

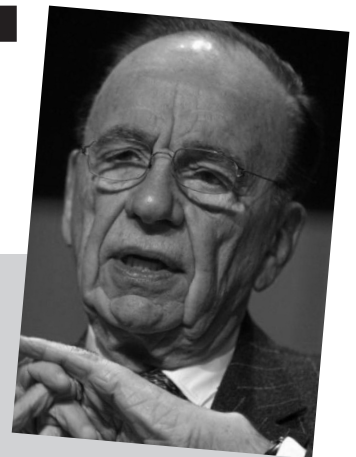
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HE MUST NOT GET AWAY WITH IT



RUPERT MURDOCH wants the newly-launched *Sun on Sunday* to be a rallying-cry for resistance to the avenging justice for which his media empire is due.

The paper – a cheap-to-produce substitute for the abandoned *News of the World* – appeared just as the focus of the Leveson inquiry switched from phone-hacking at the *NoW* to bribing the police at the *Sun*.

For the Murdochs the new evidence brings nearer the hitherto-theoretical prospect of a prosecution in the USA under the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act, which outlaws US-owned firms like News Corp bribing officials overseas to win business. Such a case would mean the end for the family, thrown out by the powerful US business interests that run the group, the pestilential London papers sold off, if they can find a buyer.

Rupert Murdoch's supposedly defiant reaction in rushing out the Sunday paper – which had been planned for months – was really one of desperation. But it has taken in the staff, who quickly forgot about the *NoW* closure and the forces of order closing in on them, and the media commentators who applauded his “chutzpah”.

“We will build on the *Sun's* proud heritage,” Murdoch told the staff, but the *Sun on Sunday* does more than that: it reconstructs a newspaper conglomerate that

TAKING ON THE BIG MEDIA BARONS

Media ownership and regulation are in the spotlight as never before.

The Leveson Inquiry is lifting the lid on the truth behind the headlines and there is now a once in a generation chance for real reform.

But what sort of reform? How can we create a press that is both free and fair?

These are the questions that will be addressed at a CPBF-supported one-day conference on Saturday 17 March (10am -4pm) at the TUC, Congress House, Great Russell Street, London WC1

Speakers include: Frances O'Grady, TUC Deputy General Secretary; Michelle Stanistreet, NUJ General Secretary; Granville Williams and Tom O'Malley, CPBF; and James Curran, Co-ordinating Committee for Media Reform.

The fee is £10, £6 unwaged. Register at mediaownership.eventbrite.co.uk or phone 020 7467 1228

restores to its owner an unacceptable degree of leverage on the industry and on political life in Britain.

It is a Murdoch tabloid. It will pour bile and abuse on migrants, claimants, trade unionists and public service workers. It will fulminate at Europe and foreigners in general. It will bang a deafening jingoistic drum on sport. It will carry cheesecake girlie photos and page after page of mindless celebrity gossip.

In short, it will reinforce the points that the CPBF and other campaigners have been making for the last year: that companies controlling so much of the media must be subjected to regulatory scrutiny.

Before the *NoW* closure News International sat on 35 per cent of the national paper market. If the Sunday can hold sales above 2 million, which is likely, they'll be back at practically the same level.

There were calls that News Corporation should be checked as a “fit and proper” potential owner of BSkyB while its bid to

buy up the satellite TV group was going through a year ago. The regulators wouldn't consider it.

But the reforms to be considered by the Leveson inquiry will include the granting of powers to apply such a “public interest” test to big media at any appropriate time. This provision is proposed in the submission from the Co-ordinating Committee for Media Reform (CCMR), which is backed by the CPBF.

A test would be triggered when a company controls more than 15 per cent of any market, and 30 per cent would be the absolute limit, above which titles would have to be divested to other owners or independent editorial control.

The *Sun on Sunday* will push News International's share of UK national titles back over that limit. The conduct of papers can only draw more and more attention to the need for reform.

In other words, the odds are that Rupert Murdoch's new paper will make his enemies' case for them.

