

# theJournalist

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## DOUBLE EXPOSURE

Photographers and editors  
navigate copyright minefield



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Copyright is a minefield both for photographers who have their images used without permission and for conscientious editors who attempt to do the right thing but find themselves the subject of claims. In our cover feature Natasha Hirst, chair of the photographers' council, highlights the problems and ways to overcome them.

Natasha is also now the union's vice president following the delayed delegate meeting. The biennial meeting was due to be held last year but was derailed because of the pandemic. In common with other unions' recent conferences, the NUJ's delegate meeting in May was held virtually via a combination of a zoom webinar and a voting platform.

However smoothly virtual conferences go, they are still strange events and wrangles with mute/unmute are inevitable. But the meeting was brilliantly chaired by president Sian Jones who was endlessly professional, patient and good-humoured, making it much more human than it could have been.

Delegates voted for union subscription rates to increase for the first time in seven years after warnings that the union could face a forced merger if its income wasn't increased. Delegates also voted for The Journalist to be brought back as a print copy for those who opt for print. Hopefully it will soon land on members' doormats again.

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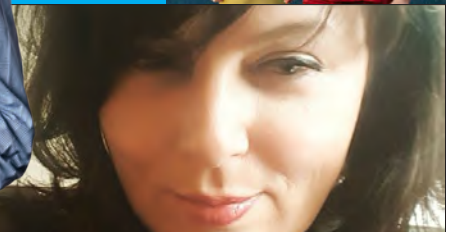
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**Cover picture**  
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# Reach to pay back £4 million to employees who had pay cut

**REACH**, publisher of the Mirror, the Express and many regional news titles, is to pay back up to £4 million to employees who had pay cuts imposed for three months at the start of the coronavirus crisis last year.

The move followed action by the NUJ through an employment tribunal claim on behalf of a group of staff. Initially the publisher agreed to pay the group which was mounting the tribunal claim but then a few weeks later broadened the offer to all staff who had suffered the pay cut.

The union had argued that the pay cut, which was not agreed with staff, breached employment contracts. A one-off payment will be made in September.



Around a fifth of all Reach staff were put on furlough at the start of the pandemic, receiving 90 per cent of their wages. The publisher claimed £7 million from the government in 2020 to cover the 80 per cent of pay which the government guaranteed under the furlough scheme which Reach is no longer using.

Reach said that although staff will be reimbursed the board and executive committee, who took pay cuts of 20 per cent, will not

take any reimbursement.

Last year, as the pandemic began to grip the industry, the NUJ had criticised the fact Jim Mullen, chief executive and Simon Fuller, chief financial officer, had been paid nearly £300,000 in bonuses and shares of about £1 million from the company's long-term incentive plan.

NUJ general secretary Michelle Stanistreet said: "This is great news for our members who struggled to instantly adapt to working from home at the start of the Covid crisis while at the same time they were forced to endure a hefty pay cut.

"We look forward to discussing with the company how all our members will finally get their money back."



**We look forward to discussing with the company how all our members will finally get their money back**

**Michelle Stanistreet**  
NUJ general secretary

## inbrief...

### ONE IN 10 WOULD PAY FOR ONLINE NEWS

Only 10 per cent of people are willing to pay for online news compared with 47 per cent for films and TV shows and 33 per cent for music, according to a survey commissioned by Stripe, an online payment technology company that works with groups such as News UK and Substack.

### ARCHANT STARTS TO HIRE JOURNALISTS

Archant, the Norwich-based regional publisher, is recruiting about a dozen journalists including seven reporters and an editor in East Anglia, two magazine editors in London and Essex and editorial assistants in the south west and north of England.

### IFJ CALLS FOR AFP TO REHIRE ABU BAKR

The International Federation of Journalists has called for the reinstatement of Nasser Abu Bakr, president of the Palestinian Journalists Syndicate (PJS), following his sacking by French news agency AFP after 20 years of work. His dismissal followed AFP's concerns over his strong defence of the rights of Palestinian journalists.

## Government call for safety evidence

**The NUJ is urging all UK members to submit evidence about threats and attacks to the government's National Committee for the Safety of Journalists.**

The NUJ is a member of the committee which brings together key representatives of government,

journalism, policing, prosecution services and civil society. It published an action plan and the evidence gathered by the government will add to the measures contained in the plan.

The deadline for submissions is 11.45pm Wednesday July 14.

You can complete the survey here:  
[https://dcms.eu.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV\\_cPdJWUrlJ2lrPo2](https://dcms.eu.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_cPdJWUrlJ2lrPo2)

An NUJ survey last year found that more than half of respondents had been abused online and nearly a quarter had been physically assaulted.

## Windfall for NUJ charities

**THE UNION'S** charities – NUJ Extra and the George Viner fund – have received a significant boost from branches donating money they would ordinarily have spent on hiring venues and funding meetings. Like the NUJ's central operations, branches have saved large amounts of money because the lockdown restrictions have stopped travel and face-to-face meetings.

Last year £32,000 was raised for the charities which

help journalists in times of need and help black and ethnic minority journalism students.

Earlier this year Glasgow branch donated £7,000 each to NUJ Extra and the George Viner fund.

Many journalists have turned to NUJ Extra for help during the pandemic because their work dried up and they also fell through the cracks of the government support system which excluded many freelance workers.



### Recognition win at openDemocracy

The NUJ has won recognition at openDemocracy, the media group which says it seeks to educate citizens to challenge power and encourage democratic debate. Adam Bychawski, a staff NUJ rep, said: "We are really pleased that openDemocracy's NUJ chapel has been voluntarily recognised.

Unionising is crucial to achieving openDemocracy's mission of challenging power and inspiring change. We are looking forward to working with management to ensure we live and breathe those values in our workplace."

# Undercover police targeted journalists, spycops inquiry reports

**UNDERCOVER** police spied on journalists, the Undercover Policing Inquiry (UCPI) revealed at its opening, *writes Matt Salusbury.*

The UCPI is examining the conduct of undercover Metropolitan Police units the Special Demonstration Squad (SDS) – founded in 1968 – and the National Public Order Intelligence Unit that replaced it in 1999. Undercover officers from these units spied on more than 1,000 political and campaigning groups over many years.

The inquiry opened with tranche 1, part 1, covering 1968-1973.

When the opening statements were being made last November, inquiry lawyer David Barr QC described a Special Branch report from 1971, which cited intelligence gathered by an SDS officer.

The report, dated June 25 1971, describes “a meeting of the editorial board” of Indochina, the magazine of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign – the only publication on UCPI’s long list of organisations infiltrated by SDS in this period.

Indochina had a “British complicity” column, cataloguing British support for the Vietnam War. Not everyone had the skills needed to produce a magazine using early 1970s technology. In that time of the closed shop, when many employers hired only union members, it is likely some of the Indochina editorial board were in the NUJ.

The SDS report says: “The meeting discussed policy for the paper. It was agreed it should maintain its present format, although more emphasis would be made that the struggle in Vietnam was identical with the class war being fought in other capitalist societies.”

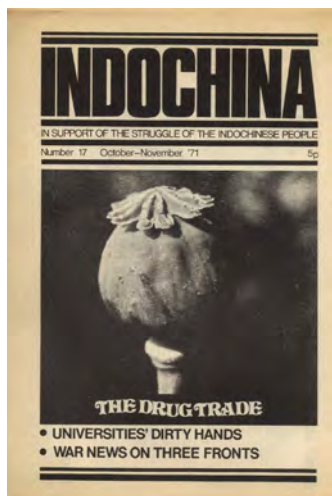
The now deceased author’s blacked-out name is replaced with ‘HN338’. A restriction order makes it an offence to reveal his real name.

John Hendy QC, representing trade unions, in his opening statement to the inquiry referred to a Special Branch index card from 1973 showing its Industrial Intelligence Unit kept files on several trade unions. Two newspapers featured in the same filing index – the Morning Star and Socialist Worker.

In response to these disclosures, the NUJ said it was “not surprised that the Special Branch was attending and interfering with editorial meetings in the early 1970s”.

The part 1, tranche 2 of the UCPI was in progress as The Journalist went to press, hearing evidence from 1973-1982. So far, this has included the revelation that SDS officer Richard Clark worked his way up to the national secretariat of the Troops Out Movement and was briefly its acting leader. The inquiry is not expected to conclude until 2026 at the earliest. Between now and then, expect further disclosures about surveillance of journalists.

*Matt Salusbury is chair of the NUJ London Freelance Branch and a UCPI core participant*



**The NUJ was not surprised that the Special Branch was interfering with editorial meetings in the early 1970s**

## General secretary returns unopposed

**MICHELLE STANISTREET** is to serve a third term as general secretary of the NUJ. At the close of nominations, she was the only candidate in the election.

It is the third time that Michelle, the first woman to be NUJ general secretary and a former deputy general secretary, has been returned unopposed.

Sian Jones, NUJ president, said: “At a time of enormous challenge, we have been very fortunate to have such a committed, hardworking, and innovative general secretary.

“Michelle’s unanimous re-election reflects the high standing in which she is held in all sections of our union.” Michelle said: “The union’s strength lies in the

commitment of our members, lay activists and staff.

“We will continue to defend members’ terms and conditions and to defend public interest journalism at a time when media freedom is under threat.”

**Scan here if you care about journalism.**



**Journalists' Charity**

Supporting journalists nationwide



# Pressure rises over firing and rehiring on worse terms

**THE NUJ** has joined the TUC and a coalition of sister unions and politicians calling on the government to introduce measures to end fire-and-rehire moves.

The union is tackling fire and rehire tactics in the media industry where companies use the threat of job losses or actual dismissals to force through inferior terms and conditions.

Michelle Stanistreet, NUJ general secretary, said: "Trading on people's fear to strongarm them into taking pay cuts or accepting poorer contractual terms is disgraceful behaviour that the prime minister should kick into touch."

Recently, the union condemned a move to terminate the contracts of journalists working at the Oxford Mail and The Oxford Times, with re-employment being conditional on accepting worse terms and conditions.



Newsquest issued the termination notices after NUJ members at the titles rejected a proposal to end time-and-a-half pay for working on bank holidays (excluding Christmas Day, Boxing Day and New Year's Day).

This would affect around 15 journalists, with the greatest impact falling on the newsdesk, the sports reporter and the sole remaining sub, who are most likely to work on bank holidays. Reporters already work many hours overtime to cover for redundancies and unfilled vacancies.

Anna Wagstaff, secretary of the Oxford and district NUJ branch, said: "The practice of ripping up staff contracts to force through worse terms and conditions has been widely condemned not just by trade unions but by MPs across the political spectrum. We are horrified to see such despotic tactics being used by a local paper that likes to present itself as a watchdog of democracy and accountability."



**We are horrified to see such tactics used by a paper that presents itself as a watchdog of democracy and accountability**

**Anna Wagstaff**  
Oxford and district NUJ branch

## inbrief...

### REACH DIGITAL AD SALES BEAT PRINT

Digital advertising revenue has overtaken print for the first time at Reach, which publishes the Mirror, Express and Star and many regional titles. Digital revenues were up 35 per cent year on year between early December and late April. Print revenue was down 10.4 per cent year on year.

