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The Journal of the Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom

LEVESON FALL-OUT

Pink 'Un sees red in stand-off over regulation

NATIONAL newspapers in the UK have hit deadlock over post-Leveson press regulation – with the *Financial Times* standing firm against the Independent Press Standards Organisation (Ipso).

Hopes by other proprietors and editors that lpso would become the de facto UK regulator have also been thwarted by the growing realisation that incoming chairman Sir Alan Moses has so little scope for manoeuvre that the organisation's credibility is compromised before it starts work this month.

FT editor Lionel Barber wrote an open letter to readers in April that implied that lpso had such serious shortcomings that it wasn't worth joining. He pointed out that as a "longstanding member" of the Press Complaints Commission, most claims against his paper had been exonerated and that the FT is "always willing to deal with complaints expeditiously and, if warranted, publish a clarification, correction or apology".

Now, wrote Mr Barber, "we recognise that we need to provide additional reassurances in the post-PCC world" – implying quite clearly that Ipso would not.

Ipso's attempt to glean respectability by appointing Sir Alan Moses as its first chair also attracted ridicule – as he is powerless to act outside the organisation's very limited, self-defined, constitution.

Some commentators privately compared lpso's attempted sleight of hand by trying to appoint a respected judge as its first figurehead with the actions of the dictator of a banana republic – hoping that the public smile of a first incumbent would deflect from enshrined self-interest or that constitutions

should always be written with those who follow in mind, separating the functions of governance and establishing adequate checks and balances to limit any potential future abuse of power.

Appointing a judge ... does not make any organisation 'judicially independent'

Despite reservations about Ipso from *Guardian* editor Alan Rusbridger, predecessor Peter Preston used his *Observer* column to claim that the "long post-Leveson trudge is almost over".

Others' reactions challenged such views as naive and optimistic: appointing a judge, or even two judges, does not make any organisation "judicially independent" as Preston suggests.

Hacked Off director Brian Cathcart has accused big newspaper firms of "still shamelessly struggling to escape the meaningful reform of press regulation", despite the Royal Charter and backing of parliament.

Even without the verdicts, the long phonehacking trial has revealed concerns that will remain.

Politicians do not want to grasp such a sensitive issue ahead of the general election. Indeed, the deadlock was further reinforced by incoming culture secretary Sajid Javid.

Speaking shortly after his short-notice

CONTINUED: Page 2.



SEEING STARS
Acquisition move poses
standards dilemma for EU
Pages 4-5



HEART SURGERY

BBC needs 'formidable' figure to succeed Patten

Page 6

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

London's Local TV station fights for viewers

Page 3

MORE CAMPAIGN NEWS www.cpbf.org.uk

LONG-TERM CONSEQUENCES

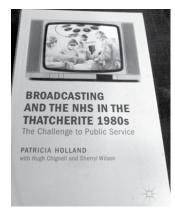
Looking to the past for the causes of today's concerns

ACADEMIC and CPBF national council member Pat Holland is among the speakers at a seminar on "Communication clashes in a challenging world" at Brunel University in Uxbridge on Thursday June 26.

With Professor Steven Barnett from Westminster University and David Elstein, who chairs opendemocracy. net, she will be discussing "Margaret Thatcher's Legacy for Broadcasting".

The organisers say the timely debate will consider how the then prime minister oversaw significant changes in broadcasting policy that have had far-reaching consequences in terms of ownership and regulation. These were largely ignored in the assessments of her political legacy that followed her death last year.

Pat Holland's imaginative analysis of the long-term Thatcherite implications for both healthcare and broadcasting, pictured, was published last year.



David Elstein was chief executive of Channel 5 at the time of its launch and was head of programmes at BSkyB. He is a forthright advocate of replacing the BBC licence fee with a voluntary subscription.

Prof Barnett specialises in media policy and the practice of journalism.

- www.brunel.ac.uk/sss/ sociology/research/ccmr
- Broadcasting and the NHS in the Thatcherite 1980s, Patricia Holland with Hugh Chignell and Sherryl Wilson, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, ISBN 978-0-230-28237-7

FROM PAGE 1

Culture secretary bequeaths regulation to successor

appointment as success to embattled Maria Miller, he revealed that he saw no further involvement for the current Government in press regulation.

Commenting online, Press Gazette editor Dominic Ponsford said: "This is despite the fact that a system of press regulation agreed in a crossparty deal and put into place by his department is currently dead in the water."

Ponsford concedes that Ipso is largely "Levesoncompliant", but that it "falls short on independence from the industry and the provision of a libel disputes arbitration service".

Hacked Off is determined to campaign for greater compliance with Lord Leveson's recommendations, saying: "Neither the Conservatives nor the Government will be able to put the matter to bed until the press comply with Leveson, as the Prime Minister said last December."