How the Sun threatens press freedom PAGE 2

They're all at each others' throats PAGE 6

Why should Murdoch get his hands on licence fee cash?

THE ONLINE campaign group Avaaz has launched a campaign to stop the BBC having to pay BSkyB for carrying its TV channels.

The BBC hands up to £10 million a year to the Murdoch-dominated broadcaster.

Yet the BBC channels are the most popular on Sky, accounting for 41 per cent of viewing. Avaaz says Sky should be paying the BBC for attracting viewers.

It is urging supporters to message Culture Secretary Jeremy Hunt to call for these "retransmission fees" to be

scrapped in the imminent Green Paper on communications policy. The green paper, forerunner of a Communications Bill next year, was expected to come out, three months late, in mid-March.

Avaaz says: "These are our millions – handed over in licence fees to fund British content, not to boost Murdoch's profits."

Together with the similar UK-based group 38 Degrees, Avaaz were centrally involved in last year's triumphant campaign to stop Murdoch's News Corporation buying up the whole of BSkyB.

Even BBC chairman Lord Patten says 'stop some of the cuts'

THE BBC TRUST has knocked back some of the management's plans to reduce radio services and told them to restore £10 million from the cuts.

In a review of the 20 per cent spending cuts under the so-called Delivering Quality First (DQF) initiative, the Trust asked the BBC to scrap plans to make local radio stations share afternoon shows and to review plans to cut Radio 5 Live's current affairs programming.

It also asked for a rethink of plans to merge the local current affairs programme *Inside Out*, which faced cuts of 40 per cent, into super regions.

Trust chairman Lord Patten said its decision followed "real concerns" raised by the public. "Local and regional

services in England provide something unique for audiences that can otherwise be neglected by the mainstream media. The BBC cannot afford to get these changes wrong."

In response to the plan to shed one in five of BBC journalists Lord Patten said newsrooms need to be "adequately staffed".

The DQF cuts are the BBC's follow-up to its agreement with the coalition government in 2010 to freeze the licence fee until 2016 and take on the cost of the World Service and other services. Some 2,000 jobs will go, on top of more than 7,000 redundancies since 2004.

The CPBF supports the unions' campaigns against the cuts.

HELP THE CPBF

FOR A LONG time the CPBF was almost a lone voice challenging the political consensus around policies of deregulation of media ownership and arguing for an effective system of press regulation.

Now the chickens are coming home to roost.

We should celebrate all we've achieved over the years with very little money, but if we are to build on these successes we need to raise funds urgently.

We need to continue our work around the Leveson inquiry, respond to the forthcoming Communications Bill, and defend public service broadcasting from the cuts at the BBC.

You can help by making a donation to our campaigning fund.

In the right hand column on the home page at www.cpbf.org.uk is a PayPal 'Donate' button. Click and choose the amount you want to contribute.

You don't have to have a PayPal account – a debit or credit card will do – and any amount will be gratefully received.

The Sun hates attacks on press freedom. How must it hate itself!



DES FREEDMAN challenges the paper's claimed commitment to free and positive journalism

News

THE *SUN*'S associate editor Trevor Kavanagh is right to be angry. There is an assault on press freedom and media independence. The question is whether it comes from the investigations into phone hacking and illegal payments that have absorbed the Leveson Inquiry and Operation Elveden, or from within the press itself.

Kavanagh raged, in a lengthy piece in the *Sun*, that the "Guardian-inspired witch hunt" that culminated in the arrest of senior *Sun* journalists (together with a police officer, an Army major and a MoD employee), has put the UK below former Soviet states in the press freedom league: according to a new Reporters Sans Frontieres analysis it is now 28th in the world.

Kavanagh didn't point out why the UK has dropped down the table but it was because of two things: its approach to the protection of privacy and its response to the London riots, neither of them issues in which the Sun can claim a proud record.

