisted reporting' was the name of the game. Today, various layout and design programmes are used, which enable processing the texts quickly and present content both in print and online.

From the early 1990s, the Internet underwent an exponential growth. This quickly brought journalism online. Journalists started writing stories in two versions: one for print and another for the Internet. A new type of journalism – online journalism – emerged by the late 1990s

Figure 1.5 Before computers and Internet, the teleprinter was the main technology for distributing news from the 1950s onwards. Its predecessor was the German 'Hell-Schriber', used in Southern Norway before the onset of World War II, seen here in the Editorial office of *Lofotposten*, the biggest newspaper in Northern Norway, where it was brought by the Nazi occupiers in 1941. The news agency telegrams were printed on long strips of paper and re-written or glued onto sheets for further production.
Source: Lofotposten.

along print, radio and television journalism, with its own specific journalistic characteristics.[88] Mark Deuze defines three new dimensions of journalistic work online: The online journalist has to make decisions as to which media format or formats best convey a certain story (multi-mediality), consider options for the public to respond, interact or even customize certain stories (interactivity), and think about ways to connect the story to other stories, archives, resources and so forth through hyperlinks (hypertextuality).[89] All these dimensions carry even more weight within the context of convergence of newsrooms, which involves close co-operation between formerly distinct newsrooms and various other parts of a modern media company.[90] Through convergence, online journalism transforms into multimedia journalism. Journalists are required to simultaneously serve multiple platforms by

Figure 1.6 After the war the profession was reaching out for new international contacts. Norwegian journalists were privileged to visiting the first UN Secretary General Trygve Lie (a Norwegian social democrat) in New York in September 1946. Around Lie in the photo are among others chief editors of *Aftenposten, Dagbladet, Verdens Gang* and news agency NTB. The last on the right is Tor Gjesdal, the Norwegian who was elected as one of the IOJ Vice Presidents in June 1946 and soon thereafter moved to New York as director of the UN information department.
Source: Aftenposten/Scanpics.

making versions of the one story for print, TV or radio, tablet, mobile and the web.

In the technology-centred newsrooms, the requirements for technical skills of journalists are continuously rising. In the BBC, tech-savvy journalists have taken on a new centrality.[91] The changes are rapid and require quick re-skilling, which appears difficult especially to the older generations. Kaarina Nikunen, studying consequences of convergence in Finnish newsrooms, found that older journalists were easily made redundant, mostly for economic reasons.[92] In the process of convergence, they 'struggled to hold on to their professional values and notions of expertise when, in practice, they had difficulties in bringing their expertise into use'. She demonstrates how technological and economic imperatives challenge journalistic autonomy and professional identity: in the integrated newsrooms, experienced journalists who were specialized to cover certain fields were 'required to be able to move

from one subject area to another, to adapt and to hold a broad base of skills… In this new situation, they no longer had the time for, or the possibility of, following their area of specialization as intensively as before and they had to adapt to the increasingly intense daily rhythm of "the new" news production'.[93] The increased multi-skilling is another change that affects the sense of expertise and professional identity, as it leaves less time for fact checking and contextualizing the news.

Paradigmatic changes in early 21st-century journalism

The development and global adoption of communication technology have acquired speed in the 21st century. When it took about 200 years for printing technology to spread throughout Europe, Twitter needed only 6 years to reach 100 million users (from 2006 to 2012) and another 2 years to double this number. The use of smart phones is growing exponentially to over 2 billion users today, replacing computers as input devices.

Today, in addition to providing new platforms and formats for content (blogs, wikis, video-sharing sites), Web 2.0 enables users to interact on social-media sites (for instance Facebook as the most popular) and to become creators, publishers and transmitters of content. 'User-generated content' and 'citizen journalism' are phenomena that have radically changed the relationship between the journalist and audience.

From gatekeeper to gate watcher

In addition to the enlargement of audience participation in content production, Nico Drok outlines five more innovative trends developing in the 21st-century journalism and journalistic work.[94] First, the availability of an abundance of information makes it essential for journalists to be able to convey trustworthy and reliable information. 'Efforts to establish an image of reliability should substitute the old tenet of objectivity with transparency'.[95] Second, 'the role of gathering and quickly disseminating information becomes less important than that of analysing and contextualizing it' to help people to navigate through postmodern life.[96] The former 'gate-keeper' is turning into 'gate-watcher', a navigator who is filtering, structuring, recalibrating and contextualizing news instead of creating/writing them.[97] Third, fixed genres need to be discussed and renewed to meet the growing need for a variety of genres and narrative forms. 'Such story-telling elements as multiple layers in the story, multiple perspectives, tension

and recognition . . . should be incorporated more often into the daily routines'.[98] Personalized and varying narrative remains a property of professional journalists even if robots/algorithms take over the production of news. The first steps towards automated news production have been already done, and it is a growing trend. Fourth, journalists must have skills to provide content for a variety of platforms (cross-media function), and be familiar with the peculiarities of various media. Finally, Drok also mentions the growing need for journalistic entrepreneurship, which demands the understanding of the market and the economy of journalism.[99]

From employee to entrepreneur

Journalists can no longer expect to be employed fulltime by the news organizations throughout their job careers. Increasingly, journalists establish their own small enterprises ('one-man-orchestras' or co-operatives), which not only produce, but also distribute and sell the content, mainly through the web. Unlike in the 'old times', described earlier in this chapter, the establishing of an online enterprise or publication does not need huge investments, but only access to a computer and the Internet, and the necessary skills.

Some of the small journalistic enterprises successfully produce quality journalism – investigative and analytical stories, which they sell directly to the readers. Finnish *Long Play* can serve as an example.[100] Annually, *Long Play* produces 12 investigative features and essays – longer than newspaper stories, but shorter than books – which can be read from any device as e-books. *Long Play* is wholly financed by subscriptions.

As Anderson and colleagues argue, in the 20th century, the paradigmatic form of news organization was the big corporation that employed journalists, but in the 21st century, other forms of journalistic work organizations will play a bigger role.[101] While large corporations tend to encourage employees to follow established routines, entrepreneurial journalists can take more risks and are more flexible to changes and innovations. They are also more autonomous and self-reliant in their work and, as Peter Lee-Wright argues, based on his research, they may not care about joining professional organizations.[102] How journalists' common professional identity changes after transforming from an employee into an entrepreneur is a question of the future.

The 21st century has seen a paradigmatic shift in news distribution: constant news flow on multiple platforms simultaneously accessible with all kinds of digital devices. The speed of news production has

increased to the extreme, and online journalists have no chance to check the facts. For effective search for sources and reliability check, specific search strategies and skills are necessary. However, online searching skills among journalists tend to be of mediocre quality.[103] Sometimes, the stories become completed and corrected several times after publishing. Typical to online publishing is the commercial pressure to produce more with fewer resources, which frequently means distributing slightly changed content across many different media platforms. According to Nick Davies, journalists nowadays produce about three times the content their colleagues produced three decades ago.[104]

The 'inverted pyramid' structure is not the only model for an online news story anymore. Journalists often use intriguing titles and leads, current 'news' stories do not necessarily tell the main point of the story first, the introduction are composed in order to catch readers' attention. This is a widely used technique for attracting readers to 'click' on the story (also called 'click-journalism'), which contributes to selling advertisements. Web metrics have become an important indicator of performance of newsrooms. Journalists are continuously monitoring web traffic: how many times their story has been seen, which stories are preferred by the readers, whether a story attracts comments and how many, is the story shared on Facebook or Twitter and how many times and so on. 'Statistical analyses show associations between editors' perceived economic benefits and their willingness to make editorial adjustments based on audience web metrics'.[105]

Changing dimensions of journalistic creativity

In the early periods of the press, journalism was clearly a literary activity, and so, a part of the arts. Many famous journalists were also authors and many famous authors were also journalists (Tom Wolfe, Jack London, Mark Twain, Truman Capote, Hanna Arendt, Emil Zola, August Strindberg, Henrik Ibsen, Anton Chekov – to name a few). Literary traditions live strongly in journalism cultures of many nations, especially those with dramatic ruptures in their democratic development (for example the Baltic countries, Hungary, Poland and other Central and Eastern European countries). Modern journalism, however, stands far from the literary field, being produced within industrial and organizational frameworks aimed at profitable businesses. Journalism, especially print journalism, is largely constrained by rules and conventions, broadcasting journalism, in addition, by its technology. Online publishing is basically accessible to anyone. Probably, in online journalism, news

organizations' business interests appear as the major constraints. The question then arises as to how much these frameworks allow or restrict creativity of journalists.

Janet Fulton and Philip McIntyre studied Australian journalists' perceptions about creativity of journalistic work.[106] They argue that the same structures that constrain journalists' creativity also enable them to produce their work. The absolute freedom as a prerequisite to creativity is problematic, and it is more appropriate to understand creativity as an ability to make choices under existing conditions rather than an absence of constraint. According to Fulton and McIntyre, journalists 'tied their experiences into both the domain and field' and were aware that 'creative activity cannot result solely from an individual but is the product of a system'.[107] It also appeared that journalists consider some formats less creative than others (especially hard news) and point out reviews, travel and feature stories as more creative. Other journalists emphasized that all journalism is a creative endeavour and creativity can be used in all genres and formats. Fulton and McIntyre conclude that 'while there are structures, such as those of the field, that constrain journalists in their production, they also have choice in, for example, the way they use elements of the domain such as the use of certain words, the writing style, the angle and the lead they choose'.[108] If journalists have enough autonomy within the news organizations to make their independent choices, they certainly can be creative in the way described above. In large news organizations, however, journalists work under various pressures that limit their possibilities of independent decision-making.[109] It seems by practical evidence that small journalistic enterprises enable more creativity both in choosing topics and approaches and forms for presenting the stories.

Concluding remarks

By looking across centuries we discover that a few simple patterns are repeated, but separated by great distances of time, while many parts of the role of journalists changed more continuously. New technology represented an impetus for change, but journalistic conventions changed more slowly and in many directions, dependent on their political and cultural contexts. Early newspapers were organized around the printing office, while contributors of content were more loosely connected to this enterprise through non-formalized agreements. Revolutions in printing technology and telegraphy in the latter half of

the 19th century started an industrialized production process, which also necessitated a more formal organization of content providers who got office space in newspaper headquarters; now called journalists. For most of the next century journalists worked hard to acquire more autonomy in their work, to organize collective actions and improve working conditions, to set ethical standards in codes of professional conduct and to develop formal education and systematic research in journalism. As an important part of these transformations, journalistic genres developed and made the news article into a specific type of text, easily recognized by readers. The structure of the news story evolved from a chronological narrative into the 'inverted pyramid' with the most important information on top, and further to 'clickbait' with an attractive, but not necessarily informative beginning. Journalistic text, once the creation of a gifted individual, gradually transformed into a collective and impersonal product made under the dictates of editorial routines. Creativity, however, was maintained in some genres, such as features or travel stories (although travel stories are often written by more than one journalist). The Internet has opened up new channels for creativity – journalists write in their blogs or put their videos on YouTube about the issues that they regard important but cannot publish in their employer's platform (be it newspaper, a portal or broadcasting).

The effects of digital technology and the Internet are still in progress and concern not only how texts are made and processed, but also how work is structured in media. The functions of sub- and desk-editors, news managers, copy editors – and also typesetters and printers – were made redundant together with the introduction of computers in newsrooms and printing plants. Reporters became 'field-journalists' working from anywhere using various electronic devices, and rarely having a permanent 'station' in the newsroom. The reporter has become a 'universalist' who reports on anything without specializing on certain fields or topics. Under the economic pressures of efficiency, news organizations are giving up with specialist reporters or transforming them into 'generalists'. While large editorial structures are shrinking, small media enterprises are emerging in the first decades of the 21st century.

The role perceptions and functions of journalists have made an interesting transformation curve. The 'enlightener and teacher' of the pre-industrial period was replaced by a 'news hunter' in the late 19th century. During the 20th century a 'watchdog of public interests' gradually replaced the 'objective informer', and finally, a navigator operating the 24/7 news-machine online is emerging.

Symbolism of changing times can also be found in how editorial headquarters appear. The formerly hospitable offices of editors, who received visitors personally, mutated into an image of a fortress with electronic locks and key-cards, where uninvited visitors were not welcomed. Today, the doors are open to the public again, but the interactivity happens virtually, on the comment fields or social media platforms. Many of the contributors work on several platforms outside the newspaper headquarter or are freelancing. History returns.

Notes

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2

First Internationals: IUPA and PCW (1894–1936)

Ulf Jonas Björk

Introduction

In the fall of 1898, a French and an American journalist took stock of the changing nature of the press of the world.[1] 'With the perfection of the printing press', they wrote, 'with the telegraph and the telephone, with the transformation of the public spirit, more and more eager to be informed, a metamorphosis is taking place: polemics has been relegated to second place, and news has ascended to first'.[2] As a result of this revolution, stressed Albert Bataille and Paul Œker, journalism had become a profession and a career, 'the job of thousands of brave people who lay no claim to genius but make a living from work that is honourable, regular, often painful, sometimes dangerous'. It was time, they thought, for journalists to correct the public impression that they were recruited among 'the rootless, those who had failed in other professions, the ne'er-do-wells'.[3]

This appeal from more than a century ago for increased professionalism among journalists was directed by Bataille and Œker to the world's first international journalism organization, the International Union of Press Associations (IUPA), meeting in Lisbon, Portugal, for the fifth International Congress of the Press. This chapter deals with how the union made efforts to professionalize journalists on the transnational level between 1894 and 1914, and it also looks at how an American-led successor of the IUPA, the Press Congress of the World (PCW), dealt with the same issue during World War I and in the 1920s.

Both organizations have received little attention from historians, possibly because of their lack of concrete achievements. (Even the members of the IUPA complained at times about that lack, contending that the main activities of their congresses were socializing and

'burying' questions in committee for further study.)[4] Given the purpose of this study, however, assessing the effectiveness of each association is not as important as viewing them as fora for debate, similar to the magazines and journals examined in histories of American media criticism.[5]

For sources on that debate and on the organizations themselves, the study used official proceedings and publications, newspaper and magazine accounts by journalists active in the associations, trade journal reports, and, in the case of the PCW, the personal papers of its founder.[6] As the subsequent discussion will show, professionalization was an issue of great concern to each of the first two international organizations of journalists, but the way they dealt with it reflected the different views of the professionalization process in America and Europe. The PCW, initiated from the United States, tended to frame its discussion of the issue as one of education and, more importantly, individual standards. The IUPA, dominated by European countries, concerned itself primarily with drawing boundaries against other social groups and raising the status of journalism in the eyes of outsiders. In the case of both associations, however, the professionalization issue arose as a result of a changing work environment, to which the chapter first turns.

The professionalization of journalists has generally been seen as a response to changes in the way newspapers operated, generated revenue and reached readers.[7] Describing these changes in the British press, Harry Christian uses the term 'commercialization', which includes the shift from individual to corporate ownership, the ascendancy of advertising as the main source of revenue rather than subscriptions and political subsidies, and the division of labour separating journalists from newspaper proprietorship.[8] With such structural changes came changes in newspaper content and function, such as a stress on gathering and publishing news and taking a largely non-political stance. Due to varying levels of industrial development and, to some degree, differing political and cultural traditions, press commercialization occurred at different times in different countries, with the United States leading the way, followed by Britain and France. By the time the first International Congress of the Press met in 1894, the press of other European nations had begun assuming the characteristics of commercialization.[9]

Journalists at the time were conscious of the process of commercialization and also acknowledged that its progress varied between countries. America's lead was generally acknowledged although not always hailed as beneficial. Two British journalists speaking at an international press

meeting at St. Louis in 1904 considered the visit to the United States a learning experience but took the occasion to criticize the American press's reliance on advertisers and the passing of the editor-proprietor.[10] Among Americans, editor E.L. Godkin was not altogether convinced that the world's journalism was going in the right direction, but he thought that the American press of 1890 was well ahead of the press of France, which in his view did not consist of newspapers at all. The American trade publication *The Fourth Estate*, on the other hand, had no doubts that the journalistic lead of the United States was anything but beneficial. If foreign journalists were to meet in America, the journal claimed in 1896, they would be able to witness 'newspaper making in its highest perfection'.[11]

The difference in press development between countries would at times surface in the debates at the International Press Congress. Still, delegates like Bataille and Œker more often spoke from a common experience of newspapers that were changing in the same direction, and the association they established was built on that assumption.

IUPA: History and membership of the organization

The history of international gatherings of journalists can be said to begin in 1893. In May of that year, a meeting referred to in the local press as a 'world's press congress' was held during the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Journalists from Britain, France, Germany, Syria, Austria, Canada, Italy, Mexico and Greece addressed the congress in person or through papers, dealing with topics such as the role of women in the press and religious newspapers in Europe.[12] Despite that foreign presence, characterizing the Chicago congress as an international meeting is tenuous, because the visitors from abroad were in a minority, constituting only 20 of the 90 speakers on the programme. Moreover, the meeting's official name, the Public Press Congress, did not contain any reference to being 'international'. Equally important, the gathering was a one-time affair, resulting in no plans for further congresses.[13]

To find the origins of the idea of regular international meetings and a permanent international organization of journalists, it is necessary to turn instead to a meeting in London some four months after the Chicago Congress, when Britain's national journalism association, the Institute of Journalists, invited French and Belgian colleagues to its annual September membership meeting. The most prominent

of the Continental guests was the French writer Emile Zola, and it was he who in a speech thanking his British hosts suggested that meeting regularly was a way to bring the world's journalists closer together. After the Institute responded positively to the idea, the guests from across the Channel took what the British magazine *The Athenæum* called 'the vague suggestions and the half-formed proposals' of the London meeting and turned them into a full-scale international conference at the international exposition in Antwerp in July 1894 (Figure 2.1).[14]

During the conference calls for a permanent organization were placed on the agenda by the Parisian Journalists Association and the Foreign Press Club of Vienna, and the Antwerp Congress subsequently voted to accept the principle of international association and appointed a committee to prepare a constitution for the organization and present it at the next congress meeting, in Bordeaux in 1895.[15] Discussed at the second congress, the constitution was finally adopted at the third meeting, in Budapest in 1896. The result was the establishment of annual congresses of the press under the auspices of the IUPA, which was to have a central bureau in Paris.[16]

Individual journalists were affiliated with the IUPA through membership in the press associations of their respective countries. In 1897, the year after the constitution had been adopted, the union's membership consisted of 12 countries, 48 associations and more than 9,000 journalists. In Paris three years later, at the largest ICP ever, 24 countries and 69 associations were represented, and, although the number of individual members was not given, the addition of countries and associations meant that it had increased as well.[17] In all, the union would meet 15 times between 1894 and 1914, annually throughout the 1890s, less regularly after the turn of the century. Congresses were held the following years (Figure 2.2):

Antwerp, 1894
Bordeaux, 1895
Budapest, 1896
Stockholm, 1897
Lisbon, 1898
Rome, 1899
Paris, 1900
Berne, 1902
Vienna, 1904


6 Juli 1894

Prijs per nummer : 5 centiemen

DE SCHELDEGALM

VAN ANTWERPEN

Onpartijdig Nieuws-, Handels- en Aankondigingsblad

VERSCHIJNENDE IN UITGAVEN VAN 6, 3, 2 EN 1 MAAL PER WEEK.

HET HANDELSBLAD van Antwerpen

International Druk perscongres

Independance Day

Figure 2.1 Several Belgian newspapers covered the congress in Antwerp, 7–11 July 1894. Examples here are from two contemporary local papers. *De Scheldegalm van Antwerpen* on the right-hand side of its front page carried a piece of news on 6 July under the title 'International print press congress' (framed in this copy), with the day-to-day programme. *Het Handelsblad van Antwerpen* on 10 July under the title 'Congress of print press' (columns framed) provided a report of the previous day's session.

Source: Royal Library of Belgium in Brussels.

Liège, 1905
Bordeaux, 1907
Berlin, 1908
Trieste, 1910
Rome, 1911
Copenhagen, 1914.[18]

Not surprisingly, World War I disrupted the activities of the IUPA, and the conflict was to cast a long shadow over attempts to revive the organization in the 1920s. As one of the founding nations, France led the efforts to resume the activities of the union, but disagreement on the issue of admitting the former Central Powers as members meant that little progress was made, and not until 1927 did the ICP meet again. Four more meetings followed, but the organization never regained the prominence it had enjoyed before the war, devoting most of its post-war meetings to the procedural and technical matters of reorganization. It held its last congress in 1936.[19]

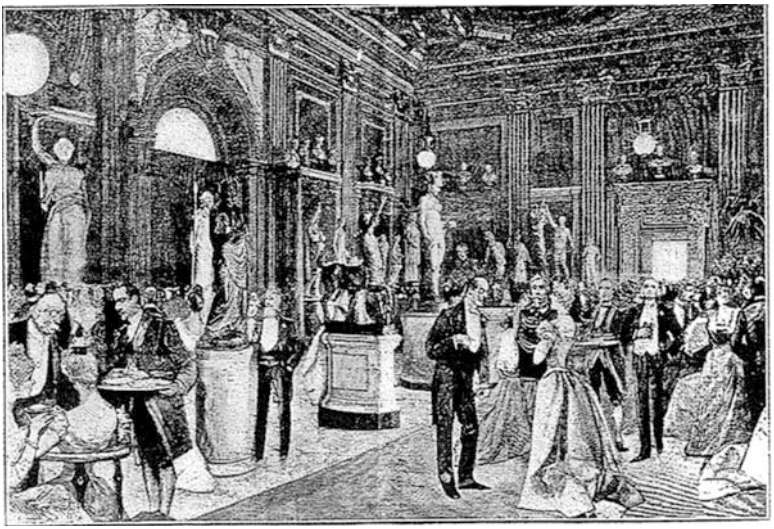


Figure 2.2 A reception at the 1899 IUPA congress in Rome, which was attended by more than 400 journalists and dealt with issues such as an international identification card for journalists and copyright for newspapers.
Source: *Pressen*, courtesy the Royal Library in Stockholm.

Despite some participation by representatives from outside Europe, the union was essentially a European organization. Of nations of other continents, Brazil, Mexico, Japan, Egypt, and New Zealand were each represented at only one congress between 1894 and 1900, while Argentinean and Turkish delegates attended two meetings.[20] Journalists from the United States took part more regularly, but their delegations were small, indicating a limited American interest in the movement. Further evidence of that limited interest was that the American journalist organizations listed as affiliates of the IUPA were local clubs and immigrant press associations rather than national bodies such as the National Editorial Association and the American Newspaper Publishers Association.[21]

Even within Europe, some nations were only marginal union participants. The Balkans were represented only at the 1900 Paris Congress, for instance, and although Russian participation was more regular, delegations from that country were smaller than those from the United States. Great Britain presented a special case. Having conceived the idea of international meetings together with French and Belgian colleagues, British journalists soon became leery of the permanent union approved by the ICP, and in 1896, the Institute of Journalists withdrew from participation in the IUPA. The formation of a new organization, the British International Association of Journalists (BIAJ), by institute members ensured a degree of British participation in the union after 1896, but its membership never exceeded a few hundred. The organization really representing the journalists of Great Britain, the institute, was absent from all meetings of the IUPA in the years before World War I and did not to take part again until 1932. An indication of how the British association viewed the IUPA during the union's most active era were references made by institute members in 1904 to the international organization as 'Continental' and foreign.[22]

The agenda of the ICP: Varied concerns

In speeches and at festivities surrounding the meetings of the IUPA, delegates liked to talk about the ICP as an instrument of international amity and understanding, echoing the hope first expressed by Zola in 1893. Laudable as that aspiration was, the specific issues discussed at the meetings were of a less idealistic character, and virtually all of them had surfaced as a result of press commercialization. While the focus of this chapter is on those agenda points that were related to professionalization, it is warranted to begin with a brief examination of the IUPA agenda as a whole.

The 1894 Antwerp Congress introduced discussion points that would, in one form or another, be debated by delegates for the next 20 years. They can be divided into two main categories: those favouring the interests of newspaper owners and those concerned with the status of journalists. Two main items made up the former category: reducing domestic and international rates for telegrams and mails, and recognizing a property right for news.[23]

Rate reduction was a relatively noncontroversial issue, and it was also the one where the IUPA was able to achieve a measure of success. With the French government taking up the union's cause, newspapers had obtained preferential rates for domestic telegrams in several European countries by the turn of the century, and a series of bilateral conventions had achieved the same goal on the international level. Also, after several years of IUPA lobbying the International Postal Union, there was evidence in 1907 that that body would at least consider reducing mailing rates for newspapers sent between countries.[24]

Recognizing a property right in news turned out to be more problematic, because it was a divisive issue that pitted large, news-oriented papers that were further along in the commercialization process against publications that were more traditional, had fewer resources and considered the propagation of ideas to be the main purpose of the press. To the former, newsgathering was expensive and its results should be safeguarded from 'pillage'; to the latter, the free use of material from other papers was a long-standing practice that served to disseminate information to the public. After substantial study of the question over several years, the delegates at the 1897 Stockholm ICP voted not to see news as eligible for copyright but advocated national legislation that would prohibit 'constant and systematic' use of the news of one paper by another.[25]

A third issue of interest chiefly to publishers was not on the 1894 agenda but occupied a fair amount of congress deliberation time after it was introduced in 1897. It dealt with the establishment, under the auspices of the IUPA Central Bureau, of an agency that would provide newspapers with names of journalists willing to do freelance work abroad. By 1898, the Central Bureau had created a list of 431 potential contributors representing 17 different countries, but the project was not a great success, apparently.[26]

A French delegate objecting to the creation of a correspondence service thought that the service undoubtedly benefitted publishers but could harm journalists 'working diligently and independently' because they would be 'crowded out by people willing to write in any manner

about anything'.[27] That concern for the standing and livelihood of the 'proper' journalists showed that issues of interest to newspaper owners always had to share space on the IUPA agenda with questions regarding the status of journalists.

Professionalism on the IUPA agenda: Definitions

Returning to the first ICP, it is evident from a glance at its agenda that most of the items dealt in one way or another with efforts to reinforce journalism as a profession, so it was no coincidence that the *New York Tribune* summarized the overall goal of the congress as discussing 'means whereby the status of the press generally may be raised and that of journalists may be improved'.[28] Specifically, the Antwerp meeting was to consider the establishment of a permanent international organization, legislation affecting journalists, education for journalism and definitions of a professional journalist.

The journalists meeting in 1894 regarded the establishment of a permanent association as a major step toward professionalism, and it would dominate the first three meetings of the IUPA. A major component of association was drawing boundaries against other occupations and excluding those who were not deemed to be professionals. To that end, the Antwerp Congress devoted a session to trying to determine what a professional journalist was. Those advocating a strict definition wanted to exclude, as a Belgian speaker – who was, tellingly, a reporter – put it, 'persons who engage in journalism on occasion, with political or other goals'.[29] To be a professional journalist, one had to work fulltime for a newspaper and depend on that work for a living. Thus, the politician-editor characteristic of an earlier era was not a professional. (Not surprisingly, delegates whose careers had taken that path protested against the fulltime definition.[30])

Implied by two other Belgian speakers, although not widely approved by the meeting, was that being a professional journalist meant being an employee of publishers. In the view of the Belgians, an international journalism organization should, therefore, support the interests of employees vis-a-vis those of employers. That assumption would resurface at later congresses; at Lisbon four years later, a French delegate advocated strict admission requirements that would keep out publishers who were 'vulgar merchants' and not 'premier journalists'.[31]

In their definition of what constituted a professional journalist, many delegates looked to Great Britain, whose Institute of Journalists was the largest and nationally most influential organization in Europe, claiming

more than 4,000 members in the British Isles and across the Empire. The Institute admitted as members only those who had been fulltime journalists for at least three years, and its secretary pointed out that a former cabinet minister who had worked extensively in the press had been denied admittance as a regular member.[32] Even with this guidance, the Antwerp meeting was unable to produce a clear definition. The congress would not try to do so again, but the question of who was a journalist would continue to surface in other contexts, such as journalism education, that seemed more amenable to concrete action. The first of those was the establishment of the congress itself.

Professionalism in practice: The power of association

If the delegates of the Antwerp Congress looked to the Institute of Journalists for a way to define a professional journalist, they also saw the British organization as a model for international journalism association itself, and many of the projects championed by the IUPA had direct counterparts within the institute. For all their subsequent doubts about the union, institute members were enthusiastic about the Antwerp Congress and dominated its speaker list. One of the first reports of the meeting, read by Institute President P.W. Clayden, concerned the structure and goals of the British association, and its prominence on the programme indicates that professionalism as it was expressed in Britain's national organization was considered a possible international standard.[33] As such, it merits a detailed examination.

Christian's study of the historical role of British journalism organizations defines the institute in its first decades as concerned primarily with seeking to confer professional status on its members, and that goal pervades Clayden's address. The establishment of the Institute, Clayden stressed, represented 'the effort to form journalists into a distinct profession' like those of the lawyer, the doctor and the civil engineer.[34] Exclusion along the lines advocated in the debate over an international definition was a crucial part of the process; before the founding of the institute, 'any man . . . might call himself a journalist – a lawyer's clerk who sent reports to a local paper, a grocer's shopman who edited an occasional letter, even a loiterer taken up by the police and not knowing what else to call himself'.[35] Having introduced evidence of three-year fulltime work and approval of other institute members as current requirements for membership and pondering formal examinations as a future one, the institute had, in Clayden's view, given the term 'journalist' a new and more respected meaning.

Clayden was vague about what professionalism entailed beyond institute membership, however. Acknowledging that journalists could build no 'legal wall' around their profession like lawyers and doctors, he nevertheless claimed that a member certificate guaranteed to 'public bodies, public men and those who want journalistic work to be done' that the bearer was 'capable of doing it and worthy to be trusted to do it'.[36] The mere existence of the Institute – chartered by Queen Victoria herself – was thus a sign of professionalism among journalists.

Beyond simply existing, the British organization engaged in activities that were designed to show outsiders that members – like other professionals – enjoyed a special status in society at large and that they behaved in a manner similar to other professions. To give members social status, the institute had fought to guarantee them payment for appearing as witnesses and access to meetings of public agencies.[37] (In 1905, the IUPA would pursue a similar policy in its quest to make national governments recognize the right of journalists to keep sources confidential.[38]) Evidence of professional behaviour on the part of members was their willingness to let the organization act as a court of arbitration in matters of dispute between journalists and publishers, acknowledging that their loyalty to the profession came before the employer–employee relationship characteristic of the new kind of newspaper.[39] Further proof of professionalism – and the changing nature of the press – was the agreement among institute members to let the 'comradeship' of journalism take precedence over political and religious affiliation. In this last respect, Clayden told his listeners, French journalists and other colleagues on the Continent had something to learn, since their associations were still formed largely along political and religious lines. They also needed to realize that local-level organizations were not enough.[40]

For all their preaching about the benefits of a strong and wide-reaching organization to the journalists of other countries, Clayden and his fellow members of the Institute of Journalists seemed taken aback by the fervour which their Continental colleagues displayed in establishing an international association. Within less than a year, the committee appointed by the Antwerp Congress to lay the groundwork for the association presented a constitution whose second paragraph essentially made the agenda of the first ICP the goals of the organization.

The Central Bureau, the administrative organ of the association, was to work with the national associations to provide assistance to journalists working abroad, to establish and clarify customs and practices for journalism in international relations, to act as a court of honour

in disputes between journalists of different countries, and to work for the professional privileges and interests of journalists while striving to raise the moral and intellectual level of the profession. Evidently, the committee had taken to heart Clayden's advocacy of a wide-reaching organization having as its goal 'the vindication of the rights and privileges of journalists' and aiming to make journalism 'an honourable and dignified career'.[41]

The Bordeaux Congress devoted most of its time to debating the structure of the proposed association, but the statement about basic goals encountered little resistance; British and, to some extent American, objections concerned the principle of permanent international association and not the objectives.[42] Having stated those objectives, however, the congress showed little inclination to discuss further professionalism even in the general way that Clayden's address had. As in the pre-organization discussion, the mere establishment of an association seemed to be a major step for most delegates; as the Italian representative on the constitutional committee saw it, the creation of international union of journalists was in itself 'a great step toward general morality in the press'.[43] Similar sentiments were expressed when, a few years later, the IUPA introduced an international identity card for its members. The card would be evidence, said one of its advocates, that the carrier was a member of an 'intelligent and honourable brotherhood', because only those who were 'worthy of possessing it' and were an 'honour to the universal press' would be issued cards.[44]

To understand what the IUPA thought it could do to professionalize its members once the association had come into existence, one has to turn to specific projects, and the following discussion examines, in turn, the plans for journalism education and for a court of honour.

Professional values discussed: Creating future journalists

In the IUPA discussion of education, advocates of formal training gave voice to the ideals that should guide the profession and elevate it to a higher status; talking about the requirements for future journalists offered a convenient way of criticizing the contemporary press without specifically referring to one's colleagues. The plans presented at the first congresses were by nature idealistic, because journalism education was a novel and fairly controversial idea in the 1890s. Even in the United States, the recognized leader in newspaper innovation, it had not advanced beyond a skeleton curriculum at one university and occasional courses at a few others; separate schools of journalism were still a decade away. In Europe, France offered a single course at the University

of Lille in 1894 and Germany, Austria and Spain had announced plans to do so.[45]

The novelty of the idea did not dissuade the Belgian delegate charged with addressing the agenda item from outlining an ambitious curriculum for those aspiring to be journalists in the future. Of the value of formal training for journalists he had little doubt. Like the singer, the painter, the soldier, the priest and the doctor, the journalist needed not only appropriate knowledge of his work but also specific virtues, and as schools could teach the doctor to be humane and the artist to love beauty, so they could instil in the journalist 'a taste for the work, a spirit of immediacy, correct judgment' and other qualities necessary for newspaper work. The students would become professional by studying 'all the questions relating to the profession of journalism', and their moral level would be raised because studies would teach them good habits and because the vast knowledge contained in the curriculum would constitute 'an elevating philosophy'. Schooling itself would thus confer a higher status on journalists.[46]

The proposed education would be offered at separate journalism universities and take two years, and its curriculum would include history, law, political economy and aesthetics, as well as knowledge of five major languages. Added to this 'general' part were courses in the 'craft' of journalism, dealing with stenography, press history, reporting, editorial writing, argumentation, book printing and business management. It was the speaker's hope that the education would be at once 'specialized, universal, professional and moral'.[47]

Defending his ambitious plan, the Belgian admitted that it was not impossible to find work at a newspaper if one possessed an average intelligence, knew how to wield a pen and made judicious use of encyclopaedias. But, he asked his listeners, was this enough for writers who 'each day have to judge public matters' and 'instruct and clarify public opinion' and to whom was given 'this strange power of the press, which gives to ideas at their first appearance a force that they do not acquire if presented in any other fashion'? Being a journalist was not only a matter of knowing the workings of the press, but also realizing 'the weighty responsibility and the great obligations' that came with the profession. By committing themselves to the education of future colleagues, the delegates at Antwerp would take a major step toward elevating their profession, the speaker assured them.[48]

Some of his listeners were doubtful that journalists needed a specific education to be professionals. Resistance to the Belgian plan and to the principle of formal education in 1894 is best illustrated by a British

delegate, who considered some form of schooling useful but thought journalists needed above all to learn from life itself, and they had to be naturally gifted with 'good sense, an eye for the relative importance of people and things, and the capacity for fast and correct deduction'.[49] These were gifts that could not be taught, thought the Englishman. The same argument resurfaced when education came up at subsequent congresses. A year after Antwerp, a French delegate voiced his opposition in the same terms, claiming that education would do nothing for the talented and only create a 'class of failures with some professional notions but no professional values' among the untalented.[50]

The repeated decision of the congress to endorse education in general terms but study the matter further took a great deal of the controversy out of the issue, and it also moved the discussion away from the professional values resulting from education toward detailed accounts of existing or proposed curricula. Compared with the Bataille-Œker piece quoted in the introduction, the education report submitted to the Paris Congress two years later said little about what journalism education should accomplish but gave a comprehensive account of a new French scheme for journalism education.[51] As had been the case with the issue of organization, discussion of procedural detail had overtaken debate over professionalism, which resurfaced instead in the discussion of a court of honour.

Showing professional behaviour: The international court

As noted above, one of the features of the British Institute of Journalists that the Antwerp delegates found attractive was its function as a court of arbitration in labour disputes, and a resolution was passed by the 1894 congress urging other countries to establish similar institutions.[52] Before dealing with that resolution, which turned out to be the germ of an ambitious plan for an international professional tribunal, it is necessary to examine the reasons for its passage, because behind the enthusiasm for arbitration lay concerns about the economic relationship between journalists and their employers, and those concerns, in turn, were rooted in doubts about the status of the profession.

Although brought up during the Antwerp debate over defining journalism, the issue of employer–employee relations first surfaced in its own right at Budapest two years later, when a preliminary report to the congress suggested that journalists should be given special employee status or, at the very least, the same right of association as other workers.[53] When an extensive study comparing legislation in this area in IUPA member countries was presented in Rome in 1899, some delegates

protested against its rather restrained recommendation that the union work for standardizing laws regarding employment contracts and compensation for dismissal. Those protesting proposed, instead, a resolution calling for the 'material independence' of journalists and urging publishers to share their profits with the journalists who worked for them. 'Too long one has considered us employees', proclaimed a French representative, 'we are not, however, servants, but contributors'.[54] That potentially controversial stance was not embraced by the congress, however; instead, the question of profit-sharing was made the subject of a report to a future congress, and that report never materialized.[55] Its fate was shared by a related project from the Budapest Congress, where delegates had agreed that the question of legal relations between employers and employees was part of the larger issue of 'the social, moral and material situation' of journalists and decided to conduct an international survey in this area.[56]

Present throughout the debates over employer-employee relations and the general situation of journalists was the assumption that journalists deserved privileged treatment because they were members of a profession. Employers were to recognize that professional standing by committing themselves to improving the lot of their employees; the journalists, for their part, would show professional attitudes through acts such as endorsing the principle of arbitration in labour-related disputes. The congresses made such endorsements repeatedly: after the 1894 resolution that recommended arbitration bodies on the national level, the IUPA statutes passed in 1896 declared that the union had the power to function in the same way internationally. At Lisbon two years later, a preliminary constitution for a specific international court of arbitration was passed, outlining its purpose and powers, and a report to the 1900 Paris meeting spelled out the purpose and powers in detail, stressing that the establishment of a court was one of the most pressing issues from the standpoint of 'professional solidarity', because it would 'put an end to misunderstandings, remove mutual grievances, safeguard the morality of the press and maintain the brotherhood between us'.[57]

The purposes of the court drew from the national associations of Britain, Scandinavia and France the idea that journalism organizations should act as mediators in financial disputes between publishers and employers.[58] Added to this was a right to issue opinions on 'moral matters' of the press as well. The court would consist of three members of the Central Bureau, and they would primarily consider cases where the two parties agreed beforehand to abide by the decision. Where there was 'clear disregard for the laws of honour and integrity', however, the

court would speak up even if one of the parties did not agree to its involvement.[59]

Objections made by Lisbon delegates that the union could invest the court with no real powers of enforcement were met with references to the moral force of the union itself and assurances that IUPA members would be certain to accept the court's decisions, and implied in the last statement was that no less should be expected of professional journalists.[60] The Paris report trusted the loyalty of union members to the extent that it envisioned the court requiring the parties to pay damages and publish retractions. It also assumed that national associations would aid the international court in enforcing decisions against their members.[61]

While the status of the union thus would make the powers of the court wide, the international structure of the organization limited the jurisdiction of the agency. Not wanting to interfere with the power of national journalism organizations whose cooperation it sought, the international court would deal only with conflicts where employers and journalists were in different countries, which meant that its main concern would be foreign correspondents, although it was also to deal with press matters, such as infringement of copyright involving newspapers of different nations.

That vision of a narrow jurisdiction changed in 1902, when the international court attracted the interest of Wilhelm Singer, the Austrian who was the president of the IUPA. Delivering an address to the Berne Congress on 'professional dignity in press debate', Singer thought the solution was to establish a high court that would ensure 'scrupulous integrity and moderation' on the part of debate participants and give slandered journalists an opportunity to bring up their cases for action.[62]

When he presented a proposed constitution at the following congress, in Vienna in 1904, it was evident that the president envisioned an international court at the top of a hierarchy made up of local and national tribunals as well. Rather than supplementing the national associations, the IUPA was now the supreme instance and could deal not only with cases involving journalists of different countries but with all 'especially important' cases.[63] As before, it could require published corrections and levy fines, but the international court would also have the power to expel transgressing association members. The basis for the international court and its powers were, in Singer's view, values such as 'the lively consciousness of our honour, an ever sensitive conscience, pity for the weak, and good-will toward others'.[64] As before, by simply establishing the court, IUPA members would show themselves to be professionals.

The Vienna meeting appeared to approve of the plan through its directive to the Central Bureau to establish the proposed court system as soon as possible, but little resulted from that decision. For the next few years, Singer would continue to plead for his plan without seeing any real action taken.[65] In many ways, the fate of the court proposal was indicative of general problems of the union itself.

The impact of war and the rise of a new organization

After being surrounded by a great deal of enthusiasm throughout the 1890s, the IUPA faced growing indifference in the first decade of the 20th century. Even the coverage in such ardently supportive publications as Britain's *The Athenæum*, Sweden's *Stockholms Dagblad* and France's *Le Temps* increasingly devoted more space to speeches and festivities surrounding each congress than to the proceedings themselves, admitting that the accomplishments of the meetings were limited. More critical voices charged that the festivities were crowding out the work sessions and that the union had only social and no practical aims.[66] A certain disenchantment was thus evident in the first years of the IUPA's second decade, and the concluding section of this chapter discusses the reasons for the demise of the IUPA in light of the complaints related above.

It is indisputable, however, that the outbreak of World War I in Europe in late July 1914, less than six weeks after the last pre-war ICP, ended the 20-year string of meetings and put an end to the organization's most significant phase, as wartime enmities and travel restrictions precluded further congresses in Europe for a period of 13 years. Instead, the initiative passed to an American-led movement, the PCW.

The PCW: A movement is created

If the IUPA was initiated by national journalism organizations in Europe, the PCW owed its existence to the efforts of one man, American journalist and educator Walter Williams. Although Williams had been a leader of national and local press associations in the United States, the international organization he conceived did not seek the support of professional organizations but appealed, instead, to individual journalists.[67] That appeal was very much in an American tradition that saw professionalization as an individual process, and it would be a distinctive feature of PCW debates. Before relating those debates, however, it is necessary to account for Williams' involvement in international journalism and the structure and membership of the press congress.

Born in 1864, Walter Williams spent most of his newspaper career on small weeklies and dailies in Missouri, and he liked to refer to himself simply as 'a country editor'. That humble title was misleading because it did not reveal that Williams had a devotion to journalism so passionate that it took him, inevitably, in the direction of journalism education, resulting in his founding the first separate school of journalism in the United States at the University of Missouri in 1908.[68] The title also hid Williams' interest in international journalism, first awakened when he was asked to contact newspapers around the world in an effort to promote the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair. Travelling for several months in 1901–02, Williams visited thousands of colleagues in 27 countries in Europe, Asia and Africa.[69]

In the course of that journey, Williams made contact with the IUPA and sought its cooperation. He attended the 1902 ICP in Switzerland, where he extended an invitation the organization to convene in St. Louis in 1903. Unfortunately, an IUPA representative visited the United States after Williams' invitation and voiced concern about the huge distances involved, the relatively small number of European delegates who could be invited, and the fact that, 'on the whole, all appeared to be vaguely and not well prepared,' and the union, in the end, decided against a meeting in America.[70] Undeterred by the rejection, Williams planned his own international meeting of journalists, the World's Press Parliament, during the World's Fair itself in 1904 (Figure 2.3).[71]

The lasting outcome of the failure of the ICP to meet at St. Louis was that Williams from then on saw the organization he was hoping to establish as separate from the IUPA, although he stressed that the press congress was to 'supplement, not to supplant' the earlier organization.[72] As it turned out, the two organizations were never to be direct rivals: the PCW met for the first time after World War I had disrupted the activities of the IUPA, and the American-led organization held its last meeting as a worldwide body a year before its European counterpart resumed its activities in 1927.

Williams had hoped that the World Press Parliament of 1904 would evolve into a permanent organization with regular meetings and the overall goal of 'promoting the highest standards' of the press, but that plan came to nothing.[73] He was given a second chance to establish a permanent international journalism organization in San Francisco 11 years later, and this time Williams was successful: at the 1915 Panama Pacific Exposition, the PCW came into being.[74]

Figure 2.3 The World's Press Parliament in St. Louis in 1904, the precursor of the PCW, as portrayed by the editorial cartoonist of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.
Source: *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.