Mr Javid told *The Times* that: "Notwithstanding the fact that any industry has its bad apples, I think our press is the best in the world. It is fearless without favour"

Hacked Off responded by saying: "In his desire to ingratiate himself with the press barons, which is an old habit of politicians, the culture secretary should pause to remember the victims of press abuse, the backing that scores of writers and creative leaders gave the Royal Charter, the five active police investigations, the hundreds of potential civil claims and the current criminal trial of the prime minister's former press secretary."

The reluctance of the culture secretary to intervene and resolve the stand-off with the FT may have bought time for some politicians in the runup to next year's election, but it does nothing to lessen the legacy for whoever does control the House of Commons at this time next year.

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Capital's punishment adds doubt to birth of local TV

PROSPECTS of survival, let alone subsidised success, for the UK's largely-unborn network of local television stations have been thrown into further confusion following the poor performance of London Live in its first weeks on air.

The capital's station – with potentially the largest audience and greatest potential advertising revenue in the UK – won initial audiences of fewer than 30,000.

The station also has been receiving greater promotion than that available to many other local TV stations – as the programmes have the most prominent position in the listings in each day's *Evening Standard*, together with frequent full page advertisements there and in *The Independent* and *i*, part of the same Ledbedev stable.

Questions have been asked about the accuracy of the way ratings are measured – but raising doubts about the methodology does not appear to have lessened the reaction from many in the media.

By the end of April, the station was reported to be attracting 134,000 viewers a day – without any indication of how long they stayed – giving London Live a weekly reach of nearly 700,000.

Some observers were further dismayed when a key figure in the launch- Stephano Hatfield - departed, about a month after its launch.

Admittedly, anything on television can take time to attract an audience; the BBC's historic patience in letting many comedies and dramas mature into second series has become legendary.

However, programmes and stations can lose audiences more quickly than they can be won – and while a hard-won following is more likely to remain loyal, the disillusioned seem far less likely ever to want



LISTING: Even getting greater prominence than BBC1 in the *Evening Standard* hasn't helped win audiences for London Live.

to return, as those behind ITV's recent breakfast-time offerings know all-too-well.

Observer columnist Peter Preston said in April that London Live "needs promotion", yet the station has had far more than most, and even if it had the "cash and a ring of proprietorial confidence" that he also recommends, anecdotally more Londoners seemed to be turning off than tuning in.

For those outside London, grasping their Ofcom franchises and licence fee subsidies as they prepare to go on air, a far greater threat has suddenly emerged.

The announcement of a deal between Johnston Press and BSkyB to make television advertising more affordable to local businesses may further undermine their long-term viability as, even depleted, JP's advertising sales force represents a serious challenge to the start-ups.

■ Newspaper group in advertising deal: Page 5.

SOUNDING BOARD

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

Comment on the CPBF website

www.cpbf. org.uk

BBC radio boss faces gong dilemma

Quentin Gray

BBC director of radio Helen Boaden has a new spring in her step after being elected to an onerous part-time position.

She is the new president of HF Holidays, the cooperative society owned by its 34,000 members, which takes about 50,000 people on walking holidays around the UK and the world each year.

She was elected to the position at the society's 100th annual meeting at the spa town of Buxton, Derbyshire, in the spring.

The BBC radio supremo will work as a sounding board for the holiday firm's board of directors plus

act as ringmaster at its next AGM in Skipton, North Yorkshire, next year.

She will be challenged by a usually packed meeting dealing with such thorny questions of single-bedroom supplements and whether a gong should be brought back to summon guests to dinner at HF Holidays' hotels in the UK.

At the HF, Boaden replaced Keith White, president for 26 years. He is an international trade law specialist and was with the Crown Agents for almost 40 years.

Boaden moved to her present BBC role in February 2013, following negative publicity about her role in the BBC's lack of coverage over Jimmy Savile's history of sexually abusing children.

OLIGARCHY THREATENS

Murdoch's motives put under scrutiny

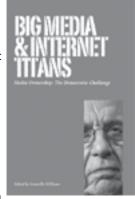
A FORTHCOMING book from the CPBF is bringing together contributions from many who have either been directly affected by the political and commercial machinations of media titan Rupert Murdoch and those with a close interest in his motives.

The significance of the long-planned analysis was increased by the shock announcement in June 2010 that Murdoch planned to take full control of BSkyB

which put the issue of media ownership at the centre of political debate.

The proposed takeover prompted widespread public opposition in the United Kingdom but the bid was only withdrawn in July 2011 when News Corporation found itself engulfed by the News of the World phonehacking scandal.

The dark side of Rupert Murdoch's media power and



influence, which penetrated the political establishment on both sides of the Atlantic for several decades, the Metropolitan Police, and virtually every nook and cranny of public life, was revealed – with further disclosures coming almost daily during the trial of senior UK executives at London's Old Bailey.