### NATIONAL WORLD SAVES £4 MILLION

David Montgomery's National World has made £4 million in annual cost savings at JPI Media. The group, which bought the regional publisher in December, expects to find another £1 million this year. The savings will be spent on decentralising newsrooms.

### FORMER SUN CHIEF REPORTER KAY DIES

Former Sun chief reporter John Kay has died aged 77. Kay retired from The Sun after a 48-year career in journalism in 2015 after being acquitted of conspiracy to commit misconduct in public office under Operation Elveden. He got many scoops for the paper, including an advance of the Queen's 'annus horribilis' Christmas broadcast.

## Recognition win at Iran station

**THE UNION** has won recognition at TV broadcaster Iran International after a long campaign by NUJ members and officials to achieve a formal voluntary agreement.

This means union members will have a say in negotiating pay, hours and holidays and will be properly represented in decision making.

Iran International is owned by Volant Media and

broadcasts from London. Launched in 2017, it employs nearly 150 journalists.

Paul Siegert, NUJ national broadcasting organiser, said: "After more than two years of hard work, we are delighted

to finally sign a recognition agreement. This is a real tribute to our members who have fought hard to achieve this. We look forward to working more closely with management in the future and I'm sure this agreement will benefit everyone."

## Lessons on how to deal with abuse

**JOURNALISM** students should be trained to cope with online abuse, a study has recommended.

The study in the Journal of the Association for Journalism Education found abuse is now "more commonplace, more vile and more serious" and it can damage young journalists' emotional wellbeing and lead them to doubt their abilities.

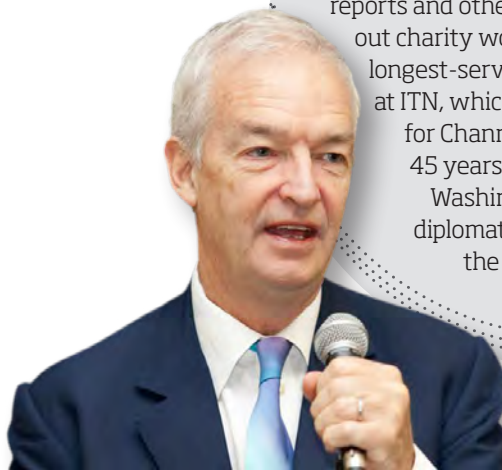
It said: "Opening up conversation during journalism training is vital to prepare students for what they might face."

The study was carried out by Jenny Kean, who leads the MA Journalism programme at Leeds Trinity University, and Yorkshire Evening Post reporter Abbey Maclure.



### Jon Snow to quit as Channel 4 anchor

Jon Snow is to step down after 32 years of presenting Channel 4 News at the end of this year. Snow, 73, will continue to do some work for the broadcaster, fronting special reports and other projects. He will also carry out charity work. Snow is Channel 4 News' longest-serving presenter and has worked at ITN, which produces news programmes for Channel 4, ITV and Channel 5, for 45 years. In the 1980s, he served as Washington correspondent and diplomatic editor before becoming the anchor of Channel 4 News in 1989.



# NUJ subscriptions to rise for the first time in seven years

**SUBSCRIPTIONS** to the NUJ are to rise by between 13 per cent and 16 per cent over the next two years after delegates voted for the first increase in seven years.

The annual delegate meeting – postponed from last year because of the pandemic and held virtually in May – was told that the future of the union was at stake and that, without an increase, the NUJ could be forced to seek a merger with another union.

Chris Frost, chair of the union's finance committee, said that the union faced increasing costs, especially from pension deficit payments which were to rise from £8,500 per month to £17,750.

Last year, the NUJ's full-time staff agreed to work a four-day week for a modest pay cut to save money.



Other cost-saving measures were brought in to address anticipated effects of the pandemic.

The union has also saved a large amount of money from not holding meetings and therefore not incurring costs of travel, accommodation and compensation for loss of earnings.

The delegate meeting, which is usually held at a seaside venue, normally costs about £150,000.

Chris proposed the motion

to increase subscriptions. It was seconded by Joyce McMillan of the Edinburgh freelance branch, who told delegates that journalists needed an independent voice and union – one that could offer the high level of service that the NUJ offers.

At present, members are divided into three grades depending on their income, with grade 1 earning up to £20,000 (£24,000), grade 2 earning £20,001-£29,000 (£36,000), and grade 3

earning over £29,000.

Monthly subscriptions are: £15 (€18) for grade 1; £18 (€23) for grade 2; and £25 (€31) for grade 3.

Those rates will rise from July this year to: £16 (€19) for grade 1; £20 (€25) for grade 2; and £28 (€34) grade 3.

From July 2022, the rates will increase again: grade 1 will pay £17 (€20) – a rise of 13.3 per cent; grade 2 will pay £21 (€26) an increase of 16.6 per cent; and grade 3 will pay £29 (€35) – a rise of 16 per cent.

A two-thirds majority of votes at the delegate meeting is required to change subscriptions. A motion to change this to a simple majority was defeated.

Another motion allowing new joiners to pay half of the full subscription rate for the first two years of their membership was carried.



**Journalists need an independent voice and union - a union that can offer the high level of service that the NUJ offers**

**Joyce McMillan**  
**Edinburgh freelance branch**

## NEC criticised over restructuring inaction

**THE UNION'S** national executive council was accused of having 'kicked into the long grass' an order from the previous delegate meeting to restructure the union in light of changes in workplaces, membership and the way members interact with the union.

Kevin Palmer, from the newly created Leeds and West Yorkshire branch, said that he was disappointed that a motion calling on the union to investigate a restructuring appeared not to have progressed very far.

A late notice motion from Leeds

and West Yorkshire said: "The NEC mandated its development sub-committee to coordinate this structure review under the leadership of the assistant general secretary, to comprise union-wide consultation.

"The findings should have been discussed by an NEC-appointed

working group which would make recommendations for the NEC to table at DM 2020.

"The development committee consulted members over the summer of 2019 but by late November the NEC working group had not been convened.

"Members are disappointed that an opportunity has apparently been wasted."

## Joining the union to be simplified

**A MOVE** to make joining the NUJ easier and more straightforward for new and younger journalists was backed.

Ruby Lott-Lavigna, of the London independent broadcasting and new media branch, told delegates the requirements for proposers and seconders looked archaic to many young journalists in non-unionised workplaces. She said the requirements could be problematic for those who did not know union members.

The branch's motion said: "DM recognises that the requirement to name a proposer and seconder is more honoured in the breach than in the observance. It ceased to be a reason to reject applicants many years ago and can be confusing to applicants who may know no other members of the NUJ."

Ruby added that union jargon could be counterproductive and the NUJ had to look to the future and not to the past.



## Violence against journalists grows on the streets and online

**JOURNALISTS** have faced an escalation of violence since the last delegate meeting amid growing attacks from the far right, anger over media workers doing their jobs on the streets and the pandemic's lockdown restrictions.

Anton McCabe (pictured) for the national executive council tabled a late notice motion condemning rising physical and verbal abuse against journalists. He said: "This union will not accept attacks on or abuse of our members, we have shown that, by our response to the murder of Lyra McKee and the union's reaction to threats to our members in Northern Ireland."



He highlighted the threats against women journalists and NUJ members including Patricia Devlin, Allison Morris and Amy Fenton.

Anton also referred to a serious assault on photographer Kevin Scott while he was covering a riot.

He said: "A message has to go out from this conference to all our members, if you are threatened, trolled or attacked then immediately contact the union."

Last year a campaign for more safeguards for led to the NUJ being represented on the UK government's National Committee for the Safety of Journalists.

A second late notice motion focused on Northern Ireland where there has been an increase in threats by paramilitary groups against journalists.



**If you are threatened, trolled or attacked then immediately contact the union**

**Anton McCabe**  
national executive council

## in brief...

### UNION'S FULL NAME TO BE RETAINED

A move to change the union's name from National Union of Journalists to just the acronym NUJ, failed. The name change had been proposed by the London independent broadcasting and new media branch to reflect the broadening of the union's membership to include those employed in non-traditional journalism roles.

### MEETINGS TO CARRY ON AS BIENNIALS

London central branch attempted to increase the frequency of delegates meeting from the current biennial arrangement to annually with policy meetings being arranged for those years when the full delegate meeting was not taking place. However, not enough delegates voted for the move which the national executive council had costed at £100,000 a year.

### MEETING IN NUMBERS AND PERSONNEL

This year's delegate meeting involved 252 attendees, 50 branches and 153 had voting rights. The next meeting will be in April 2023. Sian Jones, president since 2018, handed over to Pierre Vicary, a BBC World Service journalist. The vice president is Natasha Hirst, chair of the equality and photographers councils.

## Black members' clause deleted

**A CLAUSE** in a motion from the black members council which called on the NUJ to examine its employment of black people, at all levels and take up issues of unconscious bias and institutional racism was removed after a majority of delegates backed an

amendment by the national executive council calling for its deletion.

Afterwards, Marc Wadsworth, chair of the black members council, said the amendment had rendered the motion toothless.

The motion, as it was amended,

called on the executive council to reinvigorate the union's code of conduct; organise a one-day conference to promote public awareness of the code and to review and develop best practice of the coverage of race relations issues.

## Equality merger idea rejected

**A CALL** to merge the NUJ's four equality councils – equality, black members, disabled members and 60+ – into one equality body was rejected by delegates.

The motion had been put by Kevin Palmer of Leeds and West Yorkshire branch. He likened a merged union council to the UK's Equalities and Human Rights Commission which was created to replace three previous bodies.

But Natasha Hirst, chair of the the NUJ's equality council, said that the merged commission had led to a dilution of its work and that the existence of the equality councils in the NUJ provides spaces and voices for members who are often marginalised.

She said that merging the councils would not send out a message of inclusion to members.

### NUJ Extra told to drop amazon smile

The NUJ's charity NUI Extra, which provides help for journalists in hard times, has been instructed to seek alternative fundraising to Amazon Smile because of concerns over employment rights at Amazon. When people shop on Amazon Smile the retail giant donates 0.5 per cent of the purchase price to chosen charities of which NUI Extra is one. Delegates were told that

Amazon is in dispute with unions in several countries, including the UK and the unions are attempting to secure recognition and improved working conditions.

smile.amazon.co.uk



## Call to return The Journalist to print amid cost-benefit analysis



**DELEGATES** called for The Journalist to go back into print as soon as practical.

The suspension of print copies began in spring 2020 as a response to feared financial difficulties caused by the pandemic.

Rachel Broady (pictured) moved a motion from the Manchester and Salford branch which said that not having The Journalist in print served to exacerbate a digital divide, with some people

unable to access the magazine online easily it also risked health and safety because journalists needed a break from screens amid an online overload and it made a nonsense of the union fighting to preserve print media.

Rachel said the union should recognise the work of the three-times elected editor of The Journalist.

The motion was seconded by the photographers' council.

Simon Chapman, vice-chair of the council, said many members wanted print and should be given the choice.

Paul Whitlock from the Bristol branch said there was a real need for the NUJ to have a print version of its magazine.