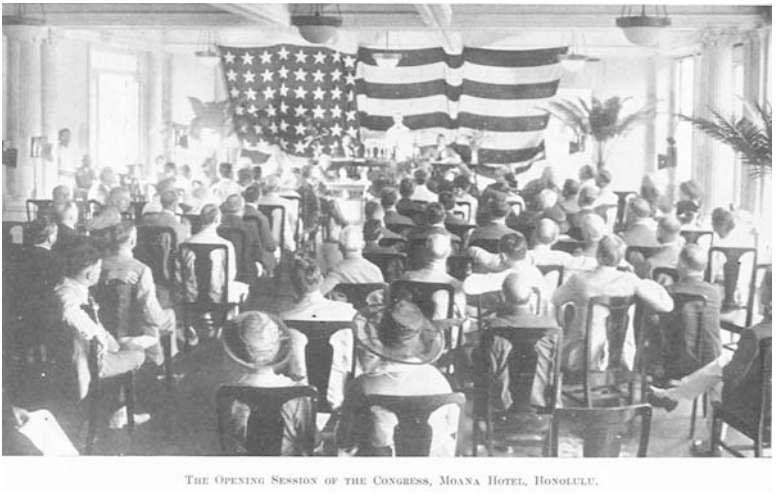
The meetings and overall purpose of the PCW

In the two years before the San Francisco meeting, Walter Williams had once again travelled around the world to acquaint himself with newspapers and journalists in other countries, and his view of the international aspects of the profession had taken firmer shape. He had previously declared that journalism had become 'a profession in which special aptitude, equipment, experience and training are increasingly necessary', and after his second world tour he added that it was 'a profession of public service, to be engaged in primarily for the public good'.[75] The onset of the world war made that view particularly urgent to Walter Williams, for he traced the origins of the conflict not only to government censorship and other interference with the press but also to a general failure on the part of journalists to serve the public properly with truthful information. One of the major purposes of the PCW would be to guarantee that nothing similar would recur.[76]

If the war made the establishment of a new international press organization seem urgent in Williams' mind, it also served to make the ground

fertile for initiatives from America. With the IUPA in suspension due to enmities between European countries, the San Francisco congress held out promises for international press meetings due to the position of the United States as a neutral. Despite refusals by some German journalists to attend a meeting where they would sit at the same table as their enemies, Williams was able to bring together other Germans with Russian and British delegates, and the meeting was also attended by journalists from areas not touched by the war, such as Latin America and the Far East.[77] As in St. Louis, delegates enthusiastically endorsed a plan to meet regularly, and this time, Williams was determined to keep the organization alive. To that end, he began publishing occasional 'congress bulletins', the first appearing a year after the San Francisco gathering.[78] The entry of the United States into the war did not dampen his enthusiasm for the Press Congress of the World, and he went ahead with plans for another meeting in Australia in 1918. When the Australians first postponed and later cancelled the congress, he arranged to have it meet in Hawaii in 1921 (Figure 2.4).[79]

Although Williams always would refer to the 1915 meeting as the first PCW, the 1921 gathering was the first time the organization met under its proper name and constitution. It was also the first meeting with a specified agenda. Where the delegates in San Francisco had given their



THE OPENING SESSION OF THE CONGRESS, MOANA HOTEL, HONOLULU.

Figure 2.4 The opening session of the 1921 PCW in Honolulu, with Walter Williams, the organization's founder, presiding.
Source: The PCW in Hawaii.

organization the vaguely stated task to 'advance by conference, discussion and united effort the cause of journalism in every honorable way', Press Congress participants came to Hawaii with the intention to discuss '[a]dequate news communications between peoples and continents, freedom of news-sources, uncensored exchange of news, a press responsible but free, the proper preparation for entrance upon journalism, the maintenance of correct standards by those who have entered this fascinating field, the increased power of the press in the promotion of good or ill, and the right use of its power'.[80] (The second congress would be the next to last; after the problem of postponements and cancellation was repeated by the next presumptive host, Spain, the congress met a second time in Switzerland in 1926; a third meeting, in Mexico City in 1931, attracted delegates only from the Americas.[81])

The structure, membership and funding of the PCW

As noted above, the PCW differed from the ICP in that it based its membership on individuals rather than national professional associations, and that structure was to be a source of economic problems. Although foreign delegates, at least, often spoke as representatives of national journalism associations, they brought no financial support from those organizations. The resulting loose structure of the PCW also makes it difficult to estimate its actual membership. Opening the congress in Hawaii, Williams claimed that the organization had 2,300 journalists representing 50 countries 'upon its rolls'.[82] Reviewing the progress of the congress five years later, James Wright Brown, the congress secretary (and owner of *Editor & Publisher*), claimed that a regular membership of 350 actually represented an improvement over the 1921 figure, because early dues were 'purely complimentary and honorary'. By contrast, the 350 members of 1926 paid dues annually. Moreover, Brown hinted at a wider reach by pointing to the mailing list of the congress, which contained 25,000 names.[83]

To keep the PCW going, a standing committee at the Hawaii meeting had estimated that between $60,000 and $75,000 was needed, and the committee hoped that the bulk of that money would be generated by dues from 'wealthy newspapers' and other companies associated with journalism. To that end, corporate member dues were set at $50 annually, while individuals paid $5.[84] In reality, nothing near the desired sum flowed in, and attempts to generate extra revenue by selling congress proceedings met with limited success. Between the 1921 and the 1926 meetings the total revenues of the PCW was $10,700.[85] Brown had to spend a great deal of his own money to promote the Switzerland

Congress, and afterwards he doubted that the organization would survive unless some philanthropist donated money to it; the support from large corporate members had, by and large, failed to materialize.[86]

The small economic means of the PCW meant that its visibility between meetings was low. When the congress was not in session, it consisted essentially of its two top executive officers, the president and the secretary, both of whom volunteered their services. Funds to hire clerical staff were almost non-existent, and the 'permanent establishment of several departments always at the service of editors, publishers and newspaper workers' that Williams envisioned in 1921 remained a dream.[87] Williams' enthusiasm and Brown's promotional skills kept the organization going until 1926, but when they both stepped down after the Geneva meeting, the fragile organizational framework of the congress fell into disarray, and the two congresses of the 1920s remained the only two times that the organization met as a worldwide body.[88]

Professionalism on the PCW agenda

Judging from speeches at and endorsements of the PCW, the main concern of the organization was furthering world peace.[89] The entire organization was based on the simple assumption that acquainting journalists with colleagues of other nations would do much to reduce the lack of international understanding that caused wars. The congress, Williams wrote in a greeting on the eve of the 1921 meeting, 'seeks to bring about acquaintanceship, which is a step to understanding which is a step to friendship, and to foster friendships which lead to permanent prosperity and peace'.[90] Consequently, many of the speeches and papers at the meetings simply sought to tell their audience about the press of their home countries. Between meetings, contact would be maintained through the interchange of journalists between countries, one of the objectives of the congress.[91]

Equally important to the cause of peace was that newspapers be able to receive truthful information about other countries and be free to publish it, and to that end the agendas of both congress meetings included discussion of how to establish and maintain open news communications and attain and safeguard press freedom.[92] It was in the area of international communication that the organization achieved its most concrete results: following the 1921 meeting it produced a report on the 'news situation' in China and Korea and successfully lobbied the US Navy to allow continued use of its radio facilities for the press.[93] In 1926, a Congress resolution called for an international conference devoted to reducing the cost of news transmission and the League of Nations did

indeed call together 'press experts' the following year, although it is difficult to say whether this was in direct response to the PCW resolution.[94] Although no similarly concrete results were achieved in the area of press freedom, delegates spoke out strongly for its preservation at the 1926 press congress, when there were signs in both Europe and Latin America of newspaper suppression.[95]

Still, mutual acquaintance, press freedom and unrestricted news communication were not considered enough to further peace. As noted above, Williams had come to the conclusion early on in the war that journalists must shoulder part of the blame for the outbreak of hostilities, and his opening address at Hawaii stressed that an organization that sought to promote peace must focus on the issue of 'personal responsibility' of journalists, reiterating Williams' previous view that journalism was a profession of public service. To that end, two items on the 1921 agenda dealt with the preparation necessary for journalism and the obligations of the profession.[96]

The organization's discussion of training of journalism came to consist simply of accounts of the efforts of different countries, with the American perspective dominating. William Hornaday, a faculty member at the University of Texas, presented an overview of the state of US journalism schools and a survey of how managing editors of leading papers regarded the value of such education, and his presentation was followed by a brief account of a newly created position as lecturer in journalism in New Zealand.[97] Given the rather limited attention to this aspect of professionalization during the sessions of the congress, it is not surprising that the resolution dealing with education was general in nature and vague as to specific action, declaring that journalistic standards could 'best be attained through the training of journalists along the broadest and most wholesome lines' and giving the 'heartiest endorsement and moral support to the work that is being done for the training and education' for careers in the press (Figure 2.5).[98]

In Switzerland five years later, Walter Williams appeared to want a greater emphasis put on education, stressing in his president's address that 'broad liberal, professional education is required to raise the profession to the plane of its highest potentialities'.[99] Still, the pattern was the same as at the 1921 congress. With the focus once again on American conditions, John Cunliffe of the Columbia School of Journalism related his institution's philosophy, after which brief accounts followed of journalism education in Switzerland and (again) New Zealand. In addition, papers discussing training programmes in Britain, China and Japan were published in the appendix. The resulting resolution was also similar

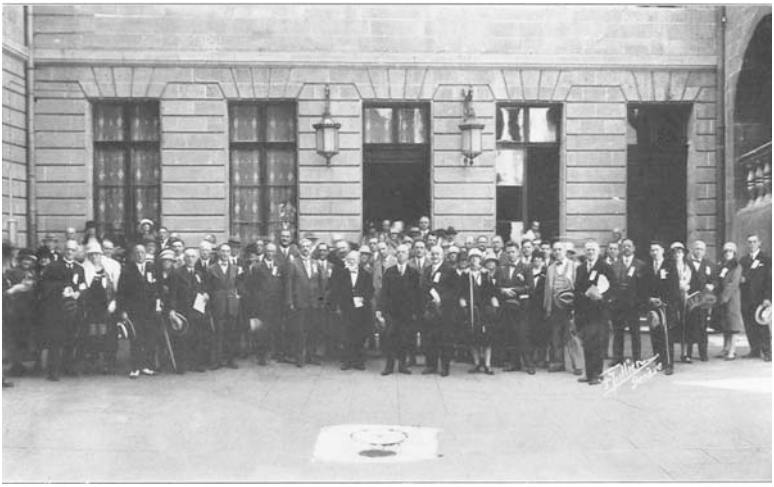


Figure 2.5 Delegates to the 1926 PCW at the University of Geneva. Walter Williams, in the centre, stepped down as PCW president at the end of the meeting.
Source: PCW in Switzerland.

to its Hawaii predecessor, although it seemed even more cautiously worded. It recommended that 'all newspaper men and all organizations of newspapers' take into 'careful consideration' the 'various undertakings in every country designed for the better education of newspaper workers'. The congress noted that many such programmes existed but that there was 'abundant room for their multiplication and strengthening'. As if to ward off any inference that the PCW was out to impose educational plans on member countries, the resolution added that each country should be 'following its own best traditions and seeking its own highest ideals'.[100]

If the treatment of education thus was notable for the virtual absence of any debate, the second item dealing with professional aspects on the 1921 agenda, the issue of standards, gave rise to a more extensive discussion at both PCW meetings. That discussion began with a general criticism of the press, and the criticism was rooted in uneasiness over changes in the financing and production of newspapers. During one of the Hawaii sessions, a Missouri editor called out the names of great editors of the 19th century, and he admitted that the American press no longer could be said to mould public opinion as it had in the days of Greeley, Dana and Watterson. In its place had come increasing concern

with circulation and revenues, which resulted in sensationalism rather than public service. A Brooklyn editor remarked that he and his friends had been unable to remember a single editorial they had read earlier that morning, a consequence of the modern newspaper being 'general and impersonal'.[101]

When bringing up criticism, American delegates tended to be optimistic and, as a result, less intent on providing solutions than their foreign colleagues. To James Brown, 'clean, dependable, reliably accurate newspapers' were winning out over sensational ones in America, and the Missouri delegate quoted above ended by assuring his listeners that 'all the good papers have not been in the past'.[102] European and Far Eastern delegates were not so hopeful. A Greek speaker thought financial pressures produced a hunt for high circulations that threatened the accuracy of the news, and corporations could influence the papers by promising or withholding advertising; concentration of newspaper ownership and publishers who were not journalists were other problems. A Norwegian echoed that criticism and stressed the danger of the tendency to give readers only what they wanted.[103] To a Korean journalist, 'bigness and sensationalism' were 'the spirit of the modern newspaper', and the 'good old days' of individual journalism were gone forever.[104]

These and other speakers from outside the United States suggested concrete measures to change the trends they criticized. The Greek delegate favoured the appointment of a 'council of newspapermen' or the use of existing journalism associations to determine in advance who was responsible enough to be a publisher or an editor.[105] Virgilio Beteta, a long-standing press congress supporter from Guatemala, spoke of a 'world press court', but his proposal was vague and obscured by flowery language.[106] The one concrete American solution came from Brown, who read the Journalist's Creed, written by Williams for the American press in 1908, to the congress and issued a general call for an international code of ethics and standards of practice.[107]

Given these different proposals, the press congress settled for restricting its initiatives on the issue to passing a resolution urging journalists to recognize their obligation to further 'world fellowship', and for appointing a standing committee for ethics of journalism and standards of practice.[108] Before the meeting, American delegate Herbert Bridgman had counselled the press congress to 'drive . . . with a loose rein' and not aspire to authority and powers of sanction, and that was the advice that delegates followed.[109]

In the interim between the 1921 and 1926 meetings of the press congress, journalism ethics came to the forefront on the national level

in several countries. Journalists of Sweden, Finland and Brazil adopted their first ethical codes in these years, and in the United States, the creation of the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) and its adoption of the Canons of Journalism in 1926 were surrounded by spirited debate. Internationally, the First Pan-American Congress of Journalists, meeting (with Walter Williams as president, incidentally) only a few months before the 1927 PCW, had passed a resolution calling for a code of ethics binding on all its member countries and had adopted Williams' Creed.[110] Consequently, it was not surprising that the Switzerland meeting gave the discussion of ethics and standards high priority.

Evidence of the organizational weaknesses of the congress was that the standing committee on ethics and standards had achieved little, but several of the individual speakers dealt with the topic nonetheless, attempting to formulate standards and ethics in terms of journalistic behaviour. To a representative of the Associated Press, high standards already existed in America, and it was just a matter of maintaining them. The world's journalists would do well to follow the AP, which always endeavoured to 'dig for the truth and tell the truth clearly' in the form of 'important and responsible news'.[111] In its devotion to the public, the agency wanted to 'contribute to the happiness of the present . . . making that present a throbbing, vital, interesting entity'.[112]

Reacting to the definition of high standards as the practice of American news writing, the French newspaperman who was chairman of the ethics committee agreed that seeking truth was the essence of journalism ethics, but he cautioned that facts alone did not always amount to the truth. To serve the public with complete and truthful accounts, it was also necessary to 'place facts in their true frame' and explain what had caused them to exist.[113] Journalists with high standards must shed their passion and partiality and seek to be sincere, just and honest, stressed the French delegate.

Only two speakers, an Indian and an American, related their discussion to the criticisms voiced in 1921. To the former, ethics meant investing the modern machinery of news dissemination with a message of human service to steer it away from 'wickedness and vice'. In an age where the newspaper had become a business, the journalist had to take extra care to be impartial and truthful in the face of pressure from publishers of advertisers.[114] The American was Casper Yost, one of the founders of the newly created ASNE, and his view of the influence of business practices on journalism was more detached. Modern newspaper publishing had separated editors from publishers, since the latter now were more concerned with revenues and profits than with journalism as

a calling. Editors, on the other hand, had in a sense been liberated by the move away from personal journalism with its partisan stands and were now free to consider themselves members of a dignified profession with broad editorial responsibilities to the public.[115]

The solutions proposed in 1921 – an international council with the power of sanction or a court of honour – were ignored by speakers at the later meeting. To Yost and other American speakers, the way to promote high standards lay in the professional socialization offered by journalism associations, and since it was working on the national level it was time to implement it internationally as well.[116] That view committed the press congress to nothing more than meeting regularly, and it seemed to suit delegates the best.

The press congress nevertheless went somewhat further in its final resolutions, one of which urged journalists outright to work for 'the adoption everywhere of distinct codes of journalistic ethics and standards of practice, so that unnecessary and undignified antagonisms and distinctly selfish objects may be discouraged, in the conviction that the press everywhere may be elevated to the highest dignity as a noble profession devoted to the evolution of mankind in all its upward political, social and spiritual progress'.[117] As to what those codes should encompass, the congress provided but little guidance to its members. At Hawaii, Brown had, as mentioned above, read Williams' Creed to the meeting, and Yost's address in 1926 included the ASNE Canons of Journalism, but neither was suggested for adoption. Beyond general exhortations to journalists to be impartial and truthful, the press congress did not deal with codifying ethics, and the standing committee for dealing with the issue was not reconstituted. As the Switzerland meeting was the last time the organization met as a worldwide body, the discussion of standards ended there.

The end of the press congress

In sharp contrast to proposals made by participants in the IUPA, the membership of the PCW never considered investing its organization with the power of sanctions to enforce journalistic standards and ethics on the international level. Instead, it was understood that the congress would base its efforts to promote standards and ethics on regular meetings that would imbue participants with the obligations of the profession. Given this assumption, the stability and representativeness of the organization were crucial to its success. A stable and highly visible press congress that met regularly would remind members of the obligations of international journalism, and a membership that was

representative of the entire press of each country would in turn guarantee that those obligations ideals were honoured in the daily work of journalism.

In both areas, the PCW fell short. The organization's structural and economic problems were a major reason. The failure of the press congress to attract support from major media organizations in the United States affected not only the organization's durability, since the sorely needed financial contributions from large newspapers never materialized, but also its representativeness, since the press congress could not be said to speak for this important segment of the press of the United States. Large papers were, with one or two exceptions, represented neither at Hawaii nor Switzerland. The American news agencies, increasingly important participants in the debate over international communication, showed some interest in the 1926 congress, but they were never actively involved and looked instead to the international press conferences arranged by the League of Nations.[118] The American membership of the Congress thus came to consist almost exclusively of editors of smaller newspapers in the Northeast and Midwest; of the newspapers represented at Hawaii, for instance, two out of three had circulations below 5,000.[119] While the success of Williams and Brown in generating interest in international journalism in these circles was notable, it did not make for a strong and influential organization.

If the inability of the PCW to interest large American newspapers in its activities was evident from the start, the organization's failure to maintain what was initially a great deal of European enthusiasm about the congress became obvious as the 1920s wore on. It, too, raised questions about how representative the organization was. Here, the most threatening factor was competition for attention from other international organizations concerned with journalism. Once the League of Nations took an interest in international news media, its activities were likely to have greater appeal than those of an organization that was based in America and met only intermittently; by contrast, the League, headquartered in the heart of Europe, had high visibility and a permanent structure. Other competitors also surfaced, among them the IUPA. After being dormant for l3 years, the IUPA met again in 1927, and the previous year saw the establishment of the *Federation International des Journalistes* (FIJ). Like the League of Nations, the IUPA and the FIJ were based in Europe.[120] For the British, who had been quite enthusiastic about the PCW in 1921, the Imperial Press Conference became more important in the late 1920s.[121]

Conclusion: Early international journalism organizations and professionalization

Clearly, concrete and evident reasons explain the failure of the two organizations discussed in this chapter: there is no denying, for instance, that the outbreak of war in 1914 ended the most vital phase of the IUPA or that the weak organizational structure of the PCW spelt the end for that association. Their demise also had less evident causes, however, and those causes were essentially the same for both organizations.

The IUPA and the PCW were started in an era when there was still wide agreement among journalists in Europe and the United States about the basic purpose of the press and a belief in the inevitability of newspaper progress. Although World War I shattered that consensus for a period of time, journalists came to the 1921 PCW meeting seemingly agreeing that the conflict had been a temporary setback and that pre-war progress in journalism could resume. Later in the century, that basic agreement would vanish, and signs to that effect appeared early in the life of the PCW. Russia had been represented at the 1915 San Francisco meeting that established the Congress, but the new Soviet state did not take part in the two subsequent congresses. Opening the Switzerland meeting, James Brown noted the absence of delegates from Spain, where a military coup had led to suppression of the press, and Italy, where the Fascists had risen to power.[122] At the 1932 ICP in Oslo, Italian and Soviet journalists were present, but only as observers.[123] Fascism and Soviet Communism held views of the press very different from those of the PCW and the IUPA, and the ranks of such dissenters on the basic values of journalism would swell during the 1930s.

Another cause, more relevant to the issue of professionalism, was the premise of membership in the two associations. Beginning with the IUPA, it is clear that the issue of journalistic professionalism was prominent on its agenda. It was not the only one, however, because a great deal of the discussion at virtually every ICP dealt with two topics mainly of interest to publishers: copyright protection for newspaper articles and reductions of postal and telegraph rates. Attempting to represent both the newspapers and the journalists they employed, the IUPA papered over the fact that the interests of the two constituencies were not identical and could come into conflict.

As the discussion of the Antwerp Congress shows, the status of journalists as employees, a result of the emergence of commercialized newspaper, was brought up from the start, when Belgian delegates wanted to the term ‘professional journalist’ to include only journalists

who were not employers, and in the years before World War I, the issue was practically unavoidable. At Rome in 1911, a French delegate charged that the congress had never spoken for 'the veritable proletarians of the press', and at Copenhagen three years later a Danish journalist wanted to know 'where among the guests were our comrades, the working journalists'.[124] In some countries, the different interests of employers and employees were already being recognized in the first decade of the 20th century through the establishment of national associations representing only one group.[125] The fact that the PCW still attempted to be a similarly all-inclusive organization – envisioning the typical journalist as the autonomous proprietor of a small newspaper rather than a salaried employee of a business organization – a decade later made that organization seem even more outdated. (The recognition of different interests in the newspaper industry had, by then, also surfaced in the United States with the foundation of the first special-interest organization, the ASNE.)

A clear sign that such a premise was outdated was the establishment of the first international employee organization, the FIJ, in 1926. Although the resurrected IUPA would extend offers to cooperate with the FIJ, the latter stressed at the time of its creation that it was not to be 'a counterpart to the old press union, but a new organization, intended to gather actively working journalists'. Consequently, the FIJ rejected any cooperation in a 1932 statement that claimed that the older association could not 'carry out any positive international work' because it included both publishers and employees.[126] Although the federation concerned itself with some of the same issues as the pre-war union, such as an international card of identification and a court of honour, its main interest was in more employee-related matters, focusing on the right of journalists to claim ownership of their work, the need for standard contracts of employment, and unemployment relief.[127] It was telling that the FIJ outlasted both the IUPA and the PCW.

Still, acknowledging why and how these two early organizations failed should not diminish their place in the history of journalism professionalization. As already noted, the different cultural background of their leadership made them take different paths in their efforts to deal with the issue. The IUPA saw the establishment of a strong association as a major sign of ascendancy to the status of a profession. The organization could speak and act on behalf of its members vis-à-vis other groups in society, looking after their rights and ensuring that they received special treatment; its existence, coupled with restrictions on membership, was evidence to outsiders of professional status. For journalists, who

could lay no claim to a unique body of knowledge similar to that of lawyers and doctors, association was particularly important.

To the PCW, on the other hand, the primary benefit of association was that it permitted members to meet one another regularly and gradually acquire professional values, engaging in the process of socialization.[128] The organization needed to wield no particular power beyond that. In the case of both associations, however, debate among their members showed that professionalization was recognized as a phenomenon that transcended national borders and needed attention on the international level.

Notes

1. Parts of this chapter have appeared in Björk (2005), 'The First International Organizations for Journalists and the Promotion of Professional Behavior, 1894–1914'; Björk (1996a) 'The First International Organization of Journalists Debates News Copyright'; Björk (1996b) 'The European Debate in 1894 on Journalism Education'; Björk (1994) 'The Press Congress of the World and International Standards for Journalists, 1921–26'.
2. *Compte rendu des Travaux du 5me Congres international de la Presse, Lisbone. 1898*, p. 126.
3. Ibid., p. 126.
4. '16:e internationella prässkongressen', *Journalisten* July 1914; untitled address, folder about ICP, Copenhagen, 1914, Publicistklubben papers, box 4-E I. Swedish National Archives; 'De internationella journalistkongresserna: En artikel i La Presse lnternationale', *Pressen*, 28 September 1900. For a brief assessment of the ICP, see Kubka and Nordenstreng (1986) 'The Shaping of International Cooperation: From the 1880s to the 1940s', pp. 44–50. Brief references to the PCW are in Blanchard (1986) *Exporting the First Amendment: The Press-Government Crusade of 1945–1952*, pp. 11–12; Desmond (1937), *The Press and World Affairs*, p. 328; Bruun, ed. (1979), *Professional Codes in Journalism* (1979), pp. 17–18. A recent study by Timothy Weston discusses the initiatives of the PCW regarding Chinese journalism, see Weston (2010) 'China, Professional Journalism, and Liberal Internationalism in the Era of the First World War'.
5. See, for instance, Dicken-Garcia (1989), *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America*.
6. For the IUPA/ICP, proceedings were located for the meetings of 1894–99 and 1907; pre-congress material such as reports, for 1900, 1902, 1904 and 1914, and brief official documents such as agendas, for 1905, 1908, 1910 and 1911. Newspaper coverage was found for all congresses between 1894 and 1914, particularly in the newspapers of two congress executives, Johan Janzon of *Stockholms Dagblad* (Stockholm) and Adrien Hébrard of *Le Temps* (Paris). In the British press, the IPC was covered enthusiastically and comprehensively until 1909 by Grace Benedicta Stuart in *The Athenæum*. As to the PCW, proceedings from three of its meetings – 1921, 1926 and 1931 – are widely available in American university libraries, while the proceedings

of its 1915 congress were never published; the papers of founder Walter Williams are at the University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

7. Hampton (2005) 'Defining Journalists in Late-Nineteenth Century Britain'.
8. Christian (1980) 'Journalists' Occupational Ideologies and Press Commercialisation', pp. 260–262.
9. Smith (1979) *The Newspaper: An International History*, pp. 114–130; Pöttker (2005) 'Comments on the German Tradition of News Journalism', pp. 139–147.
10. *Proceedings of the World's Press Parliament, Held at the Universal Exposition, St. Louis U.S.A., May 19, 20, 21, 1904*, pp. 29–37, 49–55; Marzolf (1984) 'American "New Journalism" Takes Root in Europe at the End of the 19th Century'.
11. *The Fourth Estate*, 14 May 1896, p. 6; Godkin, 'Newspapers Here and Abroad', *North American Review* (1890), vol. 60, pp. 197–204.
12. *Chicago Tribune*, 23 May 1893; 24 May; 25 May; 26 May; 27 May.
13. Letter to author from Andrea P. Mark, Chicago Public Library, 13 June 1990; *Chicago Tribune*, 21 May 1893, p. 13; *The Journalist*, 3 June 1893, pp. 6–11.
14. G.B. Stuart, 'The Press Congress at Antwerp', *The Athenæum*, 21 July 1894, pp. 96–97; Herbert Cornish, 'Something Very Short about the Institute of Journalists', *The Journalist*, 25 April 1903, p. 14; 'Presskongressen i Antwerpen', *Dagens Nyheter*, 9 July 1894.
15. *Le Bureau Central des Associations de Presse*, pp. l–6: 'Pressföreningar', *Nordisk Familjebok Konversationlexikon och Realencyklopedi*, vol. 22, p. 187; *Ier Congrès international de la Presse (1894 – Anvers), Renseigneents, Procès-verbaux des Séances et Discours communiqués*, pp. 5–7.
16. *Compte rendu des Travaux du 3me Congrès international de la Presse, Budapest 1896*, pp. 3–4; *Compte rendu des Travaux du 4me Congrès international de la Presse, Stockholm 1897*, pp. 3–4: 'An International Press Confederation', *The Fourth Estate*, 7 March 1895, p. 2; Spada, 'Den internationella presskomitén', *Stockholms Dagblad*, 9 June 1895.
17. *Le Bureau Central des Associations de Presse*, pp. 1–6, 19–39; *Compte rendu des Travaux du 4me Congrès*, pp. 4–6.
18. *Bibliotèque Nationale, Departement des Periodiques, Catalogue collectif des Periodiques du Debut du XVII Siecle à 1939*, vol. 2, p. 223; the congresses of 1901 and 1903 were cancelled because the Central Bureau thought that the host cities under consideration, Glasgow and St. Louis, respectively, were too remote; other practical problems caused cancellations in 1906, 1912 and 1913; a meeting in London in 1909 was classified as a 'conference' rather than a 'congress'; G.B. Stuart, International Conference of the Press in London', *The Athernæum*, 7 August 1909, pp. 154–155; Spada, 'Den internationella presskonferensen i London', *Stockholms Dagblad*, 24 September 1909; Stuart, 'The International Press Congress Movement Abroad and at Home', *The Athenæum*, 29 March 1902, p. 400; Stuart, 'Abandonment of the Press Congress in St. Louis', *The Athenæum*, 2 May 1903; Stuart, 'International Congress of the Press', *The Athenæum*, 21 April 1906, pp. 481–482; *Meddelanden från Publicistklubben*, 23 February 1913, p. 5; 24 February 1914, p. 7.
19. *Meddelanden från Publicistklubben*, 15 February 1928, pp. 13–14; 15 February 1930, pp. 2–3; 'Union Internationale des Associations de Presse',

Newspaper World, 18 June 1932, p. 20; the French struggles to revive the ICP are evident in the publications of the organization to Publicistklubben, the Swedish national organization, see *Meddelanden från Publicistklubben*, 15 February 1922, pp. 11–12; 15 February 1923; 15 February 1924, p. 25; 15 February 1927, p. 7; see also Kubka and Nordenstreng, p. 49: post-war meetings were eventually held in London (1927), Barcelona (1929), Oslo (1932), Antwerp (1934) and Prague (1936); *Bibliotèque Nationale, Departement des Periodiques, Catalogue collectif des Periodiques*, p. 223.

20. Participation is based on delegate lists in the proceedings of 1894, 1896–98 and 1900; participation figures for the 1899 meeting are taken from *The Journalist*, 7 February 1903, p. 207.
21. At Paris in 1900, the congress that saw the largest number of American delegates, the United States was represented by the National-Verband Deutsch-Amerikanischer Journalisten und Schriftsteller and the press clubs of Boston, Pittsburgh and San Francisco; *VIIe Congrès international des Associations de Presse (Paris 1900), Liste des Membres du Comité de Direction du Bureau central et des Delegues au VII Congrès*, p. 27.
22. *Proceedings of the World's Press Parliament*, pp. 69, 71; 'Grannländerna', *Pressens Tidning*, 15 June 1932, p. 4; G.B. Stuart, 'Some International Press Courtesies', *The Athenæum*, 24 July 1897, p. 130; Stuart, 'The International Congress of the Press and the Institute of Journalists', *The Athenæum*, 17 January 1903, p. 83; G.B. Stuart, 'International Congress of the Press', *The Athenæum*, 28 September 1895, p. 419; Stuart, 'The International Federation of the Press', *The Athenæum*, 2 May 1896, pp. 583–584; 'The Congress of the Press', *The Athenæum*, 11 July 1896, p. 66; *Compte rendu des Travaux du 3me Congrès*, 23, pp. 47–48.
23. *Ier Congrès international de la Presse*, pp. 5–7.
24. *Bulletin Officiel du Bureau Central des Associations de Presse*, 31 July 1908, p. 21; *IX Congrès international de la Presse, Vienne 1904, Rapport de MM. Victor Taunay et A. Dubois de la Rüe sur la Réduction des tarifs télégraphiques de Presse*, pp. 65–86; *Bulletin Officiel du Bureau Central des Associations de Presse*, 31 August 1908, p. 23.
25. 'Rapport de MM. Albert Osterrieth et Albert Bataille sur la protection de la propriete litteraire en matière de presse', *Compte Rendu des Travaux du 4me Congrès*, pp. 68, 72, 73–74; *Compte Rendu des Travaux du 4me Congres*, p. 48
26. 'Rapport de MM. J. Janzon et E. Torelli-Viollier sur le Bureau des Correspondents', *Compte Rendu des Travaux du 5me Congrès*, p. 119: 'Från presskongressen i Liège', *Stockholms Dagblad*, 31 July 1905.
27. 'Journalistkongressen', *Stockholms-Tidningen*, 29 June 1897.
28. *New York Tribune*, 8 July 1894.
29. *Ier Congrès international de la Presse*, p. 51; at Bordeaux, the question surfaced again, see 'Le congrès international de la presse', *Le Temps*, 16 September 1895, p. 3.
30. Ibid., pp. 52, 55.
31. *Compte rendu des Travaux du 5me Congrès*, p. 80; *Ier Congrès international de la Presse*, pp. 53–54.
32. *Ier Congrès lnternational de la Presse*, p. 54.
33. Ibid., pp. 67–73. The organizational experience of the British is stressed in G.B. Stuart, 'International Congress of the Press', *The Athenæum*,

28 September 1895, p. 419. A second address about the Institute was given at Bordeaux; *Compte rendu des Travaux du 2me Congrès international de la Presse. Bordeaux, 1896*, pp. 52–56: 'Le congrès international de la presse', *Le Temps*, 16 September 1895.

34. Ibid., pp. 67, 68; Christian, pp. 271, 274–275.
35. Ibid., p. 68. Speaking before another international gathering of journalists ten years later, another institute official stressed that the organization had 'given to journalism . . . a defined legal status and position, identical to the position and status of the other learned professions such as law, medicine and art'; *Proceedings of the World's Press Parliament*, p. 23.
36. Ibid., pp. 68–69.
37. Ibid., p. 70.
38. *Bulletin Officiel du Bureau Central des Associations de Presse*, 31 August 1908, pp. 16, 18.
39. *Ier Congrès international de la Presse*, 70 The British idea of a court of arbitration was called on to be a model for the ICP, see pp. 54–55.
40. Ibid., p. 73. On the relative ineffectiveness of French journalism organizations of the time, see Bellanger et al. (1972) *Histoire Générale de la Presse Française*, p. 281.
41. Ibid.; *Compte rendu des Travaux du 4me Congrès*, p. 97. Working to further the other items on the agenda, protection for news and reduction of telegraph and postal rates, was also among the bureau's duties.
42. *Compte rendu des Travaux du 2me Congrès*, pp. 28–32; 'Presskongressen i Bordeaux', *Stockholms Dagblad*, 24 September 1895.
43. 'Le congrès de la presse', *Le Temps*, 19 September 1895; *cf.* the similar view of a French delegate a year later; *Compte rendu des Travaux du 3me Congrès*, p. 29.
44. 'Rapport de M. Victor Taunay sur la Création d'une Carte internationale d'identité pour les Membres des Associations de Presse voageant à l'Étranger,' *Compte rendu des Travaux du 6me Congrès international de la Presse, Rome, 1899*, p. 122; *Compte rendu des Travaux du 5me Congrès*, p. 81.
45. *Ier Congres international de La Presse*, p. 37; *Compte rendu des Travaux du 5me Congrès*, pp. 127–130; *VIIe Congrès international des Associations de Presse (Paris 1900), Rapport de M. Jean Bernard sur L'Ecole du Journalisme*; Michael Emery, Edwin Emery and Nancy L. Roberts (2000) *The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media*, pp. 517–518.
46. Ibid., p. 94.
47. Ibid. The history courses would cover Europe, the Orient and Africa up to the 1878 Berlin Congress and a 'detailed knowledge' of events since then; the legal part of the curriculum would cover administrative, civil and international law; the required languages were French, English, German, Spanish and Italian; 'Från presskongressen i Antwerpen', *Dagens Nyheter*, 14 July 1894; *Ier Congrès international de la Presse*, pp. 90–91.
48. Ibid., pp. 91, 93.
49. Ibid., pp. 37–38; 'Från presskongressen i Antwerpen', *Dagens Nyheter*, 14 July 1894.
50. 'Le congrès de la press', Le Temps, 19 September 1895. After Antwerp, education was discussed at Bordeaux, Lisbon, Paris and Berlin; *Compte rendu des Travaux du 2me Congrès*, pp. 34–37; 'Presskongressen i Bordeaux',

Stockholms Dagblad, 25 September 1895; 'Le congrès de la press', *Le Temps*, 19 September 1895; G.B. Stuart, 'International Congress of the Press', *The Athenæum*, 28 September 1895, p. 419; *Compte rendu des Travaux du 5me Congrès*, pp. 126–127; 'Journalistisk yrkesutbildning', *Pressen*, 5 November 1898, p. 3: *Rapport de M. Jean Bernard*; V. Taunay to Walter Williams, 29 August 1908, folder 38, Walter Williams papers, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia; *Bulletin Officiel du Bureau Central des Associations de Presse*, 3 July 1908, p. 21.

51. *Rapport de M. Jean Bernard*. The same was true of a report to two the following congresses, which focused on Switzerland and Germany, respectively; M. Bühler, *Journalistische Berufsbildung, Vlll Internationaler Presskongress*; Richard Wrede, *Joumalistischer Fachunterricht, Neunter Intemationaler Pressekongress, Wien, 11.–17. September 1904*, pamphlets, New York Public Library.
52. *Ier Congrès international de la Presse*, p. 55.
53. *Compte rendu des Travaux du 3me Congrès*, p. 53.
54. Ibid., pp. 79, 77; 'Rapport de M. Antoine Salles sur la Situation légale des Journalistes vis-à-vis des Directeurs de Journaux', *Compte rendu des Travaux du 6me Congrès*, pp. 143–159.
55. 'Journalistkongressen i Paris', *Pressen*, 3 November 1900, p. 1.
56. *Compte rendu des Travaux du 5me Congrès*, p. 74; *Rapport de M. Janzon sur une enquète au sujet de la Situation sociale, morale et matérielle des Journalistes de différents pays au point de vue professionell*, pp. 3, 6.
57. *Rapport de M. Jacquemaire sur la Constitution d'un Tribunal international d'Arbitres*, p. 3: *Compte rendu des Travaux du 5me Congrès*, pp. 85–88.
58. As mentioned above, the Institute of Journalists was carrying out this function already in 1894: French associations were doing it by 1900, and the journalists of Scandinavia had established a regional court following the Stockholm Congress of 1897; *Rapport de M. Jacquemaire*, p. 3; *Förslag till nordiska joumalistiska skilje- och hedersdomstolar*, pamphlet. 1902, Library of the Press Archives, Swedish National Archives.
59. *Compte rendu des Travaux du 5me Congrès*, pp. 85–86; *Rapport de M. Jacquemaire*, pp. 5–6.
60. *Compte rendu des Travaux du 5me Congrès*, pp. 85–87.
61. *Rapport de M. Jacquemaire*, pp. 7, 5.
62. 'Le congrés international de la presse', *Le Temps*, 25 July 1902. The resolution adopted at Berne still mentioned the labour aspect of the court, but Singer had little interest in that.
63. *IX Congrès international de la Presse*, pp. 37–52.
64. Ibid., p. 45.
65. 'Presskongressen i Wien', *Stockholms Dagblad*. 13 September 1904. At the Liège Congress in 1905, the court idea got entangled in a peripheral proposal to stop duels between journalists, see G.B. Stuart, 'Tenth International Congress of the Press', *The Athenæum*, 5 August 1905, p. 181. For discussion at other meetings, see 'Presskongressen i vinlandet', *Stockholms Dagblad*, 26 September 1907; *Bulletin Officiel du Bureau Central des Associations de Presse*, 31 July 1908, p. 21.
66. See for instance, the rather timid defence of the ICP in G.B. Stuart, 'The Eleventh International Congress of the Press', *The Athenæum*, 5 October

1907, p. 404; 'Presskongressen i Liège', *Stockholms Dagblad*, 1 August 1905; 'Presskongressen i vinlandet', *Stockholms Dagblad*, 1 October 1907; 'Internationella presskongressen', *Journalisten*, March 1911, pp. 2, 5; *Proceedings of the World's Press Parliament*, pp. 69, 71.

67. Rucker (1964) *Walter Williams*, pp. 95–96.
68. Emery and Emery, 517; *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (1940), vol. 28, pp. 187–188: 'Missouri Mourns Her First Citizen', *Missouri Alumnus*, September 1935, p. 6.
69. Rucker, pp. 96–99.
70. 'Presskongressens i St. Louis indragning', *Nordstjernan*, 14 May 1903; G.B. Stuart, 'Eighth International Congress of the Press', *The Athenæum*, 2 August 1902. p. 159.
71. Williams, 'The World's Press and the World's Fair', *The Telephone Register* (McMinnville, Ore.), 15 August 1903, clipping, folder 581, Sara Lockwood Williams papers, Western Historical Manuscripts, University of Missouri.
72. Williams, ed. (1928) *The Press Congress of the World in Switzerland*, p. 25.
73. *Proceedings of the World's Press Parliament*, pp. 75–79, 96–100; 'Permanent Congress', *The Editor and Publisher*, 28 May 1904, p. 1; 'Call to the Press', *The Editor and Publisher*, 20 August 1904, p. 3.
74. Williams, 'Brief Report of International Press Congress', *National Printer-Journalist*, undated clipping, folder 283, Sara Lockwood Williams papers; 'Editors to Meet Next at Sidney', *San Francisco Chronicle*, 11 July 1915.
75. Williams, 'The World's Journalism', *The University of Missouri Bulletin*, February 1915, p. 43; *cf*. a very similar statement made in 1921, Walter Williams. Ed (1922) *The Press Congress of the World in Hawaii*, pp. 73–74, 76; Williams. 'Equipment for Journalism', *National Printer-Journalist*, August 1910, p. 550; clipping, folder 261, Sara Lockwood Williams papers.
76. Williams, 'How Press Can Serve Cause of Democracy', *Aurora Republican*, 27 June 1917, clipping, folder 652, Sara Lockwood Williams papers.
77. *Press Congress in Hawaii*, p. 3; 'Williams Heads World's Press Congress', *Editor & Publisher*, 17 July 1915, p. 140; 'Editors of Many Lands Attend Press Congress', *San Francisco Chronicle*, 6 July 1915; 'Nearly 1,000 Newspaper Men Here; Many Foreign Nations Represented', *San Francisco Examiner*, 6 July 1915, p. 5; Grant Wallace, 'World Press Congress', *Editor & Publisher*, 10 July 1915, pp. 111, 116. On German refusals to participate, see 'Warum wir nicht kommen könnte', *Hannoverlicher Kurier*, 19 April 1915, clipping, Sara Lockwood Williams papers.
78. *Press Congress of the World Bulletin,* p. 1, 10 May 1916.
79. On the problems with Australia, see *Press Congress of the World Bulletin*, 20 March 1917, p. 6; 3 January 1919; 20 March 1919; 20 March 1920; 20 November 1920.
80. *Press Congress in Hawaii*, p. 3; Walter Williams, 'Service in Most Effective Way Purpose of Congress', *Editor & Publisher*, 24 September 1921, p. 14.
81. For the search for a congress host after 1921, see *The Press Congress in Switzerland*, pp. 8–9: James W. Brown, 'The Third World Congress', *Journalism Bulletin*, I (1924): pp. 47–48; 'The Press Congress of the World, to Meet in Third Session at Seville, Spain, May 23–29, 1925', pamphlet, folder 6, box 5, Walter Williams memorabilia, University of Missouri Archives; Williams to the Association of Dutch Journalists, 12 January 1923, folder

131; Williams to Nederlandsche Journalisten Kring, 18 August 1925; NJK to Williams, 26 August 1925; folder 95, Walter and Sara Williams papers, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia.

82. *Press Congress in Hawaii*, p. 71.
83. *Press Congress in Switzerland*, pp. 11–12.
84. Ibid., p. 12; *Press Congress in Hawaii*, pp. 351–352.
85. 'Statement of treasurer's receipts and disbursements, Press Congress of the World', 31 July 1926, folder 284. Sara Lockwood Williams papers.
86. Brown to Williams, 28 March 1929, folder 291, Sara Lockwood Williams papers; Brown to Robert Bell, 2 November 1928, folder 129, Walter and Sara Williams papers.
87. Brown to Williams, 28 March 1929, folder 291, and Frank Marlin to Williams, 24 October 1934, folders 242–234, Sara Lockwood Williams papers; on Williams' plan, see *Japan Advertiser*, 15 November 1921, clipping, scrapbook, Walter Williams memorabilia.
88. Adding to the lack of organizational talent of the new president, Robert Bell, was the problem of maintaining contact between a secretary-treasurer in the United States and a president in New Zealand, see Wallace Odell to Williams, 18 January 1929, folder 290, Sara Lockwood Williams papers.
89. *Press Congress in Hawaii*, pp. 67–70, 76, 403–418; 'Press Congress Topics Must Be Vital to World Welfare', *Editor & Publisher*, 24 September 1921, pp. 11, 60.
90. Williams, 'Service in Most Effective Way', p. 14.
91. *Press Congress in Hawaii*, p. 72; *Press Congress in Switzerland*, p. 25.
92. Ibid., p. 72; *Press Congress in Switzerland*, p. 25
93. *Congress Bulletin*, September 1922, p. 11; March 1922, pp. 1–8.
94. 'World Wide Free Press to Serve All Men', *Editor & Publisher*, 9 October 1926; *Press Congress in Switzerland*, pp. 24–32.
95. *Press Congress in Switzerland*, pp. 26–29.
96. *Press Congress in Hawaii*, pp. 72, 74–75.
97. Ibid., pp. 115–155, 175–176.
98. Ibid., p. 363.
99. *Press Congress in Switzerland*, p. 29.
100. Ibid., pp. 143, 101–110, 215–235.
101. *Press Congress in Hawaii*, pp. 193, 254–255, 262–264.
102. Ibid., p. 244.
103. Ibid., pp. 95–96, 99–100.
104. Ibid., p. 207.
105. Ibid., pp. 93–95; the Norwegian speaker (p. 103) also favoured more powerful press associations.
106. Beteta, 'World Peace Ideal of Press Congress', *Editor & Publisher*, 24 September 1921, p. 5.
107. *Press Congress in Hawaii*, pp. 248–249.
108. Ibid., pp. 363, 367–368.
109. 'Press Congress Topics Must Be Vital to World Welfare', *Editor & Publisher*, 24 September 1921, pp. 11, 60; 'Ethics and Understanding Press Congress Aim', *Editor & Publisher*, 3 December 1921, p. 5.
110. *Press Congress in Switzerland*, pp. 18, 20; Emery, Emery and Roberts, pp. 514–515. For passages of codes in Europe, see Bruun, pp. 17–19.