This book highlights the democratic challenges posed by excessive media power, both in the hands of "old media" – such as newspapers, television and radio – but also through the emergence of the four worldwide giants of the internet age – Google, Apple, Facebook and Amazon.

Editor Granville Williams said: "Never before have such global behemoths grown so fast or spread their tentacles so widely."

Big Media & Internet Titans poses urgent questions about media ownership and throws down the democratic challenge for politicians to embrace policies which will promote diverse, democratic and accountable media.

Contributors include *Mirror* columnist Paul Routledge, journalists Tim Gopsill, Gary Herman, Mike Holderness, and Andrew Wiard, academics Des Freeman and Jonathan Hardy and union stalwart Ann Field.

- Big Media & Internet Titans Media ownership: the democratic challenge, edited by Granville Williams, CPBF, 2014, ISBN 978-1-898240-07-5, price £9.99.
- Advance copies may be ordered online through the CPBF website: www.cpbf.org.uk. Publication is due early next month.

Sky tests the limits of controls

THE word "oligarch" may be most frequently associated with the ultrawealthy whose riches and political influence has grown since the collapse of the Soviet Union.

The term may, however, may be increasingly relevant to the media anywhere in the world – as comedians broaden its use from the "oily-garchs" who have dominated energy supplies for most of Europe to the "all-y-garchs" whose political and commercial influence wider still.

Revelations that BSkyB was seeking to acquire Sky Deutschland and Sky Italia coincided with an announcement that the broadcaster had increased its potential commercial reach in the UK through an advertising arrangement with newspaper publisher Johnston Press, renewing plurality concerns.

The Media Reform Coalition called for immediate action to halt the moves in Europe, adding: "The deal would lead to a substantial lessening of competition and is not in the public interest."

The Coalition also said the takeover would also pose a critical threat to the plurality of ownership, concentrate wealth and power into even fewer hands and strengthen the position of the already dominant BSkyB in the UK.

"The acquisition would," they added, "give Sky effective control over two of Europe's largest pay-TV broadcasters and create a European pay-TV giant."

They cited the *Financial Times*, which said the proposal had "the feel of a Murdoch masterplan. He may want to unify European TV companies, then bid for the rest of BSkyB himself."

The Media Reform Coalition, like the Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom, believes that a free and

diverse media is vital for a healthy and open democracy to flourish.

The move makes more strategic sense now than it did in 2010 ...

The Coalition statement ended: "We need appropriate remedies to tackle the growing threat posed by media concentration."

Speculation about Rupert Murdoch's intentions began earlier this year. In January, the *Daily Telegraph* reported media commentators as saying that the mogul had started preparing a second bid to gain full control of BSkyB, following the failure of his previous attempt in 2010.

BSkyB's share price rose in December after city analysts USB had suggested that acquisition may again be in his sights.

Writing in the *Telegraph*, Christopher Williams suggested that: "If anything, the move makes more strategic sense now than it did in 2010. Power in the media market has shifted away from distributors, such as BSkyB, who are engaged in increasingly intense competition, towards content rights holders, such as the Premier League and Hollywood studios."

Those same experts were, the *Telegraph said*, expecting Apple and Google to threaten the TV firms by using their huge cash reserves to buy exclusive rights to the sport and movies that the broadcasters have sold hard to entice viewers.

By seeking global rather than individual country rights, the internet

CHALLENGING THE BARONS



ALARMED: The Media Reform Coalition in the UK were so concerned about the potential acquisition that they quickly started promoting a petition calling on the European Commission to investigate.

giants would also change the market landscape.

Although the European Commission had approved Murdoch's 2010 move on BSkyB, the bid collapsed when the extent of *News of the World* phone hacking started to become apparent.

A political furore erupted in the UK when Business Secretary Vince Cable was secretly recorded saying he had "declared war" on Murdoch, only then for links between a special adviser to then Culture Secretary Jeremy Hunt and News Corporation to emerge.

Despite this and the ramifications that led to the Leveson Inquiry into press behaviour, the European Commission, without rapid EU law changes, may find it hard to row back its previous position and block either the acquisition of Sky Deutschland and Sky Italia by BSkyB or a "mega BSkyB" by another Murdoch firm.

Consequently, the need for pressure on the incoming European Parliament and the newly-appointed commissioners to limit the concentration of both media production and media ownership has never been greater.

AG

Newspaper group seeks to benefit from advertising deal

SKY'S commercial reach in the UK is set to increase following a deal with regional publisher Johnston Press.

The newspaper group, which has – under chief executive Ashley Highfield – adopted a strategy to move more online is collaborating with the broadcaster over TV advertising.

