

# the Journalist

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**TUC 150 YEARS**  
1868-2018  
**BRITAIN STILL**  
**NEEDS A PAY RISE**



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Since the last edition of The Journalist we've had the TUC conference. This year trade unionists were marking the 150th anniversary of the movement and as ever there was plenty to discuss about why unions are still as relevant today as they have ever been.

In our cover feature veteran industrial and political journalist Paul Routledge looks back on the key events in the TUC's history and the labour movement. We also have full news coverage of the TUC conference including the NUJ's contribution.

Also looking back, though over a shorter timespan, is former Guardian editor Alan Rusbridger. In an interview for The Journalist he discusses the changing nature of news triggered by the rise of online reporting. Raymond Snoddy, meanwhile, warns of the dangers of migration online following new research showing that readers spend minimal time perusing the online-only Independent.

Looking forward, and closer to home, is Kevin Palmer who writes this edition's Viewpoint column. He discusses what options are open for a structural overhaul of the NUJ to enable the union to function more efficiently in a changed media landscape.

I hope you find something of interest.

Christie

**Christine Buckley**  
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**Cover picture**  
Steve Bell

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# Job losses at Mirror and Express after merger

**Reach, the owner of the Mirror and Express newspapers is cutting 70 jobs at its national titles and closing the weekly celebrity magazine Star that could result in further job losses.**

Reach, which was renamed from Trinity Mirror after the group bought Express newspapers, said its eight national titles had started to pool staff and resources.

The move to pool resources includes establishing a general content feed for all titles of non-exclusive news and other items such as arts reviews.

The company said that it expects to make £20 million in savings by 2020, with £12 million coming from cuts to editorial staff and the sharing of content and resources. But it has also said that it will retain the distinctions between the titles in politics, exclusive stories, investigations and columnists because there is little crossover readership between the titles.

Simon Fox, the chief executive of Reach, has pledged that the national newspaper titles, which are at opposite ends of the political

spectrum, will remain editorially independent. A number of long-term casual editorial roles will also be converted into staff positions.

The company also plans to introduce more collaborative working between Express and Star's daily and Sunday editions.

It said: "We will be making every effort to achieve as much of the required savings as we can through voluntary means."

In July Reach posted a pre-tax loss of more than £100 million for the first half of 2018. This came after the business wrote down the value of its regional

newspaper business by £150 million because of a challenging trading climate.

Laura Davison, NUJ national newspapers organiser, said: "There is a sense of unfairness at the cuts given the meagre resources journalists have been labouring under for so long under the Desmond era. Members still remain to be convinced about Reach's future strategy for investing in and sustaining the titles and fear this is a simply a cost-cutting exercise, with more to follow."

## Reach



**There is a sense of unfairness at the cuts given the meagre resources journalists have been labouring under for so long**

**Laura Davison, NUJ national organiser**

## inbrief...

### REPORTER KILLED IN BULGARIA

Victoria Marinova, a 30-year-old Bulgarian journalist working for regional TV channel TVN was brutally murdered. She is the fourth journalist killed in the EU since 2017 after Kim Wall in Denmark, Daphne Caruana Galizia in Malta and Jan Kuciak in Slovakia.

### COSTELLO'S CHARITY TRIP TO TIMBUKTU

Journalists Eugene Costello and Nick Redmayne are to embark on a road trip to Timbuktu to raise funds for charities including NUJ Extra. Eugene decided to raise funds after receiving help from NUJ Extra following his heart attack. <https://www.gofundme.com/uk-to-timbuktu-by-road-challenge/>

### BBC EXTENDS FUND FOR DISABILITIES

BBC is to invest another £1 million into recruiting journalists with disabilities to tackle under-representation in the corporation. The Extend in News scheme, which received £1 million last year, is open to those with a hidden or visible disability who are interested in journalism or production.

### INDY PUTS UP A PARTIAL PAYWALL

The Independent is offering exclusive editorial content, an ad-free live website and closer interaction with journalists in a new partial paywall. Readers will pay £55 a year. The part paywall is similar to the one operated by The Telegraph. [News, page 5](#), [Raymond Snoddy, Page 19](#)

### IAN BELL PRIZE OPEN FOR YOUNG WRITERS

Aspiring young writers in Scotland can enter the Ian Bell award run by the NUJ in Edinburgh in memory of the radical journalist and author. Entrants should be aged 30 or under and live, work or study in Scotland. For more details email [hilaryhorrocks@btinternet.com](mailto:hilaryhorrocks@btinternet.com)

## Fresh cuts at many Newsquest titles

**More job cuts have been announced at Newsquest titles. The cuts will affect Swindon, Oxford and the Stourbridge centre that produces the Kidderminster Shuttle, Stourbridge News, Halesowen News, Dudley**

News, Bromsgrove Advertiser, Redditch/Alcester Advertiser and Droitwich Advertiser.

In Stourbridge up to six editorial jobs will be cut but two new audience and content editor roles are being created so this may reduce

the net staff redundancies to four. At the same time, three senior reporters, out of a total of eight, have already given their notice to leave the company.

In Wiltshire, Newsquest is cutting two members of the features department and the

sports editor. In Oxford the publisher intends to cut one staff member from the features department and another from sport. The assistant editor's position would also be cut, to be replaced by a new audience and content editor.

## Recognition win at Springer Nature

**The NUJ has won recognition at Springer Nature**, the academic publishing group. The move came after the union secured membership density of 51.5 per cent in a bargaining unit of 375 staff.

Fiona Swarbrick, NUJ senior national organiser, said: "We're delighted by this outcome, which reflects the will of the majority of employees to have collective bargaining and is testament to the hard work of our

wonderful union committee, particularly the joint Mother and Father of Chapel. The next stage in the process is to negotiate a collective bargaining agreement with management, and we look forward to developing our relationship with the company in a positive and collaborative atmosphere."



inbrief...

TIME OUT MARKS HALF A CENTURY

Time Out magazine is celebrating its 50th anniversary with an exhibition of its most iconic covers. Since its launch, it has covered arts, entertainment and food and drink in London. It expanded overseas and now covers 108 cities. The exhibition runs at London's Museum of Brands until 3 March.

GLOBAL ROLE FOR BLAKE AT BUZZFEED

Heidi Blake, BuzzFeed UK investigations editor, has become global investigations editor for the website. She succeeds Mark Schoofs, who started the global BuzzFeed investigations unit five years ago. He will teach at the USC Annenberg School for Communication and Journalism in the US.

GUARDIAN POISED FOR DAILY PODCAST

The Guardian is to launch a daily news and current affairs podcast that aims to take listeners behind the news headlines. It has hired six audio journalists for the podcast, which will run each weekday by the end of the year. Joint political editor Anushka Asthana will be the host.

Alan Rusbridger interview, page 10

PA PLANS MOVE AND REBRANDING

The Press Association will be rebranded as PA Media next year when it moves into new London offices. It is moving to Paddington Basin from its long-term base in Victoria. Some staff are understood to be concerned because they will no longer be close to Westminster.

ROCHDALE ONLINE MARKS 20 YEARS

A former ITV News executive is leading Kent's first dedicated TV channel. Robin Britton, a former head of ITV News in the south of England, has joined KMTV. The channel is run by KM Media Group, which publishes titles including the Kent Messenger, in partnership with the University of Kent.

FT boss holds on to chunk of pay rise as dispute escalates

John Ridding, the Financial Times' chief executive, has returned just £280,000 of a £510,000 pay increase.

FT PR managers said 'global operating profits' of £20 million justified his high salary of £2.6 million in 2017. These figures – which are not pre-tax profits – have not been part of any accounts seen by chapel reps.

Since a well-attended meeting of the FT NUJ chapel voted unanimously to condemn the 'extraordinarily high' salary, members have learnt that £280,000 of this salary will be 'returned to the company' this year to be part of a women's development fund.

The NUJ chapel said his remuneration made a 'mockery of any concept of fairness'. It noted his pay was 100 times the salary of a



trainee journalist at the FT.

As a result of the chapel vote, reps have been instructed to 'place this matter into dispute and take such steps as may be necessary, up to and including balloting for industrial action' should there not be a timely response to members' questions and demands.

Joint father of chapel Steve Bird wrote to three FT Group board members and met with FT managing editor

James Lamont, hoping to persuade them that it was 'in the best interests of the company that there is an urgent response to the widespread anger over high executive pay at the FT'.

Bird said: "John Ridding's obscenely high pay and 25 per cent pay rise have infuriated FT journalists at all levels. This has acted as a focus for growing discontent over a gender pay gap of 18 per cent and rising workload at the company.

"We call for full transparency over company accounts and executive remuneration, we condemn absurdly high and unsustainable executive pay, and we call for a redistributive pay deal that rewards all staff and makes up for years of below-inflation rises."

The chapel has called for an agreement to tie pay rises for senior executives to those awarded to staff in general.

2010 BLOOMBERG

John Ridding's obscenely high pay and 25 per cent pay rise have infuriated FT journalists at all levels

Steve Bird Joint FoC, FT Chapel

Hall admits BBC 'overdid' Sir Cliff coverage

Tony Hall, director general of the BBC, has told MPs that the broadcaster's coverage of a police raid on the home of Sir Cliff Richard was excessive. Lord Hall told the digital, culture, media and sport committee that his view of the BBC's coverage, which included a helicopter flying over Sir Cliff's Berkshire home to film a police raid, was 'we overdid it'.

"I think the helicopter was overdoing it ... it was something to report but down the bulletin," he said.

He said that the case had so far cost the corporation more than £1.5 million in costs and damages.

Officers from South Yorkshire Police were investigating a historical sexual assault allegation made against the singer.

Sir Cliff, who has always denied any wrongdoing, was not arrested and not charged with any offence. He later sued the BBC and won. The BBC decided not to appeal against the ruling.

Letters, page 22



JAMIE LORRIMAN / ALAMY STOCK PHOTO

Orders halted at Headland House's bar

The Chapel Bar, the restaurant and bar created in the refurbishment of the NUJ's head office Headland House, closed in

August when the hospitality company operating it went into administration.

The bar had been run on a turnover lease from the

union. Talks to reopen the bar are now under way with the operators of the Bread & Roses pub in Clapham, south London.

The pub is run by the Workers Beer Company, which in turn is owned by Battersea and Wandsworth TUC.

# Minister supports ban on photographing gardaí

**Ireland's minister for justice has said he would be in favour of legislation**

that would ban the photographing of the country's police – the gardaí – in the course of their duties.

In an interview for RTE's Radio 1, Charlie Flanagan condemned online threats made against a garda and said that such abuse was becoming more of a feature of online activity.

The Garda Representative Association has proposed legislation that would make it an offence to photograph gardaí while they are working.

When asked by presenter Sean O'Rourke whether he was well disposed towards this proposal and if it was something he was prepared to bring to government, Flanagan said: "Yes, I think it's something that can be favourably looked at."

Séamus Dooley, NUJ Irish secretary, said: "The National Union of Journalists would be strongly opposed to the proposed restrictions. I was surprised and disappointed by the support for such a proposal by minister for justice and equality Charles Flanagan.



"The NUJ condemns online abuse of any individual or group of workers. I would support the call by John Jacob, general secretary of AGSI [Association of Garda Sergeants and Inspectors] for greater vigilance by multinational companies in monitoring and tackling online abuse. Gardaí and their families are entitled to protection from such abuse but an outright ban on photographing gardaí at work, as favoured by some

representative bodies, would be an infringement on the fundamental rights exercised by the media, as enshrined by the

constitution and specifically protected under article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights.

"The European Court of Human Rights has been accorded the broadest scope of protection in the court's case law. In the landmark Goodwin case taken by the NUJ [in 1996], the court recognised what it called 'the watchdog role of the media' and stated very clearly that restrictions on media freedom can only be justified by 'an overriding requirement in the public interest'"



**An outright ban on photographing gardaí at work would be an infringement on the fundamental rights exercised by the media**

**Séamus Dooley**  
NUJ Irish secretary

## inbrief...

### END OF THE ROAD FOR PRESS CAMPAIGN

The Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom has closed after nearly 40 years of campaigning for a 'more diverse, democratic and accountable media'. It began in 1979 after the winter of discontent to work with unions who were unhappy about their treatment in the media. The CPBF, to which the NUJ was affiliated, closed due to lack of funds.

### NEWSNIGHT'S DAVIS GOES TO RADIO 4'S PM

Evan Davis will leave Newsnight by the end of October to present Radio 4's current affairs programme PM. Davis, who has been the lead presenter on Newsnight since 2014, replaces Eddie Mair, who left to host a drivetime show on LBC.

### OWEN MOVES UP AT MAIL ON SUNDAY

Mail on Sunday deputy political editor Glen Owen has been promoted to political editor. He replaces Simon Walters, who has moved to the Daily Mail as assistant editor (politics) after nearly 20 years with the Sunday title.