111. *Press Congress in Switzerland*, pp. 75–76, 72.
112. Ibid., p. 74.
113. Ibid., pp. 92, 94.
114. Ibid., pp. 204–209.
115. Ibid., p. 235.
116. Ibid., pp. 128, 237; 'International Organized Press Is Hope of World Understanding', *Editor & Publisher*, 18 September 1926.
117. Ibid., p. 143.
118. Both the large New York newspapers and the agencies fêted the delegates of the 1926 congress in New York as the latter were on their way to Switzerland; the interest of the papers seemed to have ended there, while representatives of the agencies spoke at the meeting, 'Three Days of New York's Best Fun Planned for Press Congress', *Editor & Publisher*, 14 August 1926, p. 16: 'Press Congress Hosts Talk Shop to Guests', *Editor & Publisher*, 4 September 1926, p. 4.
119. *Press Congress in Hawaii*, pp. 508–515; *Ayer's*, 1921; only three papers had circulations over 50,000, and only one, the *New York World*, exceeded 100,000.
120. 'International Conference of the press', *Newspaper World*, 9 July 1927, p. 14.
121. Williams to Brown, 23 November 1929, folder 301, and Frederick Lawson to Wallace Odell, 7 August 1928, folder 288; Sara Lockwood Williams papers.
122. *Press Congress in Switzerland*, pp. 8–9, 13.
123. 'Grannländerna', *Pressens Tidning*, 15 June 1932, p. 4.
124. '16:e internationella prässkongressen', *Journalisten*, July 1914, p. 4; 'Le congrès international de la presse a Rome', *Le Temps*, 10 May 1911.
125. In Britain and Sweden, respectively, the employer-employee split had resulted in the formation of the National Union of Journalists in 1906 and Svenska Journalistföreningen (The Swedish Association of Journalists) in 1901: Christian, p. 275; Nils Andersson and Harald Hjern (1951) *Svenska Journalistförbundet*, p. 11.
126. 'Internationella Federationens Londonkongress,' *Journalisten*, January 1933, p. 1; 'En ny journalistinternational', *Journalisten*, August 1926, p. 1. On cooperation offers, see 'Union Internationale des Associations de Presse'.
127. 'Internationellt journalistkort för I.F.J.', *Journalisten*, December 1931, p. 1; 'Internationella Federationens Londonkongress', *Journalisten*, January 1933, pp. 1–2; 'F.I.J.:s Finlandsmöte', *Journalisten*, August 1935, pp. 1–2; Kubka and Nordenstreng, pp. 52–81.
128. Ostini and Fung (2000) 'Beyond the Four Theories of the Press: A New Model of National Media Systems', p. 47; Weaver and Willnat (2012b) 'Journalists in the 21st Century: Conclusions', pp. 534–544.

3
First Professional International: FIJ (1926–40)

Frank Beyersdorf

Introduction

In 1926 European journalists' trade unions formed the *Fédération Internationale des Journalistes* (FIJ) as the first international organization exclusively representing journalists. Its members committed the new body to assist 'in the work of defending the professional interests', and to safeguard 'in all possible ways the liberty of the Press'.[1] Throughout its existence, the FIJ focused on the former. It collected and synthesized information and generated international norms furthering the professionalization of journalism in the interwar period. The focus on professionalism, however, was only possible because liberal unions from the industrialized countries of Central and Western Europe dominated the FIJ. Until the mid-1930s, this ensured not only a refusal to address political issues such as the admission of communist and fascist unions but also prevented the accession of press associations from outside Europe. The FIJ was political by shunning all but liberal politics.

As such, the FIJ was a child of post-war liberal internationalism. The League of Nations system greatly assisted international journalism in general and the birth of the *Fédération* in particular. According to Georges Bourdon, the FIJ's first president, the 'tremendous significance' of the international news and news media rested on the journalist's 'influence on public opinion . . . , whose master they are, . . . and on the steering of states'.[2] Given the importance attributed to international news by both League and FIJ officers, the *Fédération* almost immediately became the journalists' stakeholder in the League's conference series of press experts between 1927 and 1933. These conferences assembled organized journalists, news agency managers and information officers of foreign ministries. All three stakeholders attempted to liberalise the

international news media by increasing the speed and lowering the cost of the movement of both news reports and journalists across borders. The FIJ used the League's media policy to demand the introduction of a card legitimizing an international journalist by conferring a status similar to that of a diplomat. The journalist, according to a legal expert of the FIJ, was no longer only an 'instrument, but itself an actor of world politics [as] the statesman, member of parliament and diplomat'.[3]

The states, however, refused to recognize the card and cede their jurisdiction over foreigners residing within their territory to the FIJ. The global news agencies, the close-to exclusive providers of international news, deemed the FIJ's agenda as irrelevant to their business plans. This was the first time that the FIJ's leaders realized the limits of the apolitical stance they had assumed in demanding more rights. In order to convince in particular the states to accept international journalistic self-regulation, the organization later established an independent court of honour. The court, however, again failed to be accepted by the states, but also from within the profession. In particular (but not only), US news actors refused categorically to ever submit to its ruling rendering its credibility as a tool to generate a moral code void.

Since the mid-1930s FIJ debates were increasingly dominated by the question of whether professional interests took precedence over political interests: Was the constitutional commitment to improving the working conditions of journalists more important than an equally statutory commitment to press freedom? The adherence to a liberal interpretation of press freedom prevented, for instance, the admission of both communist and fascist journalist unions. The commitment to pursue only the interest of journalists organized in trade unions, which only existing within industrialized liberal media systems, prevented the globalization of the FIJ's reach beyond Europe.

The first section of this chapter explores the birth of the FIJ as an intrinsic part of the post-war international system and assesses its work to promote the professionalization of working journalists. The second section examines how the FIJ claimed the right to identify and increase the rights of international journalists *vis-à-vis the states*. The third section addresses the ultimately fruitless attempt to have an international court of honour to impose journalists' duties from within the profession. The fourth section analyses the clash between professional and political interests within the *Fédération* as of the mid-1930s, while the concluding section provides an explanation of why the FIJ failed in its own claim to represent journalism universally.

Post-war internationalism and the birth of the FIJ

The initiative to organize journalists internationally emanated from the new international system slowly building up after World War I. The war was alleged to have started because of secret diplomacy, and the new League of Nations system was supposed to implement Woodrow Wilson's call for open diplomacy. In contrast to Lenin's earlier call for the same principle, the US president did not simply mean that henceforth all diplomatic treaties should be made public or that international meetings should be open to the news media. Rather, the Paris peace conferences and the League's secretariat in Geneva institutionalized the relation between the League system and the news media. The secretariat featured an information section to organize its external representation as well as to form world public opinion.[4]

The information section primarily served the global news agencies and leading national newspapers of industrialized countries, but step by step expanded its network to Asia and South America. In Geneva, the League's secretariat invested heavily in communications technology supporting the work of foreign correspondents. *The International Association of Journalists accredited to the League of Nations* (IAJA) formalized this relationship in 1921. Since no other international press association was operational at this time, the IAJA also became the 'primary association' to represent journalists' interest at the international level after the war (Figure 3.1).[5]

The IAJA lobbied the newly created International Labour Organization (ILO) to conduct a comparative survey of the working conditions of journalists to assess the impact of the post-war recession. In 1925 the ILO Office sent a questionnaire to 60 press associations in 33 countries in Europe, the Americas and Australia. The inquiry probed the status of the press, wages, forms of contracts, working hours, holidays, insurance, recruitment and dismissal practices as well as press organizations. Having completed a preliminary report on the survey by the end of 1926, ILO sent it back to the associations for further comments prior to the publication of the final report in 1928. The inquiry created the 'working journalist' as a new group of internationally recognized professionals.[6]

The ILO findings galvanized journalists outside the Geneva orbit to organize both nationally and internationally. The French *Syndicat National des Journalistes*, formed in 1918 on the model of the British National Union of Journalists, constituted the first French organization to exclusively represent journalists. However, it never replaced the

Figure 3.1 International Association of Journalists accredited to the League of Nations at one of its festive events.
Source: United Nations Archives at Geneva.

older French unions and press associations split along lines of class, geography, politics and religion. Nonetheless, the ILO survey's commendation of the *Syndicat*'s first moves to establish an international journalist trade union, quoted extensively in the final publication, also served as credentials to consolidate its position as a newcomer against the rival French press associations.[7]

While working on the ILO questionnaire, the *Syndicat* noted the lack of an international umbrella organization for professional journalists. In collaboration with the two strongest European journalists' trade unions from Britain and Germany, they established the FIJ. The French *Syndicat* hosted a preparatory meeting of 19 journalists' trade unions to draft a constitution for the *Fédération* in mid-June 1926. The *Fédération*'s creation was closely tied within the League system. The meeting took place in the building of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC) located in Paris – the predecessor of UNESCO. Both organizations founded in 1926, the Institute's first director Lucien Luchaire welcomed the representatives in an extraterritorial location, which 'despite being situated in the heart of Paris, remains legally speaking international terrain'. Since the IIIC was part of the League system, its premises, similar to those of ILO and embassies, remained exempted from state jurisdiction. After the *Fédération* was set

up, the Institute also provided office facilities in its building for the FIJ's secretariat (Figure 3.2).[8]

Figure 3.2 The FIJ Emblem.
Source: *Le Tribunal d'Honneur Internationale des Journalistes* (1930).

A second meeting – the first official congress of all FIJ member unions – approved the constitution for the *Fédération* in late September 1926. This time the meeting took place in the premises of the ILO in Geneva. Georges Bourdon, the secretary general of the French *Syndicat* since 1922 and first president of the FIJ, thanked the ILO director Albert Thomas for having provided the 'first idea' for the project.[9] In a later meeting, Georg Bernhard, the second FIJ president, called both ILO and IIIC 'our true parents'. Returning the favour, the *Fédération*'s Secretary General Stéphen Valot pledged unreserved collaboration and

a full information exchange with Institute, ILO and also the League's information section. All three bodies regularly dispatched observers to meetings of the FIJ, which in turn sent its proceedings to all three League units. In return, ILO gained recognition by yet another international professional group as the only legitimate organization to improve the conditions of workers around the world outside the Soviet Union.[10]

Furthermore, ILO, IIIC, and the League's Geneva-based Committee on Intellectual Cooperation institutionalized their cooperation by creating Consultative Commission of Intellectual Workers at the end of 1927. Immediately, Valot lobbied for an invitation for himself to represent his organization. The ILO representatives emphasized that the FIJ was the only journalists' organization to be allowed to send a representative. The FIJ, Valot replied, cherished this 'official consecration'. All four organizations not only cemented the designation of a new group of workers – the journalistic profession – but also legitimized each other as intrinsic parts of post-war internationalism.[11]

The FIJ was administered by a permanent secretariat located in the building of the IIIC in Paris. A president, two deputies, and a secretary general headed the office. Valot, re-elected as secretary every four years by the member unions, remained in office until 1940. The secretariat coordinated the efforts of the *Fédération*'s executive committee, which was composed of two members from every country affiliated and met twice annually, setting the agenda for the full congresses. An ILO observer to the FIJ's meetings described the executive committee as 'the true working body' of the *Fédération*. The biannual congresses merely approved of its decisions. Many of the executive officers also headed a number of topical committees located in the countries of the most important European member unions. These committees compiled statistics, collected information on legal, technical and financial questions on the press and lobbied for new members (Figure 3.3).[12]

The FIJ project was not motivated solely by a desire to create representation for working journalists beyond the nation, but was also meant to exclude the rival international journalists' projects of both the IAJA and the older *International Unions of Press Associations* (IUPA). The *Fédération*'s statutes restricted membership to unionized journalists working for newspapers or news agencies and those 'who make journalism their principle profession'.[13] Initially, membership was restricted to one journalist trade union per country, which incidentally strengthened the *Syndicat*'s position *vis-à-vis* its domestic rivals in France. Since unions,

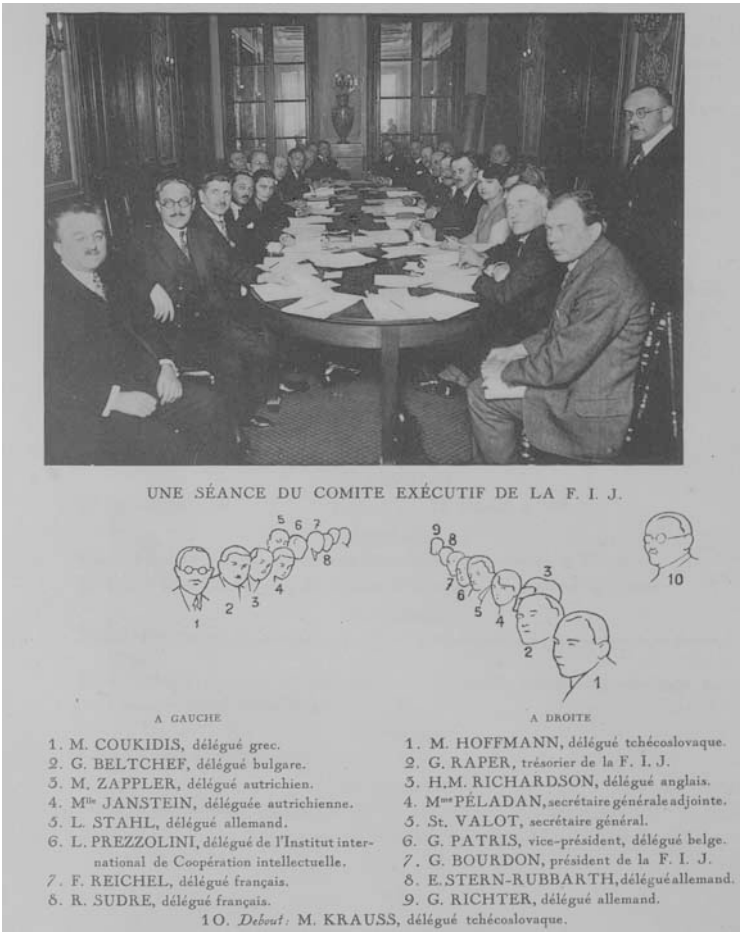


Figure 3.3 Session of the FIJ executive committee in The Hague, October 1931. Of its 18 members 2 were women.
Source: *Le Tribunal D'Honneur International des Journalistes* (1932).

however, were not the only organizations representing international journalists, the FIJ soon widened its definition of eligible members. It admitted foreign correspondents' associations into its ranks if they agreed to surrender their international activities to the *Fédération* – a blow against the IAJA. Thus, no longer IAJA, but the FIJ considered itself solely 'authorised in the international world to speak for' professional journalists.[14]

Similarly, the FIJ successfully challenged the older, still mixed employer-employee organization IUPA. The executive committee prohibited its members from joining any other international press organization in a meeting in Vienna in May 1927. The *Fédération*'s membership policy hampered IUPA's post-war revitalization and IUPA eventually recognized the FIJ as the legitimate representative of professional journalists. As Valot reported from the London congress of IUPA in 1927, the *Fédération* hoped that the older international press association would eventually evolve into the international representative body of employers. Ernst Rietmann, a member of IUPA, recognized that the IAJA and the FIJ were to deal with international media policy 'from the journalist point of view'.[15]

The FIJ's statutes drawn up in 1926 in Paris and Geneva primarily committed the organization to study and promote the international standardization of employment contracts, minimum wage and legal measures of minimum social security to protect the incomes of journalists from commercial pressures. To compile this information on the international level, the FIJ created a Committee for Documentation, Publication and Archives in Paris under the Vice Secretary General Louise Pheledan. Headed by one of the two female journalists working in an executive position at the FIJ, the committee first endorsed and later continued ILO's survey of the working conditions of journalists.[16]

On the basis of existing collective working contracts in Austria, Italy, Germany, Britain and Australia, a special commission under Pheledan and her German colleague L. Stahl produced an international standard framework agreement between a professional journalist organization and their employers in 1927. The model agreement defined minimum wages, maximum working hours, holidays, night work, pension and other obligations among the nationally organized contracting parties for the whole country. Following the *Fédération*'s statutory definition, the model contract defined as a professional journalist a person working for at least three years as a fulltime journalist, earning primarily on the income from his occupation, and as member of a professional organization. While multiple employment by more than one news media company was covered as professional by the term 'correspondent', those who did not meet these criteria were considered 'amateurs' and not protected by the collective agreement.

As another important marker of professionalization, the model treaty designated news reports as both the intellectual property of the journalist and the industrial property of his employer. Furthermore, it fixed layoff practices: Both sides were required to give three months' notice

and the employer had to pay an indemnity if the employee was dismissed for reasons other than professional errors. It also contained a conscience clause which Valot had developed in the Consultative Commission of Intellectual Workers. If the political orientation of the newspaper employer changed, the journalist could immediately end the contract and still benefit from the continuation of payment and double indemnity. The basic agreement stipulated the creation of a joint employer-employee committee to arbitrate labour and other disputes and liaise with public authorities, which was supposed to be formalized in a tribunal on a national level.[17]

The following month the FIJ's committee for welfare and assistance under the second female executive, the Austrian Elisabeth Janstein, produced a similar standard framework agreement, but for countries in which no professional organizations existed.[18] This Vienna-based social committee also compiled information on state pensions and national unions' assistance funds in member states. The second FIJ Congress in Dijon in November 1928 requested this committee also to study the training of journalists, the situation of foreign correspondents, public insurance, the tendency for news media concentration in chains and professional ethics.[19]

The second core constitutional principle committed the FIJ 'to safeguard in all possible ways the liberty of the press and of journalism'. Without clearly defining the meaning of liberty of journalism, the *Fédération* followed liberal-interventionist continental European rather than an Anglo–American libertarian concept of an almost absolute freedom of expression. It demanded a journalist's independence from the government and from the commercial pressures of news media owners. The statutes of the FIJ, for instance, already committed its member unions to lobby national parliaments for a codification of journalism as a profession to claim public protection against commercial interests.[20]

To ascertain the legal status of the news media, the FIJ also established a legal committee. Located in Berlin, the committee was virtually equal to the newly established German Institute of Newspaper Science at Friedrich-Wilhelms (later Humboldt) University.[21] Kurt Häntzschel, official of the German Interior Ministry and the president of both Institute of Newspaper Science and legal committee, immediately set out to assess the status of international intellectual property rights in news.[22] In collaboration with Julius Magnus, Häntzschel also compiled a survey on the national news media laws of 'all civilised nations' across the world and on an even more monumental scale, Häntzschel and

Victor Bruns edited between 1928 and 1931 a monograph series on *The Press Laws of the World*. They published 11 volumes on Germany, Great Britain, Austria, Denmark, Italy, Sweden, Luxembourg, Norway, the Soviet Union and Bulgaria. The intended translations into English and French never materialized. Since most European countries had not yet developed proto-communication studies or, in Häntzschel's words, newspaper science in a 'true sense', they enlisted the help of the press department of the German Foreign Ministry and its consular offices. They obtained access to the Ministry's surveys of press laws gathered in preparation for the League's news media conference of 1927. The FIJ's legal committee work was thus also part of the German foreign policy strategy to peacefully revise the Versailles Treaty and overcome the status of a former pariah nation.[23] Häntzschel eventually served as the FIJ advisor to that conference, which, in the light of his and Bruns' work, withdrew a motion calling upon the League to compile the press laws of the world.[24]

The FIJ could only study the regulation of national media systems. Thus the *Fédération* did not directly work to improve working conditions of journalists, but rather functioned as clearing house and diffused professional norms. The FIJ's international synthesis of information, however, solidified the position of member unions to represent journalists *vis-à-vis* the state and employers on the national level. Following up on ILO's landmark survey, FIJ executives reported during their meetings, for instance, on retirement funds or wages in their countries. These reports were published in international series by the FIJ itself and the ILO and the IIIC. Likewise, national periodicals printed and discussed them such as the French *Syndicat*'s *Les Journaliste*, *The Journalist* of the British National Union of Journalists (NUJ), the German union's *Deutsche Presse* as well as the academic journal *Zeitungswissenschaft*. This comparatively gathered information conferred legitimacy on national efforts of its member unions to improve the journalists' status. The Belgian union successfully negotiated for higher wages by quoting the international standards. Conversely, the Austrian newspaper managers' association used the ILO study to cut wages citing the high wages of Austrian journalists. The ILO representative, requested by an Austrian FIJ representative to omit such 'incriminating' information in the next edition of the inquiry, declined to compromise international knowledge in the name of fraternal loyalty.[25] Unsurprisingly, the FIJ also urged its member unions to follow the example of public Austrian social insurance for journalists. Following its implicit definition of press freedom, the FIJ executives admitted that this proposal

increased the state's influence over journalists. This loss in independence, they argued, was offset by the decrease of the journalist's dependence upon the employer, which furthered 'the complete independence [of a journalist] as the primordial condition for the exercise of her profession'.[26]

Similarly the president of the American Newspaper Guild, upon acceding to the *Fédération* in 1934, claimed to have used the ILO and the FIJ surveys as an inspiration to eventually unionize US journalists. In 1935, French journalists and parliament defined the profession by law and instituted a tripartite regulation jointly executed by journalists, publishers and state authorities. Citing ILO and FIJ surveys, this legislation followed the Italian precedent, which was based on tripartite wage bargaining introduced in the mid-1920s. As a late success of the *Fédération*, the French legislation also recognized foreign correspondents in France as members of the profession.[27] Reversely, national legislation could impact the international level. The German Foreign Ministry, for instance, had prepared a national law to protect property in news, which served as a precedent for a resolution adopted both at the FIJ and at the League's news media conference in 1927.[28]

Journalists and the League's Conference of Press Experts

The FIJ could not unilaterally set rules for the international news market, but could participate in an effort of a variety of news actors that urged the League system to engage in international media policy. League officers enthusiastically heeded these moves, because the covenant of their organization committed them to engage in disarmament, which they understood in a wide sense also as avoiding the dissemination of news inciting to war. The League organized and hosted meetings for the three stakeholders in the international news media market: news agency managers, state information officers and international journalists. These endeavours started by a series of separate meetings of the first two stakeholders meeting in 1926. The third, representatives of international journalists, met in January 1927. All three drafted an agenda for their multi-stakeholder conference in August 1927. Although business and state representatives dominated this series of media conference lasting from 1926 to 1933 and beyond, international journalists carved out for themselves a decisively political role to regulate their own profession across borders.[29]

Figure 3.4 Conference of Press Experts in Geneva, August 1927.
Source: *The League of Nations and the Press: International Press Exhibition in Cologne* (1928).

Lord Burnham, chairman of the first Geneva Conference of Press Experts, emphasized in retrospect that it was 'the first independent conference that the League of Nations ever had'. All others were intergovernmental conferences.[30] The three stakeholders not only brought forward 'the problems of the Press' to 'the plane of organised international discussion', but the conference as such 'brought journalists from the Press gallery' physically to the floor of the main assembly hall for League meetings in the 1920s (Figure 3.4).[31]

Agenda setting

In July 1925, John Buchan, a representative of the British news agency Reuters, suggested to the League's general secretary an international news media conference. Buchan approached Eric Drummond in the name of the *Agences Alliées*, an international organization for mainly privately owned European news agencies, but also including the Soviet TASS and the US Associated Press (AP). The *Agences Alliées* exchanged information and generated international business standards for news distribution. Thus the *Agences Alliées* democratized decisions that used

to be made exclusively by the four globally active news agencies Reuters, Havas, the German Wolff and AP before the war. Since the late 19th century, these agencies divided the world into regions, in which only one of the four collected news reports. Then they exchanged their dispatches among themselves and sold them to newspapers[32] The *Agences Alliées* lobbied for an international protection of news dispatches as commercial property during their first conference in Berne in June 1924. Since states and the International Bureau of the Union of Industrial Property refused to place the issue on the agenda of their conference, Buchan and the *Agences Alliées* requested the League to take action instead.[33]

Upon receiving Buchan's suggestions, Drummond appointed a small committee to study the question. His deputy, Francis P. Walters, requested at first a confidential opinion from the League's news media experts. A member of the information section spotted an excellent opportunity to improve collaboration with the British and continental European press by helping 'them in their technical affairs'. Another officer requested information on the matter from the Union of Industrial Property.[34] Joost A. van Hamel, one of the League secretariat's foremost legal expert, endorsed the project, but recommended including a condition to League action. Protection of news, he argued, increased the rights of the news managers, which, however, also required the assumption of a new duty of news managers such as not 'sending out envenomating [sic] news' as well.[35] The League officers advised against immediately convening such a conference. First, the secretariat's information section was supposed to gauge 'unofficially and privately' whether any interest existed among the news media community at large.[36]

During the League's Assembly session of 1925, a Latin American resolution took the secretariat and the news managers by surprise.[37] The Chilean delegate Eliodoro Yáñez, owner of the newspaper *La Nación*, requested a conference 'to determine by what means the Press might contribute towards the work of moral disarmament and the organisation of peace'. The connection of international media policy to the League's constitutional commitment to disarmament went beyond the question of property rights in news. Yáñez urged both public and private 'experts of the press' to consider options to increase the quantity of globally sold information. He presumed that intensification of the movement of international news would help to avoid misunderstandings and contribute to the pacification of published opinion between nations across the globe.[38] The Belgian

delegate Paul Hymans interjected that the League, as an intergovernmental organization, could not encroach upon the independence of the press. Specifying Yáñez's motion, the League could only assist news media actors in organizing meetings with representatives of public services such as post, telegraph and railway authorities. Both the League Assembly and Council accepted Yáñez' proposal. The secretariat's officers formalized the inquiry and the news media assessing the interest of the press actors concerned, who enthusiastically endorsed the initiative.[39]

In 1926 and 1927 the three news media stakeholders met separately to set the agenda for the actual conference of press experts. In all meetings the participants insisted on Hyman's caveat as well as Yáñez's advice to address only 'technical' problems. The League's Secretary General Drummond welcomed the chief foreign information officers to Geneva 'not as governmental delegates to a political conference, but as individual experts to a technical committee'. The latter confirmed and claimed to have discussed all issues on their agenda only 'from a technical point of view'.[40] Georg Bernhard, as chair of the international journalists' committee, emphasized that their recommendations to the multi-stakeholder conference had to be resolved by 'securing unanimity'. Unanimity implemented the technicality of the meetings and turned them into an allegedly apolitical process to regulate the international news market.[41] Lord Burnham, the president of the Geneva conference, reminded the press experts once 'not to transcend mere technical improvements' in their recommendations. Similar to engineers constructing channels, the experts were supposed to recommend ways and means to 'clear the way for a broader and clearer stream of news and information to reach from nation to nation'.[42]

Despite the rhetoric, the meetings of the press experts were a highly politically charged undertaking. It was decidedly no coincidence that the news agency managers were able to meet as the first committee in August 1926 and dominated the agenda-setting process.[43] The managers urged the League to initiate an intergovernmental conference to legally protect agency reports against news theft. The intensification of wireless telecommunication since the late 1920s allowed anyone with a radio receiver could pick up and publish news agency reports without payment. The news agency managers suggested that states issuing broadcasting licences making news piracy a criminal offence punishable by prison terms from eight days to three months. Furthermore, news agencies not members of global business agreements such as UP simply copy-pasted news agency dispatches after publication in newspapers

without pay. The managers intended to use the conference of press experts to protect their business interests.[44]

During the multi-stakeholder conference AP manager Kent Cooper argued that the increase in the quantity of internationally distributed news also furthered the League's cause in moral disarmament. Seconded by his cartel colleagues, Roderick Jones and André Meynot, but also by the cartel's fiercest competitor, Karl Bickel of United Press (UP), Cooper insisted that the news trade on 'the wholesale scale actually is and must be carried on by the news agencies'. In order to accomplish 'their international work', news agencies needed the remuneration of their expenses for collecting, transmitting and dissemination of their news reports. The conference needed to urge appropriate international bodies to protect news agency dispatches as intellectual property. Although Cooper failed to push through a protection of news for a limited period of time after publication, the conference at least recommended protection prior publication.[45]

The news managers' second core objective was to increase the speed and decrease the price of international telecommunications services. They recommended reserving time on existing telecommunication lines for press messages only, creating a new category for 'urgent press' and developing the international telephone network. Furthermore, AP managers moved to express the committee's 'desire to call to the attention of Governments' that censorship in peacetime should be abolished. According to Frank Noyes and Elmer Roberts, censorship failed to prevent 'false or misleading dispatches [...] across frontiers' or the fabrication of news by individuals hostile to the censoring government. Seconding this motion, UP managers Roy Howard additionally requested a guarantee of equal or non-discriminatory treatment of domestic and foreign correspondents in the usage of telecommunications services.[46]

The chief information officers of European foreign ministries met as the second preparatory committee in October 1926.[47] They endorsed the news agencies' recommendations and thus the agenda-setting of the news agency managers.[48] In addition, they compiled a questionnaire distributed by the League secretariat's information section to assess the 'facilities accorded to journalists' by states or private organizations such as press rates, but also travel grants, training institutions and others. To designate journalists eligible to access preferential rates for telecommunication and transport services, they also urged journalists to seek ways to internationalize press statutes.[49] Thus the information

officers called upon journalists to organize themselves nationally as well as internationally to address foreign journalists sojourning in their countries as a collective body. None but one of the information officers was yet aware of the new organization – the FIJ – as a candidate to assume this function.[50]

Journalists and international media policy

The last of the three preparatory committees met in early 1927. It was organized by the League secretariat's information section and the IAJA and composed of representatives of foreign correspondents from European capitals. The IUPA also participated, but, as a League officer put it, remained unimportant.[51] The prestigious British Institute of Journalists, however, was not invited, because it did not represent international journalists. Furthermore, the League's information organization also abstained from asking regional or political organizations such as the *Petite Entente de la Presse* of Romania, Czechoslovakia and the Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian Kingdom to attend.[52]

When the journalists' preparatory committee convened in early 1927, Drummond again urged them to restrict their work to 'what might be done to improve technical press facilities from an international standpoint'. Affirming this restriction, the journalists' committee agreed to limit their recommendations to an access to 'technical' facilities for journalists.[53] Similarly, the journalist's committee endorsed the recommendations of the two preceding committees. They approved, for instance, the information officers' request for a 'commensurate improvement in the organisation of journalists' to avoid granting facilities to impostors.[54] The US correspondent and IAJA member Paul Scott Mowrer seconded the news agency committee's request for reduced press rates, improved telecommunications and UP's Roy W. Howard's call for equal access for foreign and domestic journalists to official sources and services. However, Mowrer was adamant in his insistence that exclusively journalists could safeguard their 'professional dignity and independence'. Preferential access to state services could not be understood as political favours and 'enfeebl[ing the journalist's] independence'. Rather, these 'technical' facilities constituted imperatives for journalists to present 'information to the public with the greatest possible accuracy and speed'.[55]

Another recommendation of the journalists elaborated on a news agency committee's proposal to abolish censorship in peacetime, IAJA president Georg Bernhard was compelled as chairman to

impartiality and reminded his colleagues that they 'had no competence to discuss the question from a political point of view'. Instead of encroaching upon the sovereignty of the states, he suggested asking for the regulation of censorship.[56] Since most of the members of the committee hailed from nations with liberal media systems, they did not heed the chairman's advice and dismissed censorship as 'contrary to the principle of the liberty of the press'. According to Ramón da Franch, publisher of the Argentinian *La Nación*, it would be 'useless to obtain various material facilities if this primordial condition of the freedom of the press was neglected'. Accepting eventually the compromise formula by Bernhard, Scott Mowrer acknowledged the validity of this onerous media political tool and merely recommended, where censorship could not be abolished, its submission to international regulation.[57] The committee requested that the process be professionalized and speeded up, providing journalists with access to censorship guidelines as well as information on the suppressed passages. In order to avoid the harshest form of censorship, the expulsion of foreign correspondents, the journalists' committee endorsed a proposal by UP manager Roy W. Howard, which prohibited states to expel journalists before an examination of the case by a journalists' committee.[58] Valot eventually presented the plan on censorship to the full conference of press experts. There, it was endorsed by the US news agency managers and accepted by the conference participants.[59]

To protect journalists *vis-à-vis* the state(s), the preparatory committee elaborated on the proposal of the state information officers. Instead of merely recommending the formation of professional organizations, they requested the League's secretariat to investigate the possibility of creating an identity card.[60] Roigt, who submitted the proposal, explained that this 'professional legitimation card' was supposed to confirm the identity and the professional qualifications of its holder. He suggested the League 'or some international authority' as the party issuing the card, which should be 'similar in kind to the letter accrediting a diplomat'. Roigt's colleagues objected, because the League could not encroach upon any state's rights to grant or deny visas. Scott Mowrer agreed, pointing out that some states – his own, for instance – were not even members of the League and thus outside the recommendations of the League's press experts as well. He also, however, forecasted that if the card was recognised by the press experts and the League, even non-members might follow suit. By working through the League's international media policy, international journalists, who had 'come to regard themselves as a group similar to the diplomatists', were therefore legitimised to

obtain 'a similar kind of recognition'. Thus they recommend action by the League's next passport conference to gain a status similar to diplomats.[61]

Until an international agreement was achieved, the committee urged an interim card be issued by the applicant's foreign ministry upon the employer's request to confirm the identity and the professional status of the holder. This dual confirmation was supposed to waive the necessity for a visa. Professional journalists' associations were only invited to endorse this application, because no journalist was compelled to belong to such an organization. Since the FIJ had not yet entered the League deliberations on media policy, the link to professional organizations remained incomplete. Thus the journalists' committee designed the card following the tripartite composition of the stakeholders in the press experts' meetings: managers, state officers and themselves. Approved by the League, the card would certify 'the profession of a journalist obliged to go abroad in the pursuit of his [sic] calling' as 'authentic journalists' and thus weed out 'impostors' from the profession.[62]

The League secretariat's transit section voiced support for the card, but discouraged seeking confirmation from international bodies such as the Universal Postal or Telecommunication Union or even the League. Instead, its officers were advised to request only national authorities and the consular representation in the designated country to issue an 'internationally recognised' and standardized 'supplementary identity card' potentially, but not *per se* replacing visa formalities.[63]

Shortly before the multi-stakeholder conference met in Geneva in August 1927, the FIJ's executive committee complained about not having been invited to the journalist preparatory committee to the League secretariat.[64] Thus, the League's information officials extended an invitation to the *Fédération*, which dispatched a strong delegation consisting of Valot, Edgar Stern-Rubbarth of the German and Harry M. Richardson of the British union. Häntzschel and others accompanied the delegation as technical advisors.[65] Although Georg Bernhard still spoke for the international journalists, he surrendered the right to present their recommendations to Valot. The proceedings of the conference, however, were dominated by the news agency managers' proposals. The recommendations of the journalists' committee, partly without comments, were rushed through the last already additional session of the conference.[66]

Nonetheless, the journalists endorsed the proposals of their employers. In particular those of German origin provided internationalist backing for the officials German delegation that submitted resolutions

intended to raise the profile of the former pariah nation. Kurt Häntzschel of the FIJ supported the manager's motion for a property right in news. Stern-Rubarth explained that journalists had not only to make a living from these reports, but some of them worked under great duress in war zones. Furthermore, a property right in news also promoted a core professional interest of the FIJ punishing amateurs or 'scissor-and-paste' journalists for news piracy.[67] Although the press experts abstained from legislating for the states, they recommended protecting unpublished news obtained by 'regular and unobjectionable means and not by an act of unfair competition' from publication and broadcasting by 'unauthorised persons'. They used their employer's motion to further the standing of Germany and journalism as a profession at the same time.[68]

Furthermore the international journalists hesitantly approved a recommendation of the information officers of European foreign ministries to formalise journalists' education by integrating courses at public universities. Valot explained that some members of the journalists' preparatory committee had harboured earlier 'a certain amount of scepticism' against a role for public institutions in journalist training. Overtly, they insisted that journalism was both a calling and a profession requiring primarily talent and not necessarily university training. Implicitly, the journalists' committee suspected that public education, but in particular state-sponsored scholarships or group tours might reduce journalists' role to be akin to those of information officers. Therefore Valot remarked that the committee was 'careful to set forth the conditions and safeguards which would be necessary to protect the profession of journalism against great risks' of endangering its independence. The FIJ and the representatives of its national journalist unions feared to surrender if not lose control to define the meaning of a professional journalist to public institutions. The journalists approved of journalism courses at universities, but only if public authorities pledged not to abuse these 'and giving [aspiring journalists] deliberately a certain political orientation' or causing them to 'lend themselves under the influence of money' as advertisers or news managers. According to the president of the conference, this proposal reached 'near absurdity'. Journalists demanded the help of state institutions, but insisted that 'the journalistic profession must be a free profession' prohibiting a public institution from conferring a degree.[69]

The same tensions between professional and political interests pervaded the journalists' endorsement of the news agency managers to grant foreign correspondents preferential access to public

communications facilities. Valot emphasized that 'although certain facilities are granted to journalists [and] may appear as favours', he insisted that 'if we accept favours the whole profession will lose its dignity and independence'. In contrast to the desultory conditions attached to journalists' training, Valot could overcome the contradictory demands for journalistic independence and dependence on public services. He proclaimed: 'Full facilities for the profession but no favours for any individuals.' The FIJ presented itself as an additional agency to approve 'Identity cards for journalists' next to the employer, professional organization and foreign ministry of the holder.[70]

Harry M. Richardson, president of the British NUJ and vice president of the FIJ, pointed out that no other 'class of workers [is] more liable to impersonation than journalists'. The main problem was to prove 'his [sic] bona fide', because all the journalist needed was 'a fountain pen and a face of brass'. Both were easily 'acquired by gentlemen pursuing the ancient art of espionage, either for political or for industrial purpose'. A spy could find easy approval by his home state, but if bona fides were vouched for by employer and an organization 'of repute' such as the FIJ, it would become more difficult 'to attempt to impersonate a pressman'. Ignoring the League's secretariat's earlier warning, Richardson still expected an intergovernmental organization to issue the card. Until such an agreement was reached, he suggested that states might accept an interim card to protect 'genuine journalists' from 'being obstructed, maltreated, and even imprisoned because they have fallen under suspicion' among state authorities. The card was likewise supposed to protect nations from 'impostors, masquerading as journalists' rendering censorship or expulsion of foreign correspondent superfluous. The card was supposed to both guarantee the journalists' independence, while committing the holder to report responsibly about other states.[71]

Bernhard, Valot and Roigt, however, insisted that the card should confirm not only the holder's eligibility to preferential access to communications services but also her identity. Roigt explained that journalists were sometimes called on at short notice to cover an event in a different country, which made the formal visa application process too long. Thus the card was supposed to enable the bearer 'to cross frontiers' without delay. The news agency managers and a representative of the British proprietor association reaffirmed their right to legitimize the card as well and endorsed the move. The press experts approved Valot's model card and submitted it to the League secretariat for further consideration.[72]

The League's Technical and Advisory Committee for Communications and Transit approved a card granting the holder preferential access to

cheaper rates for communications facilities. It continued to object, however, to working on an international identity card replacing a passport for journalists. Instead, the communications officers insisted on two different cards. The first should be issued by 'competent associations of journalists', who were advised to directly address public authorities to 'obtain any exemption from the general rule' for foreign correspondents. Thus the League's experts affirmed the host states' exclusive competence to grant or refuse an equal treatment to domestic and foreign journalists. The League officers and experts continued working on a second card, which was supposed to legitimize its holder as eligible to receive preferential access to those facilities recommended by the conference of press experts. They invited the chairman of the first League Passport Conference, Athanase Politis, to prepare a 'model identity card' and consider how this card could gain international recognition (Figures 3.5a and 3.5b).[73]

Valot then again lobbied the secretariat's transit section to have the League issuing the card, which was again rejected.[74] Despite the repudiation, Valot presented the model card as 'instituted on the initiative of the League of Nations' at the FIJ congress in Dijon in November 1928. It featured space for confirmation by the press sections of the holder's foreign ministry, employer, national trade union and the FIJ. In addition, the model designated the latter itself as issuing agency.[75] In Dijon, some delegates even criticized the certification by employer and states as such as outdated relics of the past century. They claimed that the status of international journalist alone justified preferential treatment at borders and in foreign states. Valot admonished his colleagues for 'destroying line for line' the draft and pressured the plenary session to adopt the draft. 'At long last', exclaimed Valot, 'we have been guaranteed an authentic title by which we can introduce ourselves in international relations, and which the amateurs and those posing as journalists were trying in vain to obtain'.[76]

Since the title of the card created the impression that the card was indeed a League document, Pierre Comert, head of the secretariat's information section, immediately demanded that the heading be replaced with a more moderate version reading 'instituted conforming with the resolution of the Conference of the Experts of the Press and the Assembly of the League of Nations'.[77] Then the League's Organisation for Communication and Transit appointed a special committee to study the recommendations of the conference, which was composed of experts drawn from national postal ministries, telecommunication and news companies. Valot presented the FIJ's model card entitling his

(a)


Le Directeur du journal _____

certifie que M _____ appartient à la rédaction de ce journal à titre permanent

est chargé d'une mission de presse

à _____ du _____ au _____

Visé par le Ministère des Affaires Etrangères (Service de Presse)

Paris, le _____

Visé par _____

à _____

le _____

CARTE INTERNATIONALE DU JOURNALISTE

instituée sur l'initiative de la

SOCIETE DES NATIONS

Résolution de l'Assemblée de la Société des Nations, le 16 Septembre 1926 :

« L'Assemblée invite le Conseil à réunir un comité d'experts représentant la presse des différents continents afin de :

...2° Discuter toutes questions professionnelles dont les experts estimeraient que la solution pourrait aider à l'apaisement de l'opinion publique dans les différents pays. »

Résolution de la Conférence des experts de presse en date du 29 Août 1927 :

« La Conférence déclare qu'elle considère comme grandement utile la création d'une carte d'identité internationale pour les journalistes qui constitue, en même temps, un titre de légitimation professionnelle disposé particulièrement dans l'intention de leur faciliter les voyages et l'exercice de leur profession hors de leur pays. »

Résolution de l'Assemblée de la Société des Nations, le 22 Septembre 1927 :

« L'Assemblée fait confiance aux organisations techniques saisies par le Conseil d'un certain nombre de résolutions pour qu'elles engagent le plus tôt possible les études spéciales relatives notamment aux cartes d'identité pour journalistes et au visa des passeports de journalistes. »

Figure 3.5a Front page of an Identity Card for International Journalists by FIJ.
Source: United Nations Archives at Geneva.

organization 'to issue a card certifying that the holder was a journalist' potentially even replacing a passport. The committee members granted the FIJ the right to issue any card, but with 'no legal value' for the holder to claim any special services or even visas from a host state. Its alternative model card expunged the reference to the League and gave it the new title 'Identity Card for Journalist on duty abroad'. It retained the

(b)

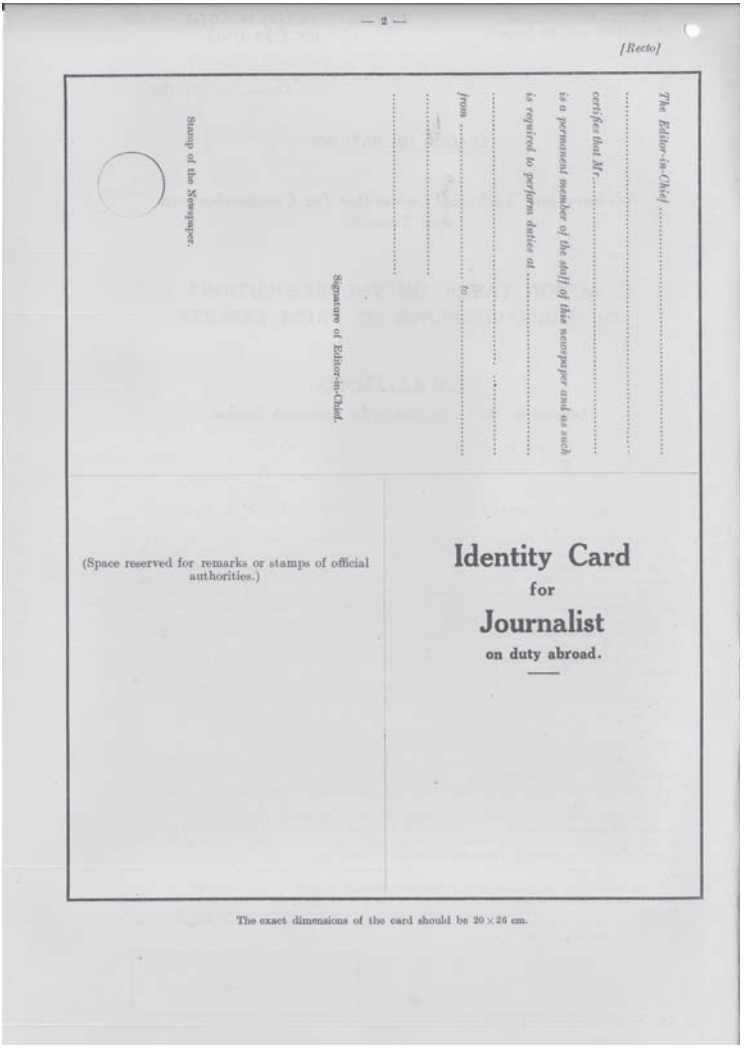


Figure 3.5b Model Identity Card by the League.