However, James Doherty from the Glasgow branch said the union did not have the resources for the 'luxury' of posting the magazine to members and that it was easily accessible online.

He said the money saved could be diverted to staff expenditure following the full-time staff's temporary move to a four-day week.

In a right of reply, Rachel said it was a 'little naïve' to think there was no digital divide and that referring to the hard work of the staff was 'an appeal to emotion'.

The motion was carried.

However, delegates also backed a call from the Dublin

freelance branch for a cost-benefit analysis of the publication of The Journalist and a feasibility study of replacing it with a daily online publication.

Moving the motion, Gerard Cunningham said the call was not a criticism of the magazine, which he 'loved' and which reflected the union.

He said: "I want to keep reading The Journalist. I want to emphasise that."

Seconding, Tim Gopsill, the previous editor of The Journalist and a delegate from London freelance branch, said the idea of a daily update was a good one. He said he had tried to initiate such a thing but the union had not been ready for it.

The motion was opposed by Francis Sedgemore from the freelance industrial council. He said the magazine had the greatest reach of all the union's communications.



**Not having The Journalist in print made a nonsense of the union fighting to preserve print media**

**Manchester and Salford branch**

## The need to switch off after work

**THE UNION** has been urged to lobby for laws guaranteeing journalists the right to disconnect from work phone calls and emails outside working hours.

The motion, moved by David Gallagher of the BBC London branch, urged the action in the light

of the heightened blurring of the distinction between work and home life during the pandemic when many journalists worked from home.

The motion noted that the European Parliament had recently debated the need to give workers a right to disconnect and such a right

had been incorporated into a code of practice in the Republic of Ireland.

It also urged action to encourage employers to adopt policies to prevent those working from home from being denied support, training and promotion. This follows an Office for National Statistics study

that found people who worked mainly from home were less than half as likely to be promoted as other workers and around 38 per cent less likely on average to receive a bonus.

Shayan Sardarizadeh, from the World Service branch, said editors routinely asked staff to work outside office hours and that the union needed to act on it quickly.

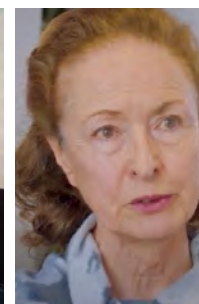
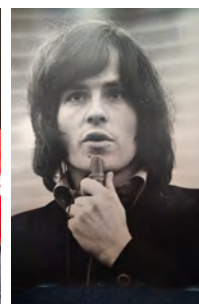
## Three made members of honour

**THE NUJ'S** latest members of honour - Gary Younge, Aiden White and Mary Curtin - were praised for their union activism and high quality journalism and as ambassadors of the union.

NUJ Irish secretary Séamus Dooley said Curtin, a veteran of the Irish anti-apartheid movement, personified all that was best about the NUJ, had a forensic grasp of detail and never sought the limelight.

Ronan Brady of the Irish Executive paid tribute to White, a former International Federation of Journalists leader. He said: "There are no nobles in our world but Aiden White comes very close."

Younge was recognised for his work at The Guardian. He was father of chapel and used to say: "Victory is always certain - you just don't know when." Former Guardian editor Alan Rusbridger said he would always drive a hard bargain and was on the side of the troops.





# The unequal race for the Welsh media crown



The odds are stacked against the hyperlocals, says **Alan Evans**

**N**ews is not in short supply in Wales. Turn any corner and you are likely to find a story. People are always willing to share their troubles and, despite the pandemic with most people living behind four walls night and day, news still happens.

Wales has a large number of news outlets but most are running with fewer and fewer paid journalists. A mini crisis has been brewing for years, specifically the dearth of Welsh language content news.

The monopoly on who reports that news has long been held by the big players such as Reach, Newsquest and the BBC, which led the Welsh Government to conduct an inquiry into the state of the media in Wales.

What it found was not surprising. Towns were being abandoned by long-established newspaper titles, which moved east towards the bright lights of Cardiff and, in some cases, London. How could these outlets cover important local stories? The truth is that they couldn't. Papers were filled with homogenised, shared content.

Enter the hyperlocal news movement, rapidly supported by the establishment of the Independent Community News Network.

Some hyperlocal outlets, run predominantly by former local paper journalists, attempted to establish print titles. Sadly, the public did not appear to be ready to buy a thin newspaper packed with local stories, having historically and loyally purchased the town's weekly paper packed with ads for cars.

Hyperlocals mainly went online and pioneered ways of engaging and

sustaining local news sites. Subscription, not-for-profit and partnership models were all tried and tested.

The Achilles heel was and continues to be the monetisation of these sites despite millions of people turning to up-to-the-minute local news delivered straight to their inbox for free.

It is safe to say that the hyperlocals have become a free public news service propped up by whatever funds they can access and desperately vying for any advertisers who may be disillusioned with the big players.

It didn't take long for the big players to cotton on to what these small outfits were doing and, pretty soon, the online hyperlocal model was being cloned into their sites.

A lifeline was thrown by the BBC, which has long been considered the mainstay of national news for Wales. Perhaps as a consequence of pressure from the Welsh Government or from the hyperlocals, the BBC decided to launch its local democracy reporters scheme, which saw hyperlocals benefit from ready-made news content. That news was also hoovered up by the big players, however, so the playing field sloped in their favour yet again.

As it stands today, it seems that someone or other in Wales is laying claim to the crown of national news provider for Wales as often as the rain falls on the nation.

Rather than acknowledge and work with existing models such as Wales News Online, which has been growing rapidly over the last two years reporting on news from across Wales, Newsquest teamed up with Herald Newspapers to set up the National with Newsquest this year, splitting from

Herald Newspapers days before the launch.

Nation Cymru launched Nation in 2017 with the tagline 'national media for Wales'. It would, however, have made more sense to use the tagline 'Welsh nationalist media for Wales' given its blatant political agenda of supporting independence for Wales. S4C, another big player, is also getting ready to launch an expanded online national news outlet.

After the dust has settled in this scrap for the crown, perhaps Wales will emerge with the remnants of a cloth woven out of battle to truly represent the thoughts, views, culture, community and needs of the people of the nation.

Until then, the big players will sit comfortably in their ivory towers in smart and trendy Cardiff, only daring to set foot in the rural wastelands if there has been a major disaster. Even then, they may opt just for a Getty image and a Zoom call to the man in the street.

Hyperlocal and independent news providers in the country may be jostling to call themselves the new national media for Wales. However, it is a small place and advertising revenue or the lack of it is what will make or break these small businesses and not-for-profits.

Despite the good intentions of so many people trying to offer something different, minnows that swim with the sharks inevitably get swallowed up. Funding seems to be the last hope for many, including Llanelli Online.

**Alan Evans is editor of Llanelli Online**

**It didn't take long for the big players to cotton on to what the hyperlocals were doing and their online model was soon being cloned by them**

# Cardiff

**Ruth Addicott** explores the city's media landscape

**W**hether you're a rugby fan or not, the atmosphere in Cardiff on International day is undeniably special. When Wales score, the roar can be heard for miles – and it's not just the stadium crowd but the whole nation on its feet. With a heritage of newspapers dating back more than 150 years, a thriving broadcast sector and an internationally recognised school of journalism, the Welsh capital is a magnet not only for rugby but also for media.

A short walk from the stadium, the new BBC Cymru Wales building in Central Square employs around 1,200 staff and is set to expand as part of the drive to shift the creative and journalistic centre away from London. The studios deliver TV programmes for BBC iPlayer, BBC One Wales and BBC Two Wales in English and on BBC iPlayer and S4C in Welsh. Shows include BBC Wales Today, Doctor Who, Casualty, Keeping Faith, Hidden and Rhod Gilbert's Work Experience.

ITV Cymru Wales has studios in Cardiff and Welsh language broadcaster S4C has a base there, although its main office is in Carmarthen.

In terms of radio, BBC Wales has three stations – Radio Wales (in English), and Radio Cymru and Radio Cymru 2 (in Welsh). Commercial stations such as Heart (owned by Global) have studios in Cardiff Bay. There are also Nation Radio and award-winning Radio Cardiff, which serves multicultural communities.

"So many broadcasters start out in their careers in Cardiff and it's a great place to start," says Rob Osborne, national correspondent for ITV Cymru Wales. Osborne, who was named Journalist of The Year (2017) at the Wales Media Awards, presents weekly topical programme Sharp End.

Although the pandemic has left the newsroom largely empty, working remotely allowed a better work/life balance.

"I would stay in our newsroom until 6:45pm after the main news show – now I file at around 4 o'clock and carry on with my day," says Osborne. "All our newsroom meetings are over Zoom now, so no need to hang around waiting. It's a world away from finishing work late, running to the supermarket and getting home at 8pm."

Award-winning columnist Carolyn Hitt, who has written for the Western Mail for more than 25 years, says a major challenge during the pandemic has been deciding what to write.

"We've all experienced those Zoom gatherings where we joke to each other that we haven't got much to say because we haven't done anything or been anywhere and sometimes it's felt the same when choosing something to write about," she says. "Getting the tone right has been crucial."

Hitt co-founded all-woman production company Parasol Media in 2012 and produces monthly arts programme The Review Show for Radio Wales. She has also done numerous documentaries, including a previously unknown history of class and racial prejudice in rugby, and Hidden Heroines, a multimedia production that began with a campaign to get Wales its first-ever statue of a named woman.

Hitt has lived in Cardiff since 1997 and seen huge change, particularly at Cardiff Bay, which is buzzing with bars and restaurants, alongside the Wales Millennium Centre (home of Welsh National Opera) and the Senedd (home to the Welsh Parliament).

"Devolution has made an impact, particularly during the pandemic when people have realised just how many powers the Welsh Government has and the importance of reflecting the differences between Westminster and the Senedd," she says.

The main newspaper publisher in Cardiff is Media Wales (owned by Reach), which produces the Western Mail, the South Wales Echo, Wales on Sunday and WalesOnline. There's also local paper The Penarth Times. The recently launched The National (Newsquest) is based in Newport, and has correspondents throughout Wales, as does Herald.Wales.



## Learn, work, live

### Training and mentoring

BBC, ITV and S4C offer journalism trainee schemes and scholarships in Wales. ITV Wales correspondent Rob Osborne recommends

the mentoring scheme run by the John Schofield Trust; he wanted a mentor who worked in the industry but in a different company. "I had Paul Harrison who was then Sky's royal correspondent,"

he says. "Ever since, I've nagged my colleagues to apply and many have gained a place on the scheme."

### Contacts and culture

Journalist Carolyn Hitt says: "My advice would be to research Wales, appreciate its cultural differences, learn

a few Welsh phrases as a courtesy and explore what devolution means here in the context of health, education etc, as it will affect the way you cover stories. There are several Facebook groups for freelancers and people in the Welsh media worth joining to make connections."

### Valley venture

With opportunities to work remotely, you may not need to live in a city. "Head to the valleys," says Osborne. "Get to know Wales and its people. Surround yourself with green hills and lovely lakes. I suspect over the next decade that's what more people will do."