### NEW DEGREE UNITES JOURNALISM AND PR

The University of Salford has begun a new degree course combining journalism with public relations, saying it will 'produce graduates who are skilled in a wide range of areas'. The BA (Hons) Journalism with Public Relations course is based at Manchester's Media City. [Positively PR, page 14.](#)

### SARAH CORP FELLOWSHIP SET UP

Channel 4 News has established a fellowship in memory of senior foreign affairs producer Sarah Corp who died from cancer in 2016 after 17 years with the programme. The fellowship will be awarded to one person each year, who will spend six months on the foreign desk in London and the second half of the year at the Washington DC bureau.

## No single solution, union tells Cairncross

**There is no one-size-fits-all solution** to the current media crisis, the NUJ has said in its submission to the Cairncross review into the sustainability of high-quality journalism in the UK.

The union pointed out that both journalists and the communities they serve have been hit hard by the cuts.

The NUJ has highlighted a range of measures that could bolster ethical, diverse, high-quality journalism that

is in the public interest.

The NUJ is calling for an economic stimulus plan for the media, including arms-length government subsidies, the strategic use of central and local government advertising, tax

credits, tax breaks and a combination of funding such as grants, loans and community share schemes.

<https://www.nuj.org.uk/news/nuj-submission-cairncross/>

## Online-only Indy trails print newspaper rivals

**The Independent, which went online only in 2016**, is struggling to retain British readers, and the total time spent by readers with the title has tumbled. A study has found that its British readership has declined by about one per cent since it went online only. This contrasts with an average 25 per cent rise for 12 national newspapers that publish print editions. The total time spent with The Independent by its British audience is down by more than 70 per cent since the switch.

Lead author Dr Neil Thurman, of City, University of London and LMU Munich, said: "The reason for the decline in time spent seems to be to do with how differently content is consumed in print and online. The Independent's print readers were much more frequent consumers than its online visitors are."

**Raymond Snoddy, page 19**



PICTOKRAFT / ALAMY STOCK PHOTO

**in brief...**

**AIMING FOR WINS IN AUTOMATION RACE**

Unions must play a vital role in negotiating over workplace changes resulting from automation, according to delegates Congress called on the TUC's general council to bring together unions whose members are most affected, advise on retraining and redeployment, and explore opportunities that may be created, such as a shorter working week.

**NATIONALISE RAIL AND FUND IT FULLY**

In a year of rail chaos and failures, the TUC reiterated its support for rail nationalisation and agreed to campaign for properly funded, integrated, publicly owned rail and tube networks. It sent a message of solidarity to workers taking action over safety and keeping guards on trains.

**CAMPAIGN TO BACK LOW-PAID WORKERS**

The TUC will campaign for a better deal for low-paid workers. The number of workers in poverty has risen by over 60 per cent. The campaign will call for young workers to be paid the full adult rate of a £10 an hour minimum wage and a minimum contract of 16 hours a week.

**STANDING UP TO THE POLITICS OF HATE**

The trade union movement must be at the forefront of challenging the 'politics of hate' in the workplace and society amid the rise of the far right in the UK and Europe. TUC general secretary Frances O'Grady said that when neo-fascists threaten public order and peace, trade unionists would not retreat or be intimidated.

**2019 TO BE THE YEAR OF YOUNG WORKERS**

Next year will be the Year of the Young Worker for the TUC. Delegates agreed that increasing union membership of young workers is a priority. Making the case for a collective voice is vital as many young workers have not experienced collective bargaining.

# Labour pledges major boost to workers' and union rights

**Shadow chancellor John McDonnell** received a standing ovation when he told delegates the anti trade union era would end if Labour were elected to power.

In his speech, he promised to transform the workplace and working lives and said the Trade Union Act would be repealed in the first 100 days and basic trade union rights would be written into law again.

All workers would have equal trade union rights whether they were part time, full time, temporary or permanent. Zero hours contracts would be banned, with every worker getting a guaranteed number of hours each week, and there would be a return to collective bargaining.

"Trade unions will have the right of access to workplaces and we will introduce a real living wage of £10 an hour," he added.

Access to workplace justice would be restored with



JESS HURD

employment tribunal fees abolished. McDonnell also pledged online and workplace balloting for industrial action.

There were cheers when he said: "We will tackle the gender pay gap once and for all. We will prioritise protections for women against unfair redundancy. No-one should be penalised for having children."

The answers to problems in the gig economy would not be found in the Taylor Report because its starting point was

that flexibility must come at the price of insecurity.

"This is just plain wrong," he said. "Just because you don't work regular hours doesn't mean you should work when you are sick, just because you have several jobs doesn't mean you can afford to lose one of them without warning, just because you value the freedom of independence or the convenience of flexibility, it doesn't mean you have to forego basic trade union rights."

**"This is just plain wrong. Just because you have several jobs doesn't mean you can afford to lose one of them without warning"**

**John McDonnell  
Shadow chancellor**

## Archbishop urges new unionisation

**Justin Welby** was the third archbishop of Canterbury to speak to congress in the TUC's 150-year history.

He said the TUC had been instrumental in reducing inequality, challenging injustice

and speaking for the poor, the marginalised and the oppressed.

The archbishop urged delegates to focus on their founding vision that for every oppressed worker there should be an organisation to speak truth to power.

"There must be unions in the gig economy. There must be unions in industries being automated, wherever workers are vulnerable. There must be a new unionisation or there will only be a new victimisation," he said.

JESS HURD



## Bad Brexit deal? Call an election

**The TUC has said if the government** cannot negotiate the right Brexit deal for workers, it should call a general election.

General secretary Frances O'Grady told congress that, if the government failed, the TUC would back a people's vote on the deal.

"It isn't about delaying Brexit – it's about leaving the EU on the right terms where jobs and rights come first. We've had 10 long years of wage freezes, cuts and austerity – and the stakes are high," she said.

She also pointed to the impact a hard Brexit would have on Ireland.

O'Grady was backed by most union leaders including Unite's Len McCluskey who said a no deal Brexit would be a disaster for workers. However, Mick Cash of the RMT said a people's vote was a Trojan horse for a second referendum.

# TUC joins support for Belfast journalists who exposed police-paramilitary collusion

**The TUC agreed unanimously** to back two Belfast-based journalists arrested after they exposed collusion between the British Army, the RUC and Loyalist paramilitary groups in the unsolved Loughinisland massacre investigation.

On August 31, Trevor Birney and Barry McCaffrey, who used information based on a leaked Police Ombudsman report to help make their critically acclaimed film *No Stone Unturned*, had their homes raided and were arrested on suspicion of theft of confidential documents.

Proposing the motion, NUJ delegate Chris Frost (pictured) said the film had been completed more than a year

ago. It seemed the police hoped to find names of confidential sources during the raid. He called for the immediate lifting of the threat of legal action and asked delegates to condemn the targeting of whistleblowers and the criminalisation of journalists.

Chris, who chairs the NUJ's ethics council, reminded delegates that foreign secretary Jeremy Hunt had recently criticised the jailing of journalists who had written about Myanmar. However, he had remained silent about the journalists arrested in Northern Ireland.

Chris added: "The arrest of two union members carrying out an important



JOHN HARRIS REPORT DIGITAL

investigation involving police collusion with paramilitary groups in the murder of UK citizens is nothing short of an outrage."

Safeguarding sources is enshrined in the NUJ's Code of Conduct, and the European

Court of Human Rights has instructed the government to ensure journalists are not obliged by the courts to reveal them.

The TUC backed the NUJ's campaign for union branches to show *No Stone Unturned*, which is available on YouTube.

The motion, carried unanimously, was seconded by Tony Kearns of the Communication Workers' Union.

Prospect's Claire Mullaly said her union stood in solidarity with the NUJ. "The media has a responsibility to seek the truth on public interest issues and must be allowed to undertake this role unhindered," she said.



**The arrest of two union members carrying out an investigation is nothing short of an outrage**

**Chris Frost**  
NUJ ethics committee

## Shine a light on night workers' conditions

**NUJ president Sian Jones spoke for the 3.2 million** who work while others sleep when she proposed the union's motion calling for better protection for night workers.

"We need to shine a light on the

working standards they encounter," she said.

Sian suggested the TUC develop a best practice model, focusing on health, safety and welfare of night workers. The motion was carried.

NUJ members often have to work nights without reasonable safeguards and allowances. The health risks of this are established, and media workers have reported being so tired they are almost falling asleep at the wheel driving home.



JESS HURD

## NUJ praised for work to address gender pay gap



**When the BBC was forced to publish pay details of its higher earners, it soon became obvious what was happening**

**Michelle Stanistreet**  
NUJ general secretary

JESS HURD



**Delegates applauded the NUJ** for its work on exposing the pay gap in the media industry – with 91 per cent of companies paying men more than women.

NUJ general secretary Michelle Stanistreet said when the BBC was forced to publish pay details of its higher earners, it soon became obvious what was happening. Two thirds on the list were men and there were hardly any black journalists.

The pay gap was not confined to higher earners at

the BBC and the NUJ has supported 200 equal pay claims with many women securing an increase in salaries and backdated pay.

In April, all companies with more than 250 employees had to reveal pay discrepancies.

The NUJ motion, carried unanimously, called for this to be extended to smaller companies and for the introduction of penalties if they failed to act.

Michelle urged the TUC to help trade unions lead the way on pay parity.



## In search of new blood

NUJ activists in Cardiff are making imaginative efforts to attract members. **David Nicholson** reports

**W**hat does an event for student journalists, an award ceremony for a US photojournalist, a salon for freelancers and a membership survey about the NUJ have in common?

They are all part of a masterplan by the Cardiff and South East Wales branch of the union to find different ways to engage members and meet changing needs.

Just six years ago, our branch membership numbered 404 and it has dropped to our current 366. According to head office records, the branch has 310 lapsed members and 219 who have resigned from the union.

Looking behind these figures shows that Media Wales, which is part of the Trinity Mirror Group, has shed 64 jobs in recent years. With redundancies at most Welsh titles, the industry is losing journalists wholesale.

PR was a traditional route for journalists leaving the newspaper

industry, but that supply route has dwindled. That seems to have meant more journalists declaring themselves freelance, with PR in the public sector in particular being hit hard by years of austerity.

“The world of freelance journalism is expanding as more companies shed staff from newspapers,” explains Cardiff branch rep and NUJ Freelance Industrial Council member Jenny Sims.

“Earlier this year, we surveyed members to get an idea of what freelancers want from the union then held a workshop to talk about ideas in more depth,” she says.

To make the union more relevant, the branch embarked on a series of events to mix up the traditional monthly after-work gathering to hear reports and conduct union business. The branch has organised Saturday morning salons with invited speakers talking about how they have managed to make a success of becoming sole traders.

The branch also awarded honorary

life membership to acclaimed US photojournalist Chuck Rapoport. In a piece about how we are trying to be more attractive to members and potential joiners, awarding honorary life membership to a US journalist might seem a strange thing to do. In part, it was a reaction to the 60th anniversary of the Aberfan disaster, when we decided to honour Rapoport for his work covering the aftermath of the disaster for Life Magazine.

Chuck lived in Aberfan during the difficult months after the disaster at a time when there was suspicion of journalists because of the way some media had covered the disaster. He overcame hostility and suspicion to become accepted by the grieving community.

The award ceremony was hosted by the school of journalism at Cardiff University and student journalists were invited to attend, as was the Welsh media.

The branch press release contained details about joining the NUJ and was part of a recruitment attempt as it hit journalists’ desks. The award ceremony itself for Chuck gained media coverage with television and radio interviews.

The branch has also held events specifically for student journalists to increase numbers joining and to get aspiring journalists into the habit of being a union member.

Membership events have continued with a summer evening in Cardiff Bay hosted by ITV Wales. Students, journalists and members, many of whom had never attended a union meeting, gathered to hear about avenues into television production and just enjoy a social gathering.

When I became a freelance after years of working for organisations, the thing I missed was the social side and just talking and sharing ideas with colleagues.

With more freelance salons, social gatherings and talks being planned for the autumn and winter, the branch hopes not just to staunch losses but also to grow our membership.

• The branch’s next Freelancers’ Salon is on October 27 in the Radisson Blu hotel in Cardiff city centre. The theme is “Succeeding in – and monetising – your online work”. Check the NUJ Training Wales website – [www.nujtrainingwales.org](http://www.nujtrainingwales.org) – for details.

**Freelance photojournalist David Nicholson is a member of the Cardiff and South East Wales branch**

“  
The world  
of freelance  
journalism is  
expanding as  
more companies  
shed staff from  
newspapers  
”



**Kevin Palmer** is keen for members to help overhaul the union

# After 45 years, can we declutter the NUJ?

**G**rassroots members should be getting a say in how the NUJ is organised. This is thanks to a motion passed at April's Delegate Meeting (DM), which agreed to a review of the union's structure based on a clean sheet.

Our structure dates back to 1975, when the industry/profession was very different. Industrial councils were created (although one, for provincial newspapers, which represented many members, has merged with that for national newspapers).

There have been many changes to the media world since, including some disillusion after the provincial papers' dispute in the winter of discontent – although I wonder how poorly paid journalists would have been without the seven-week strike – and the legislation restricting unions that followed.