When former *Sun* editor Kelvin MacKenzie was quizzed by Lord Justice Leveson in January he confirmed his view on privacy: "I didn't spend too much time pondering the ethics of how a story was gained, nor over-worry about whether to publish or not. If we believed the story to be true and we felt Sun readers should know the facts, we published it and left it to them to decide if we had done the right thing."

Lord Justice Leveson asked: "Did you have any particular or any regard to issues such as privacy?" Kelvin McKenzie replied: "Not really, no."

In relation to the UK riots, perhaps RSF was thinking of an editorial on 10 August which declared: "The *Sun* demands decisive action. The law on rioting MUST be toughened. Our brave police must be given a free hand to smash the mobs whatever it takes. Wearing masks on the street should be made illegal. Let's reduce overseas aid and reverse police cuts. The courts must be ruthless. The maximum sentence for riot is ten years. So let's see it applied. Jailed thugs must serve every day. And no let-off for young rioters".

Kavanagh was understandably furious about the scale of the resources put into the police investigations and the heavy-handed arrests of journalists, and asked an important question: who polices the police?

But this is hardly a question that has previously preoccupied his newspaper. In one of the most high-profile cases in recent years, the police killing in 2005 of Jean Charles de Menezes in Stockwell tube station in south London, the paper equated the murder of an innocent and unarmed young man and the trauma allegedly experienced by his murderers.

"The young Brazilian was as much a victim of terror as the 52 civilians who died just three weeks earlier on 7/7. So

were the officers who ran him to ground, knowing they could be blown to smithereens in the process. They are the casualties of a conflict which strains the nerves and resources of our finest police force."

Kavanagh's comments may be hypocritical but his concern that the current investigations into press ethics and media regulation might undermine press freedom ought to be taken seriously.

Advocates of democratic media need to show that reforms such as the right of reply, a new accountable body to monitor news organisations, and levies to fund new types of news ventures, will enable the press to act more ethically and responsibly than under regimes committed to serving shareholders more than readers.

Far from shackling journalists, a robust and democratic regulation that is independent of both government and the news barons must empower journalists to do their jobs better.

The corruption revealed in recent events is a structural matter and not one confined to a few bad apples – much as Rupert Murdoch would like to argue at the moment with News Corp's sudden willingness to identify wrongdoers.

It's time for Ofcom to investigate whether News Corp is a 'fit and proper' owner for BSkyB

When culture secretary Jeremy Hunt praised News Corp for co-operating with the police, he unwittingly made an important point: senior staff at News Corp have been co-operating with the Metropolitan Police and paying them for information for far too long.

And far from welcoming the co-operation, the government should demand an explanation of why it took so long for the company to admit and the police to investigate the extent of criminality on the NI papers.

It is also the time for Ofcom to investigate whether News Corp can be seen as a "fit and proper" organisation to have a controlling stake in BSkyB, the country's most profitable broadcaster.

This needs to be accompanied by a strengthening of the media public interest test and more rigorous ownership thresholds to prevent undue influence over the British media by any single commercial group.

Now, more than ever, power without responsibility in the shape of proprietors who bully their staff, police who accept cash and favours from news organisations, and politicians who design policies with a view to securing a favourable reception by a powerful media, needs urgently to be checked.



Sly Bailey: bonus for failure

Big bonuses for failed big media bosses

WHILE THE media frenzied over the bonuses paid to bosses of the big banks, they ignored those paid to media bosses themselves.

Journalists at Trinity Mirror are facing their second 12-month pay freeze in four years, coming after over 700 jobs were culled in the last year alone.

In February TM announced the loss of 75 jobs at its national titles – papers that were prospering in the wake of the closure of Murdoch's rival *News of the World*.

This meant the Mirror group in London would have slashed its editorial staff on the three titles by nearly 40 per cent in the last two years; in June 2010 it axed about 140 posts out of 554.

But last year directors' pay and pensions totalled £3.9 million – £1.3 million of which was cash bonuses.

Chief executive Sly Bailey's package of pay and pensions was £1.7 million, including a cash bonus of £660,000.

Meanwhile the TM share price has almost halved, from 90p to 48p.