FIJ's triple confirmation, but replaced the section for visas by information sections of foreign ministries through optional 'remarks or stamps' by 'state authorities' to avoid giving any impression of encroaching upon national sovereignty. The professional status of the holder was still supposed to be verified for each mission by the editor as well as 'a

national organisation, whether affiliated to an international organisation or not'. This limitation signified that the committee's model card was to be issued not exclusively by the FIJ as in Valot's model, but by either by a national professional or generic 'international organisation' thereby avoiding legitimizing solely the FIJ as issuing agency.[78]

As one of the few press experts versed in interwar international telecommunications policy, the head of the press section of the Danish Foreign Ministry, Anders J. Poulsen, had to remind his colleagues that rates fell within the competency of the states and thus remained beyond the remit of the League.[79] The League's communications experts also insisted that international rates were regulated not by the League, but by the International Telegraph (later Telecommunication) Union (ITU), whose members could decide to consider, adopt or reject the recommendations of the press experts.[80]

The League Council, whose members also dominated in the ITU, ruled that the card 'still required careful study' by the relevant League bodies after having reviewed the report of its communications experts. The Council merely recommended the League member states to give any card and cheaper telecommunication rates their 'most favourable consideration'. Similarly, the press experts' recommendations on the protection of news, censorship in peacetime and other issues were also only submitted to the member states. Likewise the question of the introduction of a new category of urgent press rates was submitted to the states and the next ITU conference in 1932, where it was indeed accepted. Except for the latter, almost all the press experts' recommendations were submitted 'for information' and voluntary implementation by the states either unilaterally or multilaterally.[81] The information officers in the proceedings and the states responding to the survey often simply stated that foreign correspondents already received preferential treatment. Any further action, therefore, was dismissed as superfluous.[82]

To follow up on the recommendations, the secretariat initiated a survey assessing the status quo of 'facilities' granted in its member states after the Geneva conference. Given the importance of having a good press abroad for business and politics, most states merely reaffirmed that these facilities had already been granted.[83] The Belgian foreign ministry's information section, for instance, recognized the card but remained unsure as to its meaning. The League's chief information officer Pierre Comert explained that the FIJ was indeed the competent body to issue the card, but emphasized that it was neither a document of the League of Nations, nor did it replace an official passport. If facilities granted to international journalists remained a prerogative of the states, they also could decide to recognize the card or not.[84] The next two conferences

of press experts, however, still urged the implementation of the recommendation of the Geneva meeting including, for instance, the identity card developed by the League's Organisation of Communication and Transit.[85]

Reporting on the status of distribution of the card in 1932, Valot described the distribution of only 450 cards as 'little satisfactory'. Although some nations were eager to increase the use of the cards, some, in particular the 'two biggest' meaning France and Britain 'almost ignored the card'. Foreign correspondents employed by a newspaper or news agency of the great powers were recognized through their employers and needed no extra legitimization. Thus Valot again, yet still incorrectly, asserted that the card allowed a professional journalist to 'travel the world without concern for obtaining ordinary passports and visas' and entitled the holder to access material benefits on par with those of domestic journalists. The make-up of the card, however, was too expensive, since it was made on request for only the small 'number [of journalists] that travel'. The FIJ sought ways to alter the card, but the ultimate validity of national media policies rendered its implementation impossible.[86]

The court of honour: The fallacy of professional self-regulation

The FIJ's identity card also failed, because it was supposed to legitimize the holder's claim to certain new rights *vis-à-vis* states, but made no mention of her obligations *vis-à-vis* the host society. The ILO survey on working conditions had already pointed to the desirability of an international ethical code for professional journalists as a potential new area of inquiry in its own right, but aborted after the FIJ solidified its structures and took over news media research.[87] The FIJ offered legal advice and arbitration, but only in the case of social conflicts, that is between journalists and employers residing in different countries.[88]

Before the League entered international news media politics in 1927, the *Fédération* did little to protect its second core statutory commitment to the freedom of journalism. Based on an implicit assumption of a universally valid liberal interpretation press freedom, the *Fédération* merely expected states to safeguard the independence of an international journalist. Each state, however, exercised full jurisdiction over people residing within its territory. Authorities could legitimately deny a visa, refuse to extend a residence permit or simply expel a foreign correspondent for libel, offensive or merely critical reporting according

to its domestic laws. To justify the FIJ card's encroachment upon the sovereign rights of states, the FIJ began to think about a project of professional self-regulation across borders. The FIJ's court of honour was supposed to regulate irresponsible news reported by foreign correspondents back home, while safeguarding the independence of journalists from the host state.[89]

In the 1927 Geneva conference, journalists had submitted no recommendations on the regulation of the content of their products. Only one motion called upon the newspapers' and news agencies' owners to 'deem it as their duty' to abstain from the 'publication or distribution of remarkably inaccurate or highly exaggerated and deliberately distorted news'.[90] Seiichi Ueno, managing director of the Osaka and Tokyo *Asahi Shimbun*, submitted this resolution, which committed news managers (and not journalists) to act as gatekeepers to curtail culturally insensitive or sensationalist news sold on the Western dominated international news market. The German FIJ advisor Edgar Stern-Rubarth criticized the resolution for ridiculing the conference. According to him, every press actor's first duty was to report as accurately and truthfully as possible. Furthermore, this resolution implicitly threatened the moral prerogative of journalists to regulate themselves from within the profession. Since the resolution entailed no enforcement mechanism, however, the delegates adopted Ueno's resolution.[91]

Another resolution of the news agency managers recommended states to consult an independent committee composed of journalists before expelling one of their foreign peers. However, the press experts abstained from clarifying the legal competencies of such a committee as a political question unsuitable for deliberation in a technical League conference. The main problem was how to actually define when the content of a news report justified expulsion or not. Thus the enforcement of this resolution was impossible, because the determination of the content of a news report was and still is a political question devoid of any discernible, objective truth. From a liberal perspective most communist news were propaganda or false news and vice versa.

Furthermore, the press experts' recommendation failed to convince states to surrender sovereignty to such a committee of journalists. Marcell Zappler, president of the Vienna Press Association and FIJ executive, reported to the League secretariat's information section on an incident which could have been brought before such a committee. An Italian émigré journalist reported critically on a violent crackdown by the Austrian police on a rally against the acquittal of members of a

right-wing organization who had shot social democrats in a rally erupting into a street fight. On 15 July 1927, workers marched and set fire to the palace of justice in Vienna in protest against a biased justice system. Eventually, the uprising was crushed by the authorities leading to the deaths of 89 protesters and five policemen and over 1,000 wounded on both sides. After the Italian journalist published his report in a Paris newspaper, the police expelled him from Austria. Zappler complained citing the resolution of the 1927 Geneva media conference mandating consultation with an independent journalists' committee before expulsion. The chief of police refused and advised Zappler to seek redress with the mayor of Vienna, who also declined to call in a journalists' committee to hear the case. Since none of the League's press experts' recommendations had any binding force, the states were not compelled to apply them.[92]

A similar case prompted the *Reichsverband der Deutschen Presse* to protest to the second congress of the FIJ in Dijon in November 1928. The Hungarian government had expelled a German journalist of the eminent German newspaper *Vossische Zeitung* from Budapest. The note also cited this action as a violation of the press experts' recommendation for a consultation before a journalists' committee prior to expulsion. Valot submitted the case to the secretary general of the League and urged him to exert the 'high influence [of the League] to realise the vote of the conference of press experts'. Pierre Comert of the information section unofficially replied that the resolution on a hearing had not been unanimously adopted by the conference. It was merely referred by the Council 'for information' to the League's member states. Thus Comert discouraged Valot from citing this particular resolution to avoid the risk of exposing its shaky foundations. In other words, the states did not even know about this norm, while even League officials doubted its validity.[93]

In addition to the protest note, Gustav Richter, the president of the German union, had also tabled a motion calling for the creation of an international court of honour for journalists organized by the *Fédération*, which in itself questioned the effectiveness of this Geneva resolution. Entrusting the FIJ's legal committee in Berlin with drafting the statutes for the court, Richter suggested establishing a court composed of a permanent section and a temporarily appointed mixed panel of judges. The latter would hear and rule on submitted cases, while the permanent section was supposed to mould the panel's verdicts into a code of ethics for journalists. The *Reichsverband* submitted its own code and the IAJA a report on cases of abuse of journalists' privileges. Both organizations

agreed to co-operate on the project. The FIJ Dijon congress approved Richter's proposal.[94]

In early April 1929, Kurt Häntzschel of the FIJ's legal committee presented a draft constitution for a court to the FIJ's executive committee at its meeting in Prague, while the French delegate Francis Delaisi outlined a preliminary professional code featuring not only the rights but also the obligations of an international journalist. Häntzschel and Delaisi synthesized an international standard from national honour courts. Following the *Fédération*'s constitution, their draft statutes first stipulated that 'no theory or comment are banned' excluding editorial comments or opinion pieces from arbitration of the court. Furthermore, the two made each foreign correspondent responsible for her own work. If a journalist dispatched 'false or intentionally distorted information so as to poison the international atmosphere', the offender, if accused by a second party, was supposed to appear before the tribunal. If the court proved the journalists' 'bad intentions', she could be made subject to 'strict sanctions'.[95]

Implicitly, the project expected of states to seek redress before the court instead of merely denying residence permits or even expelling the journalist. In addition, if a journalist was found guilty of having intentionally published 'false information', states retained the right to demand a correction – a right of reply – in the news outlet 'to redress the damage incurred'. The court's draft statutes also considered the 'purchase or misappropriation of secret documents' of any state to be 'serious professional offences'. Thus Häntzschel also standardized national media laws defining admissible actions of the states facing foreign correspondents. The statutes, however, shifted a more or less arbitrary decision on whether a news report in fact constituted false information from the states to the jurisdiction of the court. Based on its verdicts, the court was supposed to generate norms in a code of ethics on the responsibilities of journalists.[96]

The *Fédération*'s executive committee then discussed the draft statutes for the court during meetings in Antwerp, Lyon and Aix in 1929 and 1930, which always prompted fierce debates. The proponents of the court vehemently argued that the mission of the FIJ transcended the tasks of an international trade union. It was to promote not only professional but also political interests such as the establishment of a code of ethics for journalists. This notion was opposed by the Austrian Marcell Zappler, who warned that the court was likely to provoke dissent among journalists of different ideological backgrounds from which newspaper directors would benefit. He feared that a focus on necessarily political

questions – the meaning and definition of press freedom – would crowd out the *Fédération*'s professional tasks to improve working conditions for journalists. The Austrian dissent, however, was dismissed by the votes of the three strongest national trade unions from France, Great Britain and Germany.[97]

After the approval in the executive committee, the legal committee reworked Häntzschel's and Delaisi's proposal and submitted it to the third FIJ congress in Berlin in late October 1930. Although the debate continued to be marred by the question of the competence of the court and its universal applicability, it managed to agree on a fundamental constitution and a procedural code. The court could not accept cases dealing with opinion pieces and was supposed to accept only cases where a journalist deliberately published false news on international events in a country other than his own. The complaint was to be lodged with the FIJ executive committee, which called upon the court's permanent president to convoke the court of journalists' judges drawn from a list of member unions. Rulings and records of the court were to be published in the FIJ Bulletin. The court, consisting of two lawyers specialized in media law but primarily of professional journalists, could impose sanctions in the form of warnings, reprimands or, as the harshest verdict, declare the offender unfit to practise as a professional journalist signifying a recommendation to the national member union to expel her from its ranks.[98]

The newly elected president of the FIJ, Harry M. Richardson, inaugurated the court. He argued that on the national level, libel law allowed legal action against journalists publicly ridiculing individuals. Since no international law or norm protected groups or nations, no journalist could be punished for attempting 'to provoke millions of people to prick each other with bayonets'. Yet journalists did slander whole nations, formed published opinion, which Richardson considered as the 'dominant factor' in a state's decision on war or peace. Nonetheless, Richardson did not 'expect too much from' the court. Instead, he and also Häntzschel counted on the moral suasion of its mere existence. The threat of having to appear before the court, they thought, was enough to make journalists think twice before deliberately publishing false news.[99]

Ernst Feder of Berlin, one of the legal experts and permanent judges of the court, elaborated that the statutes were only the beginning for the court handing down verdicts and thus creating precedents based on which the tribunal would crystallize a set of professional ethics. Following the late 19th century notion of international law as 'gentle civilizer of nations', the court supposed to set in motion a process by which

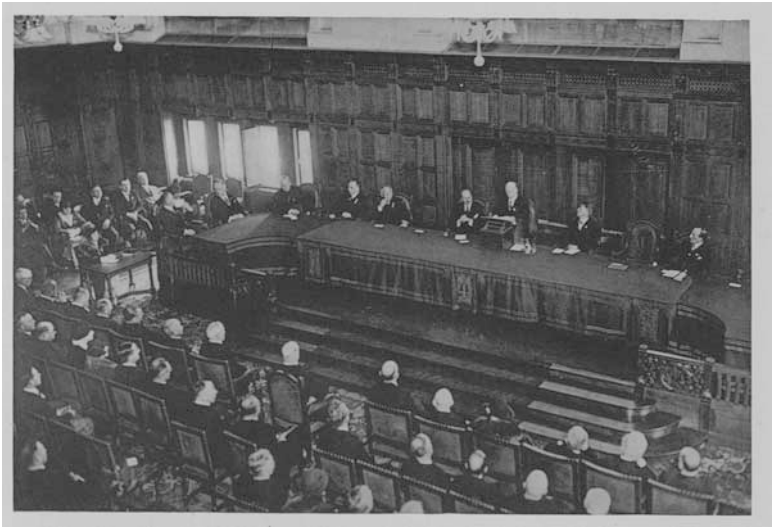


Figure 3.6 B.C.J. Loder's address at the inaugural session for the Court of Honour in The Hague, October 1931.
Source: *Le Tribunal d'Honneur international des journalistes* (1932).

common law or norms would generate international law in time. Since this procedure closely followed those of the Permanent Court of International Justice, neither the election of one of its former presidents, the Dutch lawyer B.C.J. Loder, nor its location as well as its opening in the Peace Palace at The Hague was a coincidence (Figure 3.6).[100]

The FIJ executive committee tried to integrate the court project in the still ongoing effort of the League's press experts, which Yáñez's resolution had inaugurated in 1925. His 'moral disarmament' featured on the agenda of the League's World Disarmament Conference in 1932 and 1933.[101] Scheduled to coincide with this ultimately failed endeavour, the Danish government re-invited all three stakeholders in international media policy to the second conference of press experts in Copenhagen in January 1932. B.C.J. Loder was nominated vice president of the conference and presented the court's potential to the conference's core aim curbing the spread of false news across borders.[102] The representatives of the FIJ and IAJA admitted that the court 'had not yet [gained] universal authority', but insisted that the tribunal should 'constitute a complete response' to address the conference's core objective to avoid 'the dissemination of inaccurate news' through journalistic self-regulation.

In Copenhagen almost all the representatives of the global news agencies as well as the state information officials endorsed the project.[103] The FIJ, during its fourth full congress in London October 1932, reaffirmed its endorsement of the League's endeavours at moral disarmament and the role of its own court therein.[104]

The information official from the US Embassy in Paris and the representatives of the US news agencies, however, abstained from voting on the court. They considered self-regulation as 'exclusively a question for newspapermen [sic]' and as such unsuitable for discussion in an intergovernmental conference'. The agency managers professed to recognize only 'two duties', one 'to our public' and the other to 'the laws of the countries in which we function', which invalidated the need for any 'extra-legal agency' such as the court.[105] Webb Miller, UP's European manager, dismissed the court outright as an attempt of European states slowly succumbing to fascism to gag the press. Although fascism was very much on the rise, Miller's verdict slandered, for instance, Denmark, which hosted the conference. As it turned out, Denmark was in fact one of the very few countries that helped people of Jewish ancestry or faith to escape collectively from the Nazis. Thus Miller's incorrect verdict pointed to a completely different understanding of press freedom than those of the FIJ. US news media actors dismissed any intervention into 'their' freedom to do business regardless of whether within or outside the USA. Furthermore, if US news managers, whose products increasingly dominated the international news market, directly opposed the court, they substantially undermined its credibility and rendered impossible its idea of the step-by-step creation of journalistic norms.[106]

The rise of fascism: Professionalism versus politics

The biggest problem for the FIJ remained that it engaged too late and hesitantly in a political debate on the meaning of press freedom. Its constitutional references to press freedom or the liberty of journalism served as mere metaphors to cover its implicit, but decidedly liberal and thus political definition of freedom of expression. An FIJ Executive meeting in May 1927 admitted an organization of White Russian exile journalists, which deliberately rendered impossible the admission of a Soviet organization, since only one association was admitted per country.[107] The Italian journalists' trade union, headed by the brother-in-law of Mussolini, applied for FIJ membership in the early 1930s, but was equally inadmissible because of the *Fédération*'s constitutional commitment to press freedom. The FIJ claimed apolitical universality, but meant

to return to the pre-1914 era of globalization when liberalism and capitalism remained the only and thus universal and apolitical visions of world order. Due to the dominance of the three strongest and liberal unions, this worked well until democratic countries and unions became rare, in particular the German *Reichsverband*, and fascism an increasingly common phenomenon in the Europe of the 1930s.[108]

The commitment to a liberal version of press freedom, however, was not consistently enforced; professional and organizational interests started to override political interests. In late May 1933, the Hungarian journalists' union, for instance, convened a meeting of the FIJ's executive committee in Budapest. The regent Miklós Horthy and his fascist prime minister Gyula Gömbös paid all the expenses of the members and, since Hungary was still a League member, also those of the observers of ILO, the Paris Institute and the League. The participants were invited to a luxurious cruise to Vienna, a reception by Horthy himself, who hosted them at a garden party at the Royal Palace. Hungary used the FIJ to gain prestige and international acclaim for their regime, and the FIJ accepted this dubious honour. The setting of this meeting of the executive committee demonstrated the inconsistency of the FIJ's commitment to press freedom.[109]

Yet also the proceedings of the Budapest meeting, to which the *Reichsverband der Deutschen Presse* had sent no delegates, were marred by the rise of Nazism. The Dutch delegate, reporting first-hand from his recent experience in Berlin, described the Nazi faction in the German union as amateur journalists bent on crowding out the old elite. In February 1933, shortly before the FIJ's executive committee's meeting, the German people had voted for parties pledging to abolish democracy. Shortly thereafter, the new government under Hitler did away with press freedom as storm troopers raided and took over the buildings housing communist newspapers and printing presses. The majority of the members of the *Reichsverband*, in a conference in April 1933, voluntarily submitted to a ban on communist journalists and those of Jewish ancestry from the profession, who were forced to emigrate or were incarcerated in concentration camps. In the proceedings of the executive committee's members in Budapest, the Dutch, Polish, British and Belgian delegates asked to expel the *Reichsverband*, and the British NUJ even demanded that the *Fédération* should support journalists persecuted in Germany. Since the majority remained hesitant as to the wisdom of expelling one of its strongest members, they at least condemned the Nazi persecution, but only suspended the membership of the *Reichsverband*.[110]

At the next meeting of the executive committee in Rennes the same year, an exile German journalists' organization under Georg Bernhard applied for membership. Bernhard had served terms as president of the German *Reichsverband*, the IAJA, FIJ as well as being a participant in many of the League's news media meetings.[111] Some members argued in favour of admission citing the precedent of the earlier admission of a White Russian exile organization. The application, however, was rejected on technical grounds: Although the Austrian Elisabeth Janstein predicted that journalists from her country would soon also become refugees, she nonetheless insisted that only organizations representing wage-earning journalists could join the FIJ. Zappler added that Bernhard's organization could not be considered as such. In protest, Harry M. Richardson refused to participate in person and walked out.[112]

Bernhard's application was again rejected the next year at the fifth congress of the *Fédération* in Brussels. The question, however, now cut to the core of the FIJ's news media politics. The Swiss delegation proposed investigating the status of press freedom in each member state and taking a poll on whether to drop the principle from the FIJ's statutes. Thus the Swiss and their supporters promoted an exclusive focus on professional or technical questions to make the organization's membership universal – including fascist unions. This move would have allowed the admission of the Italian union or the lifting of the membership suspensions for the *Reichsverband*. The opponents to the Swiss motion, headed by Valot and the NUJ, insisted on press freedom. Sacrificing universal representation, they preferred members straying from the path of liberalism to be excluded from the FIJ. The French *Syndicat* formally protested against the inquiry into press freedom. The Swiss motion for the survey was only narrowly defeated. The Brussels meeting, however, admitted a significant new member, the US trade union, the American Newspaper Guild. While the FIJ's representativeness in Europe split along political lines, its work started to gain first recognition and acceptance and then adherence from unions outside of Europe.[113]

The debate on the question of professional versus political interest increasingly came to a head during the FIJ's meetings since 1937. Valot presented a moral code for professional journalists including a commitment to a free press. Under the circumstances, the member unions were now forced to a political vote instead of reaching decisions with technical unanimity. Unsurprisingly, the Swiss Rubattel and the Austrian delegate objected to Valot's motion and insisted on recalibrating the FIJ's aims exclusively towards the advancement of professional and material needs of journalists regardless of politics. Again, the votes of the strong

liberal unions saved the statutory commitment to press freedom. A slim majority in the FIJ, however, agreed to establish at least 'a limited collaboration on purely professional interests' with the Italian and German union. In March 1938, the new and last FIJ President Archibald Kenyon circulated two resolutions put to a vote for the next congress. The first confirmed the statutory commitment to press freedom, while the second promoted an exclusive focus on the professional interest. Since Nazi Germany had just incorporated Austria in its Empire, only the Swiss union opted for the second, while most others, in particular those bordering on Germany, threatened to leave the *Fédération* if accepted. In late June 1939, the FIJ's seventh congress took place in Bordeaux after the original locations were deemed to be too close to the German borders.[114]

In June 1940, German troops marched into Paris. The Gestapo confiscated the archives of the FIJ. In October, the *Reichsverband*, the Italian Fascist Syndicate of Journalists and the Fascist National Union of French Journalists 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' and formed the *Union of National Journalist Unions* in December 1941 based in Vienna.[115] Wilhelm Weiß, an early and devoted Nazi journalist and instrumental in Nazifying the German *Reichsverband*, served as president of both the German and this international fascist union. Its leadership was composed of close German allies from Italy, Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria and members heralded from Nazi collaborators of countries occupied by Germany. Donning the garb of internationalism and trying to replace the FIJ, the *Union of National Journalist Unions* took over the international research of the German *Zeitungswissenschaft*, but basically served as a clearinghouse to discredit the Allied war effort (Figure 3.7).[116]

To deny legitimacy to this fascist international union, journalists exiled in London formed the *International Federation of Journalists of Allied or Free Countries*. This Federation, hosted by the British government, was meant to uphold the liberal version of freedom of expression and continue the FIJ's legacy. The British Archibald Kenyon, the last president of the FIJ, continued in this function in the new Federation. The Norwegian Tor Gjesdal and the Soviet Alexander Sverlov served as his deputies. Thus the Nazi scourge and common struggle of the grand wartime alliance allowed the new organization to bridge the gap between liberalism and communism. The new Federation's interpretation of press freedom no longer served now as an implicit commitment to a negative interpretation of freedom from the state, but now entailed

Figure 3.7 First Congress of the fascist *Union of National Journalist Unions* in Venice, April 1942. President Wilhelm Weiss speaking surrounded by Vice Presidents from Italy, Romania, Hungary and Bulgaria.
Source: *Journalistikk er en misjon* (1942).

a positive, political obligation to societies. Explicitly defining fascist as false news, the statues of the new Federation appealed to journalists to 'do all in their power to make the Press an inspiration and a weapon in the fight against fascism' during its second congress in 1942.[117]

Conclusion

In 1938, Stéphen Valot assessed the efforts of the FIJ as the first international body representing professional journalists. He applauded the recent expansion of the *Fédération*'s member trade unions beyond Europe as 'a veritable manifestation of a "universal calling" forecasting the time when all journalists of the world are grouped together in the same international federation, recognize the same moral rules, the same professional tribunals, claiming the same prerogatives and privileges justified by a common mission and duties. The journalist's profession was about to become one of the most important entities of the world, an intellectual and moral power of the first rank, exclusively controlled by a sophisticated, but enlightened and independent, collective conscience.'[118]

In hindsight, Valot's claim to an ever expanding representation and successful organization of professional journalists by the FIJ seems tenuous at best. His assessment, however, adequately reflected the

Fédération's work to generate international norms to promote the professional instead of the political interests of journalists beyond borders. Yet even the *Fédération*'s global vision never translated into reality. Despite a constantly voiced claim to represent 'universal journalism', the FIJ failed to move substantially beyond Europe.[119] Although British dominions such as Australia became members as early as in 1927, no organization from the Americas joined before 1932, and then only a Brazilian and a US union. The news media systems outside, but often also within Europe, simply did not clearly differentiate into unionized journalists and organized publishers.[120] Nonetheless, the *Fédération*'s key members from the industrialized and liberal states continued to adhere to the belief that journalism necessarily developed 'towards systemization, and rationalization'. Eventually but not in reality, as already the ILO survey predicted, this was supposed to homogenize the profession across the globe.[121]

A resolution submitted during the landmark 1927 League media conference indicated the lack of appeal of the FIJ beyond Europe. A number of South American news managers, endorsed by a Japanese and a Portuguese colleague, recommended establishing a 'Confederation of the Associated Press Federations of the World' with local chapters and headquarters in Geneva. They claimed that only a truly universal agency – thus excluding both the FIJ and the IAJA – could guarantee adequate representation of the profession. Working under the auspices of the League, this organization was supposed to define the term 'journalist', represent them internationally and impose moral penalties for members spreading 'false news' threatening peace. Furthermore, they considered it as absolutely necessary to enlist the 'very powerful moral help' of the League for those countries without professional organizations. They appealed to the League not only for technical help to improve communications across the world but also for political assistance to regulate also the content of the international news market. Thus they called for a public-private international mechanism, a League information organization. Since this recommendation encroached both upon the liberal understanding of freedom of expression and the sovereignty of states, the motion was rejected by the landmark 1927 conference of press experts. Instead, the president of the conference, Lord Burnham, pointed out that a number of non-governmental organizations such as the FIJ had in fact contributed to the conference and might be more suitable to address content regulation. Thus Burnham and most of the press experts ignored that news representatives from the periphery of the international news market appealed to the League and

not the FIJ, which demonstrated a lack of credibility in the *Fédération* as a global norm-setter.[122]

Even worse, US news agency managers, whose companies contributed an ever increasing amount of news to the international market, rejected outright the FIJ's project for a court of honour. They considered possible verdicts a violation of their libertarian understanding of press freedom. Similarly their European colleague failed to go beyond a verbal endorsement of the FIJ's plans. The news agency managers tried League internationalism but then preferred come to terms amongst themselves through private international business agreements. Without the support of the global news agencies, whose output constituted almost all of the internationally traded and exchanged news, the FIJ's attempt at international self-regulation was doomed.[123]

Likewise states refused to submit to the court and cede sovereignty over foreign journalists residing in their territory to the *Fédération* in general. Most of the stakeholders involved in international media policy did not believe in the right of the *Fédération* to certify and regulate the rights and obligations of their members beyond borders. No evidence has surfaced that the court was called upon even once. The hope of its proponents within the FIJ, who all hailed from a strong liberal tradition, that the court's legal expertise would in time generate a universal and autonomous honour code credible in the eyes of all members of the profession never materialized.[124]

This chapter has argued that the core reason for this failure was the FIJ's refusal to actually engage and pursue international media politics, which necessarily underlies every question of content regulation. As mentioned, the *Fédération* denied membership to communist trade unions. Under Stalin, the new Soviet foreign (if definitively not domestic) policy opened up towards liberal internationalism: Constantin Oumansky, head of the Soviet Press Bureau, actively promoted the League's media conferences in the early 1930s. The FIJ, however, remained committed to anticommunism having admitted a White Russian exile journalist union early on to represent the bygone Russia. Oumansky, therefore, refused to endorse the *Fédération*'s court of honour. Furthermore, with liberal democracies becoming increasingly rare in Europe, many of the *Fédération*'s member unions considered abandoning press freedom to keep key unions such as the *Reichsverband* in its ranks. From a strictly professional point of view, these members were correct. Only the staunch opposition of particular unions from Britain, the Benelux and Nordic countries prevented this move. For the first time, the hitherto implicit commitment to liberalism by

the dominant unions became visible, saving the union from falling prey to fascism from within. Before, however, this commitment prevented the development of a truly global appeal outside the realm of the industrialized North Atlantic countries.[125]

Notes

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2. Georges Bourdon, 'The FIJ on the Opening of the [Press] Exhibition in Cologne', *Deutsche Presse* 18:24, 5 June 1928, p. 341.
3. Edgar Stern-Rubarth, 'The Task of the [Journalist] International', *Deutsche Presse* 18:24, 5 June 1928, p. 861; n.a., The Unofficial Envoy, Ibid. pp. 362–364.
4. Herren (2009) *Internationale Organisationen seit 1865: Eine Globalgeschichte der Internationalen Ordnung*, pp. 53–58; Löhr and Herren (2014) 'Gipfeltreffen im Schatten der Weltpolitik: Arthur Sweetser und die Mediendiplomatie des Völkerbunds', pp. 413–419; *The League of Nations and the Press: International Press Exhibition* (1928), pp. 7–31.
5. Filliol, Report for the year 1923/1924, 12 September 1924, League of Nations Archives Geneva (LONA) External Fonds of the IAJA Box P8; League of Nations (1928), pp. 32–42.
6. *Conditions of Work and Life of Journalists (1928)*, pp. 9–10; Kott and Droux, eds. (2013) *Globalizing Social Rights: The International Labour Organization and Beyond*.
7. *Conditions of Work and Life of Journalists (1928)*, pp. 10–11, 208, 217–219; (French) Syndicat des Journalistes [SdJ], *Bulletin* 42 [re-named in *Le journaliste* in 1929], January 1928; SdJ, *Bulletin* 49 (November 1928), pp. 2, 10–11; Martin (1997) *Médias et Journalistes de la République*; Delporte (1999) *Les Journalistes en France 1880–1950: Naissance et Construction d'une Profession*.
8. Lucien Luchaire, Compte-Rendu de la Conference Constitutive de la FIJ 12–13 June 1926, p. 3, ILOA D600/954/1; Minutes of a Meeting of the Directors of ILO, IIIC and CIC on the Commission of the Intellectual Workers 15 February 1927, ILOA N 207/1000/3/0; FIJ, Summary of Report on the first General Assembly of the FIJ, 24 September 1926, p. 3, LONA R1348/22/54390; Herren (2009), p. 80; Renoliet (1999) *L'UNESCO Oubliée: La Société des Nations et la Coopération Intellectuelle 1919–1946*.
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4

Embroiled in Cold War Politics: IOJ and IFJ (1946–)

Kaarle Nordenstreng

After the collapse of the FIJ, in December 1941, when World War II was still in its early stage, a new organization was established in London called the *International Federation of Journalists of Allied or Free Countries* (IFJAFC).[1] Its constitution begins with a declaration where the IFJAFC

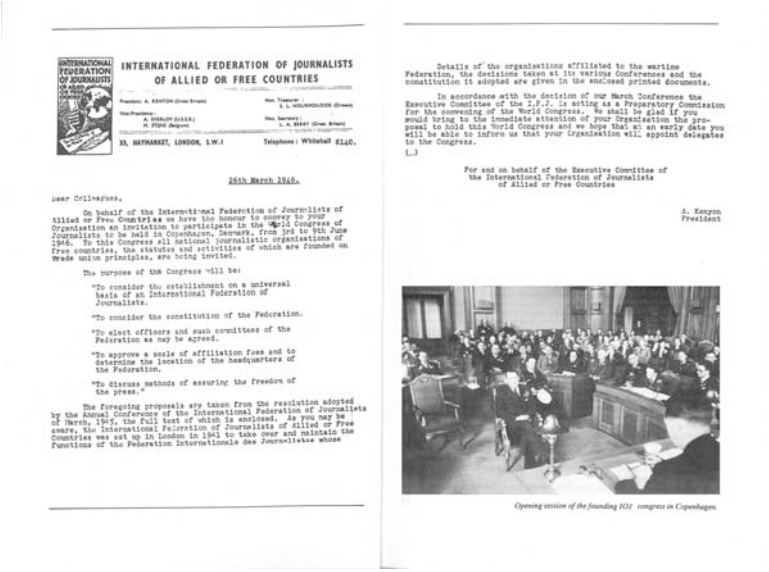
> regards itself as holding in trust the spirit and work of the *Fédération Internationale des Journalistes*. Its fundamental principle is to safeguard and support the freedom of the Press; its activities will be guided by this and by the resolve to see the FIJ re-established on a stronger, universal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

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 convene a world congress of journalists and to set up a new international organization with the widest possible participation of newspapermen from all over the world (Figure 4.1).

The IOJ founded 1946–47

The *World Congress of Journalists* in Copenhagen on 3–9 June 1946 was in many respects a manifestation of the positive post-war spirit: 165



INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF JOURNALISTS
OF ALLIED OR FREE COUNTRIES

33, HAYMARKET, LONDON, S.W.1 Telephone : Whitehall 8140.

26th March 1946.

Dear Colleagues,

On behalf of the International Federation of Journalists of Allied or Free Countries we have the honour to convey to your Organisation an invitation to participate in the World Congress of Journalists to be held in Copenhagen, Denmark, from 3rd to 9th June 1946. To this Congress all national journalistic organisations of free countries, the statutes and activities of which are founded on trade union principles, are being invited.

The purpose of the Congress will be:

"To consider the establishment on a universal basis of an International Federation of Journalists.

"To consider the constitution of the Federation.

"To elect officers and such committees of the Federation as may be agreed.

"To approve a scale of affiliation fees and to determine the location of the headquarters of the Federation.

"To discuss methods of assuring the freedom of the press."

The foregoing proposals are taken from the resolution adopted by the Annual Conference of the International Federation of Journalists of March, 1945, the full text of which is enclosed. As you may be aware, the International Federation of Journalists of Allied or Free Countries was set up in London in 1941 to take over and maintain the functions of the Federation Internationale des Journalistes whose

Details of the organisations affiliated to the wartime Federation, the decisions taken at its various Conferences and the constitution it adopted are given in the enclosed printed documents.

In accordance with the decision of our March Conference the Executive Committee of the I.F.J. is acting as a Preparatory Commission for the convening of the World Congress. We shall be glad if you would bring to the immediate attention of your Organisation the proposal to hold this World Congress and we hope that at an early date you will be able to inform us that your Organisation will appoint delegates to the Congress.

(...)

For and on behalf of the Executive Committee of the International Federation of Journalists of Allied or Free Countries

A. Kenyon
President

Opening session of the founding IOJ congress in Copenhagen.

Figure 4.1 Invitation letter to World Congress of Journalists in Copenhagen and photo of the opening session, June 1946.
Source: *Useful Recollections, Part II*.

delegates of journalists' unions from 21 countries extending from the USA to the USSR, from Greece to Iceland, from Australia to Peru, in the presence of a high-ranking representative of the new United Nations (UN), which had been set up to carry on the work of the former League of Nations. The venue was the Danish Parliament building in a country liberated from fascism. Official support for the congress was also manifest in the fact that it was opened by the Crown Prince of Denmark.

The official congress report[2] begins with the following summary of the formation, background and constitution of the IOJ:

> 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.
>
> The aims of the I.O.J. are set out in its provisional constitution in the following pages. This constitution was agreed unanimously by the twenty-one participant countries at the Copenhagen congress, with the understanding that proposals for its modification or amplification could be brought forward by any member country at the next congress in Prague, 1947.
>
> A roll call at congress revealed a membership of organisations in participant countries totalling 130,000 journalists.

The congress report, as well as accounts in several journals of the national unions represented in Copenhagen, describes the lively debate in the congress, 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 proposed another representative of the French member union for this position. The reason for the opposition to Valot was obviously political: he was seen to be a collaborator of the war-time Vichy regime, whereas the bulk of the French representatives had been mostly on the side of the resistance. The compromise was that both French colleagues were elected.

Opinions differed regarding 'liberty of the press', but finally the congress approved by consensus 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 National Union of Journalists (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. The latter referred especially to the Soviet journalists' wish to work for 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 by consensus. 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, UK, USA and USSR. In addition to these nine countries, the founding members were the unions attending 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).

The provisional constitution was adopted unanimously. Its Article 1 determines the name[3] and locates the provisional headquarters in London, where the war-time federation also had its base.

The election of the IOJ leadership went smoothly. The six officers elected in Copenhagen were President Archibald Kenyon (UK), Vice Presidents Eugen Morel (France), Tor Gjesdal (Norway), Milton Murray (USA) and Alexander Sverlov (USSR) as well as Secretary Treasurer Keith Bean (Australia). Of these, Kenyon and Sverlov held the same positions in the war-time federation. Accordingly, with the founding of the IOJ in Copenhagen, North America (Murray) 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 1st IOJ Congress report also puts on the 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 IFJAFC was dissolved. Accordingly, the transfer of organizational legacy and competence was made crystal clear: the successor of the FIJ is the IOJ.

The *2nd IOJ Congress* was convened in Prague on 3–7 June 1947. The spirit continued to be good and the world of journalism still united, although international politics was already moving towards the Cold War.[4] The ceremonial part of the congress followed the grand style established in Copenhagen. The sessions took place in the Slovakian Hall 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 Republic, Dr Edward 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 (Figure 4.2).

deník II. světového sjezdu mezinárodní organisace novinářů

PRAHA 1947 IOJ

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

орган II. всемирного с'езда международной организации журналистов

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

Praha, 4. VI. 1947 3

AUSPICIOUS START OF CONGRESS

Masaryk: "If You Hit On Iron Curtain - Give Me A Ring" — IOJ Granted Consultative Status in UN — Zaslavsky Pledges Fullest Soviet Participation — Palestine Accepted

The Report of the Executive

Mr. Bean, the Secretary Treasurer of the I.O.J. in his annual report, stated that the work of building the I.O.J. has progressed steadily, and with a vigour and success which warranted the congratulations of all affiliated organisation to the executive which the Copenhagen Congress created.

He said that the constitution provisionally agreed upon at Copenhagen would stand, except that there would be a change to the effect that members of the Executive Council should have the rights of delegates at future congresses, but not to vote apart from their national organisations.

Continued on Page 2

Масарик приветствует с'езд. Председательствует Кеннон
Masaryk Welcomes the Congress. Kenyon At the Chair
Masaryk salue le Congrès. Kenyon préside

DEBUT FAVORABLE DU CONGRES

Masaryk: «Si vous tombez sur le rideau de fer - prévenez moi!» — L'IOJ obtient une voix consultative à l'ONU — Zaslavsky assure pleine participation des journalistes soviétiques

УСПЕШНОЕ НАЧАЛО КОНГРЕССА

Ян Масарик: «Если найдете у нас железный занавес - протелефонируйте мне» — МОЖ получила право совещательного голоса в ООН — Заславский обещает полнейшее содействие советских журналистов — Принятие новых членов

Продолжение на 2 стр.

Figure 4.2 The front page of the IOJ congress daily, 4 June 1947. In the photo Minister of Foreign Affairs Jan Masaryk is delivering a welcoming speech. The four-page publication in Czech, English, Russian and French included reports on each day's debates, with pictures and cartoons of participants. No other congress of the movement has produced such impressive documentation.

Source: *Useful Recollections, Part III.*

The chairman of the organizing committee, Jiří Hronek, addressed the delegates with one overriding theme: 'We here in Czechoslovakia are convinced that it is the function of the Press to unite, and not to divide the nations. [...]... 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, was full of post-war idealism: 'The inspiration of our movement is service through friendship.' He also pointed out the special relationship which had been developing between IOJ and the United Nations.

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 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 a guest) and Venezuela. On the other hand, of those attending in Copenhagen, New Zealand, Peru and Turkey were absent from Prague.

All those organizations attending were admitted as members, with the exception of Egypt and Iran. The applications of these two were found problematic because the unions in question 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' which escalated into a Soviet–American dispute.

Even more heated was the debate on the future headquarters of the IOJ. 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 London to continue as the base, 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 unanimous adoption of the constitution, now called 'Statute'.[5] There it is stipulated that the IOJ headquarters 'shall be situated in such place as Congress shall determine'. It was inevitable then that the question of headquarters would surface as soon as the constitution was adopted.

The Article on 'Aims and Objects' is essentially the same as already formulated in Copenhagen, but the new wording was more elaborate (changes after Copenhagen in italics):

a) Protection by all means of the liberty of the press and of journalist. 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 among 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.

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:

> 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 conflict 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 constitution, 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 Council 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. An invitation by the Belgian union to hold the next congress in Brussels was accepted by acclamation.

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 (NGO) at the UN. The international movement of journalists was firmly organized and united.

In the grip of the Cold War 1948–91

The Prague congress was followed by a chain of developments dominated by the Cold War. They are presented below under four headings: (1) The split in the movement in 1948–52, including the founding of

the *International Federation of Journalists* (IFJ) as a Western counterforce to the IOJ; (2) a quest for unity in 1953–60; (3) focus on the Third World in 1960–70; (4) towards co-operation in 1971–91.

Although the themes appear in consecutive historical stages, they also overlap and should be seen as streams of a complex evolution rather than clear-cut phases. The Cold War as a whole was a period of contradictions within the movement, with a rich history surrounding not only the IOJ and IFJ but also other organizations of journalists which emerged on the basis of regional or topical interests.

What follows is an overview, with a focus on the international movement rather than a comprehensive report of the organizations involved. More details are available in the relevant publications, notably *Useful Recollections* (Parts II–III) and congress proceedings. A timeline with selected events for reference is provided in Appendix I.

The split in the movement 1948–52

After the Prague congress, the British and American embassies dismissed the IOJ as a Soviet organization. American Newspaper Guild's (ANG) President Milton Murray proposed that the Americans should disaffiliate from IOJ. It didn't happen at the time, but it shows how he, like his successor Harry Martin as ANG President and IOJ Vice President, was an active anti-communist. Western newspapers also targeted the Czechoslovak Secretary General of the IOJ as a hard-line puppet of Moscow.[6]

An internal division in the IOJ exploded at the *UN Conference on Freedom of Information* held in Geneva in March–April 1948 – while Czechoslovakia was in a state of political turmoil. The IOJ was granted the status of an NGO at the conference, and its Executive Committee meeting in Brussels had just approved a position paper presented to the Geneva conference by the President and the Secretary General. The American Vice President Martin was also designated by the IOJ Executive to attend the conference, but actually he appeared in Geneva as part of the official US delegation – representing the trade unions and revealing how he was integrated into leading Cold War forces. In this high profile platform Martin launched a public attack against the IOJ Secretary General: he publicized a letter written to President Kenyon after the Brussels meeting, insinuating that Hronek was misusing IOJ funds for communist propaganda and suggesting that the headquarters should be moved to the West.[7]

This incident was a signal that the tide was turning in the Western approach to the IOJ in early 1948. Voices against the IOJ were raised not

only in the American ANG but also in the British NUJ. Already in July 1947 the NUJ Trade and Periodical Branch meeting debated a resolution 'expressing concern at the general tenor of the proceedings at the I.O.J. Prague Congress and condemning the tactics and attitude of the Russian delegation'.[8] On that occasion the motion 'faded away in an orgy of good will', but it surfaced again later in 1948.

No doubt this clash served the interests of those aiming at confrontation. The forces of confrontation advanced on several fronts, from international security with the founding of NATO to the international trade union movement, which was divided, both nationally and internationally, into a left-wing and mostly pro-Soviet faction on the one hand, and to a right-wing and pro-Western faction on the other. These developments were naturally reflected within the IOJ, albeit seldom directly. In France, however, Vice President Morin, who represented the right-wing *Force Ouvrière*, withdrew and his place was taken by decidedly leftist forces, including Jean-Maurice Hermann, who later became the IOJ President.

It was obviously the political development relating to a 'communist coup' 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 1948 the confederation of Scandinavian unions of journalists warned that the forthcoming session of the Executive Committee might lead to an explosion as the Czechoslovak union was bound to deliver there a full explanation of what had happened.

In the course of 1948 the situation escalated both in international relations in general and in public opinion and media coverage in particular. A specific area of Cold War mobilization, which was obviously reflected in the IOJ, was the split of the trade union movement with the CIA in an active role.

Tensions escalated into open split during the *IOJ Executive Committee meeting in Budapest* in November 1948, leading to the withdrawal from IOJ membership of the British NUJ, the American ANG and several other Western member unions, including those from Scandinavia. In February 1949 President Kenyon criticized Secretary General Hronek's editorial in the IOJ Bulletin where the British press was told to call upon their readers to hate other nations: 'I must protest against Cominform propaganda of this character being circulated through the machinery and at the expense of the IOJ!' In October 1949, President Kenyon resigned (Figure 4.3).

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Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.

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, 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.

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.

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 Schubert (*Colliers*), Bela Kolchivari (*Look*), Keebour (*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 members-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

(Continued on page 7, col. 1)

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 follows 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 1d. will run an average of five pages per issue, those selling at 1½d. six pages, and those at either 2d. or 3d. a maximum of eight pages. Penny and three-halfpenny 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)

of newsprint shortage.

Figure 4.3 *World's Press News* report on the IOJ Executive Committee meeting in Budapest, November 1948. In the photo Secretary General Jiří Hronek is speaking, next to him sits Soviet Vice President Pavel Yudin and on the left is President Archibald Kenyon.

Source: *Useful Recollections, Part III.*

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, France refused to grant visas to all delegates and the venue was once more changed, now to Helsinki – the capital of a country which after World War II established good 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 (SSL) – a founding member of both the IOJ and the earlier 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 countries'. 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'.