Magazines and online publications range from Cardiff Life, Buzz and Wales Business Insider to Style of the City and Grange Town Community News.

Jane Cohen works for press agency Wales News Service and writes for weekly women's magazines. She has covered all sorts of stories from a grandmother who gave birth to her own grandchild to a woman who met her husband when she crashed into his car.

"I've seen the best and worst of life over the last 20 years," she says. "Nothing surprises me any more."

Cohen has lived in Cardiff all her life and cites 'beautiful walks' (Bute Park, Roath Park), art and heritage among her highlights, especially St Fagans and Cardiff Museum. This is not to mention Cardiff Castle in the city centre, which has nearly 2,000 years of history.

At Cardiff University's School of Journalism, Media and Culture (JOMEC), students have adapted to working remotely.

Gavin Allen, digital journalism lecturer at JOMEC, says: "Our output has been rearranged, but it has not been significantly disrupted in terms of volume or quality."

Renowned as a world-leading centre for media research, JOMEC is strong on student media. The students' union has a weekly newspaper (Gair Rhydd), a magazine (Quench), radio station Xpress and TV station CUTV. JOMEC also has its own separate radio and TV station, magazine and newspaper.

"Obviously, the jobs market is in flux at the moment given the pandemic but, generally speaking, Cardiff has a lot to offer journalists," says Allen.

The downside, if any, is the competition. Allen's advice is be on top of the news as well as the platforms. "If you go for a job, then know what content that publication puts out on what platforms – know how you can be useful to them," he says. "Don't just say 'I'm eager, give me a chance'. Say 'I can

## QUOTES

"Great shopping; plenty of green space, a fabulous stadium and, within an hour, you can be in the mountains or on a beach."

**Carolyn Hitt**  
**Western Mail**

"It's a diverse, multicultural city that has something for everyone. It's a city to never be bored in."

**Jane Cohen**  
**Wales News Service**

"Cardiff is well-known for its strong student media platform, which can lead to jobs and journalistic experience"

**Tirion Davies**  
**Gair Rhydd**

"Big enough to have variety – small enough not to be anonymous."

**Rob Osborne**  
**ITV Wales**

use TikTok or analytics or I'm great with video editing – I'm also really eager to work hard for your brand."

Speaking Welsh will open up more opportunities but is not essential, he adds.

Tirion Davies is a Welsh and journalism student and editor in chief of Gair Rhydd. "I've made hundreds of contacts over the past three years," he says. "The city is a hub of media support, and journalists trained in Cardiff and from the area are incredibly supportive."

While print copies have been halted during the pandemic, students have continued to produce the newspaper online with some editors paying for software themselves to work remotely.

Freelance journalist Jenny Sims is a member of the Welsh Executive Council and moved back to Wales in 2010 from London. Working from home, editing B2B publications with occasional travel to international conferences, she found Cardiff proved to be the ideal base. Sims lives by the River Ely in the International Sports Village; she is a keen swimmer and there are two pools within a 10-minute walk. "If I hop in the car, within 10-15 minutes, I can be walking on Penarth beach, in a forest or countryside," she says.

Her involvement with the NUJ Cardiff & South East Wales branch led to freelance work and she has attended courses through NUJ Training Wales.

While competition is tough and there have been cuts, opportunities are there. So what's the key to success?

For Hitt, it's maintaining great working relationships with commissioning editors and meeting their needs. "The other crucial survival tactic is adapting to changing platforms," she says. "The concept of good content never changes, but how it is communicated does. A great story will always be a great story – but you have to keep up with the changing methods of telling that story."





# Copyrights and

Both buyers and creators of images need to understand the rules, says **Natasha Hirst**

**S**ourcing an image for a client with no budget, Jen Marsden, a UK-based writer, editor and communications consultant, undertook her usual due diligence, checking the rights and terms of use for a photograph which had a Creative Commons licence. She then forgot about it until a few months down the line when she was shocked to receive an invoice for a breach of copyright.

"I have great respect for photographers and their work," she said "I'm always very careful to check the licence information and I use paid images wherever I can. Some open licence stock libraries have amazing, quirky images that you can't always find elsewhere."

An internet search led Marsden to a Computer Weekly article, detailing the claimant's unethical but legal methods for 'trapping' people into breaching the strict terms of his licences. Prolifically uploading thousands of images, he uses copyright enforcement agencies and advanced automated software to scour the internet for infringements. Then the payment demands arrive.

"My client received the emails and passed them onto me. They were so threatening and full of legal jargon. I couldn't believe it." Marsden said, "Any genuine creative individual wouldn't go in all guns blazing – they'd find out the situation first and then try to resolve it." This is, indeed, the constructive approach that most photographers would take.

Marsden's investigation showed that the image being claimed for was published online after her article was published. She said, "I believe he intentionally scrubbed the original CC licensed image from the web. I couldn't prove my innocence."

There is an unfortunate dichotomy for the NUJ. The freelance office assists many photographers in making claims when their

work has been infringed but also has members come to them who have, unwittingly or otherwise, breached copyright.

As Marsden discovered, not all free image sites or contributors operate with integrity. Images may appear to have a licence for free use but users will not know this is not valid if the image was uploaded without the consent of the copyright owner. However, such stock sites often do not verify the ownership of photographs uploaded to their libraries.

When a photograph is taken, copyright automatically exists as the intellectual property of the photographer, unless created 'in the course of employment' or subject to a contract assigning these rights elsewhere. Copyright remains for 70 years after the year of death of the creator. Nobody is allowed to copy an image without permission, regardless of whether the photographer is professional or an amateur, yet this practice is shockingly common.

Twitter is awash with requests to use images and footage found online. Meanwhile, a number of publishers, including Newsquest, have warned staff about the increasing costs of settling copyright claims for photographs used without consent, often taken from individuals' social media accounts.

The NUJ's #UseItPayForIt campaign encourages amateur photographers to seek payment for newsworthy images and challenges publishers' strategies to build free user-generated content instead of paying for photography. Professional photographers also find themselves fielding regular requests to use images for free in books, on blogs or in magazines.

As with any profession, clients pay photographers for expertise and skill to create images to a standard they cannot produce themselves. Digital photography is not cheap, with the cost of kit for a professional easily topping £20,000. That is before considering computer, software and insurance costs and the lack of statutory rights to sick pay or holiday pay for freelancers in an industry that is more than 90% self-employed. Stealing or blagging work for nothing or enticing amateurs to hand over images for a mere credit dangerously undermines the ability of professional photographers to make a living.

The value of copyright to photographers should not be



## Free is never risk free

**IT IS** never risk free to use 'free' images from internet searches, Creative Commons or stock libraries.

Although the licence with a picture may appear to give you the rights needed, the image could have been uploaded by someone who does

not own it, and you or your client would be liable for a copyright breach.

Do not use an image unless you are able to verify ownership and have written permission to use it from the copyright holder.

Photographers can embed details of

ownership and terms in image files, which is known as IPTC metadata. You should check this to establish ownership and rights, but bear in mind that websites and social media platforms may strip some or all of this information. A lack of

metadata does not mean a lack of copyright.

A reverse image search through Google Images checks if a photograph appears elsewhere online, and may provide further clues to its ownership.

DACS runs a licensing system for those wanting to use images

belonging to photographers registered with it ([www.dacs.org.uk/licensing-works/in-detail](http://www.dacs.org.uk/licensing-works/in-detail)).

When commissioning or buying images, keep clear paper trails including contracts, invoices and licences. A robust content management system and guidelines for staff

should prevent images from going astray on shared drives.

Encourage clients to allocate a budget for photographs. They pay for words and images should be no different. Paying for photographs helps clients reduce their risk of infringing copyright.

# wrongs

underestimated and many view their archives as a pension. Freelance documentary photographer Julio Etchart found his images being sold on art sites: “I have no idea how they have managed to access high-resolution copies of my pictures in order to sell them but this is another disturbing example of how we are rapidly losing control of the management of our work.”

‘It’s in the public domain’, ‘there’s no watermark’ and ‘I paid for the photographs to be taken, I can do what I like with them’ are common responses to photographers approaching those who have used their images without permission. As freelance photographer Arch White explains: “The photographer is often expected to jump through hoops to prove the original provenance of the image and its copyright.”

The fair dealing exemption does not apply to photographs for the purpose of reporting current events and arguing ‘criticism or review’ as a reason for “using a photo without permission is very unlikely to be fair dealing and will thus constitute an infringement of copyright”, explains Simon Chapman, vice-chair of the NUJ photographers’ council.

Photographers are often offered contracts with exploitative clauses that seek to assign all copyright, waive moral rights or allow clients to use the images as they wish, however, wherever and forever. Such contracts devalue photography and permanently reduce the ability of a photographer to continue to earn from their work. The NUJ encourages photographers to resist signing and seek advice.

“Companies can just choose to treat freelances better and not impose detrimental clauses,” says Pamela Morton, NUJ national organiser. “Freelances shouldn’t be labelled difficult or fear repercussions if they challenge unfair terms. We are calling for legal loopholes to be closed through the Fair Deal for Freelances campaign.”

Demands for use of images in perpetuity are usually unnecessary and a straightforward conversation about how images will be used allows an agreement to be reached that works for both parties.

John Walmsley, a freelance documentary photographer for more than 50 years, explains how he approaches such requests: “I point out how huge those rights are and quote appropriately. We normally settle on a five- or 10-year licence. Same when they say they need all rights. I quote for that and they then reconsider and find – surprise, surprise – they actually do not need all rights. Both of those seem a fair balance to me. Plus we all need to be more comfortable saying ‘no.’”

The Freelance Fees Guide helps to set a ballpark figure to negotiate fees and provides guidance on addressing unauthorised use of work (<https://tinyurl.com/5y5fez4m>).

When negotiating a commission, photographers normally charge a client for their time and a fee to licence the use of images with certain conditions attached. This can include whether the use is exclusive and how long for, how the image can be used, where it can be published and how long the licence is in place. A licence can be extended if further use is needed. Both parties should ensure that a written contract is agreed, even if this is just an email exchange.

Copyright breaches often occur when clients unwittingly use images in a way not specified in the licence, a familiar headache for photographers who do not want to damage relationships with clients but still deserve payment for this additional use.