NUJ general secretary Michelle Stanistreet said: "Trinity Mirror is a company whose only strategy is to keep cutting costs, closing titles and slashing quality in the process. Yet the bonuses, the perks and the hikes in salary keep coming. This reward for failure culture has to stop – in the newspaper industry just like the banking sector."

Role of the A

States led by the USA are trying to take powers to control the internet, but netizens are resisting.

GARY HERMAN reports

ON JANUARY 26 the EU and 22 of its member states joined a select group of eight other, mostly industrialised, nations by signing an arcane piece of pseudo-legislation called the Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement (ACTA).

The next day Kader Arif, a French Socialist Party MEP, quit his position as the European Parliament's rapporteur for ACTA. You can be forgiven for having missed the news, but his reasons for resigning make interesting reading.

"I want to denounce in the strongest possible manner the entire process that led to the signature of this agreement," he said. "This agreement might have major consequences on citizens' lives, and still, everything is being done to prevent the European Parliament from having its say in this matter.

"As I release this report for which I was in charge, I want to send a strong signal and alert the public opinion about

this unacceptable situation. I will not take part in this masquerade."

Others have protested even more vigorously. The "hacktivist" group Anonymous launched "denial of service" attacks against websites across Europe, the campaign group Avaaz issued a call to its supporters to "save the internet", and the Slovenian ambassador to Japan issued a statement on January 31 apologising for having signed the agreement.

"I did not pay enough attention," the ambassador said. "Quite simply, I did not clearly connect the agreement I had been instructed to sign with the agreement that limits and withholds the freedom of engagement on the largest and most significant network in human history, and thus limits particularly the future of our children."

THE ORIGINAL intention of ACTA was simply to obtain the formal commitment of major industrial powers to co-operate on the suppression of the global trade in counterfeit goods, but the final document goes much further, drawing in "services that distribute infringing material" and "the enforcement of intellectual property rights".

ACTA is in fact part of a concerted attempt by the corporate world to protect the huge revenues accruing to it from intellectual property (IP) – music, film and videos, publications, everything.

It all started in 2004 when the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA) filed a criminal suit against the Pirate Bay organisation in Sweden which led to raids, arrests, and lengthy court cases. Pirate Bay, a free information campaigning online network, became a libertarian political party which now has two seats

The US model protects the financial interests of corporations above those of artists, authors and creators

in the European Parliament and is set for winning them in the national Parliament too.

Since then, the US in particular has made various attempts to address the problem of transnational copyright theft, including the recently stalled attempt to

introduce its Stop Online Piracy Act (SOPA). SOPA was hastily withdrawn in Congress after 7,000 websites including Wikipedia and Reddit closed down for a day in protest on January 18 – an unprecedented worldwide action that shook the political establishment.

The US has already an armoury of laws and instruments to protect intellectual property on and off the internet, including the Digital Millennium Copyright Act (DMCA) and the PRO-IP Act of 2008 (Prioritizing Resources and Organization for Intellectual Property).

SOPA's critics argue that it was primarily intended to put pressure on worldwide websites such as Google to sever links that might unwittingly lead to third parties infringing copyright. They say this would be unfair and impractical – and possibly illegal for it to be enforced outside the US on behalf of the US government.

The Online Protection and Enforcement of Digital Trade Act (OPEN), proposed as a replacement after the SOPA debacle, seeks to empower the International Trade Commission (an American agency, despite the name) to enforce online piracy laws globally.

The US is not the only country attempting to suppress the infringement of intellectual property rights. But it dominates the market in intellectual property and it accords moral rights and individual authorship significantly less value than most of the rest of the world.

This is a complex field and ACTA does it no service. As Kader Arif indicated, the agreement was introduced and developed through a series of furtive and unrepresentative meetings. With the exception of Morocco, the signatories represent the capitalist establishment – Europe, North America and the "western" bits of Asia (Australia, New Zealand, Japan, Singapore and South Korea). No civil society groups and no international bodies, other than the EU, were involved.