As a consequence of the developments in the late 1940s, the IOJ became an organization whose core membership was made up of journalist unions of the socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe and of such smaller journalist associations in the Western world which had a 'progressive and democratic' orientation. In addition, the IOJ increasingly acquired members from the developing countries, including mainland China. A special case was the socialist country of Yugoslavia: its member union was excluded from the IOJ after Belgrade, in keeping with President Tito's policy of independence and non-alignment, turned it against Moscow.[9]

Meanwhile, Hronek with his small secretariat operated in Prague under the prevailing conditions, accepting the split and more intensive adherence to the Soviet orbit. Obviously the Soviets pursued a hard line which left no room for compromise, and the American and British delegations were following a similar Cold War script from the opposing side. In this situation IOJ Secretary General 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.[10]

No doubt the East-West division was prompted by the US State Department as well as the British and French foreign ministries in these years, with additional support coming from the Marshall Plan administration in Paris, where former ANG President Martin was now working. Moreover, as was later revealed by a former CIA agent: '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.'[11]

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).[12] It was based on exiled 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 wartime IFJAFC but the Polish union was not invited to the IOJ founding congress in Copenhagen, because Poland was represented by the official communist-oriented 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 encouraged the IFFJ to become 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 lost its relationship with the UN and UNESCO. However, IFFJ did not succeed in constituting itself as a true alternative to the IOJ – a role finally assumed by the IFJ.

Another organization which emerged in the first years of the Cold War was the *International Press Institute* (IPI) on the initiative of the editors and publishers of leading Western newspapers with no direct relationship to the IOJ. The proposal for an international institute to promote the cause of the media through research and reflection was first presented by a UNESCO committee in 1947 and approved by its General Conference in Mexico City in 1948. However, the Americans in particular were not satisfied with the proposal to establish such an institute within the UN framework as it failed to embody their idea of freedom – arguing that UNESCO had member states which 'paid no

heed to freedom of the press'. The American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) convened a meeting of 34 publishers and editors from 15 Western countries in New York in October 1950. This 'exploratory conference' at Columbia University decided to 'form a global organisation dedicated to the promotion and protection of press freedom and the improvement of the practices of journalism'.[13] The Americans promised to finance the launching of the institute, and official support was provided by the US President Harry Truman, who received the delegates. The inaugural conference was held in Paris in 1951 and a secretariat was set up in Zürich.

The IPI became an important clearing house for press freedom in the world with its annual reviews and several publications. It represented – and with its present secretariat in Vienna continues to represent – a Western proprietorial point of view, along with the *International Federation of Newspaper Publishers* (FIEJ).[14] However, the IPI, unlike the FIEJ, did not profile itself as an industrial association of employers, and avoided overtly political positions, trying hard also to embrace the print media of developing countries. On the other hand, it was obvious to all that the IPI was speaking for leading editors rather than rank-and-file professional journalists. Therefore it maintained distant but still correct relations to the IOJ and IFJ.

At the invitation of a relatively small Finnish association of left-wing socialist and communist journalists, the *3rd IOJ Congress* was convened in Helsinki in September 1950. The congress was attended by 62 delegates from 30 countries, including the UK, the USA and smaller associations from Scandinavia – not from the main national unions but from smaller leftist and 'progressive' 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. However, there were no delegates from Latin America.

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 have members also from countries with no national unions or from countries whose unions were hostile to the IOJ.

Otherwise the Statute was retained largely in its original form except that the article on aims and tasks was reformulated to accommodate the Cold War realities. Accordingly, the first aim was peace and international understanding 'through free, accurate, honest informing

of public opinion', followed by 'the protection of freedom of the press and of journalists against the influence of monopolist and financial groups' and finally 'the protection of all journalists' rights as well as the protection of people's rights to receive free and honest information'.

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; Hronek continued as Secretary General.

With a total membership of about 50,000 journalists, the IOJ rallied with its new profile to expand geographically, emphasizing peace and development instead of trade unionism, although this was retained as one of the objectives in the constitution. In the Cold War divide the IOJ stood on the Eastern side, with its headquarters in Prague, Czechoslovakia, where the International Federation of Trade Unions was also based – after its Western member unions left it in 1949 and established a rival International Confederation of Free Trade Unions based in Brussels.

After the split, it took three years until the Western unions of journalists established the IFJ in May 1952. The *World Congress of Journalists* was held in Brussels on 5–10 May 1952, attended by 49 delegates of journalists' unions from 14 countries and two observers. It was preceded by a preparatory conference in Paris in October 1951, attended by delegates from the UK, USA, France, Austria, Belgium and the Netherlands.

The IFJ represented the majority of national unions in Western Europe, North America and Australia – altogether over 40,000 journalists. These were mostly professional associations with a trade union orientation. Brussels was chosen as the IFJ headquarters and Clement J. Bundock of the UK was elected as the first president (Figure 4.4).

The constitution adopted on this occasion stipulates that membership of the IFJ 'is open to national trade unions of professional journalists which are dedicated to the freedom of the press, and which conform to the definitions immediately following'. The definitions specify what is meant by a trade union (in a universally valid manner) and what is the meaning of the words 'freedom of the press': 'freedom in the collection of information, freedom of opinion and comment and freedom in the dissemination of news'.

A separate paragraph, no doubt pointing at the IOJ, stated:

> Organizations of journalists which are part of international groups of journalists, whose aims are in conflict with the constitution of the International Federation of Journalists shall not be admitted as Affiliated or Associate members.

Figure 4.4 The IFJ founding congress participants in Brussels, May 1952. Of the 49 delegates, six are women in the front row.
Source: *Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Archive in Bonn*.

There was also a section entitled 'Non-political character of the Federation':

> The International Federation of Journalists, being an organization created to deal with matters related to the practice of the profession of journalism and with the maintenance of press freedom as defined in Section II, is not concerned with questions of political philosophy and ideological conflict. It is agreed by the unions which have created the Federation that such questions are inadmissible at its deliberations.

From the perspective of IOJ, the IFJ obviously appears as a divisive phenomenon. The history of the British NUJ[15] opens up a somewhat different perspective – a view from outside, although not completely detached, given the NUJ's central role in both organizations – which is worth quoting here:

> The IOJ was intended to bring together, as its draft constitution put it, 'national organisations of working journalists who subscribe to trade union principles and who accept the primary principle of the freedom of the Press'. But it soon fell victim to the increasing chill of the Cold War. As East and West manoeuvred for position, journalism became even more a battleground of ideologies. Within a year, the

> divisions within the IOJ became apparent at an acrimonious congress in Prague, then at a deadlocked meeting in Budapest in 1948 at which the United States delegates withdraw. The NUJ soon followed, though not without some anguish. The union's executive voted to recommend the NUJ withdraw from the IOJ as supposed 'communist front'. The subsequent ballot supported withdrawal by 3,375 votes to 769.
>
> International organisation was now frozen in the Cold War pattern. In 1952 a new International Federation of Journalists was formed, in Brussels, with thirteen Western nations initially involved. Its constitution proclaimed that it would comprise 'national trade unions of professional journalists which are dedicated to the freedom of the Press'. Clement Bundock, the outgoing NUJ General Secretary, was elected the first President. The IFJ slowly attracted international support but for the next four decades the east-west division remained icebound. The NUJ maintained a leading role, with General Secretary Jim Bradley elected President three times, and other leading union members holding senior posts.

The IFJ history published on the occasion of its silver jubilee[16] sums up the founding as follows:

> When the Federation came formally into existence on 8 May 1952, there was optimism about the future and the honeymoon atmosphere was typified by the scene in which the delegates, their labours complete, picnicked on grilled chops under a blossom-laden apple tree in company with village cure on the banks of the Meuse.
>
> Congress, mindful of the political arguments which had split the IOJ, had barred ideological debates. For this the infant IFJ was soon attacked by Cold War extremists-leftists accusing its leaders as 'warmongers' and far rightists attacking it as a 'neutralist organization'.

The IFJ represented the majority of national unions of journalists in Western Europe, North America and Australia – altogether over 40,000 from 14 countries. In the Cold War conditions it inevitably pursued a Western ideological position. At the same time the IOJ, due to its composition, represented the Eastern ideological position.

In terms of numbers the IOJ was bigger than the IFJ, both counting individual journalists represented through national affiliates (50,000 vs. 40,000) and counting the number of countries where there were members (30 vs. 14). Yet the two were typically seen as political parallels

on different sides of the Cold War divide. Politically their profiles were quite different – the IFJ with its professional trade union orientation resembling the pre-war FIJ. However, organizationally the IOJ continued to occupy the legal mandate of the FIJ, while the IFJ was founded on a void facilitated by the Western side of a Cold War rivalry.

A quest for unity 1953–60

After the 3rd Congress in Helsinki in 1950, the IOJ consolidated its secretariat in Prague. In the beginning it was a modest desk of one executive secretary working under the guidance of Secretary General Jiří Hronek, whose main job was in the Czechoslovak international radio service. It began to grow into a real secretariat located in the premises of the Czechoslovak Union of Journalists. In 1952 Hronek resigned as Secretary General for work reasons and was replaced by another representative of the Czechoslovak union: Jaroslav Knobloch.

In October 1953 the IOJ established at its Executive Committee meeting in Prague the International Fund for Solidarity with Journalists 'to support journalists, regardless of their nationality, religion or political beliefs, who for any reason are discriminated against or persecuted for giving truthful information, for their stand in favour of cooperation among nations, or in defence of national sovereignty and the democratic rights of nations'. The fund was mandated to receive one-tenth of the dues paid to the IOJ by the member unions and in addition it drew resources from voluntary donations, in practice from the unions in the socialist countries. In the same year the IOJ Secretariat began to publish the monthly magazine *The Democratic Journalist* in English, French and Russian.

The Executive Committee was determined by the Statute to act as the supreme organ of the IOJ between the congress sessions – it was a mini-congress with representatives from all member unions. As seen in Appendix I, the Executive Committee met almost annually: after Prague in Budapest and Sofia, and in 1957 for the first time outside Europe, in China.

Meanwhile the IFJ also consolidated its secretariat in Brussels, with Theo Bogaerts as Secretary General.[17] The IFJ held its congress every second year and the Executive Committee once a year, usually hosted by member unions in different countries. The *2nd IFJ Congress* in Bordeaux in 1954 decided to issue an international press card to journalists of its member unions and approved a landmark document, the Declaration of Principles on the Conduct of Journalists.[18] A similar press card was later issued by the IOJ.

After Stalin's death in 1953, the peak of the Cold War passed and the great powers initiated a period of 'thaw'. This opened an avenue for a regional conference in Sao Paulo (Brazil) in November 1954, which called upon both the IOJ and the IFJ to meet for the purpose of creating a single organization bridging the divide. The IOJ welcomed this idea, while the IFJ did not respond.

The IOJ Executive Committee in Budapest in October 1954 endorsed the steps taken by the Secretariat with a view to initiating talks on collaboration with the IFJ. The latter had not responded to earlier overtures on the part of the IOJ, notably greetings sent to the 2nd IFJ Congress in Bordeaux in 1954. The Executive congratulated the journalists of Latin America and the Federation of the Italian Press who, on their own initiative, had started work to establish cooperation between the two internationals. The Executive stressed the efforts to achieve the broadest possible cooperation among journalists of all countries on the basis of their common professional interests and regardless of political differences.

Moreover, a resolution was approved expressing gratification that among journalists of various countries 'a wish was expressed to hold an international meeting of journalists, which would consider mutual aid to journalists so that they can better exercise their professional duties in obtaining more complete and objective information about the life of different nations, thus promoting peaceful coexistence among countries with different political systems and strengthening cultural and economic relations among countries'. The Executive also expressed its support for those journalists who had come together and formed a committee for the implementation of the idea. Hence the IOJ made a strategic move against a Cold War confrontation by supporting the idea of a 'World Meeting of Journalists' – not to be formally hosted by the IOJ but to be convened as an independent platform with the organization's political and material support.

The *World Meeting of Journalists* took place in Helsinki (Finland) in June 1956.[19] Attended by 259 journalists from 44 countries, it was the largest and most representative gathering in the history of journalism so far. At this meeting, the voices of journalists from the countries of Latin America, Asia and the Arab world were particularly strong – stronger than in the IOJ congresses held hitherto. Moreover, among the participants were representatives of journalists' unions from India, Yugoslavia, Italy, Indonesia and other countries which were not members of either of the two existing international organizations (Figure 4.5).

Figure 4.5 The World Meeting of Journalists was held in Otaniemi, a suburb of Helsinki, June 1956. It was a 'great shining event' not only because of record attendance from different continents but also due to the verdant Nordic midsummer environment with light nights. Although the great majority of participants were men, most delegations included some women, beginning with the President of the Finnish host association YLL.
Source: The People's Archive in Helsinki.

The proceedings of the meeting were published by the organizers in the form of a booklet.[20] The introduction to this publication states that the meeting 'exceeded all expectations. We are convinced that when the history of world journalism comes to be written, this International Meeting of Journalists will be recognized as a great and shining event'. The meeting confirmed in an impressive manner the position that it is possible to achieve agreement among all journalists – as far as their professional problems are concerned and through a joint approach – to strengthen the status of journalists in society and to improve their material conditions, educational level, and so on.

On the other hand, it should be noted that the meeting was not supported by the IFJ; on the contrary, its member unions were urged not to attend. Among the followers of these instructions was the Finnish SSL.[21] Accordingly, it relinquished the role of local host to a smaller leftist union of journalists (YLL) – the same that hosted the 3rd IOJ Congress in Helsinki. The IFJ attitude did not, however, drastically limit the participation even of Western journalists, as most Western European

countries, the USA, Canada, Israel, Australia and Japan were represented. It is also noteworthy that the delegations from the Federal Republic of Germany and from France, for example, were not only numerous but very representative. For example, among the French participants was Jean Schwoebel of *Le Monde* – the man who 20 years later, during the period of détente, became active in the European platform.

The delegations from the developing countries were particularly impressive; the most outstanding example being the Brazilian delegation, which consisted of 38 journalists representing the entire country both geographically and politically. The same was true of the 18-man delegation from India; one of them was D.R. Mankekar, who 20 years later became Chairman of the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool. As to the IOJ, there were participants from all its member unions – from Albania to the USSR. The President of the IOJ, Jean-Maurice Hermann, was part of the French delegation.

The IOJ President conveyed fraternal greetings from one of the existing international organizations which had supported the initiative to meet 'without wishing at any time to patronize or control the development of this gathering'. He regretted that the IFJ was averse to cooperating on an equal footing but said that 'we should nevertheless be glad to see the beginning of friendly co-operation between our organizations'. Hermann made the headlines with his address by pointing out that journalists selling their minds are worse than prostitutes selling their bodies. Moreover, the IOJ President offered to dismantle his organization in the interests of unity.

The Brazilians proposed the setting up of a permanent body, but the Italians and especially the Yugoslavs felt that any new committee would be another 'bloc organization' – a kind of third international. Consensus was achieved on the basis of an Indian thesis that what was at issue was not an organization but a movement – as Nehru had not proposed a third bloc but a movement aimed at the abolition of East-West blocs, which was a reference to the conference in Bandung where the Non-Aligned Movement was launched.[22] Consequently, the Initiating Committee was transformed in Helsinki into the International Committee for the Cooperation of Journalists (ICCJ), composed of 30 members from over 20 countries on all continents – from Australia to Chile, from the Gold Coast (Ghana) to Israel.[23]

After four days of plenaries and commissions the meeting discussed and adopted a 'Concise Protocol' and eight resolutions on various topics. In addition, a separate resolution by 30 representatives from Asian, African and Arabian countries proposed 'that a "Bandung Conference"

of Journalists should be held some time next year and at a convenient place in order that professional problems common to them may be discussed and decisions reached'.[24]

All in all, the world meeting in 1956 must be regarded as a major landmark in the history of the international movement of journalists. It is true that most of the questions raised and recommendations made were not original, but had already been placed on the agenda either at the UN, UNESCO or in non-governmental professional bodies such as the IOJ (ever since Copenhagen 1946) or even the pre-war League of Nations, FIJ and IUPA (ever since Antwerp 1894). But it is nevertheless remarkable that a spontaneous initiative by the profession itself brought about such a representative and comprehensive review of various issues after several years of international tension. In today's perspective, 1956 can be seen as a very promising new beginning with a rich professional substance.

The quest for unity, on the other hand, did not fare very well after 1956. First the ICCJ joined the initiative of the Italian and Yugoslavian journalists' associations to call an international conference of all under the auspices of UNESCO, with a view to establishing a single world organization of journalists. The national unions which did not belong to either of the two internationals, including those from Brazil and India, also invited the IOJ and IFJ for preliminary talks scheduled in Brussels in early 1957. The IOJ welcomed this and was prepared to attend, while the IFJ was not. Consequently, neither talks, nor a UNESCO conference took place. The IFJ's lack of interest was obviously due to bigger political forces from the West, as demonstrated at UNESCO's General Conference in Delhi in late 1956 when the Yugoslav delegation officially made the above proposal for a broad conference but failed to find consensus.

While there was no progress towards the unity of the movement at large, broad international cooperation was achieved in several special fields of journalism. Accordingly, the World Federation of Travel Journalists and Writers (FIJET) was established in 1954. By the end of the 1950s the IOJ had organized conferences among agricultural journalists, sports journalists, foreign affairs journalists and photojournalists. Photography became a particularly important special interest area, leading not only to a conference in 1960 but to biannual IOJ Interpress Photo exhibitions in Berlin, Budapest and Warsaw. And one should also keep in mind that the Catholic media organizations (UCIP, UNDA) as well as the *Commonwealth Press Union* (CPU)[25] continued to mobilize their respective constituencies, complementing both the internationals of a

more general professional or political nature and also the special interest associations.

The *2nd World Meeting of Journalists* was held in October 1960, in Baden near Vienna (Austria). Convened by the ICCJ it was attended by 260 journalists from 62 countries, and thus, in numerical terms, it became another landmark in the history of journalism. Of the 260 colleagues who gathered together at the meeting in Baden, 118 were from Europe, 67 from Asia, 15 from Africa, 69 from the Americas and Australia, including presidents and other leading officers of 43 national associations and one international (IOJ). The meeting was opened by the Secretary General of the Brazilian Federation of Journalists, and among the chairpersons and speakers were colleagues from all parts of the world – from Bolivia to India, from Costa Rica to Japan, from Mali to Mongolia, from South Africa to North Korea, from China to the UK. However, there were no representatives of the IFJ, although several of its member unions were present, thus showing that the drive for unity was ongoing.

In the various plenary sessions and in three commissions those present discussed the three main items on the agenda: (1) how to facilitate the exercise of the profession; (2) problems of the press and radio in underdeveloped countries; and (3) ethics of the profession: rights and obligations, the role of the journalists in forming public opinion and in the evolution of international relations, obligations arising out of the UN Charter. A lot of professional substance was exposed, but in contrast to the 1956 meeting, the proceedings in 1960 seem to have taken a direction which could conceivably be called 'political'. This was inevitable given the presence of several colleagues who were involved in a liberation struggle of their respective countries. Symptomatic in this respect was the point made by a Cuban delegate, who stated that it was only since January 1959 that there had been real journalists in his country.

The 2nd world meeting in 1960 adopted several resolutions[26] but it was essentially a repetition – and reconfirmation – of the first one held four years earlier. It continued to highlight political issues of peace and international understanding – with more attention now to the developing countries. Yet it also pursued professional and trade union matters, including an inquiry into the working conditions of journalists which was supposed to be implemented by the ICCJ and to be reported to the next world meeting.

A notable difference from the first meeting was that the question of achieving organizational unity was no longer at the forefront. The continuous non-response by the IFJ and the Western politics against unity at

UNESCO had obviously taught a lesson to those who gathered in Baden; the optimistic visions entertained in Helsinki had proved to be largely illusions. Consequently, the IOJ remained the only viable organizational basis for worldwide co-operation, along with the ICCJ, which, however, became obsolete by the mid1960s.

The role of the IFJ throughout the pursuit of unity was something that could be characterized as stubborn separatism. Accordingly, a world congress of journalists scheduled for 1956 in Montevideo did not achieve its objectives after the IFJ and its US affiliate ANG launched a campaign against this initiative on the part of Latin American journalists. Likewise, the IFJ declined an invitation to build bridges through Italy: the National Federation of the Italian Press (FNSI) proposed that its congresses in Palermo in 1954 and in Trieste in 1956 be used as neutral ground to bring the IFJ and the IOJ together through their leading representatives, but on both occasions the invitation was turned down by the IFJ.

On the other hand, the IFJ did well in professional trade union affairs among its Western members. The *3rd IFJ Congress* in Baden-Baden (FRG) in 1956 issued an appeal for the establishment of a pension scheme for journalists and demanded that journalists' copyright be respected. However, its position on unity remained unchanged: the Executive Committee in 1957 rejected the proposal by the ICCJ established at the world meeting in Helsinki to overcome the division of the international movement of journalists, and the *4th IFJ Congress* in London in 1958 turned down the invitation of the IOJ to attend its forthcoming congress in Bucharest.

Despite an inability to meet and discuss even professional matters among themselves, the two internationals were brought together at a conference convened by UNESCO in Paris in 1957 for the founding of the International Association for Mass Communication Research (IAMCR).[27] The fact that both the IOJ and IFJ Presidents were among the founding members of the IAMCR, together with media scholars and educators from East and West, shows that there was an ecumenical potential for cooperation.

The intricacies of the Cold War delayed the convening of the IOJ congress which according to the Statute was to take place every fourth year. It took twice that long after Helsinki 1950 to hold the *4th IOJ Congress* in Bucharest 1958. Its attendance was otherwise more or less the same as in the previous congress, except that now there were also delegates from several Latin American countries. The proceedings confirmed the endeavours of the past few years, stressing 'unity of

journalists throughout the world' and condemning the arms race with 'the policy of propagating war psychosis'. Particular attention was paid to solidarity – both politically with journalists 'exposed to persecution for their work in the cause of peace and mutual understanding between nations' and socioeconomically by deciding to establish an international rest home for journalists by the Black Sea in Varna, Bulgaria. These decisions came into effect the following year in celebrating 8 September as the International Day of Journalists' Solidarity and in opening the recreation centre in Varna for journalists from the member unions.

The elections in the 4th congress followed the pattern of the 3rd congress. Knobloch continued as Secretary General, but he resigned prematurely in 1959 and was followed by Jiří Meisner. Hermann was re-elected as President, accompanied by Vice Presidents from USSR, China, Poland, Finland and Mexico.

The *5th IFJ Congress* in Bern (Switzerland) in 1960 again turned down the invitation to attend the forthcoming World Meeting of Journalists convened in Baden (Austria). Instead, it approved an 'expansion programme' to the developing countries in Africa and Asia with the assistance of US funding – obviously intended to compete with the IOJ influence in the so-called Third World.

Focus on the Third World 1961–70

The early 1960s was a period of accelerating decolonization in Africa and Asia. It was also a period when many national liberation movements became allies of the Soviet Union and parties to East-West conflicts, notably in Cuba (the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962) and in Indochina (the war between North and South Vietnam since 1963). These developments politicized the context of international journalism and increasingly shifted the contradictions from Cold War-driven East-West conflicts across the 'Iron Curtain' in Europe to North-South conflicts between the 'imperialist' West and the developing Third World.

This was a stage when the effort towards unity in the movement was replaced by an increasing mobilization of regional associations of journalists in the developing continents of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The main development in Africa was the Pan-African Conference of Journalists in Bamako (Mali) in May 1961, convened by the Committee for Cooperation of African Journalists. It was attended by journalists from ten countries of North and West Africa, while colleagues from several countries of East and Southern Africa wished to attend but were prevented by financial or political obstacles. The IOJ attended as an

observer, but the IFJ declined the invitation. The conference adopted several resolutions, including the founding of the *Pan-African Union of Journalists*.[28] The 2nd Pan-African Conference of Journalists took place in Accra (Ghana) in November 1963. This regional organization did not survive beyond the 1960s and in 1974 it was followed by the *Union of African Journalists* (UAJ) with the leadership of the Egyptian Syndicate of Journalists.

The developments in Latin America were related to a prolonged struggle over regional federations in the Western hemisphere. Since the 1940s there had been initiatives inspired mainly by the American newspaper publishers to create the *Inter-American Press Association* (IAPA). It was established in 1950 under US control, leaving the professional journalists to find their own organizational solutions. One of these initiatives was the regional World Conference in Sao Paulo in 1954 calling for unity, but it did not survive under the shadow of IAPA and its instruments such as the *Inter-American Federation of Working Newspapermen* (FIOPP) set up in 1960 to cater for the professional cooperation interests in the region. However, it disintegrated when the ANG Treasurer was exposed as the channel of CIA financing to the Latin American programme.[29]

In 1962 a Committee for Information and Co-operation of Latin American Journalists was established in Havana (Cuba), leading in 1970 to the founding of the *Federation of Latin American Journalists* (FELAP). The latter was actively supported by the IOJ. At this time *The Democratic Journalist* extended its translations to include Spanish. The IFJ for its part had as yet no notable activity in the region.

At the international level, the *3rd World Meeting of Journalists* was organized in September–October 1963, this time as a trip aboard a Russian ship 'Litva' cruising in the Mediterranean from Algiers to Beirut with several landfalls on the way. Attended by 260 journalists from 69 countries the meeting held discussions and met among others President Nasser of Egypt and Archbishop Makarios of Cyprus.[30]

The substance of the proceedings and resolutions followed the pattern of the two earlier world meetings, with more and more attention devoted to developing countries of the Third World. But the meeting also highlighted the professional inquiry initiated three years earlier in Baden, which had by now become 'a unique documentation encompassing 57 countries', and requested the ICCJ to cooperate with the ILO and UNESCO with a view to drafting model contracts of employment for journalists. However, such professional and trade union initiatives were left without systematic implementation under the political circumstances of the 1960s.

Regarding Afro-Asian developments, a regional conference of journalists was organized in Jakarta in April 1963. This was a sequel to an initiative originating in the 1955 Bandung conference and which was manifest in a special resolution signed by the Asian participants at the world meeting in Helsinki in 1956. With further encouragement from the 2nd World Meeting in Baden in 1960, the Chinese journalists in particular were active in developing a 'militant friendship' among Afro-Asian journalists, leading to the Jakarta conference, at which 48 countries were represented and which 'held high the banner of the Bandung spirit', in the words of the Vice President of the All China Journalists' Association (ACJA), Chin Chung-hua, who was also IOJ Vice President. The conference adopted a number of resolutions 'on the struggle against imperialism and colonialism'. At this time the relations between the IOJ and its Chinese member union began to rapidly deteriorate – no doubt as a consequence of the overall political clash between China and the Soviet Union – and the complications led to the IOJ's absence from the Afro-Asian conference. In practice, the establishment of the *Afro-Asian Journalists' Association* (AAJA) became a chapter in the history of Mao's 'Cultural Revolution'. For example, in 1966 the AAJA issued resolutions under titles such as 'China's unprecedented development of nuclear weapons demonstrates the resourcefulness of Mao Tse-tung's thought' and 'AAJA condemning criminal activities of Soviet revisionists to split the Afro-Asian writers' movement'.

The first conference of Arab journalists was held in February 1965 in Kuwait with 135 delegates of journalist organizations from 13 Arab countries. The IOJ attended as an observer. This highly representative conference established the *Federation of Arab Journalists* (FAJ).

The IFJ, for its part, persevered throughout the 1960s with its separatist policy with regard to the IOJ and the world meetings. At the same time it endeavoured to gain ground in the Third World through its own collaborators in several African, Asian and Latin American countries. The 'expansion programme' led to missions to Asia and Africa, and in 1964–67 to several three-week seminars in Ibadan (Nigeria), Lagos (Nigeria), Abidjan (Ivory Coast), Kinshasa (Zaire), Monrovia (Liberia) and Accra (Ghana). The fruits of the programme were apparent at the *7th IFJ Congress* in Vichy (France) in 1964: it was attended by 125 delegates and observers from as many as 32 countries and the IFJ membership had exceeded 45,000.

Consequently, in terms of numbers the IFJ was half of the size of the IOJ. But it was evident that both organizations were viable within their own spheres and able to grow especially in the Third World. Obviously they needed money for all the activities – not least the IOJ for

the permanent schools, publications and a large secretariat in Prague. Membership fees covered only a fraction of what was needed and both organizations counted on assistance from affluent member unions.

The IFJ had a problem with its American member ANG, which in the early 1960s was used as a channel for CIA financing.[31]

The IOJ, for its part, was assisted by the resourceful Soviet Union of Journalists – and by the Soviet Union itself – for example in the preparation of the 3rd congress in 1950. It is no secret that the IOJ was financially supported by all socialist countries which hosted the IOJ congresses and activities in the 1950s–60s: Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, the GDR and Poland in addition to the USSR and especially Czechoslovakia, where the secretariat was located. This was done either directly through the state agencies – with the blessing of the communist party in question – or indirectly through the member unions concerned as was habitual with all non-governmental associations in those countries, also in the fields of arts, sciences and so on. An additional source of financing alongside membership fees and state funding of the above kind was the international lottery initiated in the mid-1960s in the name of the IOJ in the socialist countries of Eastern Europe. It became an important means of fundraising especially for the training schools, and at the same time it made the IOJ known to millions of people in those countries which otherwise had only limited opportunities for voluntary civic activities.

Obviously there was rivalry between the IOJ and the IFJ regarding the Third World and in the 1960s the IOJ was making impressive headway as the Soviet-led socialist countries were largely taken as a 'natural ally' of the developing countries. On the other hand, it is also obvious that not all IFJ members warmed to the idea of an ideological race with the IOJ in the developing countries. In point of fact, the 1967 revelations of the CIA funding were a big surprise to most of the IFJ constituency, including the rank-and-file members of ANG, which naturally brought the programme to a halt.

The *5th IOJ Congress* was held in Budapest in August 1962.[32] With 89 delegates from member unions and groups as well as nearly 80 observers and guests, it manifested the growth of the IOJ especially in the Third World, from which roughly half of its members came. The newly elected presidium reflected the same trend even more clearly: of the nine Vice Presidents, three came from Europe (Finland, Poland, USSR), while two came from Asia (China, Indonesia), one from Africa (Mali), one from the Arab world (United Arab Emirates) and two from Latin America (Cuba, Mexico). Hermann was re-elected as President and Meisner as Secretary General.

Resolutions were adopted by the congress on unity, on the ethics of the profession in the context of 'the legitimate aspirations of the peoples for national independence, social progress, democracy, freedom and peace', on the persecution of journalists for their professional activities, as well as on social questions such as minimum wages, working hours and social benefits. Regarding holidays, the initiative was endorsed to establish a second international recreation centre at Lake Balaton in Hungary. Professional training of journalists was also emphasized, leading two years later to the inauguration of an international centre for this purpose in Budapest.

In general, the 5th congress was marked by a serious orientation towards professionalism – without challenging the political order of the socialist countries. The Hungarians continued on the same professional track, highlighted among others by hosting, with the IOJ support, in 1965 the congress of the *International Sporting Press Association* (AIPS), a specialized association established already in 1924 with members in 33 countries – most of them strongholds of the IFJ.

The years 1963–65 witnessed a breakthrough in IOJ assistance for the training of journalists – in close connection with developments in Africa. At this time, IOJ-affiliated schools for journalists from developing countries were started, in addition to Budapest, in Berlin by the GDR Union of Journalists and in Roztez near Prague by the Czechoslovak Union of Journalists. The Berlin school was founded under the name 'College of Solidarity' for the purpose of boosting the immediate and short-term education of young journalists of countries liberated from colonialism and governed by national liberation movements. Later the Roztez school, operated with the assistance of the Czechoslovak news agency CTK, was closed and another school opened in Prague. The Bulgarian Union of Journalists also established an IOJ-affiliated school. Hundreds of young journalists from Africa and Asia were trained in these institutions.

The *6th IOJ Congress* in Berlin (capital of the DGR) in October 1966 reflected the drive to the Third World: it was attended by 268 journalists and 14 representatives of international organizations from 68 countries on all continents.[33] At this point the IOJ membership base had reached 130,000 journalists in 108 countries from all parts of the world, as seen in Appendix II. Of these countries nearly 50 had large unions or smaller groups as collective members, while the rest had individual members. Among the national groups were journalists from the liberation movements in Southern Africa (South Africa and later Namibia and Zimbabwe). A decade earlier, in 1956, the IOJ membership

consisted of only 16 national unions, including one in the Americas and one in Africa; in addition there were individual members in 35 countries.

The expansion of membership since the mid-1950s was remarkable indeed, reaching the number of journalists (130,000) represented by the founding unions in 1946, after which it was cut in half by the split of 1949. The number of countries where the IOJ had members increased even more dramatically: from 28 in Copenhagen and Prague in 1946–47 to 108 in Berlin in 1966. Admittedly, about half of these were countries with only small pockets of individual members, but still it is clear that the IOJ had assumed the status of a worldwide movement.

Accordingly, the congress in Berlin in 1966 can be seen as a historical point where the IOJ consolidated itself as the leading international organization of working journalists, based on its three main constituencies: national unions in the socialist countries and in the Third World as well as progressive groups and individuals in the so-called West. The only notable exception from an expanding development was the case of China: the Chinese member union ACJA withdrew from participation in the IOJ activities, although it never renounced its formal membership in the IOJ.[34]

Apart from increasing its membership base, the IOJ also consolidated itself in terms of its professional and political orientation. It was a combination of the heritage of Copenhagen and Prague on the one hand, and the new wave of emancipation of the Third World on the other. The IOJ was now characterized by a growing preoccupation with the developing countries – even integration with several regional associations. This also meant that the debates became increasingly political. Thus about a half of the text of the resolutions adopted in Berlin concerned matters of a general political nature, including a separate 'Resolution on the Vietnam Problem'. But professional matters were not overlooked, either: the congress recommended that a permanent professional commission be established at the secretariat to pursue various issues from training to studies and also that a social commission be set up hosted by the Bulgarian member union (Figure 4.6).

The elections of the Berlin Congress in 1966 reflected both continuity and expansion. Jean-Maurice Hermann was re-elected as President, while Jiří Kubka of Czechoslovakia was elected as the new Secretary General. The office of the Treasurer was assigned to the Hungarian member union known for its successful business activities. The number of Vice Presidents increased to 13, only four of whom were from Europe and the rest from Asia, Africa, the Arab world and Latin America. The presidium

Figure 4.6 Photo of the 6th IOJ Congress in Berlin, October 1966: The head of the delegation of journalists from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam hands over the FNL flag to IOJ President Jean-Maurice Hermann.
Source: 6th congress proceedings.

was so wide that it became a mini Executive Committee. Therefore its sessions after 1966 are listed in Appendix I.

The *8th IFJ Congress* was held five months before the 6th IOJ Congress in 1966, also in Berlin (West Berlin). It was attended by 113 delegates from 31 countries and the IFJ membership base was reported to have reached 55,000. The growth in membership since 1960 is demonstrated in a steep rising curve as seen Appendix II. Obviously both the IOJ and the IFJ found imaginative ways to graphically impress their constituencies. While the IOJ had grown to include twice as many journalists in the world as the IFJ, it suffered from a defect in legitimacy as it had lost

its formal status at the UN and UNESCO in 1950–52; it was not restored until 1969–70. Therefore the IFJ could present itself in 1966 as 'the only world organisation of working journalists to hold consultative status as a non-governmental body with the United Nations, UNESCO and the International Labour Organisation'.[35]

The IFJ congress in West Berlin approved a model contract for foreign correspondents as well as resolutions on freelance journalists, newspaper concentration, press freedom and professional secrecy. On this occasion the IFJ also agreed (after a vote) to respond to the IOJ's greetings by 'expressing its willingness to engage in fraternal exchange of views on professional matters with journalists throughout the world provided they belong to free trade unions or professional organizations and share the opinion laid down in the IFJ Constitution . . .'

Towards co-operation 1971–91

The period from the late 1960s through the 1970s and 1980s was characterized by an overall relaxation of tension in international affairs, including the international movement of journalists. It was by no means a period of simple and idyllic détente. The most serious East-West conflict was seen already in August 1968, when Warsaw Pact forces occupied Czechoslovakia and even the IOJ headquarters in Prague were closed for some days. The Vietnam War was raging and terrorism surfaced in Germany, Italy and the UK. Nevertheless, nuclear disarmament between the USA and the USSR proceeded from words to deeds in the late 1960s and an unprecedented project of diplomacy, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) resulted in the landmark 'Helsinki Accords' on 1 August 1975.[36]

Détente towards the 1970s was to mean essentially a return to the basic ideas of peaceful coexistence, which already at the end of World War II were at the top of the international agenda but which then were overshadowed by the confrontational years of the Cold War. Actually journalists were among the first to rid themselves of the Cold War mentality – namely those journalists who assembled at the world meetings in 1956, 1960 and 1963 – and to promote the orientation known as the 'spirit of Geneva', along with the 'spirit of Bandung'. Now, especially in Europe, there was the 'spirit of Helsinki' prevailing as a context for international co-operation.

Since 1966, when both the IFJ and the IOJ held their congresses in Berlin, there had been various initiatives in Europe encouraging the two internationals to cooperate. The most significant actor was the Italian FNSI – not a member of either of the two internationals. As early as

1967 it arranged an 'encounter of European journalists' in Lignano, with a follow-up in 1973 on Capri and thereafter every second year, as seen in Appendix I. These encounters – and similar gatherings arranged by the Polish IOJ member in Jablonna – were essentially joint platforms for journalists coming from member unions of both the IOJ and IFJ, discussing various European and professional issues. They were colloquia pursuing of a spirit of co-operation rather than concrete projects. They were crucial for the relations between the two internationals – after all, the IFJ had earlier asked its members not to be involved in any IOJ activities and even in such third party events as the large world meetings.

As seen in Appendix I, the IOJ and IFJ began to hold meetings of their respective leading representatives in 1973. These were more or less formal 'diplomatic exchanges' with no attempts to achieve major joint activities. Nevertheless, they demonstrated that the two organizations had overcome the worst of the Cold War traumas and established normal relations.

The IFJ congresses in Dublin (1968), Stockholm (1970) and Istanbul (1972) were still haunted by the old Cold War spirit, as did the IOJ congress in Havana in 1971.[37] But by the middle of the 1970s the tide had turned.

The *8th IOJ Congress* was held in Helsinki in September 1976 in the same Finlandia Hall where the CSCE Final Act had been signed a year earlier.[38] The congress was hosted by the Finnish SSL – not a member of the IOJ but of the IFJ. Thus the whole Finnish community of journalists was ready, unlike in 1950 at the 3rd IOJ Congress and in 1956 at the World Meeting of Journalists, to demonstrate a desire for co-operation across Europe and beyond. Marking détente was also the election of a new IOJ President from Finland, Kaarle Nordenstreng, following Jean-Maurice Hermann who had held the post for 26 years. Jiří Kubka continued as Secretary General. The IFJ also attended as an observer, just as the IOJ attended the IFJ congresses thereafter.

Although the IOJ and the IFJ were now in dialogue with each other, and the IFJ no longer pursued a separatist line, the two organizations continued to have quite different profiles and went on to compete against each other in the Third World. In this competition the IOJ was actively supporting 'anti-imperialist' revolutions, and most of the liberation movements in Africa and Asia were represented in the IOJ membership through their exiled or underground journalist groups. Accordingly, despite an increasing willingness to co-operate the old tendency for confrontation persisted. It was not only the IFJ that was

suspicious of the IOJ, typically perceived as an arm of Moscow-led world communism, the IOJ was also wary of the IFJ seen respectively as a soft instrument of US-led imperialism. The trust between the two was shaky and nobody could foresee that they might unite in the foreseeable future. The movement remained divided.

Here it is important to remember that the political context of the movement was changing drastically in the 1970s – not only in East and West détente but also regarding a global media debate which was triggered by the UNESCO-sponsored concept of national and international media policies and even more so by the idea of a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO).[39] Media policies was an old idea, but it became controversial in the debates about Western domination of the media world and in the mounting criticism coming from the developing countries against the American and British news agencies and media conglomerates. To counter this offensive of the South against the West – supported by the Soviet-led East – the American and British media proprietors created a lobby in defence of Western media interests: the *World Press Freedom Committee* (WPFC).[40] The WPFC presented itself as a general advocate of press freedom and was joined by a number of affiliates, including the IFJ.

The IOJ actively supported the position of the global South (as the Third World came to be called) in the media policy debates. It also supported the Soviet initiative for a UNESCO declaration on the use of mass media in the promotion of peace and international understanding, which was perceived in the West as an instrument to recognize international control of media content. Finally a compromise was found and the Mass Media Declaration[41] was approved by acclamation in 1978. Initially the IOJ and IFJ were in opposing camps in these debates, but by the 1980s they often found a common ground after the IFJ no longer supported the corporate-driven press freedom circles and dissociated itself from the WPFC.

The period of détente and NWICO produced more than mere simple rifts where different actors found their natural positions. For example, the IOJ was uneasy after Jean Schwoebel of *Le Monde* in the mid-1970s formed an informal 'Club of European Journalists' as a platform for leading journalists from East and West to discuss political issues of the time. While the IOJ welcomed this as coming from a neutral party, it was also seen as a rival to the Italian initiative, which had successfully led to IOJ–IFJ encounters. Similarly, the IOJ was wary of the conferences of journalists from the Non-Aligned countries, first held in Baghdad in 1979 and again in Cairo in 1983 and 1985 – obviously inspired

by the NWICO developments. This was seen in the IOJ as a strategic challenge: a journalist organization of the Non-Aligned countries would have dropped or frozen a crucial part of the IOJ membership. Moreover, such a constellation would have eliminated the tacit unity of East and South – a 'natural alliance' – from which the IOJ had benefitted since the 1950s. It might have brought the IOJ back to the beginning of the Cold War geopolitics in the late 1940s, when it was more or less purely a federation among journalists from the socialist countries in Central and Eastern Europe. However, the Non-Aligned initiative led nowhere and even the conferences ceased.

It was at this stage that UNESCO invited the two internationals and the regional federations in Africa, the Arab world, Asia and in Latin America to hold consultative meetings. Altogether 10 meetings were held between 1978 and 1990, four of them in two parts.[42] This unique chapter of the history, which has never been reported in full, is presented here in some detail, with several documents reproduced in Appendix III.

The 1st consultative meeting was held at UNESCO in Paris, April 1978 (Figure 4.7). The participants agreed emphatically to look for possible joint actions, such as publications on topics of common interest, co-ordination of solidarity actions in support of persecuted journalists and examination of possible common ground for a definition of

Figure 4.7 The first consultative meeting in Paris, April 1978. At the table from the right: UNESCO host Hifzi Topuz, IFJ General Secretary Theo Bogaerts, UCIP Administrative Secretary Marcel Furic, IOJ Secretary General Jiří Kubka, IOJ President Kaarle Nordenstreng, IOJ Secretary for Africa and Asia Hans Treffkorn, CAJ Executive Secretary D.M. Sunardi, IOJ Secretary for Latin America Juan Alvares and FELAP Secretary Hernan Uribe. The FAJ and UJA did not attend the first meeting.
Source: UNESCO Photo.

basic ethical principles of the journalistic profession. Confirming the spirit of the meeting is a letter by the participating organizations to UNESCO.

After taking the initiative in 1978 UNESCO did not need to do much to lead the consultations. All participants were eager to cooperate – the driving force of the constellation being the IOJ with its fraternal relations to most of the regional associations. The meetings were held basically once a year, hosted by different partners in turn.

The 2nd meeting was held in Mexico City in April 1980 and hosted by FELAP. The meeting discussed thoroughly the protection of journalists, which had become a controversial topic in the MacBride Commission, and issued the 'Mexico Declaration' as the first draft for international principles of professional ethics in journalism. The 3rd meeting followed in Baghdad in February 1982 with the FAJ as the host. It deliberated various professional issues, including the social conditions of journalists particularly with a view to new communication technologies.

The 4th meeting (in two parts) was hosted by the IOJ in Prague in June 1983, and continued in Paris in November, with the adoption of a landmark document: the *International Principles of Professional Ethics in Journalism*.[43] The Final Communiqué of the 4th meeting shows that the increasing tasks ranging from professional ethics to economic and social conditions of journalists led to the setting up of a co-ordination committee as a 'temporary joint body' between the participating organizations. The meeting agreed to organize with UNESCO a dialogue on the implementation of the mass media declaration within the framework of the 5th anniversary of its adoption.

The 5th meeting was held in Geneva in the premises of the ILO in July 1984. It focused on preparing a world conference on working conditions and security of journalists foreseen to be hosted by FELAP with support of the Mexican government. The meeting also issued an appeal in support of UNESCO and its activities in the field of media and journalism. This was the time when UNESCO was accused by Western media circles, spearheaded by the WPFC, of engaging in activities hostile to press freedom; accompanying this campaign were the withdrawals from UNESCO of the USA and UK.

The 6th and 7th meetings in 1986–87 consisted of two parts each, as shown in reports reproduced in Appendix III. The first part of the 6th meeting was hosted by the IFJ in Brussels in January 1986, with the new IFJ General Secretary Hans Larsen in charge. It discussed the safety of journalists on dangerous missions, which the IOJ, IFJ and regional organizations had actively promoted with the International Committee

of the Red Cross (ICRC).[44] The participating organizations decided to compile a list of killed journalists in their respective regions, published as a booklet in three languages.[45] The meeting was informed by ILO of the plans for updating a recently published study on the social and economic conditions of journalists.[46] Regarding projects conducted by the group itself, it was agreed to commission a study on the prospects of new technology for journalists from the IFJ's member in Australia,[47] while another study on the status, rights and responsibilities of journalists was to be jointly done with the coordination the IOJ.[48]

The second part of the 6th meeting was hosted by the IOJ in Sofia in October 1986, which continued to discuss and act upon the various issues with such an intensity that the report refers to the group as a 'consultative club'. In fact, the FAJ submitted in Sofia a proposal to turn the consultative meetings into a 'World Council of Journalists'. The matter was left to be considered by each organization.