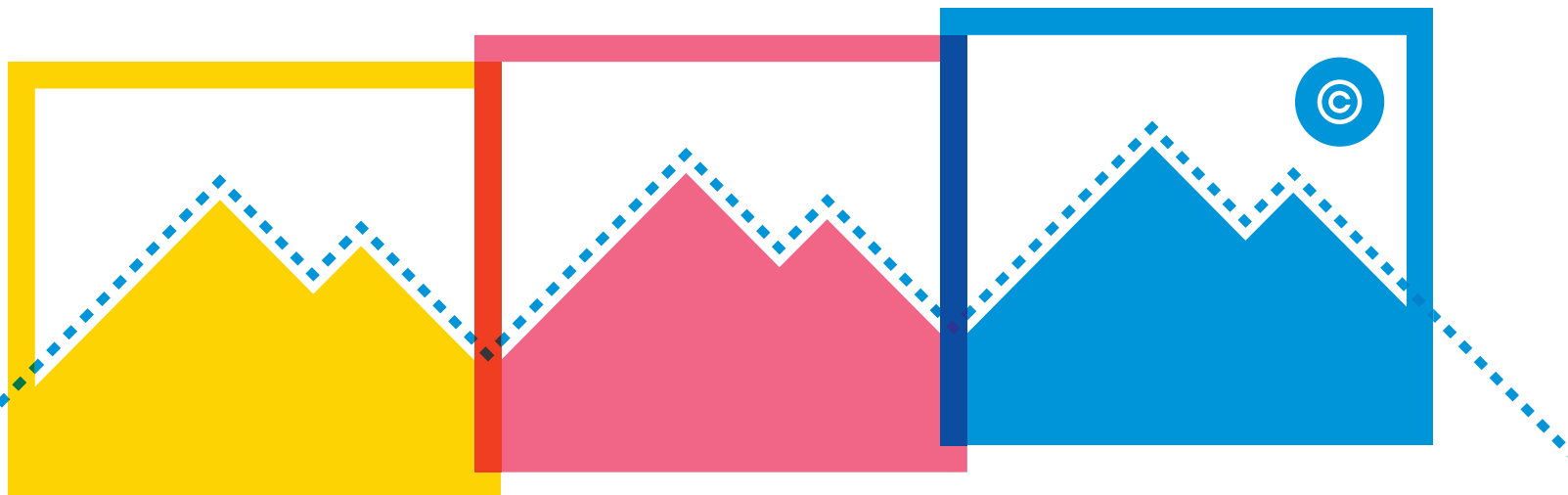
Photographers themselves can also fall into the trap of infringing copyright. Although the posting of tear sheets is common, journalists need to be cautious about copying and sharing their work in this way. Since layout and typography are copyrighted, taking a photo or screengrab of a cutting and sharing without permission constitutes a breach of copyright, even if the image in it belongs to you and you link back to the article online. NLA Media (formerly the National Licensing Association) has become increasingly aggressive in chasing these infringements, with freelances and small organisations among those receiving significant invoices. NLA Media’s guidance makes no bones about the importance of revenue from secondary licensing and it is unapologetic in its approach.

Marsden highlighted her concern that aggressive copyright trolling practices are legal but not only jeopardise individuals like her who use images in good faith but also damage the perception of photographers who legitimately and fairly seek compensation for infringements. “I will never use open licence images again and, for all images I source, I obtain clear written permission that specifically names the copyright owner,” she says, “I want this to be a warning to others to make sure it doesn’t happen to them too.”

“

**I quote for all rights and they reconsider and find - surprise, surprise - they actually do not need all rights**

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PAUL PATEMAN



## Intrepid sleuths or clickbait chasers? **Conrad Landin** on fictional journalists

**I**t's like the internet never happened," Guardian TV critic Sam Wollaston observed when Mike Bartlett's BBC drama *Press* aired in 2018. The series was billed as being set "amid the never-ending pressure of the 24-hour global news cycle and an industry in turmoil". But Wollaston – like many insiders – felt it was "more like newspaper journalism 20 years ago".

It's a familiar feeling. HBO's *Sharp Objects*, based on Gillian Flynn's novel of the same name, is as atmospheric as it is spooky – but its St Louis-based newspaper is well resourced

enough to dispatch reporter Camille Preaker (Amy Adams) to her home town, seemingly indefinitely, in pursuit of a story. A newspaper is also the backdrop of Candice Carter-Williams's best-selling 2019 novel *Queenie*. While its portrayals of frustrating newsroom politics and social dynamics are uncomfortably accurate, the internet – once again – barely seems to figure. The local paper in *After Life*, Ricky Gervais's recent Netflix series, is a smaller affair yet still manages to employ several reporters and a staff photographer.

These stories seem like a departure from the traditional role of the fictional journalist: a device to discuss the present-day issues and dilemmas of the media. Billy Wilder's *Ace in the Hole* (1951), Jean-Pierre Melville's *Two Men in Manhattan* (1959) and Margarethe von Trotta's *The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum* (1975) all grapple with the seductive yet morally bankrupt world of big-city reporting. Many screenwriters and novelists have found more affectionate ways to discuss the journalism of their age. As Sarah Lonsdale argues in her 2016 book *The Journalist in British Fiction and Film*, "fictional journalists seldom meditate on the great mysteries of the human condition" but the works in which they appear "reveal much about the impact the evolution of the journalism industry has had on its foot soldiers".

So why are today's fictional journalists such nostalgic creations? Perhaps it's because the traditional narrative arc in these stories tends to rest on the notion of the journalist as intrepid investigator or unscrupulous big shot – always with the time, resources and autonomy to do their own thing. It is a more compelling setting than online newsrooms where young 'content creators' turn round seven stories a day without so much as picking up the phone. Perhaps it is no surprise that Hollywood has turned to the past, with films such as *Spotlight* and *The Post*, when it comes to imagining newsrooms.

Now, however, a number of new novels and TV series suggest fictional portrayals of journalists are finally catching up with the age of newsroom cuts and clickbait. Tough, individualistic go-getters are not the only journalists out there, finally, other archetypes are getting a look-in on the page and on screen.

One is Thorn Marsh, the protagonist of Marika Cobbold's new novel *On Hampstead Heath*. A news editor whose paper is taken over by a corporate giant that puts clicks before candour, she is unwillingly transferred to cover lifestyle issues. "Unease crept along the corridors like mould," Cobbold writes. "The tyranny of the clicks" leads to "rumours of

## Masters of media mystique

**Eric Linklater's** *Poet's Pub* (1929) features Nelly Bly, a young reporter "almost alone" among her friends in never having been married or never having written a book. She goes undercover as a maid at the titular inn to "look

for a novelist's theme among the other dust".

**Robert Harling** wrote four thrillers about journalists in the 1950s and 1960s, each with an unnamed main character juggling daily tasks with press baron politics and

Cold War intrigue. If you've worked on a launch of a paper with more than meets the eye, *The Hollow Sunday* (1967) may ring true.

**Les Blair's** 1990 TV play *News Hounds* stars Adrian Edmondson and

Alison Steadman as unscrupulous veterans at a London red-top. The mundanity of the newsroom dialogue will

leave you in stitches as well as despair.

**Denise Mina's** Paddy Meehan trilogy, adapted for the BBC as *The Field of Blood*, follows a budding female reporter in 1980s Glasgow against a backdrop of class conflict. Brave and principled, Paddy

quickly learns she will always be held to a higher standard than her male colleagues.

**In Dan Gilroy's** 2014 film *Nightcrawler*, Jake Gyllenhaal plays a video stringer who becomes increasingly unethical to encourage such behaviour.





colleagues employing the services of professional clickers”.

It is this new aura of “fear and suspicion” that prompts Thorn, while drunk, to fabricate a story herself, about a man jumping off a bridge to save a drowning woman. There is even photographic evidence to back it up – kindly supplied by Thorn’s ex, who captured the moment on a morning stroll. The “angel of the Heath” becomes a folk hero. The only trouble is, there was no drowning woman – just a troubled man now in a coma because of his self-inflicted injuries.

Although she has never worked as a journalist, Cobbold is no stranger to the industry. In the 1920s, her grandfather bought an ailing regional paper in Sweden and transformed it into the second largest circulation broadsheet in Scandinavia.

“I grew up with journalists and journalism,” she says. “It was a very different time: you had printing presses when I was little. You had huge printing press halls with the setters standing there literally setting the paper with little bits of metal.”

Having set an earlier novel, *Frozen Music*, in the flourishing world of 1990s features journalism, Cobbold says conversations with her father about the state of contemporary media influenced her latest book. “In the mainstream media, of course, there have always been those sorts of stories and fake news,” Cobbold says. “But standards have slipped, and that has led to people feeling a distrust and, of course, going to sources they [think they] can trust more – which is usually going from the frying pan into the fire.”

Ellinor, the central character of Vigdis Hjorth’s *Long Live the Post Horn!* (2020) is also a journalist, albeit of the poacher-turned-gamekeeper variety. After her PR agency colleague Dag kills himself, she takes over his account with the Norwegian postal workers’ union, which is fighting an EU liberalisation drive. Cold and aloof, Ellinor is initially rather dispassionate about her task. While she has crossed over to the dark side of PR, she finds a human interest story so powerful it not only halts the forward march of capital but also makes her reconsider her own attitude to the world.

Over on the box, viewers have recently been bingeing on Netflix’s *The Bold Type*, which features three millennial women working at the fictional *Scarlet* magazine in New York. Though the series is often hopelessly hopeful in its swift resolutions of tricky situations, one aspect that rings true is the constant focus on web traffic amid falling print sales. When cuts are threatened, the only main character with job security is social media director Kat.

There is something heartbreakingly realistic too about how workplace solidarity rarely extends beyond the central trio. Kat agonises over sacking a hapless young digital underling. But her decision to wield the axe is presented as a brave act of maturity rather than one young woman dashing the dreams of another.

Another Netflix series, *The Paper* (Novine in Serbo-Croat) is true to the present in spite of its fantastical plots. Here, a corporate takeover is politically motivated in aid of a right-wing challenger for the Croatian presidency. More Ingmar Bergman than Aaron Sorkin in style, the series shows how journalism has been sucked into the revolving doors of political power – and the ephemeral nature of employment in this sector.



**New nostalgia: some dramas still show traditional well-resourced newsrooms but others depict a world of cuts where web traffic is king**

Within a cast of epic proportions, an estranged husband and wife both leave the newsroom to spin for rival presidential candidates. Another journalist, after being summarily dismissed, finds she has greater freedom to investigate at a clickbait website than she did at Rijeka’s flagship daily. It’s a story inverted in *The Bold Type*: writer Jane comes back begging for her old job at *Scarlet* after her new boss at sensationalist online outlet *Incite* hangs her out to dry.

In her study of the genre, Lonsdale, a senior lecturer at City, University of London, invoked the words of Lord Leveson: “Who guards the guardians?” In fact, Lonsdale says, “novelists, poets, playwrights and directors have been keeping a close, critical and questioning eye on Britain’s journalists” for more than a century. As Covid-19 becomes the latest justification for cuts and profit-hungry operating models, it’s a role that’s more important than ever.



**Jonathan Sale** on how the top-secret Pentagon Papers made the news

# THE LIES OF VIETNAM

**O**n June 14 1971, a fish company in Brooklyn received a telegram from the US attorney general: “I respectfully request that you publish no further information directly forbidden by the provisions of the Espionage Law Section 793.”

The fishy firm found itself off the hook when it turned out that the FBI operator in Washington had meant to send the telegram to The New York Times – a mistake anyone could make – to respectfully request the newspaper to stop publishing top-secret research about the Vietnam war, which became known as the Pentagon Papers.

To be fair, in comparison with bombing the wrong countries (Laos, Cambodia), getting the wrong postal address was hardly a criminal offence. Conspiring to commit a burglary was – as was emphasised during the later Watergate trial, and it was attorney general John Mitchell who ended up spending two years behind bars.