Newspapers and groups merged or were taken over. The closure of newspapers or town centre offices meant reporters had to work from home and meet contacts in libraries, while employers, putting bean counters ahead of products, slashed jobs. This has bled newsrooms of talent and experience, forcing people to move or quit the industry altogether.

Technology has created media and jobs but there has not been the traditional union base to organise and recruit members.

Since the last reorganisation, bodies have been created and bolted on to a democratic but sometimes complicated structure. The Derby and Burton branch of which I am chair and others query whether we should rely on a structure based on situations nearly 45 years ago.

I am not saying the present structure is woefully wrong – but is it right for

**“ I am not saying the present structure is woefully wrong - but is it right for dealing with issues that the industry and its members face now? ”**

dealing with issues that the industry and its members face now?

Take DM for instance. We reduced its frequency from annually to every two years, mainly to save money. We now have reports stretching back 24 months. Then, after two hours or more, the president asks members to approve section X of a 175-page report leaving some members, particularly first-time delegates, confused.

Some motions are pushed by activists with their own agendas. While the moral principal may be worthy, why wait six months to discuss a situation only to refer it to the International Federation of Journalists? Most members want to discuss issues affecting us daily – the state of the media, wages and working conditions, pensions, training, ethics, press freedom and even subscriptions.

Do we need so many bodies? Someone asked me at DM: “Why do we have four equality bodies?” There is the original equality council, the black members' council, the disabled members' council, and the over 60s' council. Could one suffice?

Branches are the lifeblood of the union. But sometimes we don't get a quorum and even bigger branches have problems. When I joined in the 1970s, branch meetings were a must-do every month for younger members – branch business, learning from older colleagues and socialising. Yet branches have merged or just died. Do they or their responsibilities need to change?

The NUJ is necessary for a healthy profession, press freedom and to protect

workers' rights. But it must be fit for purpose – efficient, relevant and able to act quickly and be value for money.

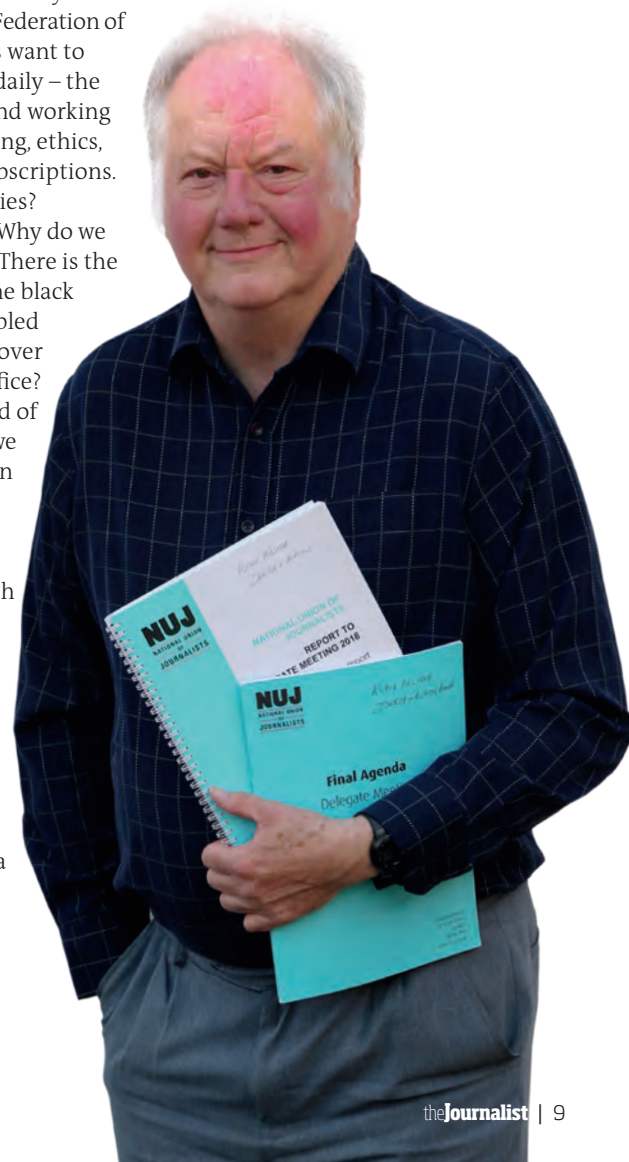
I don't have the answers. But we need a full review for the union to run well, attract, retain and inspire new members and, in turn, work for them.

Let's use our skills, resources and contacts with other unions to learn best practice. I hope branches and members will be consulted and urged to give positive views, so a blueprint can be presented to delegates in 2020.

People should contact head office or development committee chair Natasha Hirst with ideas ([info@nuj.org.uk](mailto:info@nuj.org.uk)).

I am decluttering my office. I hope the NUJ can do the same for its future.

**Kevin Palmer is a member of Derby and Burton branch**



 For all the latest news from the NUJ go to [www.nuj.org.uk](http://www.nuj.org.uk)

# Reading Rusbridger

**S**ince stepping down from his 20-year editorship of The Guardian, Alan Rusbridger has written a book, *Breaking News: the Remaking of Journalism and Why it Matters Now*. Rusbridger's Guardian was known for its focus on issues such as the environment as well as investigative scoops such as the Edward Snowden revelations, the phone hacking scandal and Wikileaks.

He explains his motivation for writing the book: "I did 20 years of editing, and then [I] took about a year to sort of recover and reflect, and then I thought, actually, what I really wanted to do was to describe that period in journalism, which saw a fantastically profound revolution."

He adds that people outside the industry have discussed the 'digital revolution' but no one has written about experiencing what it was like.

*Breaking News* also deals with fake news. "It seems to me that journalism at its best is a pretty good toolkit for determining accuracy. It's imperfect – but then everything is," he says.

In a perfect world, journalism would be the answer to fake news, he says, with journalists having learnt the basics of things such as accuracy, fairness and multiple sources. "That's what journalism should be, and it should be an answer to fake news. The problem we have today is that the machine for pumping out fake news is so enormous that it's almost impossible for journalism to catch up. Well, it is impossible for journalism to catch up.

"So I think what the world is struggling with today is the sheer volume of material that's being generated – not all of which is fake, some of it is really good – and how you apply the filter of journalism to try and distinguish between what's true, what's half true and what isn't true."

## Lydia Wilkins talks to the former Guardian editor about changes in journalism and their implications

*Breaking News* is not an autobiography. Although there are personal anecdotes, it is more of a reflection on being at the centre of news, and the effects of going online.

One point it makes is that going digital has meant a quicker pace of news consumption, so it has the potential to make a newspaper more fallible. "There's something about the unrelenting pace of news now. There's a great pressure to be first, to be quick, and that's partly because there's a public appetite for it. If you're not updating minute by minute, then you will lose a certain audience," Rusbridger says.

There should not be a tension between speed and accuracy in newsgathering, he adds, as news agencies are already in place to fill that role.

A lot changed in journalism during Rusbridger's tenure, including the rise of the internet, an inquiry into press ethics and the largest stash of state secrets being leaked to a newspaper.

However, Rusbridger does not think diversity in journalism is good enough, despite having improved in recent years.

"I think it is getting better in some places, but I think journalism was not alone in being quite late to work out what it should be doing. Gender, I think, is better. When I was at The Guardian we ended up with sort of 50-50 in the sort of senior

editorial team. Ethnicity, again is getting better in some places."

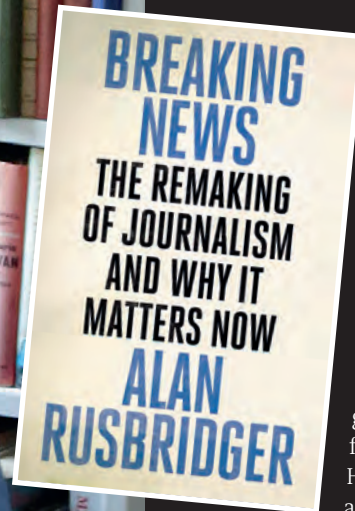
He thinks that journalism as an industry has woken up to what it could be doing better. A 2017 report commissioned by the National Council for the Training of Journalists suggests that journalism students are more likely to be in work six months after graduation if they are white, do not have a disability and belong to a higher or middle socioeconomic group. It also suggests that journalism is less ethnically diverse than the UK workforce as a whole, with around 94 per cent of journalists being white.

Our conversation turns to ethics. Under Rusbridger's editorship, Nick Davies broke the story of phone hacking at the *News of the World*, which led to police investigations as well as part one of the Leveson inquiry. Revelations are still playing out in court, as well as with whistleblower John Ford coming forward to reveal what he alleged took place at The Sunday Times. Ford also makes a brief appearance in *Breaking News*.

Rusbridger says he does not know the substance of Ford's allegations, but says the press makes great use of whistleblowers so they should be taken seriously and deserve to be heard.

The book also touches upon newsroom culture. At the time of the phone hacking trial, one conclusion of Byline Media chief executive Peter Jukes, as documented in his book *Beyond Contempt*, was that the environment in the *News of the World's* newsroom might have encouraged the illegal activities.

"I think there is a problem, which is not unique to the *News of the World*, which is that newsrooms can be very harsh places, and can be dominated by one or more people who can seem quite intimidating, and journalism as we know is not a great place to be looking for jobs at the moment."



He says that insecurity in newsrooms is a result, and the instinct is to go along with the culture of the place and do as you are told is understandable.

Those affected by press intrusion are campaigning for part 2 of the Leveson inquiry to go ahead (it was scrapped by former culture secretary Matt Hancock). Hacked Off has applied for a judicial review, which has been granted for 1 November.

“In the end, I thought Leveson 2 should take place. If the prime minister stands up in the House of Commons, and promises something’s going to happen and Leveson himself came out and said ‘I think there should be a part 2’, I thought there was enough to go at.”

Rusbridger recognises that no industry would want its business practices scrutinised.

Breaking News also explores the possibility of independent and hyperlocal publications solving the problem of concentrated media ownership. One example is De Correspondent, a website in The Netherlands, known for raising money before to publishing stories. Referring to its business model, Rusbridger says: “There’s this new media mantra, ‘your readers know more than you do.’”

Somebody who works in a school or hospital is likely to know more than a journalist – why could they therefore not be used as a resource? They could be a source as well a fact checker for the final copy before publication, he suggests.

When asked about advice for aspiring and existing journalists, Rusbridger ponders about the state of the industry today. “Well, I think there are some bits of journalism that never change,” he says, mentioning the principles of accuracy, fairness and multiple sources.

He also notes that, while there is potential for mistakes to be shared widely, it is also likely that they will be found out within minutes.

“To any young journalist, there is no hiding place, and you have to be really, really good,” he says, noting that once they are trained to be arbiters of truth, they need to fulfil that role.

As I leave, one last photograph is being taken; he’s immersed in a Philip Roth book while classical music plays in the background.

This epitomises the image of the Rusbridger Guardian that I have; aside from a hat trick of scoops and its legendary journalism, what remains is an introverted former editor, who has been caught in the eye of so many storms.

**Breaking News is published by Canongate Books**

Journalists are going into PR for more than money, reports **Jenny Gibson**

# Bright allure of the 'dark side'

**B**efore Katie Lewis even donned her graduation gown to collect her first class journalism degree from the University of Huddersfield this summer, she was settling in to her first professional job.

In the first few weeks of her marketing role with a medical supplies company, she flew to Madrid to meet international health chiefs and got involved in a string of creative projects.

A love of fashion magazines first prompted Lewis to study journalism – but this is no hard-luck story about hopes dashed. In the first year of university, her developing passion for PR overtook early aspirations to be a journalist and today she is just where she had hoped to be.

Lewis is not alone. Increasing numbers of trained journalists are not just leaving the profession early but are bypassing it all together in favour of PR, marketing and the fast-growing arena of content creation.

According to the Public Relations & Communications Association's 2018 PR & Communications Census, the UK industry is now worth £13.8 billion and employs 86,000 people, following a decade of year-on-year growth.

Three years ago, the NCTJ found that 18 per cent of journalists were working in PR and communications within a year of qualifying, compared with 1 per cent in 2012. That figure is likely to be higher still when its next survey is released in September.

Attributing this trend to newspaper industry woes is a disservice to PR. The attraction is at least as much about the profession's own merits – chiefly, the levels of both creativity and power now at play, thanks to technological advances.

Practitioners are getting to flex their multimedia muscles in constantly evolving ways as PR enjoys increasing influence over the news agenda as well as connecting directly with audiences to effect tangible change.

And PR recruiters are actively looking for journalists. Joely Carey, who has edited mass-market magazines including News UK's Sunday supplement Fabulous and now works as a content director for brands, is one of them. "Before the digital massacre of publishing, landscapes outside newsstand titles tended to be shunned by creative journalists and editors who really wanted to make an impact. Not any more," she explains.

"The changing boundaries mean the options open to journalists are wider than ever – they can be videographers, strategists, planners, copywriters, script writers or advertising brand executives."

She adds: "Roles outside traditional media are also exciting because they have budgets! There are great jobs around for journalists, just not in traditional media."