THE CHARGE raised by the likes of Avaaz and Anonymous is that ACTA is an attack on the internet. There is some cause for concern here. For the most part, ACTA hedges its bets. It says that "parties shall ensure that criminal liability ... is available under its law", for example, without specifying the nature or extent of such liabilities. Nothing should be done that

ACTA

limits rights to “free expression, fair process and privacy” or creates barriers to legitimate trade; individual rights must always be “appropriately protected”.

But there are problematic areas where the agreement introduces compulsion and one of these is in Chapter 2, Section 5 of the agreement, “Enforcement of Intellectual Property Rights in the Digital Environment”.

The problem here is not so much that ACTA will force internet service providers to examine every data packet for signs of potential infringement, but that it will create an atmosphere in which countries find themselves expected to adopt measures which have not been adequately defined or limited.

This matters to the CPBF not just

ACTA is an attempt by the corporate world to protect its huge revenues from intellectual property

because we’re in favour of free stuff on the internet, but because IP law has been and may increasingly be used to suppress dissent, to do exactly what the defenders of ACTA say it shouldn’t do: undermine freedom of expression.

If ACTA goes ahead, the kind of thinking that bans parodies of movies (Downfall), well known products (Volkswagen), or trademarks (the London Olympic mascots) will become global, and the US model of copyright that protects the financial interests of large corporations above those of artists, authors and creators could creep across the world.

It will be propagated by a new, unelected and undemocratic institution, the ACTA Committee, which will oversee the agreement, and by the US’s annual “Special 301” process, which examines what America doesn’t like about how other countries manage their IP regimes and tells them to change it.

ACTA could still be abandoned if fewer than six signatories finally ratify it, or if the European Parliament as a whole votes against it in June.

Perhaps Avaaz should start a campaign directed at MEPs. At least two Swedish MEPs will be in support.



Rick Falkvinge, founder of the Pirate Party

SAUL GORDILLO

‘The internet strike was a milestone for new media’

After the internet strike against SOPA – the American Stop Internet Piracy Act – on January 18, the ‘old media’ no longer matter for the internet, says **RICK FALKVINGE**, the leading Swedish internet activist and founder of the Pirate Party.

THE SOPA strikedown was a significant event in media terms. It was the first sign of the old media becoming irrelevant for things that really matter.

Old media – unidirectional media such as TV, newspapers, radio – barely covered SOPA at all. We know that this has political reasons, as their owners didn’t want to draw attention to the issue. But they are conceptually unable to tell the narrative of millions of people fighting against a powerful few dozen. It’s not just that they chose not to; their very construction makes it as impossible.

Old media consist of large corporations that can only portray conflicts between other large organizations. The established old media style, which focuses on the pretence of impartiality, has been called “he-said, she-said journalism.”

Those of us who get our news on the net don’t get it from one source, but from hundreds, maybe thousands. I read a couple of political blogs, some comics, a couple of current affairs, eight real-time Twitter streams, and so on.

There is a crucial difference in the net’s cross-communication between information sources. When all of our hundreds of different news sources start to converge around and resonate with each other on one single topic, as

happened with SOPA, then all of us sense that immediately. Immediately.

Old media are not capable of communicating that sense of resonance. They have their predetermined length of news clips and page lengths, divided by topics, portraying conflicts as experts talking it out. They can’t resonate with the people when something is important.

One expert talking on a small allocated space cannot represent one million concerned people – a million who are leaderless to begin with, yet organized and efficient. Any attempt to frame this event in “he-said, she-said” journalism just falls flat on its face.

We don’t need old media to tell our story to succeed. We’re able to tell it ourselves. This should have them really worried. For not only did they fail in narrating the story; they also failed in preventing the story from being narrated anyway, by us.

When a million people talk to their friends, family, and colleagues about a subject, that wins over any narrative that old media is trying to portray. That collective of a million people is able to coordinate discoveries and stories with an efficiency that allows them to run in circles round any attempt to control information. ● Reprinted with permission from Rick Falkvinge’s blog at falkvinge.net

When thieves fall out ...