Fifty years later, we may laugh at the irony of that but the prospect of anyone being banged up did not seem funny when the telegram finally reached The New York Times. At one point in the saga, a prison sentence of 115 years could have been the fate of the source, Daniel Ellsberg, the military analyst who, in the words of the paper’s lawyer James Goodale, “set the gold standard for whistleblowing”. And the journalists who processed the secrets could have joined him.

“I came into the Pentagon Papers project a week before publication began,” recalled Betsy Wade, looking back with colleagues to 1971 and her paper’s coverage of the leaks. “Allan Siegal [the assistant foreign editor] asked me if I wanted to join Project X, and did I mind going to jail?”

“Right off the bat, it was clear imprisonment was a possibility,” agreed her colleague Linda Amster, who was head of news research, remembering when she was led out of the paper’s office and into a clandestine newsroom set up in the Washington Hilton, chosen because it was so anonymous. According to Siegal: “You

could lead a camel through the lobby of the hotel on a tether, and nobody would take note.”

Few humped creatures slipped through the entrance of the Hilton; instead, it was journalists laden down with files, according to Wade: “We were carrying shopping bags through Times Square trying to appear as innocent as possible.”

“What the Times had in its possession were 7,000 pages of documents that were a top-secret, classified history of American involvement in Vietnam, in Indochina, every page of which had been stamped ‘top secret,’ ‘sensitive,’ ‘classified,’” explained retired reporter David Dunlap, the paper’s historian.

For a whistleblower, Ellsberg had a hawkish CV: three years in the Marines, a Harvard PhD in economics and nuclear weapons-consultancy. He then joined an official 36-strong team to answer

the defense secretary’s question: how is the US doing in the Vietnam conflict?

He soon learned the Americans were becalmed in a paddy field with no paddle. Ever since the largely bogus attack on US ships in the Gulf of Tonkin – the excuse for the whole messy conflict – their main success was concealing their failures. This was not the answer required. Ellsberg, dubious about the Vietnam war since his days posted there, was convinced that the nation was being lied to.

At first, he went by the book in his attempts to alert his superiors. Politicians he approached lost interest, in one notable instance (yes, you, Senator George McGovern) because of an ambition to be a presidential candidate.

Finally, a former colleague suggested he took his story to The New York Times. While in Vietnam, Ellsberg had met reporter Neil Sheehan and he

## Films show how the press blew US cover

**WATERGATE** inspired what is an iconic movie – certainly for us journalists – All the President’s Men, with Robert Redford and Dustin Hoffman as the reporters, and Jason Robards as Washington Post editor Ben Bradlee.

Yet, in terms of the actual issues, Watergate was in the shade of the Pentagon Papers affair, which was first in both time and importance. The former was a

scandal that involved Nixon’s cover-up of a burglary gone wrong, the latter a host of lies about a war gone wrong – and a burglary.

The Pentagon Papers, alias the Report of the Office of the Secretary of Defense Vietnam Task Force, was the

name given to the top-secret research on which whistleblower Daniel Ellsberg worked.

They inspired two movies about his crusade against the Vietnam conflict, one in the cinema and one made for TV.

The 2003 television film, The Pentagon Papers (available on YouTube), stars James Spader as Ellsberg. He approaches The New York Times, which

breaks the story but is soon banned from making further revelations.

In contrast, The Post, Steven Spielberg’s 2017 movie, tells the tale as experienced by its rival The Washington Post, which risks its existence by picking up the secret report after the Times has been censored.

As proprietor Katharine Graham, Meryl Streep was nominated for an Oscar. So too was Tom Hanks, playing Ben Bradlee.

Daniel Ellsberg, who of course is portrayed in the two films, liked both.



• COLLECTION CHRISTOPHEL / ALAMY STOCK PHOTO



Looking  
back to:  
1971

GETTYIMAGES



made contact again. His ambition was to have all 7,000 pages placed on the public record, which would surely expose the folly of the fighting and stop the wasting of American and Vietnamese lives. He was determined not to throw away the material on a handful of cherry-picked articles.

Sheehan was very much up for this and so were his editors. In those pre-email days, every single page had to be photocopied several times to provide spare sets. This involved Ellsberg working late on the photocopier at his office and his wife carting the files to local photocopying companies, hoping that the FBI were not waiting for her there. His 10-year-old daughter used to snip off the 'top secret' tagline that would rather have given the game away.

At first, no documents were entrusted to the paper. Ellsberg was determined to cling on to them until he was sure they would be used properly. He insisted Sheehan could read but not take away the precious sheets. It was not until the whistleblower went away for a few days that the reporter sprinted off with the entire set, which were rapidly copied and returned. Which is how Wade and her colleagues could work secretly on the secret files in the secret newsroom in the Washington Hilton.



GRANGER HISTORICAL PICTURE ARCHIVE / ALAMY STOCK PHOTO

Finally, Sheehan alerted Ellsberg to the splash in the next day's paper, June 12 1971: 'Vietnam archive: Pentagon study traces 3 decades of growing US involvement.'

The good news was that for the next 30 days the Pentagon Papers dominated the first 15 minutes of the half-hour news programmes of all three TV networks. The bad news was that The New York Times coverage ran for only three days, at which point the attorney general sent his fateful telegram (via the Brooklyn fishmongers) that, for the first time in US history, banned a news item before publication.

Ellsberg, however, had taken the precaution of

slipping copies of the documents to The Washington Post – which on June 18 began its own series – and to 17 other newspapers for good measure. On June 30, the case against both papers went up to the supreme court, which found 6-3 in their favour: the heavy burden of proof necessary for prior injunction had not been met. The Vietnamese cat was now well and truly out of the Pentagon bag.

Ellsberg, however, was charged with stealing secret documents. He was denounced as "the most dangerous man in America" by Henry Kissinger (himself denounced as a war criminal). In the search for damaging information, a burglary was arranged on, incredibly, his psychiatrist's office. Incensed by this, the judge declared a mistrial and Ellsberg never suffered those 115 years inside.

Postscript: To Ellsberg's chagrin, the Pentagon Papers did not bring the war screeching to an abrupt halt but he believed they had a part in its ending. The use of burglars against him, although unsuccessful, inspired Attorney General Mitchell to work on a loopier scheme involving a Republican gang known as 'plumbers' as they were supposed to stop leaks. And off they went to break into the Democrats' HQ. In the Watergate building.





*DM 2021*

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# Bashir debacle shows up rot at BBC's heart



Staff are tainted by scandals and lost trust, says **Raymond Snoddy**

**B**BC director-general Tim Davie was absolutely right to order a judge-led inquiry into the Martin Bashir affair and all its ramifications, and right to publish it in full immediately.

By doing so, he set an eloquent example to the government of Boris Johnson – frequent attackers of the BBC – which has displayed a serial inability to publish any report that may be to its detriment.

Davie was equally correct in accepting all the findings of Lord Dyson's inquiry and issuing an unreserved apology to "all those affected by the failings identified".

However, one important group of people have either not received an apology or not received one effusive or public enough.

They are the thousands of BBC journalists and programme makers who would never dream of faking a bank account to help get a spectacular scoop.

They have been smeared, with the attendant fall in public trust not just by the 'duplicity' of Bashir but even more by the incompetence of the management at the time.

They left a ticking time bomb, which eventually exploded, as such things tend to do.

Then, a new generation of management brought the whole scandal nearly up to date by re-hiring Bashir, promoting him to be BBC religion editor.

Before passing on to the all-important issue of what should happen next, first consider a number of obvious truths.

In the quarter century since the Diana interview, BBC governance has gone through several iterations; most importantly, the corporation now has an independent regulator, Ofcom.

Last year, the communications regulator, in its role as the BBC's final court of appeal, looked at 230 complaints against the BBC, many claiming breaches of impartiality.

Ofcom did not find merit in a single one.

It is also worth remembering that, until recent events, the BBC had a public trust level of 64 per cent – twice that of the Daily Telegraph and the Daily Mail and four times that of The Sun.

Yet there is no doubt that something now has to be done, not just because the government wants it but also because it is in the interests of both the BBC and its staff.

To regain public trust, the BBC has to provide evidence that the age of recurring scandals really is over.

This is unlikely without the creation of an independent body with the necessary power and expertise to provide meaningful advice to the BBC board.

Former BBC chairman Lord Grade's suggestion of a formal editorial board is a step in the right direction. It might carry the danger of more bureaucracy, piling board on board and diluting the line of authority.

Something smaller and simpler is required. A small unit of top-quality experienced editors and former senior journalists is what is needed. Above all, it should be wholly independent and have the power to commission research on issues facing BBC journalism, which would then be published.

There is a precedent. A committee of the former BBC Trust had the power to commission such research.

It could be called an oversight board, as in Facebook, or more properly an editorial advisory board. It would have another important function – receiving warnings from whistleblowers on journalistic and editorial issues.

Structures are relatively easy to tinker with but there is a larger problem, and one that has been a common factor in a succession of scandals across the years – and that is BBC culture.

Davie acknowledged as much when he finally appeared on Radio 4's Today programme four days later than he should have done.

Yes, to its credit the BBC did eventually let Panorama loose on the Bashir debacle. But there is still a culture of entitlement, a sense that the BBC is always right, with the first instinct always to deny or deflect.

For an organisation paid for by a compulsory licence fee there is also a marked lack of openness and in general a distaste for apologising.

As presenter of nearly 350 editions of the BBC Newswatch programme across eight years, I find it difficult to remember a BBC executive ever admitting error – when they actually turned up to face complaints from viewers.

Davie somehow has to lead by example to try to change that culture and doing it much more in the public domain than he has until now.

It is the very least he owes to his staff who not only have done no wrong but continue to produce high-quality news, current affairs and programmes under increasingly difficult circumstances.

**There is a culture of entitlement, a sense that the BBC is always right, with the first instinct always to deny or deflect**

# by Tim Lezard

# arts

## Film >

### Wildfire

Released June 25

This simmering debut feature from acclaimed shorts director Cathy Brady focuses on the relationship between two sisters on the Irish border. As their bond intensifies, historic resentments give way to a shared need to confront the events that scarred them as children. But the legacies of the past are political as well as personal...

<https://tinyurl.com/xrbavta>



### Crock of Gold – a Few Rounds with Shane MacGowan

How have I missed this? Julien Temple's look at the chaotic, troubled life of Pogues frontman Shane MacGowan is as entertaining as it is sad. Featuring previously unseen archive footage from the band and MacGowan's family, it's a rock'n'roll celebration of the man who combined Irish folk music with punk rock.

<https://tinyurl.com/438tdw8n>

## Books >

### Blackface by Ayanna Thompson

Bloomsbury

Why are there so many examples of public figures in blackface but not as many examples of people of colour in whiteface? This topical short book connects the first performances of blackness on the English stage, contemporary performances of blackness and anti-black racism.

<https://tinyurl.com/jhxda948>

### The Curious Case of Leonardo's Bicycle by Brick

A investigation into a true but utterly bizarre mystery, this graphic book by NUJ member Brick charts one man's obsession to get to the bottom of how a 15th century drawing in one of Leonardo da Vinci's sketchbooks came to depict a vehicle not invented until the 19th century.