“Traditional fashion and music journalism is dead – just check out the fashion mags that have closed in the last few years. And show me a thriving music publication. But fashion and music content is very much alive, via different types of outlets.

“More and more skilled journalists are turning to other content worlds. And they are doing fantastically well. Why? Because they understand storytelling and that’s what matters.”

Evidence of the growing sector is supported by a recent Chartered Institute of Public Relations poll which said 59 per cent of agencies and consultancies and 31 per cent of in-house communications teams were expanding this year. Trained journalists are often the ideal choice to fill new roles.

Paul MacKenzie-Cummins, managing director of Clearly PR in Wiltshire, said 63 per cent of his staff, past and present, have some form of journalism degree. “As the PR and marketing industry has developed, the whole ‘dark side’ argument has fallen away,” he says.

“People are starting to realise it’s a genuinely good career opportunity – one that uses the exact same skills that journalism graduates have trained for.”

Michael Murray-Fennell, head of PR for English Heritage, which has won awards for its creative communications, such as turning the nation onto jousting as a spectator sport, echoes these sentiments.

“People who’ve trained in journalism not only have an eye for a story – they know the elements required to make it work. They know what journalists need on a practical level,” he says.

“Our team members all have a passion for history. Whether you are in to travel, art, business or politics, you can pursue that passion in PR, in the same way that journalists can find their specialism.”

If PR and marketing once had a buttoned up and boring image compared with journalism, that too is changing. The award-winning communications team at the Canal & River

Trust, riding high on interest in water pollution sparked by BBC’s *The Blue Planet*, is well known for its quirky, light-hearted content.

National communications manager Jonathan Ludford said: “We try to be friendly and accessible and we have fun. The last thing we want is for something to look like it was written by a committee. People don’t communicate in that way.”

Underpinning this creativity is the satisfaction of building a campaign, attracting interest from journalists who have hundreds of PR-generated story ideas at their disposal on any given day, counting the media hits and watching content take flight on social media.

Lewis is discovering all this for herself. “I love my new job,” she says. “I’m working on several projects and no two days are the same. I have the opportunity to write and be creative and that’s what I always wanted.”

Lewis’s route is not new or unusual. In comparing the two professions of PR and journalism, for many students and trainees, PR comes out top.

## How to impress PR recruiters

### Sell those skills

Make sure your interviewer knows you have a great nose for news or razor-sharp proofreading skills.

Jonathan Ludford of the Canal and River Trust says: “We are very journalistic. We go out and look for stories.

“Our people will say ‘we haven’t got much to report’ then tell you amazing tales of divers, cranes and fish rescue that they don’t think are newsworthy because it’s just part of their daily work.

“Great news gatherers are in high demand at organisations like ours.”

### Think broadly

Media relations is the third most common activity in PR, according to Chartered Institute of Public Relations. Before that

come copywriting and editing.

But Paul MacKenzie-Cummins of Clearly PR, also observes: “The last few years have seen an incredible rise in demand for content across all sectors. There is a range of tasks.”

### Consider all skills

Offer more than words.

Joely Carey, who has created content for Three Mobile, Vita Coco and Sainsbury’s, says: “There are loads of opportunities but you need a wide skill set. If you love data, become a content analyst. If film is your thing, create social video. Explore media and play with tech. Understand the platforms.

“There is no golden formula but I look for people who take incredible pride in their work and are fiercely ambitious.”

Amy Daubney, marketing and communications officer at the National Day Nurseries Association, studied journalism at the University of Sheffield, graduating in 2013.

She says: “I did work experience with a regional newspaper. This was an eye opener as I saw how staff were stretched, working long hours across several titles.

“I decided I was more suited to PR, having spent summer breaks as a communications coordinator for a charity. I loved writing press releases and liaising with the local press in that capacity.”

For Viki Harris, senior communications officer at Kirklees Council, a graduate of print journalism at the University of Huddersfield, it was the idea of the death knock that changed her career aspirations.

She says: “I originally wanted to be a feature writer for women’s magazines. At the time, the way to get there was through local reporting. The death knock just wasn’t something that sat well with me – I’m too soft. Journalism looked less appealing but pursuing a career in PR in the not-for-profit sector meant I could use my skills to help others.

“The best thing is seeing the difference our work makes, whether that is encouraging more people in abusive relationships to get help or increasing recycling rates by 50 per cent.”

The ability to make a difference cannot be underestimated. Niall Couper, head of media, PR and supporter communications at Amnesty International, is a case in point. He went into journalism to uncover truth and expose corruption. “I didn’t take that path in the end,” he says.

“I worked on the sports desk at the Independent, which was great fun but didn’t really feed in to that original goal. Working for Amnesty does, however, give me the chance to feel like I am actually making a worthwhile difference.”

In some ways, nothing has changed. In others, everything has. A good story is still king. But the possibilities of who will pay a skilled journalist to craft, package and present that story are wide open.

“Traditional fashion and music journalism is dead. But fashion and music content is very much alive via different types of outlets

**Paul Routledge** celebrates the long history of the Trade Union Congress

# 150 not out

**A** century and a half! And we're still here, despite political hostility, rogue employers and profound economic change. The Trades Union Congress has just celebrated its 150th anniversary in Manchester. No other social institution can point to such long, continuous activity against the odds and with a real, if challenging, future ahead.

Back in Victorian times, nobody told working people they needed to get together to look after their mutual interests. Not priests, nor poets, nor politicians. They worked it out

for themselves, which gave these newfangled organisations their organic strength.

Trade unions were a natural human response to exploitation in the workplace and in society generally. If we're all in this together – and we are – the more important it is to stick together.

It was never going to be easy. Scroll back to 1799, when the Combination Acts were passed, making it illegal for workmen to join others to demand a pay rise or better conditions. In 'the English Age of Terror', anyone attending a meeting to raise wages

could be sent straight to jail.

Worse, they could be transported to the colonies, like the Tolpuddle Martyrs. Landmark disputes like the Match Girls' Strike of 1888 and the Dockers' Tanner dispute in the following year established hard-fought rights at work.

The General Strike of 1926 was a failure but, in the Second World War, unions were harnessed in the war effort and TGWU leader Ernie Bevin became foreign secretary in the postwar Labour government. Unions became an estate of the realm and treated seriously as social partners. The English model was exported to Germany.

When the TUC celebrated its centenary in 1968 – my first year covering it, coincidentally, for the Manchester Evening News – congress was a mosaic of every trade and occupation under the sun. And virtually every town and city.

There were unions for plumbers, electricians, bank staff, water workers, dockers, train drivers, town hall staff, draughtsmen, seamen, steelworkers – and another for blastfurnacemen. London had the Watermen, Lightermen and Tugboat men. Luton had the Felt Hat Trimmers. Rossendale had the Boot, Shoe and Slipper Makers.

You name the job, it had a union. There were five civil service unions, three postal unions and a fistful of print unions, each with fiercely independent sections. I counted at least half a dozen textile unions, including the mysterious Beamers, Twisters and Drawers. And so it burgeoned, until membership of TUC-affiliated unions passed the 12 million mark. With its sheer size and impact on public life through collective bargaining and political activity, the



TUC LIBRARY COLLECTIONS AT LONDON METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY

**1868**

The first Trades Union Congress – 'the parliament of labour' – was held in Manchester at the Mechanics' Institute. It drew trade unionists from all over the UK.



TUC LIBRARY COLLECTIONS AT LONDON METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY

**1888**

The Match Girls' Strike in London, followed by the Dockers' Tanner strike – fin de siècle of union expansion into hitherto unorganised trades.



1907, NUJ WAS FORMED

**1907**

The NUJ was formed. It is now one of the biggest journalists' unions in the world with 38,000 members in the UK and the Republic of Ireland.



TUC LIBRARY COLLECTIONS AT LONDON METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY

**1926**

The General Strike, nine days that shook Britain. It was called by the TUC in an unsuccessful attempt to prevent wage cuts and worse conditions for miners.

'union question' began to dominate from the mid 1960s.

Union leaders like Joe Gormley of the National Union of Mineworkers, Jimmy Reid of the shipbuilders and Jimmy Airlie of the engineers' union were household names. Polls showed people thought Jack Jones of the TGWU was more powerful than the prime minister.

Harold Wilson's Labour government set up a royal commission on unions to decide whether union power was a good thing. Its verdict was like that of a Scottish court: not proven, either way.

The Tories were under no illusions. After his victory in 1970, premier Edward Heath brought in the ill-fated Industrial Relations Act, with a National Industrial Relations Court (NIRC) to enforce the law. A Trades Union Congress boycott effectively stymied the legislation, but not before five striking dockers had been jailed for contempt of the NIRC. The TUC's threat of a general strike – the first since 1926 – got them released.

The miners' strike of 1974 triggered a general election that returned Wilson to Number 10, and pro-union employment secretary Michael Foot repealed the hated act. But, after the 'winter of discontent' of 1978-79, Maggie Thatcher swept into power on the back of hostility to the unions.

Everything changed. The years of social partnership, with union leaders sitting on the National Economic Development Council, ended. The days of union peers and knights of the realm sitting on the TUC general council petered out. To Thatcher, we were 'the enemy within'.

From 1981, laws curtailing union activity were passed virtually every year, each more stringent than the last. The closed shop was banned, pre-strike postal ballots were

imposed, and union funds were opened up to legal assault.

The final chapter was written in 1984, with the crushing of Arthur Scargill's NUM in the strike for jobs and the 1986 destruction of the print unions in the Wapping dispute. Dozens of journalists on The Times, Sunday Times, The Sun and the News of the World were sacked, along with 5,500 printworkers. Some never worked on the nationals again.

It was the nadir of trade union fortunes. After Wapping, the received wisdom was that you could not win a strike. Like all conventional wisdom, it was only partly true, as refuse collectors in Leeds and social workers in Doncaster proved with their successful dispute.

It isn't easy to win, but it's not mission impossible. After 12 strikes in one year, rail workers on Greater Anglia this summer declared victory in their campaign to keep guards on trains.

The number of days lost through disputes is at an all-time low. Unions have had to adapt to the Tories' legal straightjacket that was only slightly loosened by Tony Blair's New Labour governments.

Legal paths to union recognition was the biggest change. The NUJ has been prominent in using the new law, but many industrial employers still stop at nothing to keep unions out.

Europe has proved to be an unexpected source of support. In the 1975, the TUC opposed UK entry to the Common Market. After the 'Yes' vote, British union leaders took their places on EEC bodies alongside European unions.

Thereafter, we benefited from some European reforms: the working time directive, rights for part-time and

agency workers and the like.

Theresa May has promised that, after Brexit, there will be no rowing-back from those gains. Rightly suspicious of the old enemy, the unions look to Labour MPs to hold May to her word. The Manchester congress demanded a Brexit deal that meets union demands on jobs, rights at work and peace in Northern Ireland – and a people's vote to decide if it does or not. Unions have taken Labour in a new direction, which has yet to undergo its test, in a post-Brexit general election.

The mosaic of 1968 has disappeared. Most smaller unions have gone, subsumed into one of the Big Three: Unite, Unison or the GMB. New growth has been largely in the professions, particularly public services like the NHS.

At the historic Manchester congress, issues such as sexual harassment dominated the workplace agenda. Some things just never go away, just like the unions themselves. The Musicians' Union highlighted adverts for 'attractive women violinists', unbelievable in the 21st century.

I joined the NUJ on my first day in the job as a reporter on the now-defunct Northern Despatch in Darlington in July 1965. It just seemed the natural thing to do. Everybody was a member.

It is harder now, not just because employers are hostile and quick to hire union-busting lawyers, but also because workers are dispersed in penny packets, locked into zero-hours and short-term contracts. Employment has grown at the expense of 'proper' jobs, making it much more difficult to organise.

But the spirit of the pioneers who met at the Mechanics' Institute in Manchester in 1868 to form a parliament of the workers lives on, and every new generation finds out for itself the wisdom of getting together for the common good.



AJAX NEWS



DAVID HICKES / ALAMY STOCK PHOTO



RICHARD MILDENHALL / ALAMY STOCK PHOTO



JESS HURD

## 1968

The Royal Commission on Trade Unions, set up by Harold Wilson, returned a 'not proven' verdict on whether union power was a good thing.

## 1984-85

A national strike over jobs by Arthur Scargill's National Union of Mineworkers was defeated by the Thatcher Government

## 1986

Print unions were crushed by Thatcher in the Wapping dispute in which 5,500 print workers were sacked by Rupert Murdoch.

## 2013

NUJ member Frances O'Grady became the first woman general secretary of the TUC in succession to Brendan Barber.

# Lady Chatterley's lawyer

The legal battle over DH Lawrence's book was a crucial step in the freedom of writing. It also gave the papers a field day, says **Jonathan Sale**

**T**he innocence of Lady Chatterley" was the Evening Standard's splash on its West End Final that both the literary and the unliterary world had been waiting for. On 2 November 1960 came the triumphant conclusion (for defence QC Gerald Gardiner) of what was later described as 'the most important trial ever held at the Old Bailey'.