Amid the swirl of allegations and the gravity of discussions on the future of media regulation, **TIM GOPSILL** says we shouldn't miss the opportunity to relish the discomfiture of the bosses and fixers who got themselves and each other into such a fine mess



Lady Buscombe: found out too late that you can't trust the owners and editors of the national press

AMONG THE more entertaining spectacles in the Hackgate affair has been the backbiting and betrayal among the parties who got themselves and the industry into trouble. It has even broken out among the bland personages of the Press Complaints Commission.

The mutual recriminations and denials of James Murdoch and other News International executives, all accusing each other of lying, were a notable feature of the Commons culture select committee hearings last summer.

Journalists and managers forced out of their jobs have been busy blaming and shopping each other, and quarrelling over who is to meet their mounting legal bills.

Actions to try to get NI to honour promises that it has broken to pay these bills have kept lawyers in business for the whole of last year, as official scapegoats Clive Goodman and Glenn Mulcaire, who served time for the crimes, and former editor and Tory PR chief Andy Coulson (remember him?) were reduced to suing to get their imagined entitlements (with mixed results).

And now the former chair of the PCC has turned on the newspaper bosses whom she so faithfully served and covered up for through the thick of the crisis. Tory peer Baroness Buscombe attacked the publishers and their attitudes to the PCC when she gave evidence to the Leveson inquiry.

The PCC conducted two supposedly rigorous investigations into phone-

hacking at the *News of the World* and concluded both times that it was all down to the one rogue reporter – which is what NI was telling them.

Lady Buscombe said she had stopped trusting the press before standing down last year. “The reality is that I want to support the self-regulatory system ... but this demands a degree of trust, and the issue for me has become a problem of trust.

“I remember towards the end of my time there one of the editors asked me,

What a tight and tiny circle of Tory party PRs and establishment fixers they come from

‘Peta, don't you trust us?’ And I said with an incredibly heavy heart, ‘how can I?’

“This is because we felt that we hadn't been told the truth.”

She said she had “pleaded” with NPA David Newell to take some action over the mounting crisis. “I was saying this is really important, this is too important to get wrong, we need to find a way to show that the system can work, can be trusted.

“He said he would talk to the chairman but I don't think that happened. I talked to that chairman more recently when I was still in the job and again nothing happened.”

She said she had written to the pub-

lishers and proprietors to spell out her concern – that there was “a real issue of trust in the system and that it was terribly important that we actually look and share with the proprietors and publishers the whole issue of governance within news organisations”, again to no avail.

Now, however, as they see that the PCC is clearly doomed, we have the further entertainment of former PCC apparatchiks and apologists publicly eating their words to declare that a tough regulatory regime is obviously required.

Lord Black, the chairman of the Press Standards Board of Finance, Executive Director of the Telegraph Media Group and former director of the PCC itself, told Leveson that the hacking affair had convinced him that the PCC needed urgent reform and new powers.

“It took a scandal like that to show us we needed a new body to enforce the editors' code of practice,” he said. “The industry needs radical proposals for change to stave off the threat of statutory regulation.”

A number of national paper editors, who had for years been insisting that the PCC-style self-regulation was safe and sound and that anything tougher would mean the sudden death of press freedom, have come to similar conclusions, including Paul Dacre of the *Daily Mail* and the *Independent's* Chris Blackhurst.

Lord Black was formerly Guy Black – and not to be confused with the disgraced former Telegraph proprietor, Tory peer Lord (Conrad) Black – when he headed the PCC, before he became chief PR for the Tory party (2003-05) and a member of the Lords.

Fellow Tory peer Lord Hunt, who took over as chairman of the PCC from Lady Buscombe, also told Leveson that a new press regulation body should have the power to investigate allegations of wrongdoing by newspapers, and to impose fines.

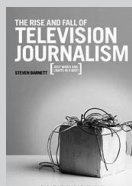
One of the intriguing elements of the whole story is what a tight and tiny circle of Tory party PRs and establishment fixers all these characters come from.