<https://tinyurl.com/e9tn647>

## Comedy >

### Michael Spicer: The Room Next Door

On tour in October and November

One of lockdown's internet sensations, Michael Spicer as the media adviser in the Room Next Door is wired up to prompt politicians as they face the press. Interspersed with footage

from real press conferences, he despairs as they deviate from his script.

<https://tinyurl.com/yv9ndwhj>

### Lucy Porter: Be Prepared

On tour in June, September and October

At Brownies, Lucy thought she'd be prepared for anything as long as she had her emergency 10p for a phone box and knew how to tie a fisherman's knot. Life turned out to be slightly more complicated than Brown Owl let on.

<https://tinyurl.com/265djav7>

## Exhibition >

### A Time of Uncertainty

Art Link, Fort Dunree, Buncrana Until December 5

Photographer Tristan Poyser's twin social documentary projects combine Brexit and Covid-19. Based on the thoughts and feelings of more than 700 people, his work documents real people's thoughts and feelings, unfiltered and independent of politicians and, ahem, the media.

<https://tinyurl.com/2nuupxts>

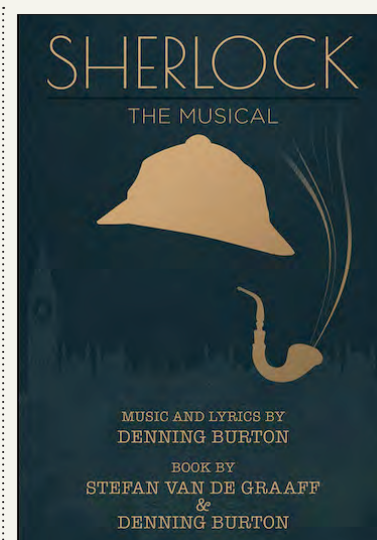
## Theatre >

### Farewell to Leicester Square

On tour (outdoors) in Hertfordshire June and July

Townsend Theatre's Neil Gore has adapted Abe Gibson's poem about Joe Clough, Britain's first black bus driver. Having arrived in the UK from Jamaica, where he drove horse-drawn carriages, Clough passed his driving test in 1910 and ended up behind the wheel of a General Omnibus Company B-type bus in London until 1914, when he went to France and drove field ambulances in Ypres.

<https://tinyurl.com/7adfdcpm>



### Sherlock the Musical

Touring the UK in August

Baker Street meets Broadway in what promises to be an intriguing immersive musical version of Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes. Featuring a 14-strong cast of actor-musicians, it will be performed inside well-ventilated and Covid-safe tents throughout the summer.

<https://sherlockmusical.com>

## Music >

At the time of going to press, music festivals may or may not be happening in the summer. Let's hope they do. Here's a list of Festicket's top 25 events of 2021.

<https://tinyurl.com/3uhhfujv>

## Television >

### Ridley Road

Screened in the autumn on the BBC, Aggi O'Casey stars as Vivien Epstein in this drama inspired by the struggle of the 62 Group, a coalition of Jewish men who stood up against rising neo-Nazism in postwar Britain.

<https://tinyurl.com/t4mxb7ym>

## Spotlight >

# Subverting the secretive spy cops

"Writing my memoirs was definitely therapeutic, cathartic," Donna McLean tells Arts. "Reclaiming my name and my truth. Subverting their secrets and lies."

Small Town Girl tells how

Donna, known as witness 'Andrea' during the Pitchford Undercover Policing Inquiry, was targeted by spy cop Carlo Neri at an anti-war demonstration in London in 2002. It is due to be published in March next year.

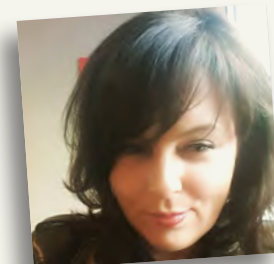
Within six weeks, he had moved in with her; three months later, they were engaged. But he began spending a lot of time away and, in 2004, he emailed, saying: "I never want to see you again."

Five years ago, Donna realised he had been living two separate lives. Carlo Neri was an undercover police officer, a father of one whose wife was pregnant with his second child while he lived with Donna.

"This book and podcast document my personal battle for truth and justice, in the face of state-sponsored

lies and abuse," she says.

<https://tinyurl.com/spjswjmd>







# TechDownload

Chris Merriman on technology for journalists

## byte size...

### A NIFTY PRINTER FOR YOUR POCKET

This accidental find has become part of my everyday carry – a pocket printer. Powered by Bluetooth so cordless, it uses thermal labels (four rolls are supplied), so never needs toner, and its software runs on Android, iOS and Windows. Labels include round and colour-flashed stickers. Prices vary – they cost £68.99 from Amazon, but we've seen them cheaper so shop around.

<https://tinyurl.com/kxfhe43b>

### WIFI ON THE GO WORLDWIDE

When we start travelling again, how about some cheap roaming data? Simo makes products for the global traveller, including the Solis hotspot, which gives you access to 4G LTE in more than 135 countries. You can pay as you go by the gigabyte (\$12), the day (\$9 unlimited) or the month (from \$9/1GB or \$99 unlimited). A Solis X or Solis Lite from Simo's website starts at £119.99.

<https://www.simo.co/solis-wifi-hotspots-uk>

### JUMBO SITE FOR GLOBAL TV NEWS

Newsgathering often means having to be aware of a range of views from across the globe. That can be fiddly, so let us introduce VideoElephant, a global aggregator. Its TV app provides hundreds of internet TV channels, including agencies such as Reuters and PA, feeds from US papers and overseas rolling news channels. VideoElephant is free on mobile for Android and iOS, and via Fire TV, Apple TV and Roku. You can also watch it online.

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

## GUARD DONGLE FOR YOUR DATA

**Y**ou've probably heard it often that the password is on the way out. However careful you are to mix upper and lower case characters, numbers and

punctuation, the fact is any password can be cracked. Perhaps you already get authentication codes to your phone or use a fingerprint scanner. Well, hate to say it, but neither of these methods are that much safer and, in our line of work, that matters.

FIDO keys are here to save the day, and Ubikey's are among the best in the business. Put simply, it's a USB dongle that goes on your keyring. Once you've enrolled a site or service (Google, Facebook, Twitter, Microsoft Windows and many others), you insert the Ubikey when

prompted, and it will send a unique code. No key – no access. This makes your data about as safe as it can be. No data is sent over the internet or mobile networks; it's just you, your key and some peace of mind.

There are a variety of Ubikeys, from keychain versions to tiny USB-C or Lightning versions for phones. Some use NFC so you can tap them against your device. All make your data significantly safer even if you use 'password1' for everything (don't do this). Prices start at around £50.

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



## > Tiny combined charger

**C**harging your kit on the go is a headache; a laptop charger and a phone charger alone take up a lot of real estate in your bag.

The Elecjet X21 can replace them both. It identifies the current for your device, has two USB-C and one USB-A port and the whole thing is about half the size of a phone

charger. You can use it with a cable or plugged into a wall socket, and it has European and US attachments.

Elecjet is offering a 10% discount to NUJ members: see <https://www.amazon.co.uk/dp/B08WX6Z1KC> and use

the code JOURNOX21 at the checkout. It is also offering 10 per cent off its Powerpie P20 20,000mAh 45W power bank: see <https://www.amazon.co.uk/dp/B081S471NN> and use the code JOURNOP20. <https://elecjet.com/>

### Write free from digital distractions

If you're still typing copy straight into your company's content management system (CMS), it's only a matter of time before that comes back to bite you. Instead, try this distraction-free writer, which offers an on-screen word counter, reading time and lots of accessibility features including a dyslexia mode. Best of all, it is a WYSIWYG (what you see is what you get) system, and will carry any formatting such as bold type over to the CMS with a copy/paste. Previously a Chrome app, it is now available online (free), or as a desktop app (£9.99 for life).

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

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## BLAST THOSE PHONE BUGS

**I**f someone had told me 18 months ago that I'd be recommending a product for sanitising your smartphone, I'd probably have laughed them out of the office. But the world has changed and here we are.

The Zagg sanitiser looks like a small flatbed scanner with room for a smartphones or small tablet. Pop your phone in, close the lid and wait five minutes while your precious device is bathed in ultraviolet radiation. It won't be any cleaner when it comes out, but all those nasty germs will be dead.

Chances are there are all kinds of nasties on your phone – especially if you try to catch up with your reading on the loo.

The company doesn't give any guarantee on coronavirus, but claims the device kills 99.9 per cent of staphylococcal and Escherichia coli bacteria. The device costs £44.99.

[www.zagg.com/en\\_uk/uv-sanitizer](http://www.zagg.com/en_uk/uv-sanitizer)





## Mick Gosling

Mick Gosling, who died in April, was a trade union stalwart and life-long socialist.

Mick's contribution to the NUJ was enormous. A frequent delegate and speaker at delegate meetings, he served on The Journalist's editorial board and the disabled members' council. He chaired the PR & Communications branch for many years, and a strength was his willingness to put his socialist beliefs into action. Members are often at their most vulnerable when dealing with grievances and disputes at work, but life was better when Mick was fighting your corner.

Mick's links with the trade union movement began early. He joined the Labour Party Young Socialists at 14 and, while at the University of Kent supported the Kent miners in the early 1970s.

Later, as a worker at Ford Dagenham, he chaired the Transport & General Workers' Union paint, trim and assembly branch. Mick was victimised out of Ford and subsequently joined the communications team at Hackney Council, where he became chief press officer. He also worked in communications at Southwark Council, where he was popular with residents and councillors as well as his colleagues.

Mick was passionate about confronting injustice. An advocate of media reform, he was a longstanding member of the Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom (CPBF).

In 2007, one of those concerns hit the national headlines. Moving a branch motion at the NUJ delegate conference, he called on the union to support a boycott of Israeli goods and the TUC to demand sanctions on Israel by the British government. The events that led up to this, Mick said, were the "slaughter of civilians in Gaza" and a savage attack on Lebanon in 2006.

The issue was tightly fought and required two recounts. Some broadcasters argued that backing the motion made the jobs of those working in the Middle East more difficult because claims that the union were impartial would be more

difficult to defend. Mick asked what there was to be impartial about when it came to human rights.

Mick was sociable and, for several years, organised the branch summer outing – a canal boat trip along the Regent's Canal. A fellow NUJ conference delegate recalls doing advanced Sudoku puzzles with him on the train home.

Mick and his passion for fairness and combating inequalities will be missed by his friends and colleagues. He had a love of learning and literature and was environmentally aware. He wanted to donate his body to science, which was difficult in Covid times, but the London Neurodegenerative Diseases Brain Bank accepted his brain.

Barry White, the former CPBF national organiser and, until 2019, a member of our branch, was among those paying tribute to Mick at his funeral in London on April 19. Davy Jones, who worked with Mick at the CPBF, and Alan Gibson, of the NUJ national executive council and the Hackney Trades Union Council (where Mick was treasurer) also paid tribute, as did Jeremy Corbyn MP. Following the committal, mourners left to Monty Python's Always Look on the Bright Side of Life.

He is survived by his wife, Kathryn Johnson, sister Christine Mapus-Smith and children Natalya Vince and Alexander Vince. There will be a memorial rally for Mick later in the year.