There was no one in the dock of court no 1, neither the heroine of Lady Chatterley's Lover, who was fictitious, nor author DH Lawrence, who was dead. The man having his collar felt, publisher Sir Allen Lane [pictured right leaving the trial with Lady Lane] had been allowed to sit with his solicitors during the proceedings. He featured in the second lead on the Standard's front page: "Now we can go ahead" says Penguin chief. The third lead, devoted to the historic case, was 'Fresh air blows though England', a quote from Lawrence's joyful stepdaughter.

On 20 October, Penguin Books had gone waddling into the Old Bailey at the start of the trial, possibly to have its flippers smacked for publishing 'an obscene article, the book "Lady Chatterley's Lover"'. Had it been first published today, the novel might at worst be nominated for a Bad Sex Award ("... strange thrills rippling inside her. Rippling, rippling, rippling...").

On the result of the trial in 1960 rested the fate of 200,000 copies already printed and locked in a warehouse, ready to be whisked into bookshops. Or pulped, in which case Lane, the chief Penguin who had put a lot of eggs into the Lawrence basket, would have been looking at a substantial loss instead of a substantial profit. It

would have been not Lane but the opponents of the fledgling Permissive Society who would have been dancing in the Strand.

Geoffrey Robertson QC has flagged up the crucial importance of this trial. A contributor 50 years later to the commemorative edition of the novel, he declared the verdict to be "a crucial

step towards the freedom of the written word. It was the gate through which the Sixties swung."

The press certainly stampeded through that wide open door. The trial was the gift that went on giving, day after day of men in wigs reading out explicit passages – a fraction of the book but a large portion of the trial – describing adulterous, alfresco love-making between a baronet's wife and a gamekeeper possessed of a potent 'John Thomas'. For cartoonists, late October meant an early Christmas.

The News of the World gagman depicted the consternation in court at the entrance of an elderly rustic hobbling up to announce with a leer: "Oi were Lady Chatterley's lover." As the judge's disapproval of the novel became increasingly apparent, the Daily Mail showed one worried penguin squawking to another: "I've been feeling terribly sub judice these last few days!"

A Daily Herald cartoon showed a vicar's wife, struggling over a crossword, who asks her shocked husband for help: "A four-letter word in common use?" The Herald was one of only two papers (the other being, naturally, The Guardian) whose reports dared to spell out the actual four-letter words uttered in court; the red-tops hid them modestly under a shower of asterisks.

More obliquely, a cartoon in Punch magazine picked up on a point made by those who said that the book was, despite its enthusiastic sex scenes, fundamentally pure at heart (a classics teacher told the court it would be suitable for her pupils). A disappointed vendor of saucy periodicals grumbled that he would not bother to stock the novel, as it was "so decent it's even fit

## Should one's servant read this?

**In June 1928**, two years before DH Lawrence's death, 1,000 copies of Lady Chatterley's Lover are printed privately in Florence and, in 1929, another edition is published in Paris. Copies are impounded by Customs at British ports.

**August 1959** The Obscene Publications Act allows a book to be judged as a whole, not just on individual passages. In January 1960, Penguin decides to publish Lady Chatterley's Lover – unexpurgated. In July, when 200,000 copies are being printed, the public prosecutor's nephew, over dinner with Penguin's printers, warns his uncle will prosecute. Publication date (25 August) is cancelled. Penguin hands 12 copies to Scotland Yard to kick off legal proceedings.

**20 October** The trial of

Penguin for publishing 'an obscene article' begins at Old Bailey court no 1 and adjourns until 27 October so the jury can read the book.

**Day two** The prosecuting counsel asks the jury if members would like their wives or servants to be exposed to this

promiscuous tale. Witnesses for defence include the bishop of Woolwich, two female Oxbridge lecturers and three professors. (No literary figures appear for prosecution, whose only witness is a policeman who picked up copies from Penguin.)

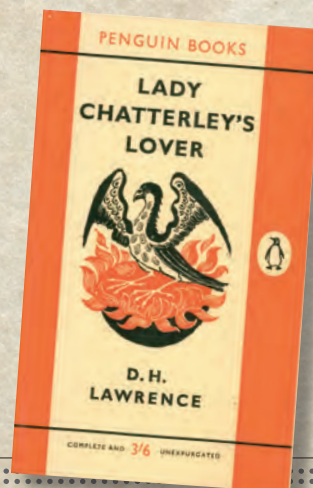
**Day three.** Witnesses include EM Forster, future home secretary Roy Jenkins, a headmaster and a classics teacher.

**Day four.** Witnesses include the editor of The Guardian, future Conservative minister Norman St John-Stevas and future poet laureate Cecil Day-Lewis.

**Day five** Closing speeches for defence and prosecution are given.

**Day six.** The jury retires for three hours. Declares Penguin not guilty.

**April 1961.** Penguin shares are oversubscribed 150 times.





## Looking back to: 1960

for schoolgirls”.

All this was very jolly but it was not the cartoonists who caused the most raucous laughter to echo down the decades. It was the prosecuting counsel, Mervyn Griffith-Jones, who accidentally bowled himself out in his opening speech on the first day of the trial. Under the impression that he was really on a roll, he put to the jury the most clunkingly inapposite question in legal history: “Is it a book that you would even wish your wife or your servants to read?” He got his answer: the amusement of the three women and nine men on the jury – and not in a good way.

While the rest of the country was chortling, Penguin’s lawyers were making a serious point: the recent Obscene Publications Act meant that naughty bits alone should not cause a book to be banned. As a campaigner for that legislation and a witness for the defence, the late Norman St John-Stevas (Lord St John of Fawsley) explained to me much later: “The changes that had been introduced allowed for the first time the book’s literary value to be taken into account.”

The most fervent witness was probably Richard Hoggart, lecturer and author of *The Uses of Literacy*. He was mocked in a headline as the ‘potty prof’ but was later played by David Tennant in a BBC docu-drama about the trial.

Accepting this was by no means Lawrence’s finest work, Hoggart aimed straight for the stumps to counter the prosecution’s references to pornography; he came up with another ‘p-word’, praising the novel as ‘puritanical’ in its call for honesty between consenting adults. Griffith-Jones appealed to the umpire, or judge, that this could hardly apply to a lady having an adulterous relationship, whereupon Hoggart bowled him a googly by bringing up the lovemaking scene featuring Adam and Eve in *Paradise Lost*. This was one of the bold strokes that won the match.

When the judge asked the jury on the sixth day if they believed the novel to be obscene and thus likely to deprave and corrupt its readers, after three hours of deliberations the answer turned out to be: Lady Chatterley is innocent.

“Why was the prosecution so incompetent?” muses Steve Hare, Penguin’s historian. “It was partly down to arrogance. Had they put together a decent prosecution case, it is possible that the defence of *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* would have failed.”

The test case had been won. Publishers had (mostly) got the director of public prosecutions off their backs.

“It was the harbinger of a whole host of liberal measures,” notes Robertson. It was not just a new freedom for the written word but also part of the liberation of theatre, film, gay rights and divorce. And Lawrence’s novel was serialised on Radio 4. In the *Book at Bedtime* slot, of course.



GETTY IMAGES

# Trial by crowdfunding

**Nick Wallis** thought the treatment of subpostmasters was scandalous, but how could he cover the story?

**T**he Post Office's treatment of its subpostmasters – the people who run local post offices – is a story the Daily Mail says “likely represents one of the most widespread miscarriages of justice in the UK this century”. In parliament, it has been called a national scandal.

I got involved eight years ago when a man told me his pregnant wife had been thrown in prison for stealing £70,000 from her own Post Office. He was adamant she was innocent. It did not take long to find out dozens of subpostmasters were claiming that errors within the Post Office's Horizon IT system had led to them losing their jobs and livelihoods.

Since then, I've made several investigations for the BBC, including one for Panorama. There have been two parliamentary debates, a select committee investigation, two independent investigations by forensic accountants and a mediation scheme that collapsed in acrimony.

Throughout, the Post Office has maintained it has done nothing wrong and that its Horizon system is robust. Several hundred former postmasters, however, claim they have lost money, been wrongly sacked or even prosecuted for crimes they did not commit.

When the prospect of a trial came up, I tried to stay on the story as much as possible. I went to a pre-trial hearing at which the Post Office admitted something it had told Panorama was, in fact, untrue. I was the only journalist in court and went on the One Show the same evening and reported this crucial detail, which had been let slip during hours of otherwise tedious legal horse-trading.

Sadly, the One Show, for all its merits, is not geared up to cover the ins and outs of a 20-day trial.

I knew the best I could hope for from any broadcast news outlet was a commission to report the trial's start and outcome. No one was going to pay me a month's salary to sit through every day of the trial. But, if no other journalist went along, key evidence – the sort of evidence that could make this a bigger story – might go unreported.

I began to think about crowdfunding. I knew Peter Jukes had raised enough cash via Indiegogo to tweet from the phone-hacking trial, and I also looked at Byline. In the end, I decided to throw my lot in with Kickstarter, largely because of its all-or-nothing approach. Backers would only have to fulfil their pledges if I reached my £3,000 target. If I failed to reach that minimum, there would be no mess to untangle and no one would lose any money.

I recorded a video, commissioned my brother-in-law to design a logo, wrote up some rewards and launched the bid late one Friday night. My

**// No one was going to pay me to sit through every day of the trial. But, if no other journalist went along, a bigger story might go unreported //**

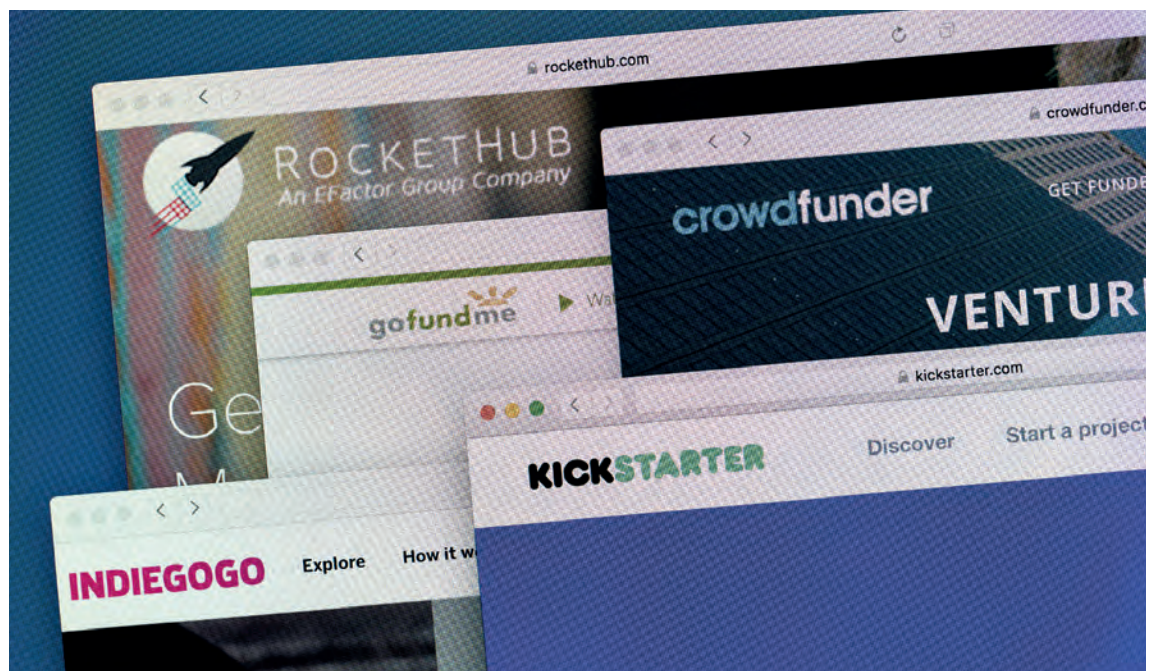
promise was simple. Get me to the minimum-funding mark and, when the trial starts on November 1, I will post a daily court report online, available to all, for free.

By the time I woke up the next day, I had received more than £1,000 in pledges. Within four days, I had reached my target. Within two weeks, I was 200 per cent funded, meaning I would no longer make a loss on the project. I was astounded.

Kickstarter advises compiling a list of everyone who might be able to fund you, grouping them together and devising various strategies for targeting those groups. This is good advice, but the only strategy I used was to send a mass email to everyone I knew as soon as the project was live. This was followed by enthusiastic tweets and Facebook posts.

From my dashboard of Kickstarter-tracked site referrals, it seems the vast majority of early backers came from that email or via people who forwarded that email. Contacts, in other words, and contacts of contacts.

Whatever the outcome of the trial, it will not be the end of the story. The Criminal Cases Review Commission has been carrying out its own investigation to see if any subpostmasters' convictions should be referred to the Court of Appeal, and there is the prospect of another trial as part of the same class action happening next March. That one could be even juicier – but, right now, I'm focused on making sure I fulfil my obligations to my backers and to public interest journalism.



Going online hits reader time. **Raymond Snoddy** peruses a study

# From digital dream to readership nightmare

**B**y the time The Independent went online-only in 2016, the decision seemed inevitable. The internal cannibalisation by the i newspaper had seen the latter's cut-price sales shoot far ahead of the Indy.