The first part of the 7th meeting was held in Cairo in April 1987 with the *Union of African Journalists* (UJA) as the host[49] The agenda included all the topics discussed in earlier meetings, followed up according to new developments. The second part took place in Tampere in December, convened jointly by the IOJ and IFJ – the latter with new General Secretary Aidan White. It covered again the various topics, particularly the preparation of the International Symposium on UNESCO's Mass Media Declaration scheduled in Helsinki in March 1988.

The 8th meeting (in two parts) was hosted by the IOJ in Prague in April and November 1988. The first part was mainly devoted to the Symposium on the Mass Media Declaration, which was cancelled by UNESCO after it had faced mounting pressure from the media proprietors' organizations, especially the WPFC and FIEJ. By early 1988 the symposium had become a litmus test in the geopolitical struggle around the media and the new leadership of UNESCO was not ready to hold the symposium against the publishers' wills, although its preparation in the name of the consultative meetings had been quite successful. Consequently, instead of a high-profile symposium there was a package of over 20 written contributions from different parts of the world – a selection of them published later in an academic book,[50] which also contains a detailed story of the symposium. A letter to UNESCO on behalf of the sponsoring organizations, signed by leaders of the IOJ, IFJ, UJA, FAJ and FELAP, includes positions of historical importance.

The 9th meeting was hosted by FELAP in Mexico City in July 1989, with a consensus to consolidate the group as a loose umbrella with the name 'Consultative Club' – but not as a real umbrella organization called

'World Council'. At its 10th meeting in 1990, hosted by the IFJ in The Hague, the Consultative Club updated its joint activities in the areas of ethics and safety as well as its co-operation with UNESCO and ILO. No major new initiatives were taken.

In the long-term history of the movement, the consultative meetings in 1978–90 stand as a heyday of co-operation. No matter what the constellation was called, the co-operation was both concrete and wide ranging. It was a manifestation of a real movement. However, the organizations involved remained independent and the rivalry between the IOJ and IFJ continued.

An important part of the cooperation in the 1980s were regional congresses in Europe following up the CSCE process ten years after the diplomatic conference in Helsinki in 1975: first in Finland in 1985, second in Austria in 1987 and third in Poland in 1989. The first two of them produced proceedings (see Bibliography), while the third did not lead to any publication as events in Central and Eastern Europe in fall 1989 drastically changed the priorities of the Polish union of journalists as well.

During the period of co-operation in the 1970s–80s, both internationals grew in membership and increased their activities. As seen in Appendix II, in 1988 the IOJ counted slightly over 250,000 journalists in 120 countries (not including China), and by January 1991 its membership base had already reached 300,000. Of these, only a few hundred were individual members – but they were dispersed in quite a few countries – while the bulk of the membership was composed of more or less representative national associations.

Appendix II also shows the membership composition of the IOJ, the IFJ and the main regional organizations across the world at the end of the 1980s. Most of the African, Arab and Latin American countries had unions which were members of both the IOJ and the respective regional organization. In Asia there was no regional organization outside the Arab and ASEAN countries and there also the IOJ had more empty spaces than in the other regions. The IFJ had clearly less membership coverage in all other regions except Europe and North America, where it was naturally the superior of the two. It is another matter that politically the two internationals were typically taken, since the 1970s, as equally significant actors in the international NGO market. The IOJ had more presence at the UN, for example the Committee on Information in the 1980s, while the IFJ was very active at the Council of Europe, which until the 1990s was predominantly a Western European organization.

Like before, the life of each organization in the 1980s was largely determined by the congresses. The *9th IOJ Congress* was held in Moscow

in October 1981 with another record of attendance – 400 representatives from 100 countries – and with a self-confident vision: 'Ours is clearly a global movement . . . The struggle for peace, national liberation and independence, for democracy and social progress is, in the last instance, a united struggle; the fight is one, as well demonstrated by the ranks and activities of our organization.'[51] The *10th IOJ Congress* in Sofia five years later continued to highlight the same expansion both in terms of geopolitical reach and variety of activities.[52]

Meanwhile, the IFJ held its biannual congresses in the 1980s with a lower profile – in Greece, Italy, Scotland, Denmark, the Netherlands – while making slow and consistent progress by increasing its membership also in the Third World and by intensifying its professional activities. Its secretariat in Brussels was very small; just the General Secretary and one or two assistants. The IFJ had no periodic publications apart from a 4-page newsletter *IFJ Directline*. The activities were mostly carried out as joint ventures with the member unions. For example, it formed a working party on protection of journalists to produce a position paper in 1982 and carried out a survey on the implementation of the 3rd Basket of the Helsinki Final Act for the 10th anniversary of the CSCE. The IFJ's income was made up of membership fees which the unions paid faithfully. There was no major outside financing after the scandal of ANG-channelled CIA money for IFJ programmes in Africa and Latin America.

The IOJ had a totally different infrastructure and financial basis. Its secretariat in Prague had grown by the 1980s into a huge apparatus, consisting of different regional departments for Europe-North America, Africa, Arab world, Asia, Latin America and Caribbeanas well as separate divisions for publications, training activities, studies and documentation. These were supervised by the Secretary General and six–eight senior secretaries, most of them sent by member unions. In addition to the secretariat staff of about 50, there was a publishing house, training school, translation agency and conference service with over 200 employees. Moreover, beyond this Prague-based apparatus there was a significant operation in Budapest (Videopress) as well as small regional centres in Paris, Addis Ababa, Algiers, New Delhi and Mexico City.

Accordingly, the IOJ was an exceptionally large operation compared to any international NGO. The key to this scale was a special system of fundraising developed since the 1960s – in addition to regular membership fees and the international lottery which continued to feed the IOJ solidarity fund. The new means to raise money for expanding IOJ activities were commercial companies in Czechoslovakia and Hungary administered by Secretary General Kubka and Treasurer Norbert Siklosi,

who was also Secretary General of the Hungarian Association of Journalists. With the political blessing of their respective governments and communist parties they established printing companies for the IOJ publications, which started to serve other customers for a good profit – which was not to be handed over to private stockholders but used to fund the basic activities of the IOJ. After printing followed translation: the IOJ needed professional translators for its own conferences and publications, and this service, with simultaneous translation equipment, was also in great demand among external clients. In a few years the IOJ's 'Interpreting Agency Artlingua' had grown to be a leading translation service in the socialist countries, used in both state and non-state events. The success story continued with various companies ranging from media management to catering and construction. By the late 1980s the IOJ secretariat in Prague with the 50 and 200+ employees was a small partner of an enterprise family employing thousands of people in Czechoslovakia.

Such 'capitalistic island in the sea of socialism' facilitated the main part of the resources with which the IOJ maintained its services for meetings around the world, its own publishing house, training schools and so on. But by the mid-1980s the commercial company system had grown too big to be managed as an extension of the secretariat in Prague. Kubka tried to consolidate his empire in 1987 by recruiting the son of the CSSR Communist Party's new chief Miloš Jakeš, Miloš Jakeš Jr, as the general director of the IOJ companies. However, that move led one year later to Kubka's own dismissal as Secretary General and his replacement by Miloš Jakeš Jr's old friend Dušan Ulčák, who, after serving as Secretary General of the International Union of Students (IUS), was Czechoslovakia's ambassador in Syria.

The IOJ headquarters, which had been quite a peaceful and privileged site since the crisis of 1949 and a short interval in 1968, suddenly became a politically hot target of various interests – not least the rising opposition to the communist regime. It was in this situation that the 'Velvet Revolution' overtook Czechoslovakia in autumn 1989 as a landmark of the 'collapse of communism' in Central and Eastern Europe. Miloš Jakeš as the real leader of the country and Gustav Husak as its formal President were swiftly removed and replaced by Václav Havel, a dissident during the earlier communist regime. Although the IOJ tried hard to adjust itself to the new political environment – and Havel's first press conference was interpreted by an IOJ agency – its relations to the new political forces were rapidly frozen. Especially hostile were several local journalists and the IOJ became a target of a press campaign

accusing it of collaborating with the communist regimes since the 1950 and neglecting the true interests of journalists in the country.

At the beginning of 1990, the old Czechoslovak Union of Journalists was dissolved and replaced by a pro-Western Syndicate of Journalists which immediately joined the IFJ. The situation remained unchanged when Czechoslovakia was divided into the Czech and Slovak republics in 1993, each having its own journalist syndicate which refused any co-operation with the IOJ.

Consequently the IOJ lost its member union in a country where it had both headquarters and a large group of commercial companies. The government – representing predominantly right-wing forces and passionately anti-communist – even ordered the headquarters to be moved out of the country. And beyond Czechoslovakia, the other strong member unions in the former socialist countries soon began to lose their political and material ground – although most of them had supported the reforms, like 'perestroika' in the Soviet Union.

Under these conditions it was natural that the cooperation with the IFJ slowed down and the Consultative Club came to a halt. The IOJ had to concentrate on its own struggle for survival. An account of this struggle, with divisions within the IOJ, is not essential for the story of the international movement.[53] Instead, the end of the story is fairly short.

Unity restored 1992–

The *11th IOJ Congress* was held in Harare (Zimbabwe) in January 1991 and there the IOJ could still present itself as the world's largest organization of journalists. On this occasion the IOJ revised its Statutes and shifted its orientation from an outspokenly political to a predominantly professional organization. Its leadership was drastically changed, with the new President, Armando Rollemberg of Brazil, coming from the second largest member association (after the Soviet Union of Journalists) known to be a strong trade union. The election for the post of Secretary General was won by Gérard Gatinot from the journalist branch of the French communist-led trade union CGT. The congress adopted a resolution calling for unity of the international movement of journalists.[54]

However, the pressures for change from the former socialist countries, particularly Czechoslovakia, were too hard to cope with, and the situation was exacerbated by quarrels among the new leadership. President Rollemberg tried to maintain recognition of the IOJ internationally, for example at the World Conference of Human Rights in Vienna in June 1993 and nationally with the Czech government, which continued to

threaten the IOJ headquarters with expulsion. However, faced with a mounting disagreement with the Secretary General and several other members of the leadership, Rollemberg stepped down in December 1993.

The *12th IOJ Congress* was held in Amman in January 1995.[55] There the leadership was changed again. Suleiman Al-Qudah from Jordan was elected President, and Antonio Nieva from the Philippines became Secretary General – while Gatinot was dismissed. A third central officer was the Treasurer, to which position was elected former Vice President Alexander Angelov from Bulgaria.

At this stage, the financial resources were rapidly dwindling and the activities in training, publishing and so on, were gradually diminishing. Several member unions, including those of the leading officers, decided to join the IFJ, while most of these also remained at least nominal members of the IOJ. In 1995 the IFJ counted that 30 of its 114 member unions were also IOJ members. New IOJ Secretary General Nieva, with great energy and high professional standing, tried to reshuffle both the operations in the Czech Republic and the international activities, and his proposals to 'raise the IOJ back to its feet' were endorsed by the Executive Committee meeting in Hanoi in July 1996.

After the IOJ Congress in Amman the IFJ was ready to actively look for unity of the movement. Its congress in Santander (Spain) in May 1995 adopted a resolution which 'believes that in an increasing global industry, there is a self evident need for all genuine journalists' unions to be united in a single journalists' international . . . an effective and progressive journalists' international in the new global conditions will need to incorporate the best traditions of unions historically associated with both the IFJ and the IOJ'.[56] General Secretary Aidan White prepared a long memo on the IOJ–IFJ relations for the IFJ Executive Committee meeting in Ljubljana in November 1996.[57] His starting point was clear:

> There is a powerful argument that unity is urgently needed to confront the challenges of a global media economy, technological convergence, rising levels of violence against journalists, and ever-widening gulf between rich and poor. The question is how this can be best achieved. Some unions believe, with evidence of IFJ growth to support them, that unity is being achieved in practice. However, as long as separate structures remain in place, we will not be able to make the most of scarce resources, both financial and human.

The conclusion was less clear: a qualified recommendation to clarify the IFJ–IOJ relations regarding membership, finances, policies and

activities. In other words, a general wish for unity surrounded by a number of doubts and time-consuming investigations. The IFJ Executive followed this line but the investigation did not proceed smoothly: the IOJ Secretary General Nieva had little trust in the IFJ General Secretary White, whom he viewed to demand unity in terms of the IFJ only, instead of searching for a compromise. But more importantly, the IOJ was in deep financial and administrative trouble which left little time and leverage for negotiation with the IFJ. Then Nieva's sudden death in October 1997 paved the way for the final disintegration of the IOJ, leaving only the President in Amman and the Treasurer in Sofia to look after the remaining parts of the earlier empire, including the journalism school premises and some commercial enterprises in Prague, to be discontinued.

Meanwhile, the IFJ went on as usual, holding a congress now every third year and rapidly growing so that it gradually became an organization which also represents the bulk of earlier IOJ membership. By the end of the 1990s the IOJ had in fact disappeared from the history of the international movement of journalists – ironically just as the IOJ had marked itself as 'an organization for the third millennium'.[58]

By the new millennium the movement was again more or less united, as it had been before the Cold War and earlier between the World Wars – now around the IFJ.

The IFJ benefitted in the 1990s not only from the demise of the IOJ as a consequence of the system changes in Eastern Europe but also from its dynamic leadership, particularly General Secretary White. It managed to employ outside resources from the Council of Europe and the European Union for programmes such as Media for Democracy in Africa. It established an international safety fund to provide support for journalists who suffer intimidation, discrimination or physical violence. It also set up regional centres in co-operation with its member unions in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Today the IFJ profiles itself as the world's largest organization of journalists representing around 600,000 members in 134 countries[59] (Figure 4.8).

Its mission statement is a good reading of where the movement has arrived after 120 years of history:

> The IFJ promotes international action to defend press freedom and social justice through strong, free and independent trade unions of journalists.
>
> The IFJ does not subscribe to any given political viewpoint, but promotes human rights, democracy and pluralism.

> The IFJ is opposed to discrimination of all kinds and condemns the use of media as propaganda or to promote intolerance and conflict.
>
> The IFJ believes in freedom of political and cultural expression and defends trade union and other basic human rights.
>
> The IFJ is the organisation that speaks for journalists within the United Nations system and within the international trade union movement.
>
> The IFJ supports journalists and their unions whenever they are fighting for their industrial and professional rights and has established an International Safety Fund to provide humanitarian aid for journalists in need.

However, growth brought with it internal contradictions to the IFJ. Moreover, the role of the regional organizations has become problematic: they are mostly weak or nonexistent, while the IFJ with its regional centres is active on all continents. Europe is a special case where the IFJ's regional organization, the *European Federation of Journalists* (EFJ),[60] is well established and very active – like the pre-war FIJ.

The historical overview of the IOJ from the mid-1940s until the late 1990s, accompanied by the IFJ from the early 1950s on, shows dramatically how inextricably the international co-operation of journalists is linked to international politics. As it was the Cold War that determined the main political context in the world during the second half of the 20th century, it is indeed true to say that the movement was embroiled by the Cold War. On the other hand, professional interests were also

Figure 4.8 Participants at the IFJ Congress in Dublin, June 2013. President Jim Boumelha (from the UK) standing in the second row, 8th from the left. On his right, General Secretary Beth Costa (from Brazil).
Source: International Federation of Journalists.

constantly pursued and in the broad picture it is obvious that professionalism had gained ground in journalism by the new millennium. However, the story of the IOJ and the IFJ strongly suggests that professionalism could be promoted only to the extent to which this was facilitated by politics.

Another lesson of the IOJ–IFJ history is the precarious nature of the unity of the movement. Even if a broad and united movement has been an ultimate objective for most actors most of the time, it did not materialize as a rational project within a divided movement – neither through the World Meetings of Journalists in the 1950s, nor through the Consultative Club in the 1980s. It materialized only in the launching of the IOJ under the post-World War II conditions of 1946–47 and again in the new millennium under the post-Cold War conditions after the demise of the IOJ.

Notes

1. The IFJAFC congresses are documented in Kubka and Nordenstreng (1986) *Useful Recollections, Part I*, pp. 81–83.
2. Published in July 1946 as *I.O.J. Bulletin No. I*. It is reproduced as Annex 2 in Nordenstreng and Kubka (1988) *Useful Recollections, Part II*. All quotes in this chapter are from *Useful Recollections, Part II* (Nordenstreng and Kubka,1988) or *Part III* (Nordenstreng, forthcoming), unless otherwise indicated.
3. 'Organisation' written with s instead of z – consistent with the British spelling convention of the time.
4. Winston Churchill had already 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 CIA was established.
5. 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 has been consistently with z.
6. These reports should be seen within the context of the political developments at that time. Already in 1947 the Soviets had set up the Information Bureau of Communist and Working-Class Parties Cominform based in Warsaw. The idea of the West European Union was born in 1948, and the same year the state of Israel was established followed by a war with the Arabs. In 1949 the German zones of occupation changed into Federal Republic of Germany (West) and the German Democratic Republic (East). In 1949 the North Atlantic Treaty Organization NATO was established, while the Soviet Union and the new socialist countries created the Council of Mutual Economic Aid CMEA; the Soviet-led defence organization, the Warsaw Pact, was established only later in 1955 after West Germany joined NATO.

7. It should be recalled that parallel to these events in early 1948 Czechoslovakia was drawn into a constitutional crisis which soon led to a merger of working-class parties and political domination of pro-Soviet communists – something that indeed amounted to a communist coup. Later in the year the same trend followed in Hungary, Poland and Bulgaria. These political changes also affected national journalist unions, which were accused in the West of being involved in 'purges'.
8. NUJ journal *Journalist*, January 1948.
9. Again the context of the time should be recalled, including the Korean War (1950–53), the CIA operations against Mossadegh in Iran (1951–53) and the anti-communist campaigns especially in the USA (McCarthyism). In the Soviet Union and its East European allies these were years of hard-line Communism until Stalin died in 1953.
10. Some documents found in the Russian State Archive of Social-Political History in Moscow expose the Soviet influence on the IOJ in 1949–50. Key documents are reproduced as Annex 4 of *Useful Recollections, Part III*.
11. Agee (1977) *Inside the Company: CIA Diary*, p. 78.
12. *IFFJ* (1952).
13. See http://www.freemedia.at/about-us/history/1950-1959.html
14. Nowadays the *World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers* (WAN-IFRA), see http://www.wan-ifra.org/
15. Gopsill and Neale (2007) *Journalists: 100 Years of the NUJ*, p. 219.
16. *The International Federation of Journalists: For a Free Press and Free Journalism* (1977), p. 8.
17. His personal recollection 'Three decades in the IFJ' is included in *Useful Recollections, Part III*.
18. http://www.ifj.org/about-ifj/ifj-code-of-principles/
19. The actual venue was somewhat outside Helsinki in Otaniemi, the student campus of the Technical University of Helsinki. Therefore both Helsinki and Otaniemi appear in records as the meeting place.
20. Extensive excerpts from this publication are reproduced as Annex 4 in *Useful Recollections, Part II*.
21. The SSL was not a founding member of the IFJ and joined it only in 1955.
22. This conference was held in the Indonesian town of Bandung in October 1955 and was attended by delegations from 29 countries in Africa and Asia, representing more than half of the world's population. See http://franke.uchicago.edu/Final_Communique_Bandung_1955.pdf. The Bandung conference led in 1961 to a still broader coalition of countries, the *Non-Aligned Movement* (NAM) with the central role played by the leaders of India (Nehru), Indonesia (Sukarno), Egypt (Nasser) and Yugoslavia (Tito). See http://www.nam.gov.za/background/history.htm
23. For a list of its members, see *Useful Recollections, Part II*, p. 161.
24. The resolutions are reproduced as Annex 4 in *Useful Recollections, Part II*.
25. http://cpu.org.uk/ This was a body of newspaper proprietors from the Commonwealth countries. Later journalists created their own body, the *Commonwealth Journalists Association* (CJA), as a voluntary professional association for working journalists throughout the Commonwealth, comprised of 53 countries in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, Europe, North and South America, and the Pacific; see http://commonwealthjournalists.org/

26. The resolutions adopted by the meeting are reproduced as Annex 5 in *Useful Recollections, Part II*.
27. See http://iamcr.org/history/
28. The first bulletin of the union (in French) is reproduced as Annex 6 in *Useful Recollections, Part II*.
29. See *Useful Recollections, Part II*, pp. 79–80.
30. The communique of the meeting is reproduced as Annex 8 in *Useful Recollections, Part II*.
31. This was exposed in reports in *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times* of February 1967 as well as in Carl Bernstein's article in the *Rolling Stone* magazine of October 1977; quoted in *Useful Recollections, Part II*, pp. 87–88.
32. See *What Is the International Organisation of Journalists. The IOJ Fifth Congress in Budapest* (1962).
33. See *6th Congress of the International Organization of Journalists* (1966).
34. The reason for the withdrawal was overtly political: the break in Sino-Soviet relations. The ACJA still attended the IOJ Executive Committee meeting in Santiago de Chile in September 1965, mounting a vehement attack on both the IOJ leadership and 'the Khrushchev revisionists' general line of "peaceful coexistence" '. After this session the contacts between the IOJ and its Chinese member union practically ceased.
35. *Idealism in Action. The Story of the IFJ* (1966), p. 2.
36. For the significance of the CSCE to media and journalism, see Nordenstreng and Schiller (1976) 'Helsinki: The New Equation'.
37. See *7th Congress of the International Organization of Journalists* (1971).
38. See *8th Congress of the International Organization of Journalists* (1976).
39. The idea was introduced by the Non-Aligned Movement in 1976 as a New International Information Order (NIIO) to parallel the New International Economic Order (NIEO). It was soon brought for legitimation at the UN and UNESCO, where it became a prominent theme in the MacBride Commission's report *Many Voices, One World* (1980). For an overview, see Mansell and Nordenstreng (2006) 'Great Media and Communication Debates: WSIS and the MacBride Report'; Nordenstreng (2016) 'Great Media Debate'.
40. http://www.wpfc.org/
41. http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13176&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html
42. Proceedings of the meetings were reproduced by the IOJ in 1990 as a compilation of documents but not published for wider distribution, except full proceedings of the 4th consultative meeting hosted by the IOJ in Prague and Paris in 1983. Communiqués of individual meetings were published also in *IOJ Newsletter* for example in 1980 and 1982. Profiles of the participating organizations are presented in a booklet in French, *Organisations Internationales et Régionales de Journalistes* (1980).
43. Available at http://ethicnet.uta.fi/codes_by_country. For background and an assessment of the International Principles, see Nordenstreng (1989) 'Historical Highlights', pp. 250–255.
44. These efforts resulted in the ICRC's *Hotline for journalists in conflict zones* http://www.icrc.org/eng/resources/documents/misc/hotline-010106.htm
45. *Killed for Truth. Assassines pour la vérité. Asesinados a causa de la verdad* (1987).
46. Bohère (1984) *Profession: Journalist*.

47. The outcome was a 155-page book *Journalists and New Technology* prepared by John Lawrence (1988).
48. This study led to a 317-page book *Journalist: Status, Rights and Responsibilities* edited by Kaarle Nordenstreng and Hifzi Topuz (1989).
49. The meeting received greetings among others from China, where the ACJA had remained outside international movement since it froze its membership in the IOJ in 1965. ACJA's first approach to the international movement after the Cultural Revolution was in 1981 when an IFJ delegation was invited to visit China, as reported by Theo Bogaerts in *Useful Recollections, Part III*.
50. Gerbner, Mowlana and Nordenstreng, eds. (1993) *The Global Media Debate: Its Rise, Fall and Renewal*.
51. 'Opening Address of the IOJ President Kaarle Nordenstreng', *The Democratic Journalist*, 12/1981, p. 4. See also *9th Congress of the International Organization of Journalists* (1981).
52. See *10th Congress of the International Organization of Journalists* (1987).
53. A full story is included in *Useful Recollections, Part III*.
54. The proceedings of the 11th congress were not published but a summary is included in *Useful Recollections, Part III*.
55. See *12th Congress. An Organization for the Third Millennium* (1995).
56. Report of the 22nd IFJ Congress, Santander, Spain, 1–4 May 1995.
57. 'International Organization of Journalists: IFJ policy and activities' from General Secretary (28 September 1996) to IFJ Executive Committee meeting, Ljubljana, 22–24 November 1996, p. 1.
58. Formally speaking, the IOJ has not been finished even while writing this book in 2015: it continues to exist as a small legal entity in Prague and its last President has still an office on paper in Amman. Details of the IOJ's disintegration are reported in *Useful Recollections, Part III* (Nordenstreng, forthcoming).
59. http://www.ifj.org/
60. http://europeanjournalists.org/

Conclusion

Kaarle Nordenstreng and Frank Beyersdorf

Overview

The history of the international press and journalist associations shows that the central question has invariably been how to define journalism as a profession and to scrutinize its relation to the state. These two issues culminated in a struggle to define press freedom – a meaning not carved in stone but an open concept deliberated among journalists, news media managers and state representatives. Unlike the Cold War ideology that made us believe in the extremes of total control and absolute freedom, these extremes were not deemed mutually exclusive, but a dynamic process of constantly re-setting the 'balance between speakers and government'.[1]

Press personnel internationalized the debate on professional issues when the processes of commercialization and globalization coincided and gained momentum in the last two decades of the 19th century. Newspapers turned, increasingly but not completely, from a partisan press into a news industry purveying 'objective' news. Increasing capitalization of both the newspapers and the international telegraph companies enabled news businesses to transcend national borders. Although the telegraph primarily served global trade, it also gave rise to international news agencies. Lower transportation costs enabled the agencies and more affluent national newspapers to send reporters abroad or hire correspondents, especially in war zones, and the capitals of the imperial powers. The global news market emerged.[2]

The process of commercialization slowly differentiated media personnel into separate professions, while globalization gave rise to a new brand of journalist, the foreign correspondent. These processes remained incomplete; the first press associations on the national level

organized all press personnel from managers to rank-and-file journalists. On the international level, this process was reflected in the composition of the *International Union of Press Associations* (IUPA). This first international press association provided a forum in which to exchange information on the rights and obligations of press personnel *vis-à-vis* the states. The IUPA also worked to improve the status of the journalist in society and to ascertain the ramifications of the global news market for the profession. It disseminated professional norms through annual conferences held in European cities. These fora evolved into an institution that united and consolidated associations on the national level. The IUPA failed to expand its activities beyond Europe. Thus press personnel in the USA, the second centre of economic globalization, set up another international organization, the *Press Congress of the World* (PCW). This American initiative was based on individual membership and its achievements remained fairly limited.

After World War I, economics pushed the IUPA and the PCW to the margin. The postwar recession impaired the working conditions of journalists, which furthered the differentiation of press personnel into news managers and working journalists on both the national and the international level. The newly established League of Nations system, in particular the International Labour Organization (ILO) but also the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC), promoted a French trade union to spearhead the formation of the *Fédération Internationale des Journalistes* (FIJ), in 1926. In contrast to the IUPA and PCW, the FIJ exclusively represented professional journalists. The FIJ compiled information on employment contracts, media laws and occupational hazards across its member unions. Its primary interest was to plough back this information as international standards into the national level enabling journalist unions to defend their interests against news managers.

In addition, the FIJ was part of a global political effort to revitalize the credibility of liberalism, which the war had seriously depleted. Two new visions of world order had emerged from the ruins of postwar Europe – communism and fascism – which posed a direct ideological challenge to liberalism as the hitherto dominant ideology to govern the world.[3] Following the ideology of League internationalism, the FIJ committed itself to a liberal interpretation of press freedom.

Accordingly, the FIJ was quick to respond to the League's venture into international media policy. Although the ensuing conference series of press experts were dominated by news managers, the FIJ and the older international press associations successfully defended the

right to designate international journalists. The FIJ hoped to convince governments to relinquish their sovereign right to expel foreign correspondents from their territories and instead to accept professional self-regulation transcending national borders.

The FIJ's insistence on independence from the state, however, prevented self-regulation from gaining credibility outside the FIJ and also outside Europe. Neither the identity card nor the creation of an international court of honour for journalists came even close to gaining universal acceptance by states and journalists. Excluded from the FIJ, the Soviet – and also fascist – journalist unions refused to back such a court. Furthermore, many states outside Europe, in particular the USA and its news agency managers, dismissed outright the very notion. For the former, it encroached upon their national sovereignty and the validity of national media policies. For the US news agencies it ran contrary to their absolute interpretation of press freedom. With no appeal beyond its own membership and in particular to the all-important US news market, the FIJ could not implement any credible professional self-regulation.

In addition, the FIJ's membership policy focused on recruiting new adherents exclusively from journalist unions. This policy increased the obstacles to the admission of press associations from non-industrialized countries, where press associations – if indeed any existed – represented both managers and journalists. The debates within the FIJ on whether professional concerns might supersede the commitment to press freedom since the mid-1930s were merely an expression of this unresolved tension between professional and political interests. The FIJ lacked universal appeal, because it insisted on a liberal interpretation of press freedom, instead of openly debating its meaning.

After World War II, the international journalist movement was optimistically revived and initially managed, due to the common suffering under the Nazi scourge, to reconcile between liberalism and communism as the *International Organization of Journalists* (IOJ). For the first time, the international journalist movement did indeed decide on an intrinsically political question of content regulation. Instead of insisting on absolute press freedom and admitting every comment and opinion, it excluded fascism from its constitutional interpretation of press freedom.

Soon, however, the IOJ fell victim to the Cold War and split along the East-West divide, leaving the IOJ on the Eastern side and giving rise to a new Western counterpart, the *International Federation of Journalists* (IFJ). The IFJ pursued the defence of freedom from the state and positioned itself as a Western 'free world' association, while the IOJ sided first with the Soviet-led East and later, along with decolonization, with

the non-aligned South to opt for a third way between absolute market freedom and state control.

The conflicts and competition between the IOJ and IFJ continued throughout the 1950s and 1960s until the Cold War entered the phase of détente. In the 1970s, the two internationals found ways to co-operate, largely due to pressure from the regional associations, which had been established outside Europe and North America since the 1960s. The most intensive co-operation took place within a consultative platform facilitated by UNESCO in the late 1970s. By the end of the 1980s, the divided movement was close to reunification – as an umbrella organization for international and regional associations. However, at that point the collapse of communism paralyzed the largest of them, the IOJ, and turned IFJ into the leading international organization of professional journalists. By the end of the century, the IOJ had practically disappeared and its place had been taken by the IFJ, which became the only worldwide representative of professional journalists.

The 120-year history of the movement shows that much has changed, but much remains the same. Many issues – from the question who owns the news to the status of women journalists – which were already discussed in Antwerp in 1894 are still with us today. There is much to be learned from the debates and events throughout the decades, if only we cared to recall them in the midst of contemporary preoccupations with digitalization and globalization.

Core issues

The records of the movement provide a vast amount of documentation in the form of conference proceedings, house journals and occasional reports. These contain a lot of data and positions taken of an organizational and political nature. However, there is relatively little material as regards the principal positions of the organizations with an analytical look at the profession and its role in society. Indeed the overall orientation of the movement appears essentially bureaucratic and political rather than intellectual and professional. One of the few thought-provoking pieces is the following statement which in 1988 in the joint name of the IFJ, IOJ and the regional organizations of journalists[4]:

> . . . we wish to reiterate the principal view that the operation of the mass media should be determined primarily by the practice of professional journalism in the public interest without undue government or commercial influence. What we stand for is professionalism supported by the idea of a free and responsible press.

> . . . we acknowledge the fact that the role played by information and communication in national as well as international spheres has become more prominent during the past decade, with a growing responsibility being placed upon the mass media and journalists. This calls, increasingly, for professional autonomy of journalists as well as a measure of public accountability.

Here we have a classic position of the European tradition – demanding freedom from the state but also accepting responsibility and public accountability towards society. It reminds us of the American Hutchins Commission of the late 1940s, which proclaimed the doctrine of a free and responsible press[5] – only to be dismissed by the US news establishment in the Cold War atmosphere. The notion of absolute press freedom – in a libertarian rather than liberal tradition – remained dominant in the USA and still radiates across the globe. Backed by anticommunism and sheer economic might, it largely determined the interpretation of press freedom in the rest of the Western world and beyond. However, the professional orientation of working journalists everywhere else was more balanced as shown by manifestations such as the International Principles of Professional Ethics in Journalism (1983). Moreover, the rise of the Non-Aligned Movement challenged the dominant free press doctrine, and the Hutchins Commission gained late recognition and support from the Global South demanding 'free and balanced' media as a core principle of the New World Information and Communication Order.

Public accountability of the news media did not figure much in the international press movement until World War II. The IUPA largely represented the proprietorial side of the press. It lobbied public authorities for cheaper access to faster communication routes and for legal protection of copyright – similar to the news managers in the League Conferences of Press Experts since 1926. The IUPA remained primarily committed to the interests of the owners of news companies. The PCW pursued a different approach emphasizing the diffusion of responsible reporting norms, but only through education in private institutions. While the IUPA sought to extend the rights of the press through the state, the PCW shunned state intervention. Neither, however, sought to create institutions to ensure the fulfilment of journalists' moral obligations.

The pre-World War II FIJ remained committed to press freedom in a European liberal sense. It called for the independence of the journalist from government but also for a legal extension of the rights of the journalist as a professional. In contrast to the IUPA and PCW, the

FIJ, focused on protecting professional journalists against the commercial pressures of news media owners and managers. The FIJ established a track record in representing the interests of journalists across borders, but failed to define and enforce accountability because it remained focused on Europe and insisted on regulation exclusively from within the profession. The post-war IFJ took the same line, while the IOJ, like the regional organizations in the Third World, tried to balance between professional autonomy and accountability to the ruling powers.

Except for an initial attempt by the IOJ soon floundered among Cold War tensions, none of the organizations managed to create a universal and credible working mechanism to enforce self-regulation. Self-regulation is notoriously ineffective on the national level, and even more so on the international level. This is not to suggest that self-regulation is pointless; it does indeed have an important educational and cultural function to disseminate norms of public accountability and to promote professionalism.

However, if international journalists really want to go beyond internal norm-setting and expect states to relinquish some of their sovereignty, more is needed. They should realize that claiming more rights is implausible without accepting more obligations. This calls for mechanisms that also accept regulation beyond the profession – not by governments eager to control the media but by the mechanisms of several stakeholders, including media professionals, media owners and governments, preferably within the framework of the UN system in order to pursue universal interests. Such a multi-stakeholder approach may be the only way to move forward by encouraging states to grant more rights to journalists, in particular when journalists need internationally guaranteed protection both against violence in areas of armed conflict and against the increasing corporate pressure of commercialism. A multi-stakeholder approach among all parties involved would be able to justify the journalist's claims to more rights with the accompanying acceptance of obligations.

Today, in the digital age, journalists face the task of redefining their professional roles and functions in a world of information overload in order to successfully scrutinize the use of political power nationally and internationally. A particular challenge is posed by citizen journalists and bloggers, which have emerged as a new type of journalists alongside the traditional news media. This challenge extends to the area of international journalist organizations as shown by the newly established *International Association of Independent Journalists* (IAIJ),[6] claiming 'a fundamental right of any citizen, in any community, to become a

journalist; and we will support that with our liberal policies of verifying journalists'. While broadening the public sphere of journalism it seeks to legitimize amateur journalists and even to grant them international recognition. This implies a paradox: capitalizing on independence from the established profession and media institutions, this constitutes an attempt to institutionalize amateurism. One of the motives for professional journalists to be organized nationally and internationally was to dissociate themselves from amateurs and hence the history of the movement can be seen as gradual recognition of this distinction. Obviously professional journalism and its international movement are not threatened by the emerging independent journalism; rather the two will happily coexist.

Lessons

One lesson to be learned from the organizational history concerns the way today's IFJ presents itself. Its website[7] states that the IFJ is the world's largest organization of journalists currently representing around 600,000 member journalists in more than 100 countries. This is obviously true, but the historical background given in the website is misleading: 'First established in 1926, it was re-launched in 1946 and again, in its present form, in 1952.' The IFJ cannot lay claim to the legacy of the pre-war FIJ, while the IOJ was founded in Copenhagen in 1946 explicitly as the successor of the FIJ. This situation prevailed when the IFJ was founded in Brussels in 1952: organizationally and legally the IFJ was established on vacant territory, although in terms of its professional and political orientation the IFJ could be seen to follow more or less the same line as the FIJ. The IOJ for its part, although changing its political orientation, never dissociated itself from the FIJ, whose legacy will be 'owned' by the IOJ as long as it continues to exist. And even in 2015 the IOJ is not officially defunct; its legal nucleus continues to lead a dormant life in Prague and Amman.

In this situation it is important to openly concede what happened after the outbreak of the Cold War instead of glossing over this period. The history of all international journalist associations offers a rich reserve of documentation, which should be explored exhaustively with all its contradictions – otherwise it becomes mere window dressing pandering to contemporary interests.

As suggested by the subtitle of this book, the international movement of journalists has evolved between professionalism and politics. A strong and organized movement is indispensable for gaining recognition not

only as watchdogs, but also as responsible watchdogs of international politics. The overall lesson from history is that the international journalist organizations are always constrained by their political environment. It is naïve and self-deceptive to believe that international journalists and their associations could ever be completely apolitical. However, the movement is not deterministically driven by politics; it is also driven by professional interests with greater or lesser autonomy. At the crossroads of professionalism and politics the movement needs to be vigilant and reflective *vis-à-vis* both its present challenges and its past history.

Notes

1. Nerone, ed. (1995) *Last Rights: Revisiting Four Theories of the Press*, p. 98. For a general review of press freedom in the context of international politics, see Nordenstreng (2013) 'Deconstructing Libertarian Myths about Press Freedom'.
2. See Osterhammel (2014) *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 29–38.
3. Conrad and Sachsenmaier (2007) 'Introduction: Competing Visions of World Order: Global Moments and Movements 1880s–1930s', p. 7.
4. Included in Appendix III. The statement was jointly formulated by the then IOJ President Kaarle Nordenstreng and the IFJ General Secretary Aidan White. For the context and assessment of this statement, see Nordenstreng 1989; 1998.
5. *A Free and Responsible Press* (1947). For a critical assessment of its role in the US media history, see Pickard (2014) *America's Battle for Media Democracy. The Triumph of Corporate Libertarianism and the Future of Media Reform*.
6. http://www.iaij.org/
7. http://www.ifj.org/about-ifj/

Appendix I: Timeline (1893–2013)

Chronology of events based mainly on *Useful Recollections, Parts I–III*

1893

International Congress of the Press in Chicago

1894

International Congress of the Press in Antwerp, leading to International Union of Press Associations (IUPA)

1904

World Parliament of the Press in St Louis

1909

Imperial Press Conference in London, leading to Empire Press Union, later renamed Commonwealth Press Union (CPU)

1910

International Association of the Periodical Press founded in Brussels

1915

World Congress of the Press in San Francisco, leading to World Press Congress (WPC)

1921

International Association of Journalists accredited to the League of Nations (IAJA) founded in Geneva
World Congress of the Press in Honolulu

1924

International Sporting Press Association (AIPS) founded in Paris

1925

International Federation of the Periodical Press (FIPP) founded in Paris
International Broadcasting Union (UIR) founded in Geneva
International Federation of the Technical and Trade Press founded in Paris

1926

Fédération Internationale des Journalistes (FIJ) founded in Paris
1st FIJ Congress in Geneva
Pan-American Congress of Journalists in Washington
International Federation of Catholic Journalists (FCJ) founded in Rome

1927

Conference of Press Experts of the League of Nations in Geneva
International Bureau of Catholic Journalists founded in Brussels, later renamed International Union of Catholic Press (UCIP)

1928

2nd FIJ Congress in Dijon

1929

International Catholic Association for Radio and Television (UNDA) founded, later renamed World Catholic Association for Communication

1930

International Association of the Cinematographic Press (FIPRESCI) founded in Brussels
3rd FIJ Congress in Berlin

1931

International Journalists' Tribunal of Honour established in The Hague

1932

Conference of Press Experts by the League of Nations in Copenhagen
4th FIJ Congress in London

1933

International Federation of Associations of Newspaper Managers and Publishers founded, later renamed International Federation of Newspaper Publishers (FIEJ) and World Association of Newspapers (WAN)
Conference of Press Experts by the League of Nations in Madrid

1934

5th FIJ Congress in London

1935

International Federation of Chief-Editors (FIREC) founded

1936

6th FIJ Congress in Bern

1937

First Congress of Latin American Journalists in Valparaiso

1939

7th FIJ Congress in Bordeaux

1941

International Federation of Journalists of the Allied and Free Countries (IFJAFC) founded in London

1942

Inter-American Conference of the Press in Mexico City, considered as the first Congress of Inter-American Press Association (IAPA/SIP)

1943

Second Inter-American Conference of the Press and official foundation of IAPA/SIP in Havana

1945

4th IFJAFC Congress in London, deciding to convene a World Congress of Journalists to found a new international organization of journalists

1946

World Congress of Journalists in Copenhagen (3–9 June), founding the International Organization of Journalists (IOJ)
4th Pan-American Press Congress in Bogota (November–December)

1947

IOJ granted consultative status at the UN Economic and Social Council ECOSOC (March)
2nd IOJ Congress in Prague (3–7 June)

1948

ECOSOC Sub-Commission of Freedom of Information and of the Press meeting in New York (January)
IOJ Executive Committee meeting in Brussels (23–24 February)
UN Conference on Freedom of Information in Geneva (25 March–21 April)
IOJ granted consultative status at UNESCO (July)
International Federation of Free Journalists from Central and Eastern Europe and Balkan and Baltic Countries (IFFJ) founded in London (September)
IOJ Executive Committee meeting in Budapest (16–18 November)

1949

5th Pan-American Press Congress in Quito (July)
IOJ Executive Committee meeting in Prague (15–17 September)

1950

IOJ deprived of the consultative status at UN-ECOSOC (May)
3rd IOJ Congress in Helsinki (15–17 September)
6th Pan-American Press Congress in New York (October)

1951

International Press Institute (IPI) founded in New York (16 May)
Progressive Latin American Journalists' organizations meeting in Montevideo (11 October)

1952

World Congress of Journalists in Brussels (5–10 May), founding the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ)
IFJ granted consultative status at UN-ECOSOC and UNESCO (November)
IOJ deprived of the consultative status at UNESCO (November)

1953

IOJ Executive Committee meeting in Prague (7–9 October)

1954

2nd IFJ Congress in Bordeaux (23–28 April)
IOJ Executive Committee meeting in Budapest (15–17 October)
World Congress of Press Associations in Sao Paulo (November)
World Federation of Travel Journalists and Writers (FIJET) founded (4 December)

1955

IOJ Executive Committee meeting in Sofia (17–19 October)

1956

3rd IFJ Congress in Baden-Baden (22–28 April)
World Meeting of Journalists in Helsinki (10–15 June)

1957

IOJ Executive Committee meeting in Peking (3–4 April)
Conference of the World Committee for Christian Broadcasting in Frankfurt (25 April–1 May), leading to World Association for Christian Communication (WACC)
International Association for Mass Communication Research (IAMCR/AIERI) founded in Paris (18–19 December)

1958

4th IFJ Congress in London (27 April–3 May)
4th IOJ Congress in Bucharest (15–18 May)

1959

IOJ Executive Committee meeting in Varna, Bulgaria (23–24 July)

1960

5th IFJ Congress in Bern (2–7 May)
IOJ Executive Committee meeting in Leningrad (7–9 July)
2nd World Meeting in Baden (18–22 October)

1961

1st Pan-African Conference of Journalists in Bamako (19–22 May), founding the Pan-African Union of Journalists (UPAJ)

1962

IOJ Executive Committee meeting in Havana (13–15 January)
6th IFJ Congress in Vienna (6–12 May)
5th IOJ Congress in Budapest (6–10 August)

1963

Afro-Asian Conference of Journalists in Jakarta (April), founding the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association (AAJA)
3rd World Meeting of Journalists in the Mediterranean (23 September–3 October)
2nd Pan-African Conference of Journalists in Accra (11–15 November)

1964

IOJ Executive Committee meeting in Algiers (27–29 April)
7th IFJ Congress in Vichy (3–9 May)

1965

Conference of Arab journalists in Kuwait (February), founding the Federation of Arab Journalists (FAJ)
IOJ Executive Committee meeting in Santiago de Chile (23–25 September)

1966

8th IFJ Congress in West Berlin (2–7 May)
IOJ Executive Committee meeting in Třeboò, Czechoslovakia (22–23 September)
6th IOJ Congress in Berlin (10–15 October)

1967

Encounter of European journalists in Lignano, Italy (11–16 May)

1968

9th IFJ Congress in Dublin (29 April–3 May)

1969

IOJ Executive Committee meeting in Balatonszeplak, Hungary (15–18 May)
IOJ granted again Consultative Status at UNESCO (June)
Gathering of European journalists in Jablonna, Poland (4–6 September)

1970

IOJ granted again Consultative Status at the UN-ECOSOC (May)
IOJ Presidium meeting in Potsdam (8–9 June)
10th IFJ Congress in Stockholm (8–12 June)

1971

7th IOJ Congress in Havana (4–11 January)
IOJ Presidium meeting in Prague (28–29 September)

1972

IOJ Presidium meeting in Balaton (26–29 September)
11th IFJ Congress in Istanbul (11–16 September)