*Mick's chosen charity is War on Want: donations can be sent at [www.waronwant.org/mickgosling](http://www.waronwant.org/mickgosling)*

## Carmel McHenry



## Eric Gordon

I was sad to hear of the death of my old boss Eric Gordon, a fearless journalist, editor and campaigner, who 40 years ago helped shape the future of not only UK provincial newspapers but also national titles.

To those who didn't know him, Eric could be an intimidating, sometimes terrifying presence. His old-school mannerisms, unfashionable style and reserved demeanour coupled with a rapier-sharp intellect initially made him a

difficult man to warm to or to try to work out.

Eric became my first boss after I left college to serve an apprenticeship at the Camden Journal, without having had any newspaper experience and armed only with a cheeky 'won't take no as an answer' enthusiasm to make it as either a crime or showbiz reporter.

He not only taught me the basics of journalism and how to write in a short, snappy tabloid style but also encouraged me to question and examine everything – the approach that made him the scourge of town halls, political parties, quangos, private developers and other organisations that might threaten the wellbeing of the local community.

My beginning in news reporting couldn't have been different from the classic Fleet Street headline journalism I'd imagined. Instead of sending me to write crime stories in Camden, Eric asked me to cover obituaries, town hall meetings and summer festivals, maintaining the old editorial mantra that 'names sell newspapers'.

It was desperately unglamorous and, while it took me some time to get the hang of writing, Eric persevered with me, never giving up and keeping a watchful, almost parental eye on my development. But that was Eric all over – a totally unselfish man who was dedicated to helping budding journalists make the grade.

When the paper was closed down by its owners after three history-making strikes within one year – an action that brought fellow NUJ members around the country out in support – Eric was offered the title for the peppercorn sum of £1. He launched the Camden New Journal, a co-operative that has gone on to become one of the finest free newspapers in the UK.

At the time, no one believed the paper would last more than a year or two yet today free newspapers have become commonplace around the country with even the Evening Standard and the i (formerly The Independent) taking that path to survive falling sales because online news is easily accessible.

I'll never forget those blasted strikes as long as I live. They were seemingly always in bitter winter which involved us journalists travelling from London to our print works in Nuneaton, Warwickshire, to work a picket line at 5am to stop management trying to get a paper out with blackleg labour. And there would be Eric, dispensing industrial quantities of brandy to keep our spirits up.

I'm very honoured to have worked for both the Camden Journal and Camden New Journal for the first eight years of my career as a professional writer and, yes, I did eventually become both a crime and showbiz reporter thanks to Eric.

## Mike Baess





## Andrew Dodgshon

Known as 'Dodger' to his family, friends and colleagues, Andrew Dodgshon, journalist, trade unionist and top companion, has died of brain cancer.

Dodger fought the disease with great courage for a decade, confounding all prognoses.

He was born in Otley and attended Leeds Grammar School where he played both cricket and rugby. In his final year, he was deputy head boy and also chaired the debating society and the editorial board of the school magazine.

His passions included a love of Leeds FC, Yorkshire cricket, the England rugby and football teams, a fascination with the Zulu Wars and a love of trains. He also enjoyed going to the pub with his mates and quaffing craft beers (notably from

the Black Sheep brewery).

In 1980, while studying history at the University of Kent, Dodger embarked on 40 years of activism in the Labour party. He was a councillor for Bedford from 1993 to 2001 and an area organiser for the party for five years from 1994.

At one stage Dodger worked as manager of Brown's restaurant in Brighton, becoming a skilled cook in the process. But he found his true calling as a political journalist and press officer for the Unite union, finding his forte in the cut and thrust of the political and industrial frontline for over a decade.

Along with comrades from Unite and elsewhere, he was an enthusiastic pubgoer, engaging in repartee which often bore a resemblance to the script of a Carry On film written by Salvador Dali.

There was a serious side to Dodger. He worked with the business world and political and labour movement to reinforce the idea that unions in general – and Unite in particular – play essential roles in the workplace and society.

In 2008, Dodger met the other great passion of his life, his wife Jane, an education consultant with whom he shared a love of travelling, concerts and the theatre. His later years were notable for the deep contentment he

experienced with Jane, her children Katy, James and Alex and life in the Acton community. Dodger was immensely proud of his new family and believed they made him complete.

In 2011, Dodger was diagnosed with terminal brain cancer. The following years were marked by an endless round of operations, treatment, periods of remission and relapses, all of which Dodger met stoically with the unconditional support of his wife, family and friends. Making the most of the time he had left, he travelled to the West Indies, South Africa and Europe.

Dodger never lost his campaigning zeal or his compassion for others. He helped other brain cancer sufferers through discussion and fund raising. His efforts contributed to the establishment of a new Maggie's Centre for cancer patients at Barts.

Dodger died peacefully in hospital on April 19, his wife Jane and stepson James at his side. He will be remembered as a caring, clubbable man, a loyal friend and colleague, a tireless campaigner and a loving husband and family man.

*To donate to the cancer charity Maggie's Centres in Dodger's memory, please go to <https://andrewdodgshon.muchloved.com>*

**Barrie Clement**

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# Story behind the picture

Dhaka clothing makers  
*By Larry Herman*

**'Although I knew about the 2013 Rana Plaza catastrophe, in which 1134 people were killed when a building containing clothing factories collapsed, I didn't consider focusing on it at that time. During that period I was in the final stages of shooting, editing and producing an exhibition of my Cuban Notebook project.'**

I began researching clothing production in Bangladesh three years later. I read local newspapers online when researching a new project and contact people who live and work where I want to go. Of course, people are always interesting but there must be something else going on and that means they are acting to achieve greater control of their lives.

Through a process of reading, conversations and letter writing, I learned about the Bangladesh Garment & Industrial Workers Federation. I contacted them and, after several exchanges, they agreed to help me document their work in building the union by collectively organising clothing workers.

During my trips there, the union assigned officials to look after me and to organise access to factories, visit workers' homes and translate. Factory owners and their factory managers were very hostile to the union and, of course, to me. Despite trying very hard, I was only able to photograph in a limited number of factories. Visiting homes was the opposite. People were extraordinarily hospitable and were eager to talk about their working and social lives.

I'm a documentary photographer who has rejected the usual role of spectator. I photograph ideas. I align myself with those I photograph. The people in my photographs are never simply objects.



# Forget informed - are you happy or afraid?



Interest in how stories make us feel is baffling, says **Chris Proctor**

**A**s I finished scanning an online article today, a box popped up asking if I could spare a moment to help the site improve its approach to reporting.

They'd caught me at a good time. I was on deadline so I was naturally pleased for an excuse to do something apart from write the commissioned piece.

Besides which, I'm always willing to help out with enquiries of this sort. I don't mind giving advice. It's a lot better than being given it.

They wanted to know if the article had made me feel: afraid; angry; motivated; reassured; happy; inspired; suspicious; shocked; sad; embarrassed; relieved; or confused.

I was puzzled how to respond. I mean, I was only having a quick look at a piece about the footy.

But then I thought if the Mirror's publisher, Reach, really wanted my advice, perhaps I should apply myself. After all, I am a journalist.

The item I'd perused concerned a rumoured graze to the leg of Phil Foden, the man destined to win the European Championship for England. I think the lesion in question was on his left leg although the report was not specific.

I wasn't sure how to comment on this deficiency. Did this make me 'confused'? Not in any significant way. They did say it was a leg, and Philip, in common with many footballers, has just the two.

So how did I feel at the conclusion of the report. Was I 'afraid'? In a way, yes. I'd like him to be fit. But this was

relative. It paled into insignificance compared with global warming, recurring viruses, the possibility of Laurence Fox becoming mayor of London and the combfoot spider.

Then again, with the tournament kicking off in early June, I was unquestionably perturbed. But there was no 'perturbed' box.

And time was ticking on. I didn't want to let Trinity Mirror down but, equally, I'd have to finish the article I was writing sometime. I couldn't spend all day counselling them.

So I gave up. I found Mr Foden's possible ailment neither reassuring nor confusing. I was rendered neither happy nor suspicious by what I had read. Besides, why did they want to know?

Suppose the returns showed that most readers favoured being 'inspired' by stories. The editor, ever anxious to please the public, demands that all football stories in future should be inspirational. How does the reporter write it up?

"Phil Foden, who might have a sore leg, was applauded by decent folk throughout the land as he stood by his mum last month when she featured in an altercation during a festive event in Stockport that resulted in two black eyes for Katie Skitt, a mother of two who had refused to comply with a request for a ciggie. Mrs Foden said Phil was a model son who'd never given her a moment's worry and he'd probably turn out against Croatia."

Or what if the survey revealed that too many reports made readers sad. How do we counter this in informing

the public, for instance, about the demise of Prince Philip? The Queen has lost her husband of 70-odd years; his children mourn a father; a man has died. There aren't many ways you can brighten this up. It's sad and that's that.

The only way the information could be used to good effect would be to encourage readers to fill in the questionnaire before reading the article.

A potential reader could opt for the slant she'd like before examining the piece, and alternative copy could be provided to match her desires. This would involve a dozen variants for each piece. This is attractive in that it requires additional copy and hence more journalists. But it's not all good news.

Say you've been told to cover the tale of a car driver who veered off the road, ploughed through a privet hedge and smashed through the glass frontage of a Lidl supermarket.

Options could begin 'Glaziers were delighted with unexpected demand for their services today...' (reassured); 'Supermarket users were warned of the danger of out-of-control vehicles unexpectedly entering the premises...' (afraid); 'Suppliers of yew bushes to garden centres questioned a growing demand for privet hedges...' (suspicious). And so on.

There is much more that could be said about this subject and, under normal circumstances, I would be happy to continue. But I've really got to get started on the piece I'm writing so I'll have to leave it there.

Shall I put you down as 'relieved'?

**Suppose most readers favoured being 'inspired' so the editor demands all stories should be inspirational. How does the reporter write them up?**

# FREELANCE RIGHTS CHARTER

## FAIR DEAL FOR FREELANCES

**The Covid-19 crisis has further marginalised already vulnerable freelances working across the media industry – this NUJ Freelance Rights Charter demands improved protections and benefits regardless of employment status.**

**Support our call for a Fair Deal for Freelances, where all freelances have the right to:**

- 1** Trades union collective bargaining to improve terms and conditions for freelances side by side with staff
- 2** Fair written contracts free from the threat of disadvantage for asserting their rights
- 3** Respect for their creators' rights and unwaivable moral rights
- 4** Equalised rights with employees including; sick pay; maternity, paternity and parental leave; unemployment benefit; full access to benefits and social securities
- 5** Choice over how they freelance and are taxed, with an end to advance tax payments
- 6** Work free from pressure to operate on a PAYE basis, or to incorporate, or work through umbrella companies
- 7** Equal health and safety protections including parity of training, insurances and security provision
- 8** Fair fees and terms, and prompt payments
- 9** Dignity and respect at work, free from bullying, harassment or discrimination, with parity of access to grievance procedures
- 10** Equal professional rights, including the right to protect sources, seek information and uphold ethical standards