The £25 million sale of the i to Johnston Press was the equivalent of sending the Independent's print edition to Dignitas.

It all looked like good business for the long-suffering owners. Going online was portrayed as the next great step forward for The Independent, which had always been a bit of a trailblazer.

Suddenly, the shackles of print dropped away and, like alchemy, print losses were turned into gold and the world was The Independent's new oyster.

It was not so good for the nearly 100 journalists who lost their jobs nor for the 'lucky' survivors who faced pay cuts to work online – but, come on, this was the future.

Amid the talk of modernisation were a few warning voices. Doesn't most newspaper advertising revenue come from print and, surely, people spend more time with a printed edition than casually flicking online?

Wouldn't there be a cost in terms of impact and influence even though metamorphosing into a digital butterfly produced a profit of more than £2.5 million?

We now know, thanks to research by Neil Thurman and Richard Fletcher, that the transition to digital does indeed bear a cost, certainly in The Independent's UK market.

At first sight, a drop in The Independent's UK readership of one per cent seems trivial, unimportant. It compares, however, with a 25 per cent

average rise in readership of the other 12 British national newspapers that have maintained print editions.

The reason behind the disparity appears to be a fundamental difference in behaviour between reading print and online.

More than 50 per cent of The Independent's print readers read the title nearly every day, and for between 37 and 50 minutes.

Last year, The Independent's online readers spent on average less than six minutes a month with the brand. The drop in reading time in the UK is down by more than 70 per cent.

Now The Independent sees the US as its largest market. In its first post-print year, online traffic from outside the UK grew by 50 per cent, followed by a further 20 per cent rise last year.

At the very least, the research suggests, British publishers should be wary about chasing digital-only dreams and make far greater efforts to shore up their print editions before declaring the move to online inevitable.

Many see The Guardian as the next online-only candidate, and certainly its US reach is impressive following the Pulitzer prize-winning Snowden coverage.

Under Alan Rusbridger's editorship, the primacy given to digital, detailed lovingly in his memoirs, *Breaking News*, suggests digital-only is the direction of travel. After all, other revenues – including digital and membership – now outstrip print advertising.

It would be a mistake to pull the plug on print and, even if it worked for The Guardian – which

is more a set of beliefs than a newspaper – it would not necessarily work for newspapers in general.

Beware the sirens singing of a digital-only future. They could lure you onto the rocks of 70 per cent less reading time, at least in the UK.

Eventually, even pragmatic advertisers will notice such a difference.

**Thurman N, Fletcher R (2018) Are newspapers heading toward post-print obscurity? A case study of the Independent's transition to online-only. Digital Journalism. <http://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2018.1504625>**

**“ Beware the sirens singing of a digital-only future. They could lure you onto the rocks of 70 per cent less reading time ”**



**For the latest updates from Raymond Snoddy on Twitter follow @raymondsnoddy**

# arts with attitude

Some of the best things to see and do with a bit of political bite

For listings email: [arts@NUJ.org.uk](mailto:arts@NUJ.org.uk)

## Film

### How Scottish factory workers took on the Pinochet regime



Forty four years ago, a group of Rolls Royce factory workers from East Kilbride grounded Augusto Pinochet's murderous regime ... and only now is their story being told.

Scotland-based filmmaker Felipe Bustos Sierra, the son of a Chilean exile, grew up hearing tales of remarkable international solidarity and set out to find the truth. It took him five years.

"Over time the story became a bit of a myth, with lots of embellishments and exaggerations," he told Creative Scotland, which part-funded the project.

"I was hoping to find the workers and set the record straight. I never imagined I'd find so much about how much of an impact they'd had."

In 1973, engine inspector Bob Fulton and his horrified colleagues watched on television as Hawker Hunter jets flew low over Santiago

and fired rockets into the city centre, killing civilians during a brutal military coup.

They recognised the jets because they had worked on their Rolls Royce engines. So, when the engines were returned from Chile the following year, the workers refused to repair them. One night, in 1978, they mysteriously disappeared.

Bustos Sierra tracked down the workers who, 40 years on, had never realised the impact of their actions.

He says: "If international solidarity means anything to you, if you believe - like we do - we are all connected trying to make a life for ourselves while treating each other like human beings before politics, class, language or borders muddle it up, this story is for you and it has a painstakingly documented happy ending."

<https://naepasaran.com/>



by **Tim Lezard**

## Festival

### Newport Rising

2-4 November  
Newport

This new festival marks the last large-scale armed rebellion against authority in Great Britain.

In 1839, an estimated 10,000 Chartist sympathisers, many of them miners, marched through the Welsh town to free imprisoned fellow Chartists. Troops opened fire, killing 22 protestors. The leaders were sentenced to death.

To commemorate the event, organisers plan to reclaim the streets with a torch-lit march on the Westgate Hotel, street circus and drumming followed by a weekend of live music, theatre and street food.

[www.newportrising.co.uk](http://www.newportrising.co.uk)



## Music

### Wexford Festival Opera

19 October-4 November  
Wexford

Wexford Festival Opera is renowned for discovering and presenting hidden gems, not only in its operas on stage but also in the outstanding cast of singers it presents.

This year, its 67th, is no exception with a dynamic directory of divas from 11 countries singing such classics as Mala vita, L'oracolo, Il bravo and the somewhat less Italian Dinner at Eight.

[www.wexfordopera.com](http://www.wexfordopera.com)

## Grace Petrie

On tour throughout October

Grace Petrie - a favourite of this column since Glastonbury campfire

singalongs with a previous general secretary a decade ago - is touring her eighth studio album this autumn, Entitled Queer as Folk. The Leicester

singer uses the album's lead track, Black Tie, to challenge what she describes as society's 'narrow view' of gender.

"I wrote this song to my younger self, to say the way you are - and to anyone else who ever felt like they were - is not wrong. There is not just one way to be a woman.

There is not one way to be a man. You don't even have to be either." A new album, but already a classic.

<http://gracepetrie.com>

## Books

### Bumblebee Nation

David Crouch

Karl-Adam Bonniers Stiftelse

"It has such a fat body and such tiny wings, yet it flies." So says David Crouch on how Sweden - with high wages, strong unions, generous welfare and regulated

markets - defies the laws of economic gravity.

The former Financial Times journalist and NUJ activist moved to Scandinavia five years ago to become a lecturer, and this lavishly designed and beautifully

illustrated book is the fruit of his labours.

<http://tinyurl.com/y8dp78c2>

### The Other Side of the Ribbon

Brian Thomas

Brian Thomas, a 71-year-old journalist, looks back at his career as a reporter in the rural South West in this scrapbook of local newspaper office eccentricities. The book is Illustrated throughout with cartoons.



Brian tells Arts with Attitude: "I thought it would be nice to record some of the silly, off-beat things said and done in the newsroom." It strikes a chord with this former reporter. [www.bookdepository.com/book/9781530466733](http://www.bookdepository.com/book/9781530466733)

**Television**

**Sharp Objects**  
Hot on the heels of the BBC's Press, the media again takes the spotlight in HBO's Sharp Objects.

Alcoholic crime reporter Camille Preaker (Amy Adams) returns to her Missouri hometown to cover the murders of two girls.

Based on the debut novel by Gone Girl author Gillian Flynn, this psychological gothic thriller, featuring a heroic editor will keep you gripped until the end.

And I mean the very end. Keep watching until after the credits of the last episode.

<http://tinyurl.com/y9fkq8m7>

**Film**

**The Wild Pear Tree**

Released in the UK on 30 November  
Ahlal Ağacı (to give it its Turkish title) premiered at this year's Cannes Festival and was selected as the Turkish entry for Best Foreign Language Film at the Oscars.



Stunningly filmed, it tells the story of wannabe writer Sinan, who returns to the village of his birth to raise the money required to publish his novel only to find his father's debts holding him back.

[www.imdb.com/title/tt6628102/](http://www.imdb.com/title/tt6628102/)

**Music**

**Bragg in Hope not Hate benefit**

**Billy Bragg has announced a one-off fundraising gig** for Hope not Hate.

The Bard of Barking is joining forces with Scottish rabble-rousers The Wakes in London on 25 January to help replenish the charity's coffers after its work foiled a plot to murder a Labour MP.

Billy Bragg has a long history of fighting fascism - who can forget him confronting BNP London assembly member Richard Barnbrook on the street in 2010? - and is happy to donate his fee to the charity.

He said: "Our friends at Hope not

Hate have played a significant role in the conviction of British neo-Nazis at the Old Bailey.

"They've been working on this for over a year and, now they've been successful, they want to build on the important work they do in challenging, confronting and, as we've seen, ultimately defeating the far right."

Matthew Collins from Hope not Hate told Arts with Attitude: "We're very grateful for the support of the trade union and labour movement - ASLEF and the GMB are supporting the gig - and people like Thompsons



Solicitors have given us extraordinary support.

"Billy Bragg has also been tremendous and we aim to make sure this night is one to remember."

<http://tinyurl.com/yb3kg3f7>

**Comedy**

**Politics for Bitches**  
Luisa Omelian

**Touring the UK until December**

Luisa Omelian does not shy away from the hard issues - her first show was entitled What Would Beyonce Do? In her new offering, she addresses topics from public spending to housing, and from cannabis to cancer.

"Politics is so dry and inaccessible," she says, warning the show also includes dick jokes.

<http://www.iloveluisa.com>

**Theatre**

**The Height of The Storm**  
Wyndhams Theatre, London  
Until 1 December

This new play by Olivier award-winning Florian Zeller brings together for the first time two of the greatest actors of

their generation, Eileen Atkins and Jonathan Pryce, as a couple who have been in love for more than 50 years. Then one weekend, when their daughters visit, a bunch of flowers shows up ... but who sent them?

<http://theheightofthestorm.com>

**The Wipers Times**  
Arts Theatre, London  
Until December 1

Private Eye editor Ian Hislop and cartoonist/sketch writer Nick Newman's story about a newspaper in the trenches returns to the stage following a well-received BBC adaptation and a sell-out run last year.

The true tale of a group of soldiers who discovered a printing press in 1916 Belgium, the Wipers Times

prints poems, jokes and essays about life in the trenches, a precursor to Private Eye and Charlie Hebdo.

[www.wipertimesplay.co.uk](http://www.wipertimesplay.co.uk)



**Performance Poetry**

**John Cooper Clarke**  
Touring the UK this autumn

For a writer with a tight word count, describing John Cooper Clarke is a challenge, but I'll give it a go: he's a poet, movie star, rock star, TV & radio presenter, comedian and a social and cultural commentator. I'm out of words now, but go and see him. He's funny. And entertaining.

<http://johncooperclarke.com/gigs/>



**Spotlight: The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists**

**Magic money tricks in an Edwardian show**

"Money is the cause of poverty because it is the device by which those who are too lazy to work are enabled to rob the workers of the fruits of their labour."

That line, delivered by Frank Owen in the Ragged Trousered Philanthropists, is

the centrepiece of a new stage adaptation of Robert Tressell's 1914 classic novel, the manuscript of which is held by the TUC.

The money trick, as it is called, is used by the socialist house-painter to explain to colleagues how the use of

money under capitalism exploits the working class.

Owen and other characters from the book - hypocritical Christians, exploitative employers and corrupt councillors - come to life at the hands of actor Neil Gore, who is this autumn touring

the UK with what he describes as an Edwardian magic show, promising political conjuring tricks, live music and song.

The TUC's copy of the manuscript can be seen at [www.unionhistory.info/ragged/ragged.php](http://www.unionhistory.info/ragged/ragged.php)

<http://tinyurl.com/y8ktuhy2>





# Your Say...

inviting letters, comments, tweets

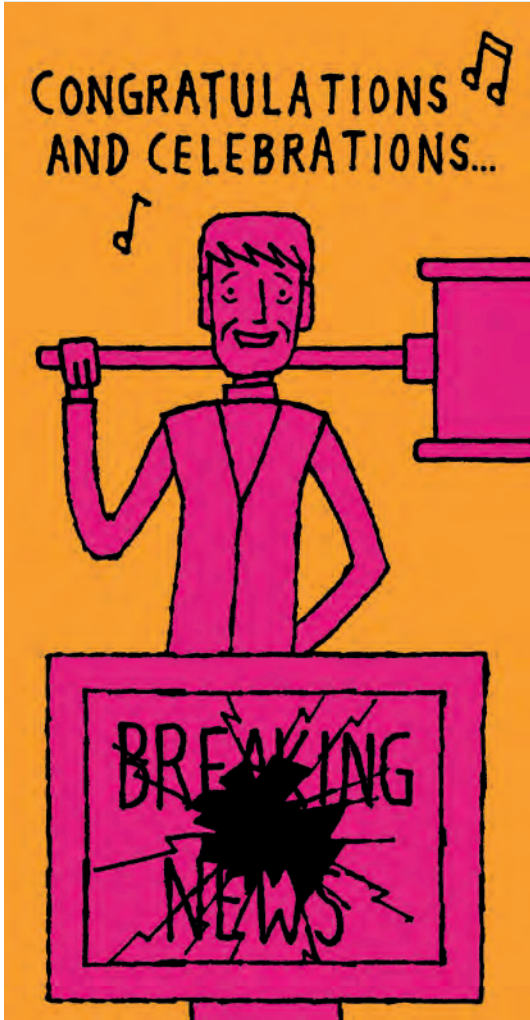


Please keep comments to 200 words maximum

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Tweet to: @mschrisbuckley



TIM ELLIS



## Cliff Richard was right to fight trial by media

The Journalist devoted generous space to disapproving commentary of the High Court's refusal to legitimise the BBC/police conspiracy to invade and film Cliff Richard's home in his absence. The BBC claims the decision to award Sir Cliff damages will have a 'chilling effect' on press freedom.