Following Lady Buscombe's departure from the PCC, the PCC director, Stephen Abell, has now resigned as well. He is to become a partner at the Pagefield PR consultancy.

The new director is Michael McManus, a former special adviser to Tory ministers and director of Bell Pottinger Public Affairs, another well-connected PR consultancy.

Reviews

Still melting, the TV journalism iceberg



THE RISE AND FALL OF TELEVISION JOURNALISM
Steven Barnett
Bloomsbury
£18.99



TELEVISION JOURNALISM
Stephen Cushion
Sage
£22.99



BROADCASTING IN THE 21ST CENTURY
Richard Rudin
Palgrave Macmillan
£18.99

IN 1999 Steven Barnett was co-author of a research paper on television current affairs called "A shrinking iceberg travelling south". His new book offers depressing confirmation that the rate of melt has dramatically increased.

His message is stark. Without the back-up of positive regulation and institutions committed to public purposes, journalistic culture,

however robust, can provide no defence against a deregulated market system and a determined populist ownership.

The example of the USA stands as a warning: "Having seen the trajectories in television journalism either side of the Atlantic, it should now be clear that an unrestrained, unregulated free market in television journalism would be catastrophic."

The book traces the trajectory of television journalism since the 1950s, with occasional horrified glances across the pond. Barnett argues that the TV current affairs "golden age", from the 1960s to the 1980s was enabled by competition between a securely funded BBC and ITV companies controlled by positive regulation.

Programmes like *This Week* and *World in Action* could flourish, challenging the BBC's *Panorama*; he might in fact have given more space to the lower-profile but high-quality regional ITV programmes.

It is no surprise that the decline began with the free market policies of the Conservative Government,

and the Thatcher-led attacks on courageous journalism. Chapters recount the dramas which surrounded the BBC's *Real Lives* and Thames's *Death on the Rock*.

According to legend (though Steve Barnett says this is not proven) it was the latter that stiffened Margaret Thatcher's resolve to replace the "positive" regulator, the IBA, with the lighter-touch ITC.

At the same time (1989-90) the restructuring of ITV led companies to rush downmarket and the BBC was hit with a reduction in the licence fee. Sky was allowed to broadcast even though Rupert Murdoch owned a third of UK's newspaper circulation. All of this will sound uncannily familiar to readers in 2012.

But the structures of television have changed. The final chapters consider 24-hour news and the blogosphere, concluding that neither can compare with the properly resourced journalism that was built up over decades on the terrestrial channels.

Richard Rudin's *Broadcasting in the 21st Century* looks broadly

across the output of radio and television and is more concerned to identify the changes in contemporary broadcasting than to argue a case.

It documents the arrival of citizen journalism, globalisation and convergence, and considers the overlap between journalism and popular formats, with case studies range from the Gilligan affair to the death of Jade Goody.

Like this book, Stephen Cushion's *Television Journalism* is directed at students.

It too looks at the current situation and the changes brought by 24-hour news and shifting news values. It concludes with a section on entering the profession.

An outpouring of books mainly addressed to students is one of the consequences of the shrinkage Steven Barnett describes, since the broadcasting organisations have offloaded training to universities and colleges. Though if the iceberg continues to melt, students will not have much of a career to look forward to.
Patricia Holland

Rapid book on a long slow process



THE PHONE HACKING SCANDAL
Richard Lance Keeble and John Mair (eds)
Abramis
£19.95

IT IS A symptom of our obsession with instant analysis that academics and practitioners have come together to rush out this "hackademic" book on the issues around the

Leveson inquiry. The inquiry is proceeding apace and there will be a lot more revelations to come, but the depth and knowledge of the contributors make it a book that deserves to be read not only by students and activists but the wider public.

Given the role of the *Guardian* in its determined pursuit of the story, editor Alan Rusbridger's chapter doesn't disappoint.