1973

1st IOJ/UNESCO Colloquy on the Development of Media and Training of Journalists in Budapest (12–17 June)
2nd encounter of European journalists in Capri, Italy (19–21 June)
1st meeting of IOJ and IFJ representatives in Zürich (14–15 September)
IOJ Executive Committee meeting in Baghdad (26–29 September)

1974

2nd meeting of IOJ and IFJ representatives in Karlovy Vary, Czechoslovakia (18–19 April)
12th IFJ Congress in Luxembourg (13–18 May)
IOJ Presidium meeting in Ulan Bator (11–14 September)
Union of African Journalists (UAJ) founded in Kinshasa (18–22 November)

1975

Confederation of ASEAN Journalists (CAJ) founded in Jakarta (10–12 March)
3rd encounter of European journalists in Capri (24–28 June)
3rd meeting of IOJ and IFJ representatives in Capri (28 June)
IOJ Presidium meeting in Bucharest (21–23 October)

1976

Latin American Federation of Press Workers (FELATRAP) founded in San Jose, Costa Rica (26 January)
Latin American Federation of Journalists (FELAP) founded in Mexico City (4–7 June)
13th IFJ Congress in Vienna (10–15 May)
8th IOJ Congress in Helsinki (21–23 September)

1977

4th encounter of European journalists in Capri (27–30 September)
4th meeting of IOJ and IFJ representatives in Capri (30 September)

1978

1st Consultative meeting of international and regional organizations of journalists convened by UNESCO in Paris (17–19 April)
14th IFJ Congress in Nice, France (18–22 September)
IOJ Presidium meeting in Mexico City (9–11 November)

1979

Conference of journalists of Non-Aligned countries in Baghdad (21–24 January)
UNESCO consultation of journalist organizations on the protection of journalists in Paris (May 17–18)
5th encounter of European Journalists in Saint Vincent, Italy (2–5 July)
5th meeting of IOJ and IFJ representatives in Saint Vincent (7 July)
IOJ Executive Committee meeting in Hanoi (21–23 November)

1980

Euro–Arab journalist dialogue organized by FAJ in Baghdad (26–29 January)
2nd Consultative meeting of international and regional organizations of journalists in Mexico City (1–3 April)
15th IFJ Congress held in Athens (12–16 June)

1981

Meeting of Afro–Arab journalists held in Tunis (2–5 May)
9th IOJ Congress held in Moscow, USSR (19–22 October)

1982

3rd Consultative meeting of international and regional organizations of journalists in Baghdad (22–24 February)
1st Conference of journalists of the Caribbean held in St George's, Grenada (17–19 April)
16th IFJ Congress in Lugano, Italy (17–21 May)
2nd Congress of UAJ in Cairo (16–19 October)

1983

IOJ Presidium meeting in Luanda (27–29 January)
2nd Conference of Journalists of Non-Aligned countries in Cairo (12–15 February)
4th Consultative meeting of international and regional organizations of journalists in Prague (1st part, 18–19 June) and Paris (2nd part, 20 November)
1st Congress of West European Journalists for Peace in Helsinki (26–27 October)
IOJ Presidium meeting in Paris (22–23 November)

1984

17th IFJ Congress in Edinburgh (4–8 June)
Meeting of Journalists of the Baltic Countries in Kiel, FRG (20–22 June)
5th Consultative meeting of international and regional organizations of journalists in Geneva (5–7 July)
IOJ Executive Committee meeting in New Delhi (20–23 September)
Dialogue of Afro–Arab Journalists in Cairo (24–25 November)

1985

3rd Conference of Journalists of Non-Aligned Countries in Cairo (25–27 February)
International Symposium on Protection of Journalists on Dangerous Missions, organized by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in Mont Pèlerin, Switzerland (23–25 April)
1st Conference of Journalists of the Frontline States of Southern Africa in Maputo (29–31 August)

International journalists' CSCE congress 'Journalists and Détente' on the 10th anniversary of signing the Final Act of Helsinki, convened by the Union of Journalists in Helsinki (6–10 September)
6th General Assembly of CAJ and the World Assembly of Press Workers in Kuala Lumpur (16–21 September)

1986

6th Consultative meeting of international and regional organizations of journalists in Brussels (1st part, 20–21 January) and Sofia (2nd part, 24–25 October)
18th IFJ Congress in Elsinore, Denmark (2–6 June)
10th IOJ Congress in Sofia (20–23 October)

1987

7th Consultative meeting of international and regional organizations of journalists in Cairo (1st part, 13–15 April) and Tampere (2nd part, 11–13 December)
2nd international journalists' CSCE congress on 'Journalism and the Securty Neeeds of States' in Vienna (30 October–1 November)

1988

8th Consultative meeting of international and regional organizations of journalists in Prague (11–12 April and 25–27 November)
19th IFJ Congress in Maastricht, the Netherlands (29 May–3 June)

1989

9th Consultative meeting of international and regional organizations of journalists in Mexico City (11–13 July)
3rd international journalists' CSCE congress on 'From Confrontation to Cooperation – The Challenge to Journalism at Work' in Wasaw (16–17 September)

1990

10th Consultative meeting of international and regional organizations of journalists in The Hague (9–11 April)
20th IFJ Congress in Baia Chia, Sardinia (14–18 May)

1991

11th IOJ Congress in Harare (24–29 January)
IOJ Executive Committee meeting in Rio de Janeiro (12–16 September)
IOJ Council meeting in Sanaa (25–28 November)

1992

21st IFJ Congress in Montréal (8–12 June)

1993

IOJ Executive Committee meeting in Barcelona (6–9 December)

1994

IOJ Executive Committee meeting in Prague (28–31 November)

1995

12th IOJ Congress in Amman (28–31 January)
22nd IFJ Congress in Santander, Spain (30 April–6 May)
IOJ Executive Committee meeting in Prague (21–23 June)

1996

IOJ Executive Committee meeting in Hanoi (11–12 July)

The rest only IFJ congresses

1998: Recife, Brazil (3–7 May)
2001: Seoul, Korea (11–15 June)
2004: Athens, Greece (25–30 May)
2007: Moscow, Russia (28 May–1 June)
2010: Cadiz, Spain (25–28 May)
2013: Dublin, Ireland (4–7 June)

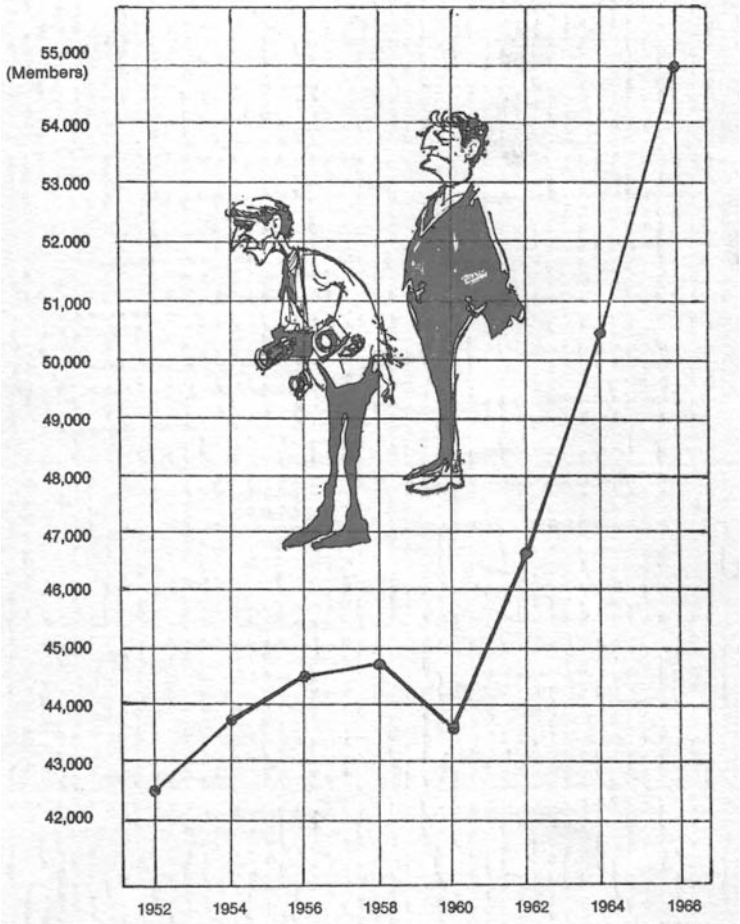
Appendix II: Membership Data

Members of the IOJ in 108 countries of the world

America	Africa	Europe	Asia & Australia
A – Countries in which the national organisation of journalists is affiliated to the IOJ:			
1. Argentina	24. Algeria	58. Albania	81. Iraq
2. Colombia	25. Cameroon	59. Bulgaria	82. Mongolia
3. Cuba	26. Gambia	60. Hungary	83. Vietnamese Democratic Republic
4. Mexico	27. Guinea	61. Poland	
5. Nicaragua	28. Mali	62. G.D.R.	
6. Uruguay	29. Uganda	63. Romania	84. Chinese People's Republic
	30. U.A.R.	64. Czechoslovakia	
		65. U.S.S.R.	85. Korean People's Democratic Republic
			86. Syria
B – Countries in which there is more than one organisation or more than one organisation affiliated to the IOJ:			
7. Bolivia	31. Madagascar	66. Finland	87. Ceylon
8. Ecuador		67. France	88. South Vietnam
C – Countries in which there are groups of members or committees of the IOJ:			
9. Chile	32. Bissao*		89. India
10. Guyana	33. Mozambique		90. Indonesia
11. Panama	34. South African Republic		91. Japan**
12. Peru			
13. Dominican Republic	35. South-West Africa		
14. Venezuela			
D – Countries in which there are individual members of the IOJ:			
15. Brazil	36. Angola	68. Austria	92. Afghanistan
16. Canada	37. Congo/Braz.	69. Belgium	93. Burma
17. Costa Rica	38. Congo/Kinsh.	70. Great Britain	94. Cambodia
18. Salvador	39. Ivory Coast	71. Denmark	95. Cyprus
19. United States	40. Dahomey	72. Spain	96. Hong-Kong
20. Honduras	41. Ethiopia	73. Greece	97. Iran
21. Paraguay	42. Ghana	74. Italy	98. Israel
22. Puerto Rico	43. Mauritius	75. Luxembourg	99. Jordan
23. Trinidad	44. Kenya	76. Netherlands	100. Kuwait
	45. Libya	77. G.F.R.	101. Laos
	46. Malawi	78. Norway	102. Lebanon
	47. Morocco	79. Sweden	103. Malaysia
	48. Mauretania	80. Switzerland	104. Nepal
	49. Nigeria		105. Pakistan
	50. Rhodesia		106. Turkey
	51. Senegal		107. Australia
	52. Sierra-Leone		108. New Zealand
	53. Somalia		
	54. Sudan		
	55. Tanzania		
	56. Togo		
	57. Tunisia		

* So-called Portuguese Guinea.
** Association of Korean Journalists in Japan.

GROWTH OF THE IFJ



This chart illustrates the dramatic growth of the IFJ, especially since 1960. The figures represent only the full-paying journalist members of the affiliated unions and organizations. In some cases this figure is considerably less than the affiliate's total membership.

IFJ Membership Figures
Situation on April 1, 1988

Countries	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
Australia				6,638	6,638	
Austria	1,850	1,931	2,020	2,117	2,324	2,481
Belgium	1,235	1,235	1,235	1,500	1,500	1,620
Canada	800	800	800	800	800	800
Denmark	4,258	4,409	4,467	4,594	4,594	4,495
Finland	6,100	6,100	6,100	6,321	6,593	6,829
France – CFDT	1,800	1,980	1,800	1,000	1,000	
F.O.	632	633	633	633	633	
Germany – DJV	13,100	13,200	13,300	13,400	12,000	12,000
IG Medien/DJU	5,621	5,843	5,963	5,963	6,215	6,403
IG Medien/RFFU	2,500	2,200	2,200	2,200	2,200	2,220
Greece	913	913	1,040	1,040	1,040	
Great Britain/Ireland	25,414	23,780	23,780	22,855	22,855	
Hong Kong		245	245	310	331	273
Iceland	179	167	205	257	265	
India					3,000	
Israel	910	910	910	910	910	
Italy			7,114	7,114	7,300	
Korea	1,576	1,576	1,662	1,750	1,750	
Lesotho	30	30	30	30	30	
Luxembourg	107	110	110	110	115	115
Mauritius (*)		21	21	25	27	
New Zealand					1,000	1,001
Netherlands	3,788	3,740	3,859	3,859	4,165	
Norway	3,564	3,623	3,858	4,080	4,494	4,577
Peru		300	300	300	300	
Philippines (*)				300	300	–
Portugal	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	
South Africa – SASJ	781	731	739	691	600	
MWASA	100	100	100	100	100	
Spain – UGT	525	525	525	525	525	
– ELA/STV				180	180	
Sri Lanka (*)	150	150	150	150	–	
Sweden	11,438	11,887	12,300	12,858	13,325	
Switzerland – FSJ	3,431	3,633	3,763	4,281	4,413	4,890
SJU	615	640	725	840	892	990
Turkey	840	860	845	850	850	
Tunisia	307	307	230	230	230	228
USA	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000
Zaire				540	540	
	105,564	105,502	114,029	122,891	127,034	

Membership fees 1986:	1987	1988
affiliates: 100 BF	105 BF	110 BF
(*)associate: 50 BF	52.50 BF	55 BF

Survey of the IOJ's member organizations, associated organizations and individual members
(Situation by 1 May 1988)

Region	Member organizations			Associated Organizations			Individual Members		Total	
	Number of countries	Number of organizations	Number of journalists	Number of countries	Number of organizations	Number of journalists	Number of countries	Number of journalists	Number of countries	Number of journalists
Europe	13	13	127,704	3	5	11,399	9	57	23++	139,160
Africa	31	33	16,039				13	40	44	16,079
Asia and Oceania	20	23	32,514+	1	1	13,000	4	29	25	45,543
Latin America and Caribean	24	26	49,384				2	19	26	49,403
North America	2	4	570						2	570
Total	90	99	226,211	4	6	24,399	28	145	120++	250,755

+ Does not include members of All China Journalists Association.
++ Finland Spain – represented in the IOJ, as well member organization as associated organizations.

Survey of the member organizations, associated organizations and individual members of the IOJ
(Situation by January 1991)

Region	Member organizations			Associated organizations			Individual members		Total
	Number of countries	Number of organizations	Number of journalists	Number of countries	Number of organizations	Number of journalists	Number of countries	Number of journalists	Number of journalists
Europe, North America	13	15	118,698	4	6	12,795	23	153	131,646
Africa	33	36	27,242				15	43	27,285
Asia, Oceania and Australia	21	28	89,175*				18	386	89,561
Latin America and Caribbean	22	24	52,951				20	47	52,998
Total	89	103	288,066	4	6	12,795	76	629	301,490

* Does not include of All China Journalists Association.

Membership composition of IOJ, IFJ and regional organizations in 1989

Compiled by the International Journalism Institute IJI of the IOJ on the basis of published information as of 31 December 1989

F = Full member
A = Associate member
X = Member in regional organization

Europe and North America (CSCE Region)

	IOJ	IFJ
Albania		
Austria		F
Belgium		F
Bulgaria	F	
Cyprus	A	
Czechoslovakia	F	
Denmark		F
Finland	F, A, A, A	F
France	F	F, F, F
FRG		F, F
GDR	F	
Greece	F	F
Hungary	F	
Iceland		F
Ireland (see UK)		
Italy		F
Liechtenstein		
Luxembourg		F
Malta	F	
Monaco		
Netherlands		F
Norway		F
Poland	F	A
Portugal	F	F
Romania	F	
San Marino		
Spain	F, A	F, F
Sweden		F
Switzerland		F, F
Turkey		F
United Kingdom		F
USSR	F	
Vatican		
Yugoslavia		
Canada	F	F, F
USA	F, F, F	F

Africa

	IOJ	IFJ	UAJ	FAJ
Algeria	F		X	X
Angola	F		X	
Benin	F		X	
Botswana	F		X	
Burkina Faso	F		X	
Burundi				
Cameroon	F		X	
Cape Verde				
Central African Republic				
Chad				
Comoros				
Congo	F		X	
Djibouti				
Egypt	F		X	X
Equatorial Guinea				
Ethiopia	F		X	
Gabon				
Gambia	F		X	
Ghana	F		X	
Guinea	F		X	
Guinea-Bissau	F		X	
Ivory Coast				
Kenya		F		
Lesotho	F, F	F	X, X	
Liberia				
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya				
Madagascar	F		X	
Malawi				
Mali	F		X	
Mauritania	F		X	
Mauritius	F, F	A	X, X	
Morocco	F	F	X	X
Mozambique	F		X	
Namibia	F		X	
Niger				
Nigeria	F		X	
Rwanda				
Sao Tome and Principe				
Senegal	F, F		X, X	
Seychelles				
Sierra Leone	F		X	
Somalia	F		X	
South Africa	F	F, F	X	
Sudan	F		X	X
Swaziland				

(Continued Africa)

	IOJ	IFJ	UJA	FAJ
Tanzania	F	A	X	
Togo				
Tunisia		F	X	X
Uganda	F		X	
Western Sahara	F		X	
Zaire		F	X	
Zambia	F		X	
Zimbabwe	F		X	

Asia and Oceania

	IOJ	IFJ	FAJ	CAJ
Asia				
Afghanistan	F			
Bahrain				
Bangladesh	F			
Bhutan				
Brunei				X
Burma				
China				
DPR of Korea	F			
Hong Kong		F		
India	A	F		
Indonesia				X
Iran				
Iraq	F		X	
Israel		F		
Japan	F, F, F	F		
Jordan	F		X	
Kampuchea	F			
Kuwait	F		X	
Laos	F			
Lebanon	F		X	
Maldives				
Malaysia		F		X
Mongolia	F			
Nepal	F			
Oman				
Pakistan				
Palestine	F		X	
PDR of Yemen	F		X	
Philippines	F			X
Republic of Korea		F		
Qatar				

(Continued Asia and Oceania)

	IOJ	IFJ	FAJ	CAJ
Saudi Arabia				
Singapore				X
Sri Lanka	F, F			
Syria	F		X	
Taiwan				
Thailand				X
United Arab Emirates				
Vietnam	F			
Yemen Arab Republic	F		X	
Oceania				
Australia	F	F		
Fiji				
Kiribati				
Nauru				
New Caledonia				
New Zealand		F		
Papua New Guinea				
Solomon Islands				
Tonga				
Tuvalu				
Vanuatu				
Western Samoa				

Latin America and the Caribbean

	IOJ	IFJ	FELAP	FELATRAP
Antigua and Barbuda				
Argentina	F		X	X
Bahamas				
Barbados	F			
Belize			X	X
Bolivia	F		X	X
Brazil	F		X	
Chile			X	X
Colombia	F		X, X, X	X
Costa Rica	F	F	X	X
Cuba	F		X	
Dominica				
Dominican Republic	F, F		X, X	
Ecuador	F		X	X
El Salvador			X	X
Grenada			X	
Guatemala			X	X
Guyana	F		X	

(Continued Latin America)

	IOJ	IFJ	FELAP	FELATRAP
Haiti			X	
Honduras	F		X	X
Jamaica	F			
Mexico	F, F		X, X	X
Nicaragua	F		X	X
Panama	F		X	X
Paraguay				X
Peru	F	F	X, X	X
Puerto Rico				X
Saint Lucia	F			
Saint Vincent				
St. Kitts				
Suriname	F		X	
Trinidad and Tobago	F			
Uruguay	F		X	X
Venezuela	F	F	X	X

Appendix III: Consultative Meetings of International and Regional Organizations of Journalists (1978–90)

Source: Proceedings reproduced by the IOJ (Prague 1990)

Mr. Amadou Mahtar M'Bow
Director-General of Unesco

19 April 1978

and

Mr. Leonard C.J. Martin
President of the Executive Board

Dear Sirs,

The undersigned representatives of international and regional organizations, which unite nearly 300.000 professional journalists in all continents, acknowledge with great appreciation the initiative of the Division of Free Flow of Information and Communication Policies to invite them, with two other organizations which were not able to attend (The Union of African Journalists and the Union of Arab Journalists), to a consultation in Unesco's secretariat on April 17–19, 1978. The consultation produced several useful results, most notably an agreement to meet regularly, with the assistance and under the auspices of Unesco, for mutual consultation and examination of possible joint action. In this connection the Federation of Latin American Journalists informed the participants about its proposal of July 1977 to Unesco to convene in Latin America a meeting devoted to the specific problems of "third world" journalists.

The consultation proved that there is a great potential for collaboration not only among the journalists' organizations themselves but also between them and Unesco. The participants expressed their wish that the international and regional organizations representing working journalists should be more closely associated with the planning and fulfilment of Unesco's activities in the field of communication.

A recent example of such a constructive and mutually beneficial cooperation between Unesco and the professional journalists' organizations is the contacts held concerning the "draft declaration on fundamental principles governing the use of the mass media in strengthening peace and international understanding and in combating war propaganda, racism and apartheid". In December 1977 the International Federation of Journalists and the International Organization of Journalists were

consulted together at Unesco on a draft (dated September 1977) in a consensus-seeking atmosphere.

Yours sincerely,

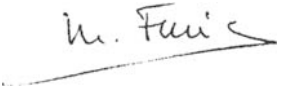
Theo Bogaerts, Secretary-General
International Federation of
Journalists

Jiri Kubka, Secretary-General
International Organization of
Journalists

D.M. Sunardi, Permanent Executive
Secretary, Confederation of
ASEAN Journalists

Hernan Uribe, Secretary
Federation of Latin American
Journalists

Marcel Furic, Administrative Secretary
International Catholic Union of the Press



IOJ DOCUMENTATION

THE SECOND CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF INTERNATIONAL AND REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS OF JOURNALISTS

COMMUNIQUE of the second consultative meeting in Mexico City 1–3 April 1980

1. In accordance with the agreement of the first consultative meeting between the organizations concerned (Paris, 17–19 April 1978), the Federation of Latin American Journalists (FELAP) organized, with the assistance and under the auspices of UNESCO, the second consultative meeting of international and regional organizations of journalists in Mexico City (Hotel El Presidente Chapultepec) on 1–3 April 1980. In addition to the host organization the meeting was attended by the International Organization of Journalists (IOJ), the International Catholic Union of the Press (UCIP), the Federation of Arab Journalist (FAJ) and the Confederation of ASEAN Journalists (CAJ). UNESCO was represented by the Division of Free Flow of Information and Communication Policies as well as the regional adviser for Latin America on Communication. A complete list of participants and invited experts appears as Appendix to this Communique.

In addition to those present at the meeting, invited were also representatives of the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) and the Union of African Journalists (UAJ) which both had been invited to the first consultative meeting as well. The IFJ which attended the first meeting decided this time not to follow the invitation, whereas the UAJ which did not attend the first meeting confirmed its participation but did not arrive. The meeting regretted the absence of these organizations and took it for granted that they will be provided with materials of the present meeting and invited to participate in the forthcoming work of the consultative meetings.

2. The meeting was opened in a solemn ceremony attended by the President of the United States of Mexico, José López Portillo, and a number of distinguished representatives of the government, diplomatic and professional community.

3. The Declaration on the Mass Media adopted by acclamation at the 20th General Conference of UNESCO in November 1978 was introduced to the meeting by Germán Carnero Roqué from UNESCO. The Declaration was welcomed by the meeting as a historical step, both professionally and politically. The participants expressed their unanimous support to this instrument and they reported about the concrete ways in which they have contributed to the follow-up of the Declaration, such as publishing the text, its inclusion in the curricula of journalism training programmes recommendations to make it part of the constitutional principles of national unions of journalists (this has already been done by the Union of Nicaragua Journalists, member of IOJ and FELAP). It was also seen to be the task of professional journalists and their organizations to follow-up that the Declaration be observed by States as well. Those organizations, which had envisaged to join the IOJ in "signing" the Declaration in a ceremony with the Director General of UNESCO, decided to ask Mr. M'Bow to determine the date for this occasion which could

(continued on page 2)

LIST of PARTICIPANTS

UNESCO
Hifzi Topuz, Division of Free Flow of Information and Communication Policies
Germán Carnero Roque, regional adviser on communication in Latin America

UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION (UNO)
Luis Carlos Sánchez, Information Director of the United Nations in Cuba, Mexico and Dominican Republic

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF JOURNALISTS
Kaarle Nordenstreng, President
Jiří Kubka, Secretary General
Juan Francisco Alvarez, Secretary for America
Luis Suárez, Vice-President

LATIN AMERICAN FEDERATION OF JOURNALISTS (FELAP)
Eleazar Díaz Rangel, President
Genaro Carnero Checa, Secretary General
Luis Jordá Galeana, Vice-Prezident
Hernán Uribe, Secretary
Amado Escalante, Secretary
Salomon Schvarz, Secretary
Carlos Mora, Advisor

FEDERATION OF ARAB JOURNALISTS (FAJ)
Mohammed Laarbi Messari, Adjoint Secretary of the FAJ
Sahib Hussain, permanent member of the Bureau of the federation
Sabah Salman, Deputy Secretary of the Union of Journalists of Iraq
Sabah Yasin, Secretary General of the Union of Journalists of Iraq

INTERNATIONAL CATHOLIC UNION OF THE PRESS (UCIP)
Marcel Furic, Secretary
Amador Merino Gomez, Secretary

ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA NATIONS (ASEAN)
Djafar Assegaff, Secretary

COMMUNIQUE of the second consultative meeting in Mexico City 1–3 April 1980

(from page 1)

conveniently take place during the 21st General Conference in Belgrade.

4. Problems of professional ethics of journalism were considered in the light of the UNESCO Declaration on the Mass Media, the Latin American Code of Journalistic Ethics (adopted by the Second Congress of FELAP in July 1979), and a working document containing principles of journalistic ethics common to existing national and regional codes as well as international instruments of legal nature. Introduction of this theme was made by Hernán Uribe from FELAP. Considering also the principles guiding relations and cooperation between the professional organizations of journalist the meeting adopted "Mexico Declaration" and decided to set up a working group (composed of representatives of FELAP, IOJ and UCIP) with the task of providing further material for analysis of ethical pronciples and of preparing a draft international code of journalistic ethics. The meeting decided to send the Mexico Declaration with warm greetings to the President of Mexico, José López Portillo, and to the Director General of UNESCO, Amadou Mathar M'Bow.

5. The theme of a new international order in the field of information and communication (NIIO) was introduced by the invited expert Juan Somavia, Director of Latin American Institute of Transnational Studies (ILET), who pointed out that the successful progress and expansion of this movement has been recently confronted by a danger of being coopted for adversary interests. The meeting stressed the importance of deepening the debate on NIIO and extending it in appropriate forms to various social organizations in which process the professional organizations of journalists have a particular responsability. Furthermore it was agreed that in order to materialize the NIIO it is necessary to take further steps to pass from theory to practice, for instance by creating alternative systems of information and communication at the international level, at the national level as well as at the level of social groups.

6. The theme "New conceptions of news" was examined on the basis of a report prepared by Professor Eleazar Diaz Rangel. President of FELAP. The theme was found to be of central importance to NIIO as a means to meet with the needs and aspirations of broader sector of the population. The meeting agreed to articulate a number of recommendations which appear as Appendix to this Communique.

7. Protection of journalists in the exercise of their profession was discussed on the basis of documentation introduced by Hifzi Topuz on behalf of UNESCO. The theme was found to be of great importance particularly considering the undemocratic and unstable conditions which prevail in different continents, notably in Latin America. The meeting recognized UNESCO's efforts in this field and decided to give its support to the establishment of an International Professional Committee for the Protection of Journalists confronted by violence in the legitimate exercise of their profession, to be constituted under the auspices of UNESCO and composed of representatives of those international and regional organizations of professional journalists which were invited to the present consultative meeting as well as of representatives of the International Commission of Jurists, the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, the International Red Cross and the International Red Crescent. It was foreseen that the first meeting of this Committee be held in December 1980 in Paris before a broader consultation which UNESCO will organize on the protection of journalists. The meeting also supported the proposal of the "MacBride Commission" that UNESCO should convene periodic Round Tables to review problems related to the protection of journalists. Furthermore, the organizations attending the present meeting confirmed the agreement of the first consultative meeting in 1978 to coordinate their relevant solidarity actions in support of persecuted journalists having carried out their normal journalistic activities.

8. Concerning the economic and social situation of journalists in the world today, it was decided that this theme will be thoroughly examined in the third consultative meeting. For this purpose the organizations attending the present meeting agreed to prepare each one a report to cover their respective areas and to be send to UNESCO by the end of 1980.

9. The meeting noted that the joint publication about the participating organizations as agreed in the first consultative meeting in 1978 has been finalized. Furthermore the meeting agreed to arrange the issuing of a periodical publication for the exchange of information about professional activities of the organizations concerned. A detailed plan will be prepared by the IOJ.

10. The participants expressed their sincere appreciation to the government of Mexico for hospitality and to the host organization FELAP for practical arrangements which together created excellent facilities for a successful meeting.

11. Finally the meeting accepted with pleasure the invitation of the IOJ to hold the third consultative meeting in Czechoslovakia in early 1981.

Meeting in Mexico City (from left to right): Luis Jordà Galeana – Secretary General of the National Syndicate of Editors of Mexico, José López Portillo – President of the Republic of Mexico, Kaarle Nordenstreng – IOJ President, Germán Carnero Roque – UNESCO Regional Adviser on Communication in Latin America and Caribbeans.

3rd CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF INTERNATIONAL AND REGIONAL JOURNALISTS' ORGANIZATIONS
Baghdad, February 22–24, 1982

THE BAGHDAD DECLARATION

We representatives of international and regional organizations (the International Organization of Journalists, International Federation of Journalists, International Catholic Union of the Press, Latin American Federation of Journalists and Federation of Arab Journalists), who express the opinions and viewpoints of more than 300,000 professional journalists throughout the world, have met in Baghdad, from February 22 to 24, 1982, at the invitation of the Federation of Arab Journalists, in the framework of the 3rd Consultative Meeting which was opened by Mr. Tarek Aziz, member of the Command of the Revolution and Vice-President of the Iraqi Council of Ministers, to discuss the developments of the situation in the information sector since the publication of the Declaration of Mexico on April 2, 1980, and to pursue that activity with a view to implementing the basic principles set forth in the final resolution adopted by the 20th session of the General Conference of UNESCO (11/1978).

This meeting of ours constitutes an important link in the uninterrupted succession of efforts to establish better cooperation and achieve mutual understanding between the representatives of the organizations in our profession, in order to resolve the problems of the profession and overcome the obstacles preventing the citizen from exercising his right to express himself at this time when virulent campaigns are being intensified, orchestrated by the industrial, political and military monopolies utilizing the large mass media in the design to undermine the efforts for the establishment of a new information and communication order that would guarantee the free and balanced circulation of information. Considering our devotion to freedom of opinion and honest reporting, we have today the imperious duty to raise our voices to counteract these campaigns and expose their aims. While understanding that the new order should be based on respect for the international laws contained in the United Nations Charter, we are convinced that the new information and communication order is in no way aimed at the establishment of government censorship, the control of news by the governments, an authorization for journalists to exercise their profession or the prohibiting of the work of the correspondents of the large media in the countries of the Third World.

We reject, in this connection, the unjustified condemnations of the UN and UNESCO with respect to the establishment of this new order.

We proclaim our adherence to the new information and communication order and to the principles underlying it. We consider this new information and communication order as a complement to the new international economic order. We are convinced that the former will lead to the decolonization and democratization of communication on the basis of the peaceful coexistence among peoples and full respect for their cultural identities. In order to avoid freedom of information being the appanage of the monopolies, and in the light of the discussions tending to support and enrich the Mexico Declaration, and supporting the efforts of UNESCO for the establishment of a new information and communication order, we declare the following:

1. We are firmly devoted to the principles of the Mexico Declaration; We denounce the manoeuvres aimed at distorting the ideals underlying the new information and communication order; We support the pursuit of the efforts being made on the international level to explain the objectives of this new world order in the sense of freedom of exercise of the profession in order to permit journalists to fulfil their tasks and to benefit from technological progress; In this way we shall achieve a human community in which freedom of expression and responsible opinion shall be propagated under the banner of justice, peace and democracy.

2. We are in favour of the concerted efforts of international and regional journalists' organizations whose tasks it will be to harmonize their efforts, establish effective plans for meeting the technological challenge launched by the press, devote attention to the social status of journalists and put an end to the campaigns of repression and physical liquidation being waged by the forces of oppression against intellectuals and journalists. In this spirit we envisage forming a working group that will strive to prepare studies for and the programmes of future periodical consultative meetings.

3. We are in favour of studies on communication problems on national level, in collaboration with UNESCO, in order to obtain a profound knowledge of the obstacles being met with in the sphere of the flow of information. We shall collaborate with UNESCO especially in the preparation of the Intergovernmental Conference on Communication Policies in the Arab States, which will be held in 1983.

4. We shall strive to make better use of up-to-daje technology and to promote unified plans with a view to utilizing modern techniques in such a way as to contribute to the rapprochement among peoples and the realization of complementarity with respect to information. The utilization by the different countries of equipment having various characteristics leads to the squandering of resources and the dispersal of efforts and obstructs the flow of information. We recommend that UNESCO organize a colloquy on this subject.

5. We shall elaborate studies and enquiries on the social conditions of journalists and we shall participate in meetings and round-tables organized on this subject, in collaboration with UNESCO and the ILO, for a better knowledge of the working conditions of journalists and in order to study the measures to be taken. This presupposes the agreement of the professional organizations concerned, prior to the adoption of technological innovations. We shall defend the rights of journalists and press workers vis-à-vis the ramifications of technological innovations with a view to guaranteeing the employment of journalists and press workers, while assuring their subsistence and their professional and human dignity.

6. We underline the extreme importance of the role of the mass media in the promotion of the cultural identity and patrimony of each nation,

View of the hall during the meeting.

with respect for the diversity of cultures, in order to put an end to cultural imperialism which views culture only as an item of consumption and entertainment, among others.

7. We stress the necessity of arriving at a clear definition of the right of the citizen to communication in order to avoid this concept being distorted on the national or international level by the monopolistic manipulations of a public or private nature in opposition to the ideals inspiring this right.

8. We launch an appeal to UNESCO, to all organizations specialized in the sphere of communication and to the journalism institutes and schools to disseminate UNESCO's documents concerning communication as well as the Mexico Declaration. We also request UNESCO and all organizations specializing in communication matters, as well as press institutes and journalism schools, to ensure that the points contained in those documents will be among the items on the agendas of subsequent conferences dealing with the elaboration of communication policies, which will take these principles into account, as well as in the teaching curricula concerning communication.

9. We reaffirm the importance of the qualities expected of the various structures participating in information: Banks of facts to be placed in the service of the Third World countries; national, regional and international agencies to be developed, the local and provincial press and alternative media to be promoted in order to guarantee the democratization of information.

10. We shall pursue the constructive dialogue based on the objective reality of the work of journalists for evolving a deontological code that will synthesize the principles to which journalists adhere and which materialize their devotion to the truth and to the ethics of the profession, as well as their respect for universal values, especially secrecy of sources, the right of response, independence, etc.

11. We shall continue to denounce the operations of physical liquidation being staged by the forces of terror against intellectuals and journalists throughout the world, as especially in such countries as El Salvador, Guatemala, Palestine, Lebanon, Iran, etc. – persecutions that are becoming daily more alarming and more atrocious. We express, moreover, our unreserved support of the efforts being made by the national and international journalists' organizations to investigate the tortures, deportations and persecutions to which journalists are being subjected. We request UNESCO's contribution to the actions and studies undertaken by the journalists' professional organizations for the protection of the latter's rights.

In conclusion, we express our profound thanks to Iraq, its leaders and its people for the care shown with respect to our meeting, which enabled us to realize our aim of continuing the struggle for the free and balanced flow of news and will guarantee respect for the rights of nations to make their viewpoints known and to live in freedom, justice and peace.

Once again we thank the Federation of Arab Journalists and its president for having assured the success of this conference, as well as UNESCO for its contribution.

The next consultative meeting will be organized in 1983 on the initiative of the IOJ.

KAARLE NORDENSTRENG, *President of the IOJ*
JIŘI KUBKA, *Secretary General of the IOJ*
MARCEL FURIC, *Executive Secretary of the ICUP*
ELEAZAR DIAZ RANGEL, *President of the Latin American Federation of Journalists – FELAP*
MAX ROLLAND, *Member of the Executive Committee of the IFJ*
SAAD QASSIM HAMMOUDI, *President of the Federation of Arab Journalists – FAJ*
RAKANE EL MAJALI, *Vice-President of the FAJ*
HANNA MOKBEL, *Secretary General of the FAJ*
SAJJAD AL-GHAZI, *Deputy Secretary General of the FAJ*
MOHAMED ZINE ASRARA, *Deputy Secretary General of the FAJ*

Baghdad, 24th February, 1982

PARTICIPANTS IN THE 3rd CONSULTATIVE MEETING

UNESCO
Hifzi Topuz, Chief of the Section of Free Flow Information
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF JOURNALISTS
Kaarle Nordenstreng, President
Jiří Kubka, Secretary General
Sergiusz Klaczkow, Secretary
Sulafa Hijjawi, Secretary
INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF JOURNALISTS
Max Rolland, member of the Executive Committee
LATIN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF JOURNALISTS
Eleazar Díaz Rangel, President
INTERNATIONAL CATHOLIC UNION OF THE PRESS
Marcel Furic, Executive Secretary
FEDERATION OF ARAB JOURNALISTS
Saad Qasim Hammoudi, President
Rakane El Majali, Vice-President
Hanna Mokbel, Secretary General
Mohamed Zine Amara, Deputy Secretary General
Sajjad El Ghazi, Deputy Secretary General
Dhia Hassen, Director of the National Institute of Training of Journalists
Sabah Yacine

OBSERVERS
Kumar Banerji, President of the Indian Journalism Educational Association
Dr. Zaki Jaber, Director of Information Department of ALECSO
Zoubeir Seif El Islam, Secretary General of the Arab Center of Information Studies
Nabil El Moghrabi, President of the Association of Arab Journalists in France
Radhi Saddouk, Representative of Arab Journalists in Italy
Hana El Omari, Representative of the Union of the Arab Press Agencies
Saad Zaghloul Fouad

Final Communiqué of the 4th Consultative Meeting

Prague, June 18–19, 1983

In accordance with the agreement reached in earlier meetings between the organizations concerned (Paris, 17–19 April 1978; Mexico City, 1–3 April 1980; Baghdad, 22–24 February 1982), the International Organization of Journalists (IOJ) convened, with the assistance and under the auspices of UNESCO, the fourth consultative meeting between international and regional organizations of professional journalists in Prague (IOJ Conference Centre at Bílá Hora) on 18–19 June 1983. Those attending are given in the attached list of participants. The Confederation of ASEAN Journalists apologized for not being able to attend because of technical reasons.

The Consultative meeting states that many common problems of journalists may be analyzed in a positive manner despite the differences in the philosophical and political standpoints of participants. In this sense the Consultative meeting again congratulates UNESCO, which five years ago convened the first meeting of this kind.

UNESCO was represented at the meeting by the Director of the Division of Free Flow of Information and Communication Policies, Mr. Hamdy Kandil. Attending in a personal capacity was Mr. Hifzi Topuz from Turkey (formerly at UNESCO and for a long time in charge of relations with journalists' organizations). ILO was represented, in the capacity of observer, by Mr. Michael Bell.

The meeting was opened by a solemn ceremony attended by the Deputy Premier of the Federal Government of Czechoslovakia Dr. Karol Laco. The opening address of Dr. Karol Laco as well as that of the President of the Czechoslovak Union of Journalists, Zdeněk Hoření are reproduced at the beginning of the recorded discussion.

Co-ordination Committee

The international and regional organizations of journalists participating in the 4th Consultative Meeting agreed on the following:

1. A Co-ordination Committee will be set up as a temporary joint body between the international and regional organizations of journalists. Each of these organizations is entitled to have advisers from lawyers'

and humanitarian organizations. The committee decisions are to be taken by consensus.

The tasks of the committee will be the following:

a) to make in-depth analyses on all issues connected with the protection of journalists through studies and documentation on murders and persecution of journalists in exercising their profession;
b) to suggest measures that could lead to speeding up the adoption of an international convention on the protection of journalists in dangerous missions and that could ensure the practical implementation of this convention.
c) to organize round-table discussions on the protection of journalists with the presence of representative lawyers' and humanitarian organizations
d) to send out fact-finding missions to the areas where journalists have to face up to utmost insecurity and danger. The FAJ, UAJ and FELAP indicated that they already invited representatives of all international and regional organizations to take part in such a mission in Palestine and Lebanon. The 4th Consultative meeting instructs the Co-ordinating Committee to fulfil this mission and to consider similar missions to other areas, including South Africa.

2. The committee will maintain close working contacts with UNESCO, inform UNESCO's relevant bodies on the results of its activities and make full use of UNESCO's knowledge and experience in this field.
3. Travelling and residence costs of the delegates and experts are to be covered by their respective organizations. The costs connected with technical facilities are to be covered by the host organization. The Committee will ask UNESCO for help in financing its activities.
4. The Committee will meet in short intervals at an agreed-upon time and place. It will be chaired in turn and for a one-session mandate by the representative of one of the participating organizations. The mandate of the Committee expires at the next Consultative Meeting of the International and Regional Journalists' Organizations to which it will submit a report.
5. In view of the fact that the meeting decided to continue its session during the 22nd session of the UNESCO General Conference in Paris, the Committee will prepare the agenda for the second part of the Prague meeting.

Professional ethics

The international and regional organizations of journalists participating in the 4th Consultative Meeting discussed thoroughly the problems of professional ethics. The special working party (appointed in Mexico in 1980 and composed of representatives of IOJ, UCIP and FELAP) formulated a document on the basic principles of professional ethics in journalism, intended to serve as international common ground and a source of inspiration for national and regional codes of ethics. The final standpoint of the participants on this basic document will be communicated to the IOJ up to the end of September 1983.

Fifth anniversary of UNESCO's Declaration

The participants discussed widely the implementation of the UNESCO Declaration on the Mass Media adopted in 1978. They reiterated their support to the Declaration and stressed the need to analyze thoroughly the practical experience acquired in its implementation. They will organize, in cooperation with UNESCO, a dialogue on the implementation of the Declaration within the framework of a meeting devoted to the 5th anniversary of adoption of the Declaration.

With respect to the principles of the New Order in the Field of Information and Communication, expressed in this document, the Consultative Meeting noted with satisfaction the progress attained in the implementation of the project of the Latin-American agency ALASEI which will be constituted this year in Mexico with the active cooperation of UNESCO.

IOJ, as co-ordinator for the second part of the Prague meeting, which will take place during the 22nd session of the General Conference of UNESCO, will enter, on behalf of all participating unions, in consultation with UNESCO, for the provision of necessary funds, mainly to meet travel costs for those concerned with the theme of the dialogue.

Economic and social conditions

The participants heard a report by ILO representative Mr. Michael Bell on the economic and social conditions of journalists. They stressed the need for further cooperation with ILO and UNESCO aimed at better knowledge of the working conditions of journalists, especially in connection with continuous technological innovation in the sphere of

information. The international and regional organizations of journalists reiterated their determination to defend the economic and social interests of journalists and press workers.

On the basis of the highly interesting report delivered by the ILO representative Mr. M. Bell on the social and economic situation of journalists, an issue that is proving to be of utmost importance for the activity of international and regional journalists' organizations, the IOJ takes the liberty, having in mind the impact of such matters and the observations formulated during the discussion, to suggest the following measures:

1. The IOJ will ensure the printing of the ILO report on social and economic conditions of journalists.
2. The IOJ takes upon itself the commitment to organize at an agreed-upon time a conference on "The social and economic situation of journalists in different parts of the world", to be attended by the ILO, UNESCO and international and regional journalists' organizations.

The participants expressed their sincere appreciation to the government of Czechoslovakia for its hospitality and to the host organization for creating excellent facilities for a successful meeting.

Resolution of the 5th Consultative Meeting

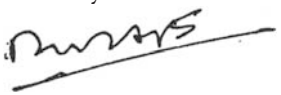
Geneva, 5–7 July 1984

We representatives of international and regional organisations of journalists, uniting 400,000 working journalists in all parts of the world, express our appreciation to Unesco which has facilitated since 1978 regular consultative meetings between us, without any interference from the side of the governments, letting professionals deal with vital issues such as codes of ethics and protection of journalists. We have all reason to support the Secretariat and the Director-General of Unesco for their efforts in carrying out the Unesco programmes in accordance with the Constitution for the benefit of peace, democracy, freedom of information and socio-economic progress in the world. We especially support the initiative taken by the Director-General to establish a working group on questions relating to public information and hope that journalists be given the best possible conditions to report on Unesco's activities.

At the same time, while recognising the right of free comment, we stress the importance of reporting honestly and truthfully on Unesco and the United Nations at large, in line with highest standards of journalistic ethics defined by the profession in documents such as those adopted by our organisations. Believing in the universal nature of Unesco, we hope that the professional organisations in the United States continue their call for a reconsideration of the U.S. Government's announcement to withdraw from the Organisation.

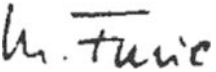
Geneva, 6 July 1984.