It will mean 'more restrictions, more abuse of power', says Raymond Snoddy. It may even - horror of horrors - mean that people arrested but not charged (or, in Sir Cliff's case, not even arrested) have the right to privacy and natural justice.

Once upon a time, this was called presumption of innocence. It is an ancient right, dating back to Magna Carta and the bedrock of basic justice and a civilised society.

In recent years, this precious right has been traduced to the point of destruction by much of the media. Shamefully, journalists have promoted, almost obsessively, vigilante witch hunts and public pillorying as 'news' - even as fact - when the only evidence is gossip and hearsay. Trial by media rules.

Thanks to his wealth and considerable courage, Cliff Richard has called their bluff and we ought to be grateful to him. The BBC/police invasion of his home was not a 'scoop' but an outrage that left privacy and presumption of innocence in shreds. At the very least, it ought to sound an alarm for those who still pride themselves in being journalists.

**John Pilger**  
London

£30 prize letter

For now, editors and news editors are unsure where they stand although maybe caution and restraint in such matters is no bad thing.

Neither was there any support for the 'BBC/police invasion' of his home while Sir Cliff was abroad. Such reporting should never have happened, certainly not in the form it did.

But it is a serious matter to move from that to a blanket ban that would mean another freedom is lost and one which is impractical to impose anyway in the age of the internet and the social media.

**Raymond Snoddy**

## Mirror is hypocritical over workers' rights and unions

The extraordinary level of double standards shown by Mirror management towards the trades union movement might be regarded as laughable if it wasn't so depressing.

Its national titles claim to champion the right of workers to belong to a trades union. Indeed, the Daily Mirror recently celebrated the TUC's 150th anniversary with a series of double page spreads about the history of the movement.

Yet NUJ members on the same paper and sister titles the Sunday Mirror and Sunday People are denied a say in negotiations over pay, working conditions and redundancies at their Canary Wharf HQ. This is because Mirror bosses choose to recognise the British Association of Journalists, not the TUC-affiliated NUJ. When will this hypocrisy end?

**NUJ Mirror member**

## Simplicity of photo story gave it great power

Thank you for Bill Batchelor's extraordinary photograph and account of Leon Greenman, thought to be the only Englishman sent to Auschwitz (August/September).

I found the simplicity of the image and economy of the writing hugely powerful. So often we over-elaborate to the detriment of impact.

**David Brindle**  
London



## Populism beat accuracy in contradictory column

The media is now divided into two classes: columnists, who get a page of prominence to develop a pet subject; and the rest of us, who are confined to comment in the small print.

A columnist for a respectable publication has a duty to support his opinions with evidence and logic - and certainly not contradict himself. But no, the object of columnism is the same as populism: to achieve emotional resonance with readers rather than deliver wisdom, nuance and common sense.

On his way to his chosen conclusion, Raymond Snoddy damns his own case twice. This makes it difficult for him to see that what he is really saying is that the bully should be given an unconditional licence to go on bullying.

The media continually claims to be the protector of free speech and the public interest (or the sinister-sounding 'greater good'). It must justify this self-belief.

The problem, I suspect, is that few journalists have been on the receiving end of media abuse in which no public interest is involved and free speech is entirely one sided. They don't

understand why they should restrain themselves from spying on private residences from helicopters.

**Nick Inman**  
Occitanie  
France

## Snoddy: freedom under threat if precedent set

To be clear, there was no 'disapproving commentary' of the High Court decision in the Sir Cliff Richard case but of the general implications of such a ruling if it becomes a legal precedent without proper scrutiny or legislation.

**Copyright cases would end if rights were respected**

When digital photos leave the photographer, they should and usually do include metadata identifying the copyright holder and rights granted so prospective users such as David [Skentelbury] (letters, August/September), could quickly check if they have the right to publish. How sensible.

However, publishers and clients routinely and quickly delete metadata, removing the ability to check and putting people in David's position at considerable risk. If they kept it and abided by rights agreements, there would be no claims. It's the publishers/clients who cause these problems, not the photographers.

The Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 says only the copyright holder (having invested time, talent, money and personal risk) has the right to set licence conditions and fees. Judges at the Intellectual Property Enterprise Court and Court of Appeal have repeatedly reminded publishers they must stop publishing unlawfully (without prior permission).

To the publisher, using a photo without permission is just a one-off infringement, so what's the big deal? For the typical freelance photographer like me, it's cumulative. I have 21 active cases in six countries (having settled 140+). That's an extra day's work each week, so I use a specialist company, adding to costs. Every infringement reduces my income.

**John Walmsley**  
*London Freelance branch*

**True equality is good for kids, parents and society**

I read Jeremy Bowden's feature 'Gender equality lags behind in parenting', and I couldn't agree more.

It's my experience that fathers love their children just as much as mothers do. But sexist expectations mean that fathers get stuck working long hours to support their families, while missing out on the fun of actually spending time with their kids. Meanwhile, women's careers stall because they take time out to care for children.

'Fairness' works both ways. There will not be true equality until it is expected that men get to spend as much time with their kids as women do.

I look forward to the day when that happens. It will be good for the kids as well as the parents, and thus for society as a whole.

**Helen Johnson**  
*Northallerton*

**Holding power to account at The New York Times**

The excellent BBC 2 series Reporting Trump's First Year: the Fourth Estate focused on the work of New York Times journalists holding the Trump administration to account.

It also highlighted the newspaper's tremendous commitment to journalism, particularly investigative, despite the costs and the challenges caused by the loss of advertising to the internet. The owner of The New York Times and its senior editorial team

clearly see the crucial importance of high quality journalism, even while they are having to make cuts.

The work of New York Times journalists can be compared with the the UK where newspapers have cut journalist numbers, year after year.

That surely means that those in power here are not being held to account as they should be because resources – journalists – have been cut. I write as a retired local government reporter.

Quality journalism doesn't come cheap but newspaper companies really need to re-evaluate where they are going and whether they are serving readers well enough.

I dread to think what those in power are getting away with, with the cuts in journalist numbers on both regional and national newspapers.

**Phillip Nifield**  
*Life Member Cardiff*

**Google fact check is linked to US state broadcaster**

Amid all the fake news discussions, I find it amazing that every time I check out Google News I see a column on the right headlined Fact Check.

And, invariably among the sources Google quotes at me, are items from Polygraph.info. A simple check reveals that Polygraph.info is a source of US propaganda run by the same organisation as the Voice of America.

Either the algorithms have been

infiltrated by the National Security Agency or else Google is keen to stay on the right side (pun intended) of the US government.

**Dave Siddall**  
*Cockermouth Cumbria*

**Forget literary agents - crowdfunding is as good**

I read Ken Murray's letter on getting books published with interest and can offer some advice based on my own experience. Why not cut out a literary agent altogether?

I suggest that he contacts crowdfunding publisher Unbound. You don't need an agent to submit your proposal to them.

The drawback is you have to raise the cost of your book upfront, but once that is achieved, your book is published and distributed in the usual way, both in bookshops and as an e-book online.

I published my biography of Laurie Cunningham, the first black footballer to play professionally for England as a hardback last year. The book has done well and was shortlisted for an award.

I had never written a book before and had a small online presence. But, through a combination of email and social media, I hit my funding target within months. I found the whole process to be straightforward and doubt if my book would have seen the light of day otherwise.

**Dermot Kavanagh**  
*London*

**STEVE BELL**

**THE OWNERS**





## Derek Ingram

**Derek Ingram, founder of the Commonwealth Journalists' Association, was known to many as Mr Commonwealth.**

Awarded an OBE for his services to journalism, he will be remembered as one of the key British media figures to help topple all-white rule in Rhodesia and apartheid in South Africa.

Sonny Ramphal, the secretary general of the Commonwealth during 1975-90, said: "I came to regard him as a member of the extended family of the Commonwealth secretariat. I thought he never lost his journalistic independence or his ability to question."

Ingram attended all the Commonwealth heads of government meetings from the first in Singapore (1971) until problems with his back, leg and breathing prevented him from attending the Malta meeting in 2015.

He was regarded by leading journalists in Britain as a man with an almost encyclopaedic knowledge of the 'club' of nations. Many regret that he never finished a long-awaited biography charting his course from Daily Mail assistant editor in the 1950s and part of the 1960s to when he founded Gemini News Service in 1967, which did so much to cement ties between journalists and politicians in the UK and those in countries freshly freed from colonialism.

Derek Ingram was born at Westcliffe-on-Sea on June 20, 1925, the only son of a two Londoners. His mother Amy Clara was a concert singer and cabaret artiste and his father Stanley ran a small publishing company. He left school at 16 to become a trainee reporter and, at the age of 18, was laying out the front page of the Daily Sketch. After service with the Royal Navy in Malta and Italy, he joined first the Daily Express then the Daily Mail, leaving that paper to found Gemini.

For many young reporters in the developing world, an internship at Gemini in London shaped their lives and careers.

Well into his 70s, Ingram was still travelling the world, monitoring developments in the Commonwealth for the Commonwealth secretariat in London.

**Trevor Grundy**



## Nick Cole

**Veteran Lincolnshire journalist Nick Cole - an NUJ branch and chapel official for many years - has died aged 72.**

Tributes were paid by local councillors, Scunthorpe's MP and many former colleagues.

Nick's newspaper, the Scunthorpe Telegraph, carried a two-page spread, noting his dedication and ability to track down front-page scoops. Most of these were obtained by talking to a huge range of contacts in local pubs and clubs, scribbling notes on scraps of paper or beer mats.

Nick started out in the 1960s on the Scunthorpe Star. He also worked on papers in Lancashire and the Midlands. He was best-known for his work on the Scunthorpe Telegraph, which he joined in 1976. Up to the week before his death he was bringing in notable stories and a host of tip-offs.

For decades, Nick penned popular columns on the local music scene and North Lincolnshire's pubs and clubs. He championed the cause of Scunthorpe's main heavy industry - steelmaking - of which he had extensive knowledge.

Scunthorpe MP Nic Dakin said: "Nick was Scunthorpe through and through; he loved the place and the people. He celebrated our area and was a talented journalist with a great nose for news."

Nick was NUJ father of the chapel for many years, leading negotiations to better the lot of members. He was also branch chairman and area representative on the federated chapel.

He supported young journalists, some of whom gained high-ranking positions. One of them, Peter Barron MBE, former editor of the Northern Echo, called Nick his first journalistic hero.

He said: "Nick was a kind of Claude Greengrass of local newspapers, and certainly the heartbeat of the Scunthorpe Evening Telegraph. Rough round the edges, fiery at times but mostly kind and gentle."

Following Nick's funeral in Scunthorpe, family, friends and former colleagues gathered at a hotel he often visited. On display were some of his articles and pictures of him at work - several at licensed premises.

**Nigel Fisher**



## Alex Main

**A Highland personality who was a life member of the NUJ has died at the age of 86.**

Alex Main was the doyen of the Highland press world and won 15 trophies as manager of former Highland League side, Caledonian.

Married to Ella, he had two sons, Alan and Richard and two grandchildren, Nicolas and Leah.

From Inverness, Alex began his career in journalism in 1947 with the Inverness Courier and went on to work for the Highland News, Football Times, Press and Journal, Daily Mail, Daily Express, the Scotsman and before finally returning to the Inverness Courier. He retired on April 25, 1997.

Along with being made a life member of the NUJ, he also won the Barron Trophy, which recognises lifetime achievement in journalism.

He was also a keen golfer and was a former captain of Fortrose and Rosemarkie Golf Club.

He was probably best known for his football exploits. He was a member of the Caledonian FC committee before emerging as manager of the club. He went on to win an impressive haul of trophies, including four Highland League titles. With his writing skills, he wrote a history of Caledonian FC in 1986 - Caley All The Way - The First Hundred Years.

John Ross, chairman of the Highlands and Islands Press Ball and former Highlands and Islands correspondent with The Scotsman, said: "Alex was one of the finest journalists in an era of fierce competitiveness in the newspaper industry. He was hugely respected, not only by his colleagues but also those he wrote about."

"Such was his contribution to journalism in the Highlands and Islands that he was made an honorary member of the Press Ball. There is also a trophy presented annually in his honour to encourage and reward young journalists and promote the high standards of accuracy, fairness and balance for which Alex was known."