He tells us how the paper had been chased by a number of major studios wanting to make film about both the hacking stories and the WikiLeaks revelations.

Rusbridger thinks the most interesting story is the 18-month period following the *Guardian*'s original revelations of Gordon Taylor's settlement with the *News of the World*, which blew apart News International's "one rotten apple" defence.

The chapter by Nicholas Jones, the CPBF activist and former BBC politi-

cal correspondent, headed "How did a British Prime Minister come to depend on an Ex-Editor of the News of the World?" is a model in how to pull together the material from extensive research.

One of the most troubling questions underlying the whole scandal is why successive British Prime Ministers become so subservient to Rupert Murdoch.

In a dramatic intervention in the House of Commons two years ago, the Labour MP and key protagonist Tom Watson provided an answer: they were fearful of the Murdoch press.

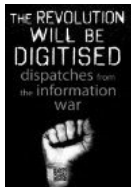
The book's title is *Journalism is on Trial*.

But surely it is not the journalists on trial but the owners of the media. Leveson is examining the culture, practice and ethics of the press but we'll be back here again if the question of ownership is not addressed.

Joy Johnson

Review

Yes, but is the internet democratic?



THE REVOLUTION WILL BE DIGITISED
Heather Brooke
 Heinemann
 £12.99

HEATHER BROOKE says that, thanks to digital communications technology, "never before has the possibility of true democracy been so close to realisation."

If that is the case, she has done more than most to bring it about. Heather Brooke is an American journalist who migrated to London carrying the virus of free press fundamentalism which has infected whole swathes of the media world.

After triumphs over freedom of information and MPs' expense-fiddling – subjects of her two previous books – she got herself involved with the internet avant garde, the hackers and evangelists who are challenging the power of states to control information.

Theirs is the digitised revolution, the title being an (unacknowledged) reference to the late Gil Scott-Heron's song *The Revolution Will Not Be Televised*.

The book is an entertaining run around this territory, mostly it seems in Scandinavia, where the geeks with their banks of servers are not just hacking and posting leaked material online but

building the networks and communities that Heather Brooke reckons are the germ of the democratic future.

The Champion of this class is of course Julian Assange of WikiLeaks. Like most journalists, Heather Brooke was initially an enthusiastic supporter of the WikiLeaks enterprise, but like many drew back from it as a result of Julian's Assange's brutal attitudes to women – indeed, to people generally.

Few in that community are now prepared to award him the unthinking loyalty he seems to believe he is entitled to. That could be a sign of a healthy democratic approach.

But the internet is not in itself democratic. It gives everybody the chance to sound off and post any information or any views online, but that is not democracy; that is freedom of speech. Democracy means popular control, with the people controlling decision-making through elected representatives.

It might have been said often enough, by freedom campaigners like Heather Brooke, that information is power. It comes in very useful in holding authority to account, but it does not empower anybody. All those WikiLeaks stories in 2010 that were said to be so damaging to governments had no real effect on them at all.

On the other hand, old-fashioned democracy isn't working either. The million-plus people who demonstrated in February 2003 against the impending

invasion of Iraq had no discernible effect.

States and the mega-corporations of the internet are struggling desperately to keep it under control. The fight to stop them is a democratic activity, but there's no guarantee it will restore the popular benefits that social democracy delivered for people 50 years ago.

Tim Gopsill

Fol, the podcast

A CRUCIAL element in the democratic function of media is freedom of information – the territory on which Heather Brooke has made her stand.

The government has made a number of attempts since the Freedom of Information Act was introduced in 2005 to water down its provisions, and now it has launched a review which campaigners fear could be used as an excuse to impose new restrictions and exemptions.

The Campaign for Freedom of Information (CFI) is trying to build public support for the Act and to lobby MPs to oppose any move to limit its scope.

CFI director Maurice Frankel and research officer Katherine Gundersen outlined their concerns to Nicholas Jones on the latest CPBF podcast. Go to www.cpbf.org.uk

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 Send letters, comments, articles and ideas to freepress@cpbf.org.uk

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