International Federation of Journalists (IFJ)
Secretary General

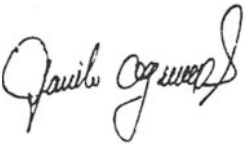


International Organization of Journalists (IOJ)
President

International Catholic Union of the Press (UCIP)
Administrative Secretary



Latin American Federation of Journalists (FELAP)
Secretary General



Union of African Journalists (UAJ)
Deputy Secretary General

Report of the 6th Consultative Meeting (Excerpts)

First part, Brussels, 20–21 January 1986

The Meeting, which was hosted by the International Federation of Journalists, was held in the International Press Center in Brussels. The following journalists' organizations were represented: IOJ, IFJ, UCIP, FELAP, FELATRAP and UAJ. UNESCO, the International Labour Organization, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the United Nations were represented by observers. Apologies were received from the Confederation of ASEAN Journalists. The representative of the Federation of Arab Journalists, who was registered for the meeting, did not come.

The meeting was chaired by IFJ President Kenneth B. Ashton.

1. Safety of Journalists

Mr. Alain Modoux, head of the Information Department of the ICRC, informed the meeting of the initiatives taken by the ICRC since the Mont-Pélerin Round Table in April 1985.

The proposed "Hot Line" for the reporting of cases concerning journalists has been established and has had a very positive reception from journalists' and press organisations. A couple of cases have already been reported on the special phone line and are being dealt with by the ICRC.

Mr. Modoux explained the limitations to ICRC action which follow from the general policies of the Red Cross, especially in areas such as the publication of information on cases and the activities of Red Cross field workers.

A second follow-up of the Round Table has been the planning of regional seminars on safety of journalists and international humanitarian law. The first seminar of this kind was held in Nairobi in September 1985 organised jointly by the ICRC and the Union of African Journalists. Both organisations expressed great satisfaction with the outcome. The ICRC is now preparing a second seminar in Latin-America and hopes later to arrange on in Asia.

The ICRC is also considering the organisation of a second Round Table conference. No decisions have been taken so far. At the earliest, such a conference will take place during the first half of 1987.

Representatives of all journalists' organisations present expressed their appreciation of the initiatives taken by the ICRC and their hopes for further extension of the co-operation.

Concerning the requests that the Red Cross sets up the so-called "clearing house" function, Mr. Modoux was of the opinion that the ball

was in the court of the journalists' and press organisations but added that the ICRC was prepared to cooperate with information on cases concerning journalists within the limitations already referred to.

After a discussion on possible future action by the international and regional organisations it was decided that each organisation will compile its own list of journalists killed, disappeared or imprisoned. In the next consultative meeting these lists will be considered and the possibilities of publishing the lists – jointly or otherwise – will be discussed.

2. Social and economic conditions of journalist

Mrs. Christiane Privat, the Department for Salaried Employees and Professional Workers, ILO, informed the meeting of the plans for updating of the ILO study "Profession: Journalist". with the active participation of the international and regional journalists' organisations.

The updating of the study will be done by the ILO secretariat, but all contributions, such as corrections, new information etc. from the international and regional organisations will be much appreciated. As far as possible such material should be supplied with a reference to the parts of the existing study which they update supplement.

A tentative deadline for supplying the ILO with new material would be the next consultative meeting.

There have been no further developments towards an ILO conference to follow up the study on conditions of journalists. The participants agreed to contact member unions in countries which are represented on the governing body of ILO and ask them to urge representatives on the governing body to support the wish for such a conference.

Mrs. Privat also informed the meeting that the ILO is planning a conference to deal with the problems concerning the copyright of salaried authors.

Reports by representatives of the international and regional organisations an economic and social conditions were followed by a general discussion.

3. New technology

Hans Larsen, IFJ General Secretary, informed the meeting of the Unesco contract negotiated and signed by the IFJ on behalf of the international and regional journalists' organisations.

Under the contract the organisations shall produce a study (about 150 pages) on the impact of new technology on the work of journalists and a

review (about 50 pages) on recent developments concerning the status, rights and responsibilities of journalists.

[...]

After a general discussion on how best to organize the work it was agreed that the two international organisations will be responsible for each one paper, the IFJ doing the study on new technology and the IOJ the review on the status, rights and responsibilities of journalists, UCIP and the regional organisations will be responsible for supplying information on the situation in their member countries/regions.

Concerning the attribution of funds for the work involved it was decided that the UCIP, FAJ, FELAP, FELATRAP and UAJ each will receive $ 500 each for the compilation of information and the IOJ and IFJ for the same work worldwide $ 2,000 each.

For the initiating of the work, the formulating and distribution of questionnaires, the coordination of material and the writing of the final study and review, the IOJ and the IFJ will have at their disposal $ 2,000 and 2,800 respectively.

The IOJ and the IFJ will be responsible for starting the collection of material and for the meeting of the deadlines according to the contract with Unesco.

It was agreed that drafts of the study and the review shall be put before a meeting of the international and regional journalists' organisations – either the next consultative meeting or a second session of this (sixth) meeting.

Representatives of the journalists' organisations reported on the technological developments in their regions and there was a general discussion on the subject.

4. Future consultative meetings

The view was expressed by several participants that a second session of the present (sixth) consultative meeting was desirable, first of all to review the drafts for the study on new technology and the review of status, rights and responsibilities of journalists.

[...]

Brussels, February 18, 1986
Hans LARSEN

Second part, Sofia, 24–25 October 1986

The meeting, hosted by the International Organization of Journalists, was held in Sofia in hotel "Rodina" (on 24 October 1986) and the International Conference Centre (on 25 October 1986). Present were representatives of IOJ, IFJ, UAJ, FAJ, FELAP, FELATRAP and CAJ. UCIP had apologized for not being able to attend the encounter. UNESCO, ILO and ICRC were represented by observers.

The meeting was chaired by IOJ President Kaarle Nordenstreng.

It was agreed that the consultative meeting will send message to the UN Secretary General Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar.

1. The UNESCO studies

IFJ submitted to the meeting a draft study on the impact of new technologies on the conditions of journalists, worked out by the Australian expert J. Lawrence on the basis of materials forwarded to him by members of the consultative club. It was agreed that replies to a further questionnaire along with additional comments and proposals will be sent to Brussels by the end of 1986, so that they might be taken into account for the final report to be prepared by March 1987. The study will be printed on behalf of the consultative club by IOJ in English, French and Spanish. The Spanish translation will be facilitated by means of the savings from the unused ASEAN air ticket. FAJ offered to publish the study in Arabic.

The other study – a review on rights, duties and responsibilities of journalists, coordinated by IOJ and assisted by H. Topuz as an expert consultant – was discussed on the basis of material submitted by FELAP, IJI and some individual experts. Additional material was promised from UAJ and FAJ by the end of 1986, so that a draft report might be prepared by the end of February 1987. This draft will be discussed at the next consultative meeting which will also decide about its publication.

2. Safety of journalists

The discussion was opened by Mr. Schroeder who informed about the experience the ICRC has gained i.a. in using the "Hot line". FELAP representative informed about the Quito seminar concerning safety of journalists in Latin America, organized in cooperation with ICRC. FAJ representative informed about killed and missing journalists and prisoners of war. Representative of UAJ draw attention to the problem of

listing detained and harassed journalists; it is very difficult to keep such lists up to date. Representative of IFJ said that quick action rather than big public relations is needed; the list is not goal by itself.

It was agreed to make from materials of FELAP, FAJ, UAJ and CAJ (Philippines), with information about the ICRC 'Hot line', a publication on behalf of all international and regional journalists' organizations introduced by a joint foreword. IOJ will issue this publication as one volume in English, French, Spanish and Arabic and will send it to all major mass media throughout the world.

The meeting took note of the fact that both IOJ and IFJ have set up working groups dealing with the protection of journalists These were the groups will try to work together towards as gradual establishment of a clearing house.

The meeting endorsed the idea of organizing regional ICRC seminars on the safety of journalists and also welcomed the holding of the second ICRC Round Table on the protection of journalists in 1987.

As regards to proposals for a fact-finding. mission to Lebanon a wide exchange of opinions took place. It was concluded that on special eases (such as Chile or perhaps Lebanon) a joint mission on behalf of all international and regional organizations of journalists would be justified, but usually it is the regional-level organizations that have the most effective opportunities to intervene. The question of a special fund for supporting the families of journalists who died on professional assignments was also considered, based on a similar fund established by FAJ.

In relation to this discussion participants agreed to adopt a statement of solidarity.

3. ILO matters

Mrs. Privat gave a report of recent developments of International Labour Office relating to journalists. As far as the book *Profession: Journalist* is concerned, ILO received several comments and further comments and observations from international and regional organizations are welcomed. Final decision of the second edition of the book will be postponed until the meeting of Industrial Activities Committee in November 1986 has decided about the holding of a Tripartite Meeting on Conditions of Employment and work of Journalists. (Later it was learned that a decision was taken to include this meeting in the ILO budget for 1988–89 biennium; this positive decision was obviously influenced by a coordinated support on behalf of the consultative club.) During the discussion Mr. Larsen informed about a forthcoming

meeting on copyright issues in India. It was agreed to include these issues into the agenda of consultative meetings.

4. Professional ethics

Mr. Nordenstreng referred to the aide-memoire which was given by IOJ to IFJ in Elsinore concerning the "lnternational Principles of Professional Ethics in Journalism". It was noted that the controversy about IFJ's relation to these principles should be now solved. Mr. Larsen said that in his opinion the area of ethics would be quite difficult to be properly considered by the common consultative forum and that this area might rather be left for each organization separately. After the discussion the meeting came to the conclusion that problems of professional ethics have to remain on the joint agenda of the consultative club.

5. World Council of Journalists

Mr. Hammoudi submitted to the meeting a draft of establishing a World Council of journalists as an institutionalized form of cooperation between the international and regional organizations of working journalists (see Annex). After discussing this project it was agreed that the participants, notably IOJ and IFJ, will consult their respective bodies as well as relevant offices of UNESCO, after which the matter will be taken up again at the next consultative meeting.

6. Future meetings

Mr. Giersing provided information about the details of organizing a symposium on the Mass Media Declaration of UNESCO to be held in Finland in June 1987. It was agreed that the Symposium will be organized as a joint action of the consultative club, which will delegate the task of the main organizer to IOJ. UNESCO will sign a contract with IOJ on behalf of the other international and regional organizations. A working paper will be prepared by the International Association of Mass Communication Research (IAMCR/AIERI). The Symposium will be attended by some 30 persons, of whom 2/3 will be mass media professionals and 1/3 researchers. UN and UNESCO officials etc. will be invited as observers.

The proposal of IOJ to hold another technology seminar at Lake Balaton in May 1987 was considered. It was decided that in view of many other joint activities it would be better to organize this seminar in the name of IOJ alone and to invite all members of the consultative club.

UAJ President Salah Galal invited to hold the 7th consultative meeting in Cairo. The invitation was accepted and the date was act to be 13–15 April 1987.

It was agreed that the representatives of IOJ, IFJ and UAJ will act as a coordination committee between this and the next meeting. (Later, in Geneva in connection with the ICRC conference, Mr. Nordenstreng, Mr. Larsen and Mr. Galal prepared an agenda for the Cairo meeting.)

Annex: Proposal by Federation of Arab Journalists (FAJ)

We, representatives of international and regional organisations of working journalists, after having held consultative meetings under the auspices and with the support of UNESCO since 1978, Expressing our continued support to UNESCO and its Declaration on Fundamental Principles Concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racialism, Apartheid and Incitement of War, adopted in 1978;

Confirming our dedication to the International Principles of Professional Ethics in Journalism, issued by our fourth consultative meeting in 1983;

Agree to institutionalize our consultative relationship by establishing the

WORLD COUNCIL OF JOURNALISTS

with the following statutes:

Article 1. Aims and Objectives

The aims and objectives of the World Council of Journalists (hereafter, in short, the Council) are:

a To ensure permanent exchange of information concerning activities of international and regional organisations of working journalists;
b To provide a common forum for the promotion of professional ethics;
c To facilitate joint cooperation with the United Nations and its specialized agencies (in particular UNESCO, ECOSOC, ILO and UNEP) in matters concerning peace and international understanding, social and economic development as well as professional and social rights of journalists;
d To facilitate joint cooperation with the International Committee of the Red Cross in matters dealing with the protection of journalists engaged in dangerous professional missions.

Article 2. Members

The Council is constituted by the international and regional organisations of working journalists signatories to these statutes.

Other non-governmental professional organisations of similar nature can be admitted as additional members with the unanimous consent of constituting members.

Organisations of a specialized nature (on the basis of medium, journalistic topic, religion, etc.) will not qualify for membership.

Article 3. Seat

The seat of the Council is in Paris at the headquarters of UNESCO.

Article 4. Administration

President: the Council has a President who shall be elected from among the leading representatives of its members for a period of maximum of two years. The Presidency shall rotate among the members; each international and regional organization shall serve on turn as President and the consecutive president shall be from different regions.

Steering Committee: the Council has a Steering Committee composed of three members: the President and one representative from both the IOJ and IFJ. When one of the two international organisations is in charge of the Presidency, the third member of the Steering Committee shall be elected from among the regional organisations. The Steering Committee shall be elected for the same period as the President.

Secretariat: the Council has a technical Secretariat which is located at the seat in Paris.

Report of the 7th Consultative Meeting (Excerpts)

First part, Cairo 13–15 April 1987

The meeting was held at the invitation of the Union of African Journalists (UAJ) and under the auspices and with the support of UNESCO. Present at the meeting were delegates from the following organizations: Federation of Arab Journalists (FAJ), International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), International Organization of Journalists (IOJ) and UAJ.

Also attending as observers were representatives from: UNESCO, United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), United Nations Information Center in Cairo, African Society in Egypt.

The following organisations apologized for not being able to attend the meeting: Federation of Latin American Journalists (FELAP), Federation of Latin American Press Workers (FELATRAP), Confederation of ASEAN Journalists (CAJ) and International Labour Office (ILO). All China Journalist Association sent a message to the meeting.

Mr. Salah Galal was elected Chairman of the meeting, Mr. Kaarle Nordenstreng and Mr. Hans Larsen as Vice-Chairmen and Mr. Habchi Mouldi as Rapporteur.

After noting the written report of the previous meeting, and an oral report by the UNESCO representative, the meeting discussed the items on the agenda:

1. Development and communication in Africa

[...]

2. New Technology

The study prepared by Mr. John Lawrence on the impact of new technology on the work of journalists has been completed. The meeting endorsed the earlier discussion to have it published in English, French and Spanish by the Publishing House of IOJ. An Arabic edition will be done by FAJ.

FAJ submitted a report on the topic and it was agreed that it will be utilized as far as possible in the final preparation of the above-mentioned study.

The meeting affirmed the importance of an adequate transfer of modern information technology to the Third World, making use of this

technology in upgrading the efficiency of journalists, and availing of the available potentials of the international press organisations.

3. Status, Rights and Responsibilities of Journalists

The draft report on recent development concerning the status, rights and responsibilities of journalists, edited by Mr. Hifzi Topuz was presented to the meeting. A number of recommendations were made for the improvement of the draft report. It was agreed to add further material to be submitted by the participants.

In this regard, FAJ took the responsibility to prepare the material on the Arab world in co-operation with the Egyptian Syndicate. The deadline for submission of this material was fixed for 31 August 1987.

4. Protection of Journalists

By decision of the 6th consultative meeting a joint publication entitled *Killed for Truth* was prepared and distributed in the meeting.

Mr. Alain Modoux, Head of Information Department of the International Committee of the Red Cross, gave a report on the hot line. The meeting decided to issue a resolution in support of the continued operation of the hot line.

The meeting was also informed of the recent establishment of working groups on this topic by the IOJ and the IFJ and of the intention by those organisations of co-ordinating their work. The regional organisations will be kept informed of the progress.

5. Professional Ethics

[...]

6. International Cards

[...]

7. World Council of Journalists

The proposal submitted by FAJ at the 6th consultative meeting was briefly discussed. The matter will be examined further by the participating organisations and put on the agenda of the second part.

8. Tampere Symposium

[...]

Second part, Tampere (Finland), 11–13 December 1987

Present at the meeting were the following organizations: International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), International Organization of Journalists (IOJ), Union of African Journalists (UAJ), Federation of Arab Journalists (FAJ), Federation of Latin American Journalists (FELAP).

Also attending as observers were representatives from: UNESCO, ILO, International Catholic Union of the Press (UCIP), Finnish National Commission for UNESCO.

The following organizations apologized for not being able to attend the meeting: Federation of Latin American Press Workers (FELATRAP), Confederation of ASEAN Journalists (CAJ) and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

Kaarle Nordenstreng and Aidan White were elected as chairmen and Habchi Mouldi as rapporteur.

1. Information on general activities

Morten Giersing from UNESCO gave an overview of the chapter on communication of the UNESCO Programme and Budget of the past biennium and in particular of the forthcoming biennium. Each participating organization including UCIP informed others on its recent and current activities.

2. Compilation of documentation on all earlier consultative meetings

[...]

3. International Symposium on the Mass Media Declaration of UNESCO

The meeting reviewed the preparation for the Symposium with the aid of a compilation of relevant document and examined the replies to the letter of November 12th, 1987.

Following an extensive discussion the meeting agreed:

a) that the Symposium should be balanced in its content and its organization and, therefore, the actions of the organizers to date were endorsed;
b) to draw up a preliminary agenda and timetable;
c) to invite the International Press Institute, as a matter of urgency, to assist in the preparation of a final agenda in order to fulfill the sponsors' desire for balanced participation;

d) to invite the IFJ and the IOJ to continue their organizing work on behalf of the sponsors and to ask them to examine ways of ensuring the fullest participation through written contributions.

4. Report on the status, rights and responsibilities of journalists

The second draft report on recent developments concerning the status, rights and responsibilities of journalists, edited by Hifzi Topuz, was introduced. It was agreed to send all comments and concrete changes or additions for the final draft to Mr. Topuz by the end of February 1988. The next consultative meeting will then discuss the final draft and assist in the preparation of its concluding chapter.

5. Ethics

[...]

6. Cards

[...]

7. Protection

The participants were informed of recent detentions in Palestine and a press release was issued. A brief report from the ICRC was given in the telegram from Alain Modoux.

The IFJ and IOJ presented reports of their working groups dealing with the safety of journalists and undertook to have further contacts between them as soon as possible.

8. ILO matters

Christiane Privat on behalf of the ILO reported that financial constraints had meant the deletion of proposed tripartite meeting on the employment conditions of journalists from the programme of activity for the two years up two 1990. She also reported on an ILO tripartite meeting held in Geneva at the beginning of December on the question of salaried authors' rights. The IFJ had been represented as observer.

After some discussion the meeting expressed regret that the tripartite meeting of journalists' working conditions had been a victim of spending cuts. It was the strong feeling of those present that this meeting should be reinstated, as a matter of priority, in the following medium-term plan.

9. World Council of Journalists

The follow-up of the discussion on the World Council of Journalists was postponed to a later meeting with a broader participation of FAJ.

The IFJ presented a proposal, prepared in consultation with the IOJ, to set up a coordination committee between the international and regional organizations. The consideration of this document was postponed to the next consultative meeting. It was agreed, however, that a coordination committee composed by IFJ and IOJ will take care of the preparation of the next consultative meeting according to the mandate laid down under point 3 of the proposal.

10. Next meeting

The 8th consultative meeting will be held in the first half of 1988. The coordination committee consisting of IFJ and IOJ will take care of its preparations as agreed above. UNESCO assistance is provided by the Programme and Budget for 1988–1989.

Report of the 8th Consultative Meeting

First part, Prague, 11–12 April 1988

The meeting, hosted by the International Organization of Journalists, was held in the Prague Intercontinental Hotel. Attending were representatives of IOJ, IFJ, FELAP, UAJ and FAJ, with observers from UNESCO, ILO and IJI. Apologies were received from representatives from FELATRAP, CAJ and UCIP as well as the head of information of the ICRC.

The meeting was chaired by IOJ President Nordenstreng.

1. Information

The meeting recorded thanks to Secretary General Jiri Kubka and wishes him well on his retirement from the IOJ. The meeting also congratulated Salah Galal on his re-election as President of UAJ.

The chairman explained how the coordination committee established in Tampere (IFJ and IOJ) came to the decision to convene the present consultative meeting in early April in Prague, instead of a later date as foreseen in Tampere (possibly in connection with the IFJ congress in June): after the Symposium scheduled in Helsinki was called off, there was a need for the sponsoring organizations to meet around the March 31 deadline set for the written contributions to the Symposium.

The participants took note of the contract, which IOJ just received from Unesco, to facilitate the 8th consultative meeting in two parts, first in Prague and second in Paris in November, with the financial assistance of 10,000 US dollars (as usual, mainly to cover travel of Third World participants).

In accordance with the agreement of the last consultative meeting in Tampere, IOJ distributed a compilation of the proceedings of all earlier consultative meetings.

The Editor-in-Chief of the IOJ Publishing House informed about the production process of the joint book on journalists and new technology, prepared by John Lawrence. The book is expected to be ready for distribution (in English) in September, but an advance copy of the proofs will be made available for the IFJ congress in late May. The first printing will be 2,000, of which every member of the consultative club as well as Unesco will get 50 complementary copies.

The handbook on international and regional organizations of journalists, the preparation of which was agreed at the last meeting, was noted to be in progress, although slightly behind the schedule fixed in

Tampere. It is expected to be ready by the 2nd part of the 8th meeting in November.

Concerning safety, the representatives of FELAP and FAJ gave extensive reports on the situation in Latin America and the Arab world. UAJ informed about the regional seminar to be held with the ICRC in Dakar on 6–10 June 1988. IFJ and IOJ informed about their respective activities.

2. Symposium on the Mass Media Declaration of Unesco

The IFJ General Secretary and the IOJ President reported their actions since the sponsors' meeting in Tampere and introduced the full proceedings of the preparation process with copies of all relevant correspondence.

The meeting endorsed the actions of the main organizers and approved the proceedings of the preparation. Furthermore, they considered a set of conclusions to be drawn in light of the preparation process, drafted by the IOJ President and the IFJ General Secretary, and approved them as a section to be included in the final report of the Symposium.

The meeting then took note of the contributions received from those outside the sponsoring organizations. They include five submitted as the original IAMCR Discussion Paper, three related academic contributions (one of them involving five co-authors from different regions), seven contributions by other participants (four from news agencies, three from research and training institutions), and finally four contributions of a special kind coming from observers. Altogether this makes 20 contributions by 21 different authors. They come from following regions: North America 5, Western Europe 5, Eastern Europe 4, Africa 2, Asia 2, Latin America 2. Adding the sponsors, the total number of contributions is 27: North America 5, Western Europe 6, Eastern Europe 5, Africa and Arab world 4, Asia 3, Latin America 4.

The participants informed each other about the preparation of their respective contributions. FELAP submitted its document (in Spanish), while the others promised to compile theirs by the beginning of May. The main organizers wil1 then, by the middle of May, officially pass the final report with all contributions (in English) to Unesco.

The meeting approved the final report, with a section on the correspondence evaluation. Several points of principle were included in a separate letter addressed to UNESCO and signed on behalf of the sponsors by the representatives of the present five organizations.

This letter will be dated when passed to Unesco in May as a covering document to the final report of the Symposium (see Annex).

3. Study on the Status, Rights and Responsibilities of Journalists

Hifzi Topuz reported on the preparation of the book, which he had undertaken to edit (with the assistance of K. Nordenstreng and the University of Tampere). The participants were given the third draft of the manuscript and a short draft epilogue by Topuz.

The meeting agreed to issue the book as a joint publication following the model set by the Lawrence book and delegated the final editing, including the improvement of some chapters and writing a preface, to Topuz in collaboration with Nordenstreng.

4. World Communication Report

Mr. Giersing informed about the experimental version of the report which will be sent soon to all participants for documents and complementary material. As most participants had not yet seen the Report and since many of the data needed for its improvement call for joint action from the Consultative Club, it was decided to return to this item in the second part of the 8th meeting.

5. Miscellaneous

The meeting adopted four resolutions relating to Arab territories occupied by Israel, hostages in Lebanon, Iranian-Iraqi war, as well as Chile and Dominican Republic.

Mr. Slavik informed about the International Journalism Institute, especially its documentation on the persecution of journalists. During this meeting the IJI concluded an agreement with FAJ to establish a branch office in Baghdad (a branch has already been established in Rio de Janeiro, in addition to several branches in Europe).

Mrs. Privat gave an overview of relevant developments in the International Labour Office.

6. Next meeting

It was decided to convene the second part of the 8th consultative meeting in Paris in November, with the preliminary agenda which was agreed.

A coordination committee was appointed to prepare that meeting, composed of the representatives of IOJ, IFJ and FAJ.

Annex: Letter by the 8th Consultative Meeting

Mr. Alan Hancock
Director, Division of Communication Development
and Free Flow of Information
UNESCO, Paris

Sir,

On behalf of the sponsors of the International Symposium on the Mass Media Declaration of Unesco – the international and regional organizations of journalists – we enclose a full report on the Symposium process.

The report contains a detailed account of the preparation process and unedited submissions arising from the correspondence evaluation. The report with accompanying notes and conclusions is self-explanatory.

As organizers and sponsors of the Symposium we would like to make the following points:

First, we wish to reiterate the principal view that the operation of the mass media should be determined primarily by the practice of professional journalism in the public interest without undue government or commercial influence. What we stand for is professionalism supported by the idea of a free and responsible press.

Secondly, we commend Unesco for facilitating since 1978 regular consultative meetings between us – without any interference from governments – which allow media professionals to deal with vital ethical and material issues. We wish to make it clear that the view we expressed in a joint statement at Unesco's General Conference in October 1985 still stands, namely that in our experience Unesco has never suggested measures detrimental to freedom of information; on the contrary, Unesco has contributed towards a higher level of freedom.

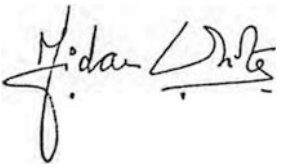
Thirdly, we acknowledge the fact that the role played by information and communication in national as well as international spheres has become more prominent during the past decade, with a growing responsibility being placed upon the mass media and journalists. This

calls, increasingly, for professional autonomy of journalists as well as a measure of public accountability.

We ask you to bear these thoughts in mind when considering the next steps with the material received in the evaluation of the impact of the Mass Media Declaration.

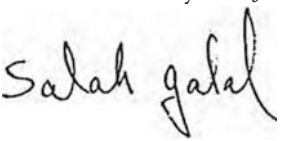
In the meantime the situation in the world's media moves on and fresh thoughts are always useful. Therefore, the international and regional organizations of journalists, recognizing the leading role Unesco plays in the field of information and communication, believe that – outside the framework of the Symposium on the Mass Media Declaration – Unesco should sponsor, at the earliest opportunity, a discussion among relevant professional and press organizations on Unesco's future media policies and activities.

Yours, on behalf of the sponsoring organizations



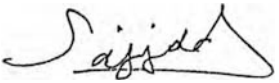
Kaarle Nordenstreng
President of IOJ

Aidan White
General Secretary of IFJ



Hernan Uribe
Deputy General Secretary of FELAP

Salah Galal
President of UAJ



Sajjad Al-Ghazi
Secretary General of FAJ

Second part, Prague, 25–27 November 1988

The meeting was hosted by the International Organization of Journalists and held in Forum Hotel (with simultaneous translation in English, French and Spanish).

Attending were representatives of IOJ, IFJ, FELAP, FELATRAP, FAJ and UAJ, with observers from UNESCO, ILO, IJI and Mr. Topuz as an expert.

Absent from those invited as participants were CAJ and UCIP. ICRC, invited as observer, sent apologies.

The meeting was chaired by the IOJ President, and the present report is also provided by the host organization. The agenda was prepared by IOJ and IFJ and sent to all with the letter of invitation in October.

1. Information

It was noted that the book on new technologies by Lawrence has been published and is being distributed. A Spanish version may be issued later depending on possibilities to be searched by the Latin American participants.

Mr. Topuz introduced the book on the status, rights and responsibilities of journalists, edited by him together with the IOJ President Nordenstreng. The manuscript was distributed in its latest form of final preparation. Deadline for new material: end of 1988. The book is scheduled to be out during the 2nd quarter of 1989 (same printing and distribution as for Lawrence). Table of content was distributed.

The handbook of international and regional organizations was noted to be under final preparation. It will be issued in early 1989 as a loose-leaf dossier for internal use of those concerned (about 100 copies).

Proceedings of consultative meetings until now were again issued as a dossier. After the present meeting IOJ will compile another version and possibly issue it as a printed brochure.

IFJ presented its latest publications, notably a study of secrecy of sources and textbooks for trade union training.

IJI presented its latest publications, notably a dossier on technology and concentration of the media and materials on persecution and protection of journalists.

2. Safety

Each participant and IJI reported about their relevant activities. Resolutions were formulated and adopted on safety and protection of

journalists, particularly in the Middle East and on the release of journalists and political prisoners in South Africa.

It was agreed that a new edition will be prepared of the 1987 joint publication *Killed for Truth,* to be edited by Bakker (IFJ) and Husseini (IOJ) with the assistance of IJI. An outline was prepared and adopted.

IFJ gave overview of the network of computer-based electronic mail system of alert information established together with the Committee to Protect Journalists (New York) and others (London, Montpellier). It was agreed to extend the network to the rest of the consultative club by first getting IOJ involved through IJI (mutual visits and a meeting in spring 1989) and then bringing the regional organizations into the network (towards the end of 1989).

The question of fact-finding missions to hotspots such as Middle East and South Africa was discussed. IFJ emphasized bilateral union links (from Western Europe to Middle East, etc.) whereas IOJ emphasized joint actions by the consultative club in selected cases.

3. Mass Media Declaration

The IOJ President and the IFJ General Secretary reported about the final steps concerning the Symposium on the Mass Media Declaration. First, the Final Report (as signed in Prague at the first part of the 8th consultative meeting) was delivered to Unesco in May with all the original contributions accumulated until early May. Second, a meeting was held with Unesco representatives (Hancock, Giersing, Pavlic) in July with the conclusion that the whole package of the Symposium contributions does not merit to be published as proceedings, it being understood that each author/organization has copyright for their respective contributions (and may publish them separately). Third, a closing circular letter was prepared and mailed out from Tampere in September, based on the jointly signed Final Report, thanking all for their cooperation.

The Unesco representative confirmed these steps. Moreover, he made a point of Professor Nordenstreng's article in *The Democratic Journalist* 11/88 (distributed at the meeting) which he criticized for its account of what happened and the lessons drawn. Nordenstreng explained that this article is excerpted from his paper presented at the IAMCR conference in Barcelona and that it represents only his personal point of view. The IOJ Secretary General confirmed this.

The Unesco representative also informed about the preparation of its third Medium-Term Plan (with copies of relevant documents by the Executive Board and the Director-General). It was noted that the

Executive Board resolution from June 1988 (129 EX/Decisions, page 13), makes on ill-founded reference to "professional communicators" suggesting that all professionals interpreted Unesco's action around the new world information and communication order to undermine freedom of information. At least the Consultative Club has consistently supported Unesco's action in this regard (as clearly demonstrated by a joint statement issued during the General Conference in Sofia in 1985).

Finally, the Unesco representative informed about the plan to hold a broad meeting on media questions at Unesco, scheduled to begin on 11 December 1989. This would be Unesco's response also to the request for a fresh approach made by the Symposium sponsors in their Final Report in May 1988.

A resolution was formulated and adopted.

4. Ethics

It was noted that Professor Barroso from Spain apologized for not being able to attend the meeting as an expert. His letter and some relevant materials were distributed. Also distributed were materials concerning an "Ethics Summit" convened by Professor Tom Cooper and other American communication scholars, the next summit scheduled for July 1989 in the Netherlands.

In the discussion the FELAP representative emphasized the continuous importance of the 1983 International Principles of Professional Ethics in Journalism and proposed to take special measures to invite journalists at the national level to include them in their efforts. The IOJ President reminded that this document was never signed by anybody but was given in the collective name of the consultative meeting without specific reference ta its approval by individual parties (as made clear in his comments published in the latest edition of the IOJ brochure reproducing the document). He emphasized that it was this understanding that made it possible to remove the controversy with IFJ and to reach agreement about a new postscript at the 7th consultative meeting (Tampere, December 1987).

A resolution was formulated and adopted. It was agreed that under the auspices of the Consultative Club a collection of contemporary codes of journalistic ethics will be set up at IJI in collaboration with Professor Barroso.

It was also agreed to include ethics as a central point in the agenda of the next consultative meeting, with a preparatory group to arrange working papers composed of FELAP and FAJ with the assistance of IJI.

5. Socio-economic situation

The ILO representative reported about plans for a Tripartite Meeting on Conditions of Employment and Work of Journalists, likely to be convened by ILO in November 1990. (A summary of her presentation was distributed both in original French and English translation.)

This meeting was warmly welcomed and each participating organization agreed to mobilize itself to produce relevant information and studies for the meeting, using common parameters as far as possible. IFJ informed about its proposals to ILO made already in summer. Deadline for this material is autumn 1989.

It was also agreed to make the preparation of the ILO meeting as a central point in the agenda of the next consultative meeting.

6. World Communication Report

The Unesco representative informed about the present state of the editing (to be finished at the end of 1988) and about the new structure of the Report.

The IOJ President pointed out that one of the omissions exposed by the Report is lack of widely known and agreed definition of what is a journalist. He reminded that there does exist the document (CC-80/WS/16) adopted by IFJ and IOJ at a consultation hosted by Unesco in January 1980, containing also agreement on the definition of a journalist.

It was noted that new joint projects with Unesco might be considered in areas such as ethics and journalism training.

7. World Council of Journalists

The discussion on this item is reproduced as separate document.

It was agreed to postpone the final settlement of this question to the next consultative meeting. IFJ and IOJ each promised to prepare a position paper for that occasion.

8. Next meeting

It was noted that there is Unesco assistance (10,000 USD) for another consultative meeting in 1989. Both FELAP and IFJ expressed interest in hosting that meeting. Considering regional balance, IFJ withdrew and it was agreed that the next meeting will be hosted by FELAP in Mexico City. The most appropriate time, taking into account the

ILO meeting preparations conference timetables (notably Unesco's in October–November), was found to be July 1989.

It was agreed that the meeting will be prepared by a coordination committee composed of the representatives of FELAP, FELATRAP, IOJ and IFJ.

The draft agenda of the 9th meeting in Mexico City in July 1989 was agreed as follows:

1) ILO
2) Safety
3) Ethics
4) Unesco
5) Future of the Club

Report of the 9th Consultative Meeting (Excerpts)

Mexico City, 11–13 July 1989

In accordance with the decision of the previous meeting (Prague, November 1988) and with the financial support of Unesco, the 9th consultative meeting was hosted by the Latin American Federation of Journalists (FELAP). It took place in the conference facilities of the Mexican Foreign Ministry (Secretaria de Relaciones Exteriores) with simultaneous translation in English and Spanish.

Attending were representatives of IOJ, IFJ, FELAP, FELATRAP and FAJ, with observers from UNESCO, ILO, UN and IJI. Absent from those invited as participants were UCIP, UAJ and CAJ. The President and the Secretary General of UAJ apologized for not being able to attend.

The meeting was chaired by the Secretary General of FELAP, with the IOJ President and the IFJ General Secretary as co-chairmen. The agenda, as agreed by the previous meeting, contained five points.

1. Status and employment of journalists

[...]

2. Safety and protection of journalists

[...]

3. Ethics of the profession

[...]

4. Unesco activities

[...]

5. Future of the Consultative Club

As agreed at the previous consultative meeting, the two international organizations prepared their respective positions on this question for the present meeting. The IOJ position was presented by its President and the IFJ position by its General Secretary (see copies below).

After discussion the meeting invited the IOJ President and the IFJ General Secretary to prepare a joint draft resolution on the matter. They produced the following text, which was adopted by the meeting:

The international and regional organisations of journalists, meeting in Mexico City on 11–13 July 1989

1. EXPRESSED SATISFACTION on their mutual collaboration and the results achieved within the framework of the consultative meetings since 1978, which has evolved into a Consultative Club,
2. AGREED TO CONTINUE AND INTENSIFY the activities of the Club by meeting regularly, at least once a year,
3. AGREED that each meeting will include

   a) an exchange of information of past and forthcoming activities of each organisation,
   b) a review of activities and questions relating to the UN agencies,
   c) an in-depth examination of one major theme.

4. AGREED to establish a Coordinating Committee to be responsible for:

   a) preparing the agenda for the next meeting,
   b) arranging the funding of the meeting with Unesco and others concerned,
   c) collecting and distributing documents for the meeting,
   d) taking care of the practical organisation of the meeting,
   e) preparing a report of the meeting,
   f) putting into effect the decisions of the meeting,
   g) acting between the meetings in the name of the Club on such matters as the Club may earlier decide.

5. AGREED that the Coordinating Committee be composed of a representative of the IOJ and the IFJ and a regional organisation. One of these shall be the host to the forthcoming meeting.

The IFJ invited the next consultative meeting to be held in the Netherlands (most likely in The Hague) in February–March 1990 (three working days). The meeting accepted this invitation with pleasure and agreed that the Coordinating Committee is now composed of the IOJ, the IFJ and the FELAP.

The meeting adopted the following final statement:

The 9th consultative meeting or international and regional organisations of journalists, Mexico City on 11–13 July 1989, condemns recent incidents in many countries in which there has been

harassment, victimisation and killing of journalists in the exercise of their profession.

The continued violations of freedom of expression and freedom of information in many countries on all continents is shocking indictment of the failure of the international community to ensure that human rights in the field of information are universally respected.

We commit ourselves, individually and collectively as organisations, to take action on specific cases of concern and to renew our efforts to ease the plight of journalists worldwide.

At the end of the session the Chairman observed that this meeting had not only consolidated the Club but also opened a new path for its future. A vote of thanks to FELAP and personally to colleague Suárez was passed.

The closing ceremony took place in the City Government Palace with the participation of Manuel Camacho Solis, Head of the Department of the Federal District (The Mayor).

* * *

This report was prepared by the Coordinating Committee appointed in Mexico City: IOJ/Nordenstreng, IFJ/White, FELAP/Suárez.

IOJ POSITION CONCERNING THE FUTURE OF THE CONSULTATIVE CLUB

Kaarle Nordenstreng, President of IOJ

Fundamental points of departure:

1. The international and regional organizations concerned (IOJ, IFJ, UAJ, FAJ, FELAP, FELATRAP, CAJ) have emerged and developed as a response to objective needs and historical circumstances. Each organization will continue to function in accordance with those needs and circumstances, which may or may not change over time. A collaborative global structure should not undermine the existing organizations as far as they represent the authentic interests of the professional journalists concerned.
2. All professional journalists in the contemporary world share common interests and problems, while it is admitted that there are also specific national and regional conditions leading to natural differences between them. Despite geopolitical differences between the organizations concerned, there is to be found a significant common core of values, standing for professionalism with the idea of a free and responsible press, as articulated by the 8th consultative meeting in April 1988 (letter to Unesco, dated 16 May 1988). On this basis, commonalities are to be found first and foremost in the area of defending and promoting journalists' status, rights and responsibilities (as demonstrated by the jointly produced book on the topic).
3. Worldwide unity strengthens the position and bargaining power of working journalists in society, both nationally and internationally – in terms of professional, tradeunionist and political interests. This is particularly important in relation to the owners and managers of the media (employers), who for their part have mobilized, along with the media concentration and technological developments, an offensive international strategy and structure throughout the western world. The organizations concerned will gain more influence and prestige in the world arena, if they stand up as a coordinated group, instead of remaining isolated or even separatist.
4. The experience of the past eight consultative meetings since 1978 is overwhelmingly positive – nodoubt for each organization concerned as well as for the profession at large. This experience calls for the established tradition to be continued and consolidated. The

FAJ initiative in 1986 was a logical and welcome step, although quite an ambitious one, and it has not lost its topicality during the past couple of years – on the contrary. However, for the time being it does not appear to be feasible to drastically change the present set up. Instead, all possibilities exist to move forward on the basis of the good tradition established throughout the consultative relations existing between us.

Practical conclusions:

1) To continue the annual consultative meetings for mutual information and coordination, particularly concerning activities relating to Unesco and ILO. Such consultative meetings should take the form of a permanent Consultative Club of International and Regional Organizations of Journalists. A statement of purpose and methods of work should be issued by the meeting. A coordination committee should be appointed to follow-up decisions of the previous meeting and to prepare for the next meeting. The Committee should include the two internationals as well as the organization which hosted the previous meeting and that which will host the next.
2) To intensify joint efforts in the field of the protection and safety of journalists; to elaborate a joint programme of action and set up a joint task force for its implementation.
3) To intensify joint activities concerning the conditions of employment and work of journalists, in particular in relation to the ILO Tripartite Meeting.

WORLD COUNCIL OF JOURNALISTS: An IFJ Perspective

Aidan White, General Secretary, IFJ

Members of the "Consultative Club" of international and regional organizations of journalists will know that the IFJ does not support the creation of a World Council of Journalists in the terms set out at previous meetings.

The reasons for this are simple enough. They do not reflect in any way a change in the IFJ's view that there should be the most vigorous co-operation between members of the community of journalists in the world. But they do address some misconceptions in the debate on the proposal.

First, the IFJ believes very strongly that the mechanisms for co-operation are already in place and working very efficiently. There has been more co-operation between us over the past few years than ever before.

Second, the IFJ takes the view that our resources are best used in carrying out practical work between us. None of our organisations is wealthy, either in terms of human or financial resources. We must, therefore, apply our energies according to priorities set by our member unions.

For the IFJ this means increased co-operation in the field of trade union education and development; increased joint activity around issues of common and immediate concern in the industrial and professional arenas (concentration of ownership, human rights for journalists, censorship, etc.); and increased activity in the field of research into the professional and industrial problems facing journalists the world over.

We do not see the justification for applying resources to a new level of organisation which could divert us from these priorities.

We believe, instead, that the proposal for a Co-ordinating Committee, tabled at the Tampere meeting in December 1987 should be used as the basis for the future organisation of our meetings.

At those meetings, we believe there should be a more practical approach based upon three agenda items:

1) Information Exchange: where each organisation reports on its activities and priorities for action;
2) Special theme: where a specific subject – for instance safety, or trade union organisation, or rights of women journalists – can be examined in detail and where there can be agreement on a joint approach to the issue after the meeting

3) Relations with Intergovernmental Organisations: where Unesco, the ILO, the Red Cross or WIPO can report on their activities as they effect journalists and their work.

In this way we can ensure that all of our meetings are practical and useful and take place in the context of the priorities which our individual organisations have adopted.

The IFJ proposal for a Co-ordinating Committee, you will recall, was as follows:

1. The Consultative Group of International and Regional Journalists' Organisations meets regularly, at least once a year, under the auspices of Unesco;
2. In order to secure an efficient exchange of information and to ensure proper preparation of meetings, each meeting of the Consultative Group shall appoint a Co-ordinating Committee from among its members;
3. The Co-ordinating Committee shall –

   a) be responsible for drafting the agenda for the following Consultative Group meeting,
   b) be responsible for contacts with Unesco concerning funding of the meeting,
   c) be responsible for collecting and distributing documents for the meeting,
      and
   d) be responsible, together with the host organisation, for the practical organisation of the meeting.

4. The Co-ordinating Committee shall normally consist of three members – one representative of each international organisation and one representative of a regional organisation. One of the two members shall normally represent the organisation hosting the next meeting of the Consultative Group.

Report of the 10th Consultative Meeting

The Hague, 9–11 April 1990

INTERNATIONAL AND REGIONAL ORGANISATIONS OF JOURNALISTS CONSULTATIVE CLUB

The meeting was attended by:

International Federation of Journalists
International Organisation of Journalists
Federation of Latin American Journalists (FELAP)
Union of African Journalists
Confederation of ASEAN Journalists
Federation of Latin American Pressworkers (FELATRAP)
UNESCO
ICRC
International Journalism Institute
Article 19

The meeting was opened by Mia Doornaert, President of the International Federation of Journalists. The Presidium consisted of Aidan White (IFJ), Chairman, Kaarle Nordenstreng (IOJ) and Luis Suarez (FELAP), members of the Co-ordinating Committee.

DECISIONS OF THE MEETING:

1. ETHICS

   – to CONGRATULATE the IJI on its compilation of Codes of ethics;
   – to ASK the IJI to include the codes of international organisations and to provide information on the source of each code;
   – to INVITE the IJI to follow-up this work by investigating, with UNESCO, the possibility of making a comparative study of different codes and to report back to the next meeting of the Club.

2. SAFETY

   – To ADOPT the Programme of Action and to thank the authors, Mr Bakker and Mr Husseini, for their work;
   – to ENDORSE the recommendation for further action;
   – to INVITE the IFJ and the IOJ, on behalf of the Club, to work together in implementing the programme;

- to AGREE that Club members should work together in contacts with the United Nations Human Rights Commission;
- to GIVE special emphasis to the role of regional organisations of journalists, particularly as relevant bodies to intervene over problems in their areas;
- to CIRCULATE more information on safety matters, including fresh activities, protests, interventions and other initiatives by members of the Club;
- to PUBLISH a new booklet on safety, giving information on numbers of journalists killed, but with more information relating to incidents and that this booklet should be aimed at raising the awareness of the public to safety problems facing journalists;
- to INVITE the two representatives of the IFJ and IOJ to continue their work in assisting the club to develop the programme and in preparing the new booklet.

3. UNESCO

   - to INVITE the IFJ, the IOJ and the UAJ to nominate one person each to co-operate with UNESCO in the preparation of an international survey into journalists' access to sources of information.

4. ILO

   - to NOTE the preparations for the tripartite meeting in Geneva in November 1990;
   - to AGREE that Club members should meet with the workers' side delegation on the day prior to the opening of the meeting;
   - to ACCEPT the invitation of the ICRC to use the occasion for a visit by Club members and delegates to the ILO meeting to the offices of the ICRC in Geneva.

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