**Gordon Fyfe**

**More obituaries are on the NUJ website - [www.nuj.org.uk](http://www.nuj.org.uk)**



# On the Maigret trail

**Conrad Landin** walks in the footsteps of reporter turned author Georges Simenon

**T**here are four daily newspapers in Liège,” Georges Simenon writes in *Maigret and the 100 Gibbets*.

When I arrived in the city earlier this year, I tried to find the *Gazette de Liège*, the paper Simenon – best known as the creator of detective Jules Maigret but the author of hundreds of novels besides – started reporting for aged 15. It has now been incorporated into national tabloid *La Libre Belgique*.

I had more luck finding *La Meuse*, the other Liège regional that features prominently in the novels Simenon set in his home town. Its strapline, “*Le Quotidien de Liège*”, suggests it is the last survivor of the four. Its front page is dominated by the funeral of Cyril Vangriecken, a 22-year-old man killed the week before in a terror attack.

Had this tragic episode occurred during the crime writer’s youth, it could well have ended up immortalised in fiction. Simenon, after all, would often say he was “incapable of making anything up”. In his preface to *Pedigree*, his autobiographical bildungsroman set in Liège, he observes that “everything is true while nothing is accurate”.

Naming 10 famous Belgians is a legendary parlour game. Like Jacques Brel, Hergé and the fictional Hercule Poirot, Simenon is often assumed to be French.

Liège is full of the tiny bars and seedy alleys one associates with its most famous son. But it marks him in a rather half-hearted fashion.

Perhaps this can be explained by the controversy over Simenon’s activities during the Second World War. Having moved to France in 1922, he remained there under the German occupation

and signed a declaration that he was Aryan to collect film royalties.

I found a walking tour of Simenon’s Liège on an antiquated fan site ([www.trussel.com/maig/liege.htm](http://www.trussel.com/maig/liege.htm)). When I set out with a Belgium-based journalist friend, we found glass plaques and subtle arrows pointing the way. But it did not appear a well-trodden path. My hopes for a selfie with the bench-dwelling statue of Simenon at the Place du Commissaire Maigret were dashed when I saw he had company. Not a fellow reader, alas, but an incurious tourist munching on frites.

In the island neighbourhood of Outre-Meuse we found several further childhood homes, but the most evocative place was the Church of St Pholien.

On March 2 1922, Simenon’s friend Joseph Kleine was found dead, hanging from the door handle of the church. It’s a scene – a haunting memory, sketched over and over again by unsuccessful artist turned newspaper photo-engraver Jef Lombard – that Simenon recreates in *Maigret and the 100 Gibbets*.

Lombard’s occupation is not just spare detail. Simenon pitches the workaday nature of the newspaper trade in opposition to the extravagant artistry of the Companions of the Apocalypse, whose secret past Maigret eventually uncovers in this novel.

“Just imagine if you’d told me then I was to be a photo-engraver!” the character, once a member of this sordid fraternity, remarks. But Lombard’s transition – successful on paper, but never quite complete – suggests the worlds of hack and hedonist are closer than meets the eye.



GRANGER HISTORICAL PICTURE ARCHIVE / ALAMY STOCK PHOTO / ARTERRA PICTURE LIBRARY / ALAMY STOCK PHOTO



“ He could never leave quite escape the world of rushed reporting, sensational narratives and an uneasy relationship with the truth

This novel is full of crushed preconceptions. Maigret visits the four newspapers of Liège to discover the truth of what happened 10 years before. As well as accurate historical record, their archives come to symbolise the ease with which history can be amended. Another member of the Companions, Joseph Van Damme, is one step ahead of Maigret, removing 15 February’s paper from each archive.

In another novel, *At The Gai-Moulin*, Maigret works with the Liège police to dupe a crime reporter who “always prints what we tell him”. The journalist is led to believe that Maigret, having been arrested in an earlier part of his ploy, has shot himself. The fake news spreads across the local media, is accepted as fact, and then helps Maigret solve the case.

Simenon’s genius is often attributed to his youthful temptation to the criminal underworld. But, after leaving his home city and journalism behind, he could never leave quite escape the world of rushed reporting, sensational narratives and an uneasy relationship with the truth. Perhaps it’s just as well.

# The truth about Corbyn, as reported

## Chris Proctor goes behind the headlines

**J**eremy Corbyn's been poking his nose into my business again. He's now suggesting he could raise money from tech companies to 'fund top-quality investigative journalism'.

Let me tell our little red chum that our proud profession has nothing to be taught on that score. Some of our colleagues can investigate literally anything, at lightning speed, producing balanced and incisive outcomes entirely in conformity with the sponsor's wishes. You don't get more professional than that. Anything can be shown to be of public concern, and everyone proved guilty.

What would you like? Sweden implicated in Salisbury nerve gas scandal? Mother Theresa's hash habit? Or what about 'Corbyn the ageist'? 'Pensioners vote Labour at their peril'? 'Seniors to suffer under socialists'?

Give me 10 minutes and I could ferret you out damning photographic evidence of Corbyn smiling at a retirement party. An observer may think it shows a bloke having a good time with old mates; an investigator will recoil in horror at the malignant smirk of an unrepentant ageist wallowing in his fetid loathing of those of more advanced years. There's enough there for a spread in the Mail. But you'd like more?

In the early 1980s, Mr Corbyn blatantly wore bell-bottomed trousers to antagonise generations of Oxford-bags-and-trilby-hat sporters. A contemptuous rejection of his seniors and, ergo, latent discrimination.

Only last month Corbyn publicly criticised Benjamin Netanyahu who, through no fault of his own, is now pushing 70.

Evidence has emerged that in the 1960s he possessed Bob Dylan's 'The Times are a-Changin'', with its damning lines, 'Please get out of the old world/If you can't lend your hand.'

This frightening revelation demonstrates a trio of Corbyn outrages. One: dubious grammatical phrases. Two: given that only one hand is in evidence in the tract, prejudice against mono-brachiumists. Three – most revealingly – unambiguous age-related hostility.

These facts are enough to make any citizen of the UK over the age of 26 turn prematurely in their grave.

And is this all? No! He has come out with some disgraceful remarks about senior citizen Trump (72).

Nearer home, Corbyn and his cronies championed forcing free bus passes onto the elderly. At a stroke – and I use that word advisedly – tens of thousands of pensioners stopped walking up hill to the shop and instead took the bus to the boozier. Obesity and cirrhosis took their toll and pensioners dropped like flies. Corbyn's face was behind those buses.

And why is he so closely linked to the Stand Up For Labour movement? Who finds it most difficult to stand up? The elderly, of course. And yet Corbyn insists that they hold themselves erect in support of himself and his policies.

This SUFL movement – or secret faction or satanic sect, depending on the publisher – is a cabal of so-called comedians. So tell me this: why is there no room for the likes of Jim Davidson (64) or Jimmy Tarbuck (78)? Too old, I suppose.

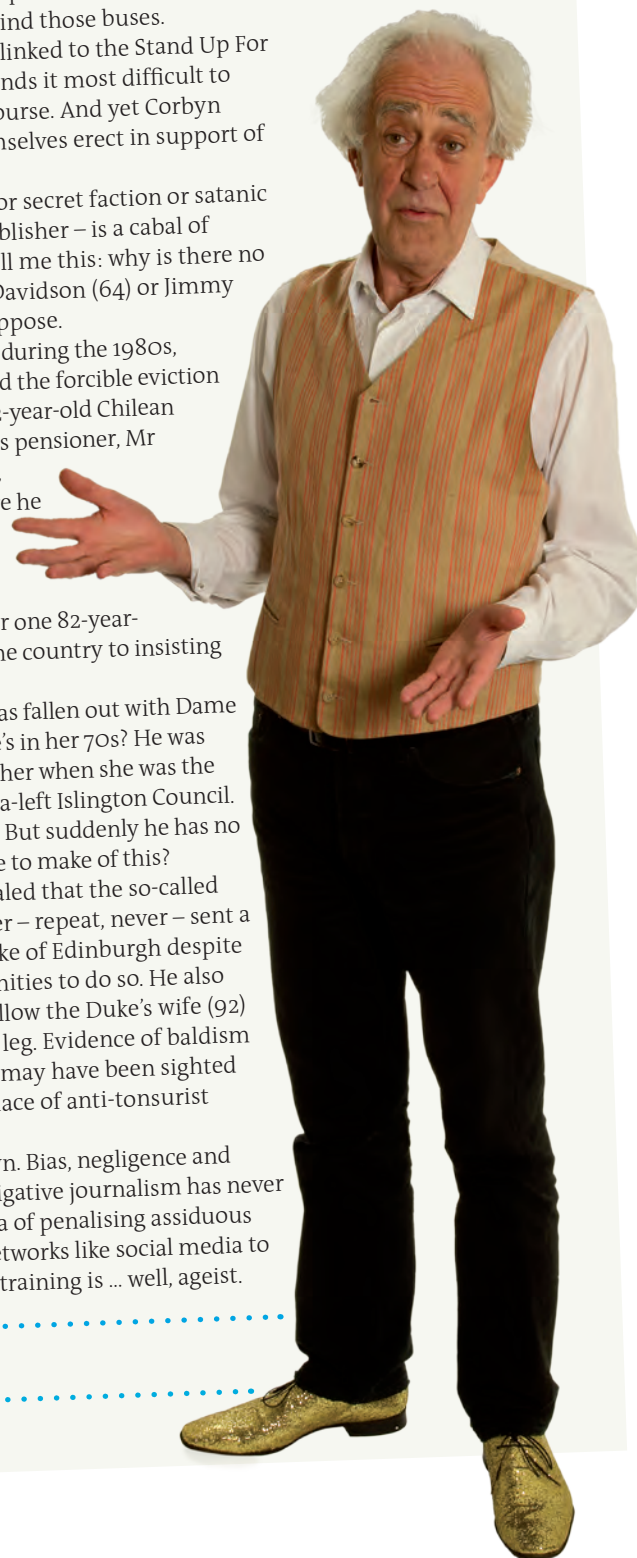
And let's not forget that during the 1980s, Corbyn publicly demanded the forcible eviction from this country of an 82-year-old Chilean gentleman. He wanted this pensioner, Mr Pinochet, a retired despot, despatched to Spain where he was wanted on charges of human rights violations.

Chilling, isn't it? It's a short step from calling for one 82-year-old to be thrown out of the country to insisting they all get the heave-ho.

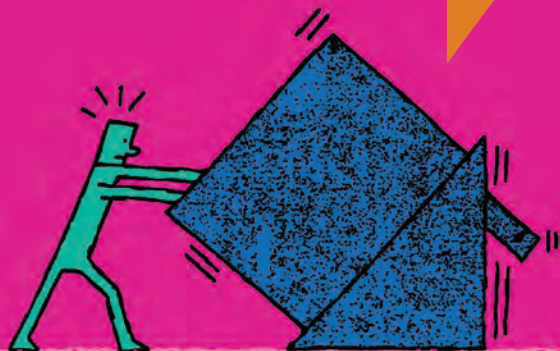
And how is it that he has fallen out with Dame Margaret Hodge now she's in her 70s? He was distinctly chummy with her when she was the 28-year-old leader of ultra-left Islington Council. Best of mates, they were. But suddenly he has no time for her. What are we to make of this?

A probe has also revealed that the so-called Jeremy Corbyn has never – repeat, never – sent a birthday card to the Duke of Edinburgh despite having had 98 opportunities to do so. He also appeared reluctant to allow the Duke's wife (92) to attach a garter to his leg. Evidence of baldism is unconfirmed, but he may have been sighted near the final resting place of anti-tonsurist activist Ken Dodd.

So think again, Corbyn. Bias, negligence and innuendo apart, investigative journalism has never been healthier. The idea of penalising assiduous news-disseminating networks like social media to fund this unnecessary training is ... well, ageist.



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**Members of the National Union of Journalists are expected to abide by the following professional principles**

- 1** At all times upholds and defends the principle of media freedom, the right of freedom of expression and the right of the public to be informed.
- 2** Strives to ensure that information disseminated is honestly conveyed, accurate and fair.
- 3** Does her/his utmost to correct harmful inaccuracies.
- 4** Differentiates between fact and opinion.
- 5** Obtains material by honest, straightforward and open means, with the exception of investigations that are both overwhelmingly in the public interest and which involve evidence that cannot be obtained by straightforward means.
- 6** Does nothing to intrude into anybody's private life, grief or distress unless justified by overriding consideration of the public interest.
- 7** Protects the identity of sources who supply information in confidence and material gathered in the course of her/his work.
- 8** Resists threats or any other inducements to influence, distort or suppress information, and takes no unfair personal advantage of information gained in the course of her/his duties before the information is public knowledge.
- 9** Produces no material likely to lead to hatred or discrimination on the grounds of a person's age, gender, race, colour, creed, legal status, disability, marital status, or sexual orientation.
- 10** Does not by way of statement, voice or appearance endorse by advertisement any commercial product or service save for the promotion of her/his own work or of the medium by which she/he is employed.
- 11** A journalist shall normally seek the consent of an appropriate adult when interviewing or photographing a child for a story about her/his welfare.
- 12** Avoids plagiarism.

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