Sky's "Adsmart" technology "tailors" what it shown in television advertisement breaks according to a household's location and profile.

The system now covers a fifth of UK households on Sky's "quality channels".

Sky's commercial business managing director Andrew Griffith told a trade website that it "helps level the playing field for local businesses", adding that: "They can now compete effectively with national brands using the unique brand-building power of TV."

The deal will let local firms buy airtime on Sky channels.

Mr Griffith added: "We are looking forward to working with Johnston Press with its considerable experience of working alongside local communities and its market-leading role in building successful local digital media platforms."

Beleaguered JP will benefit from a cash injection from BSkyB as part of the arrangement. The broadcaster will pay a reported £5 million for a 1.6 per cent

holding in the publisher. JP's latest refinancing plan involves a £138 million rights issue that, with bonds valued at £220 million will reduce its debt burden from

about £310 million to under £200 million. JP's decision to try to sell television advertising to its 300,000 existing advertisers comes just as local TV business prepare to go on air – in a link that could undermine their prospect even

■ London Live struggles: Page 3.



PETITIONING PARLIAMENT: Granville Williams at the Westminster meeting. Picture: Adam Christie.

THE importance of this year's European Initiative for Media Pluralism was brought into stark relief within days of a meeting in London's Palace of Westminster by the revelation that BSkyB was wanting to try to take over Sky Deutschland and Sky Italia.

Neither had been at the forefront of remarks made to a full Westminster committee room by the Initiative's UK co-ordinator Granville Williams.

He had flagged up political implications elsewhere in Europe, saying: "There are a number of fault lines

in the European Union and one of them is the way

powerful media groups use their influence for political advantage.

"Silvio Berlusconi literally created a political party through his control over his TV channels and publishing and advertising empire. For two decades he dominated and corrupted Italian politics."

Further east, the concentration of interests is repeated in Hungary, where Viktor Orban's Fidesz party has tight control of state television and radio.

"Hungary's state media has become a mouthpiece for the ruling parties," said Amy Brouillette, at the Central European University in Budapest. "Fideszsupporting newspapers receive government advertising, critical newspapers nothing."

Neighbouring Bulgaria and Romania also suffer from a dangerous overlap between economic, media and political interests.

Granville Williams added: "In the UK, we still have the dominance of Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation.

"As a bold and imaginative project, the European Initiative for Media Pluralism (EIMP), is designed to repair this fault line," he said.

"The focus of the EIMP's petition is on the European Commission which it calls on to draft a directive for the protection of media pluralism.

"There is now a clear recognition by senior figures in the European Commission that, unless there are clear rules limiting media ownership, unscrupulous politicians and powerful media owners will continue to exploit this situation and create instability within the European Union.

■ www.mediainitiative.org.uk



PERSUASIVE: BBC staff outside London valued the open-door approach of former director general Greg Dyke.

BBC seeks 'formidable' figurehead

IF having a news organisation that is protected from as much commercial and political interference as possible is crucial for an informed electorate and a healthy democracy, then the unexpected departure of Chris Patten as chairman of the BBC Trust could be crucial to the Corporation's future.

The BBC may be far from perfect – as so many managers seem set on undermining its ability to function most effectively – but its purpose in the face of commercial threats from global media moguls and their (carefully cultivated) political friends remains vital.

Speculation quickly appeared about potential successors, but for many concerned about media plurality and close vested interests, perhaps the greatest need is for a figurehead to remind anyone in government that the life-span of a "here today, gone tomorrow" politician – or even a mortal media mogul – is finite. Such individuals are far less important than an institution that plays such a role in the democratic and cultural life of the nation.

Finding such a person will not be easy. Lord Chris Patten said nothing had prepared him for the job – and that it was 10 times harder than he had expected.

While some staff mourned the departure of DG Greg Dyke, as a sacrifice to political machinations surrounding the Iraq War following the widely-discredited Hutton Inquiry and Report, others saw him as representing the BBC's domination by a "persuasive and charismatic" executive. Dyke's open-door approach to staff concerns was widely appreciated, especially outside London, allowing an informal

route to resolving frustrations caused by either the bureaucracy of middle management or fragile egos.

Some insiders are already said to wonder whether the appointment of former News International executive James Harding as news supremo may have been unwise – as his background as a "Murdoch man" is questioned by apparently more loyal staff, committed to everything that public service broadcasting stands for.

Patten's sudden departure, following serious heart surgery, has united otherwise disparate commentators in their thoughts about the Corporation's future.

(It also overshadowed publication of a comprehensive BBC Trust review of the organisation's network news and current affairs output.)

The *Guardian* said that "whoever replaces (Patten) has a formidable task" while the Conservative chairman of the House of Commons culture, media and sport select committee, John Whittingdale MP, said: "It is important you have a serious, heavyweight figure at the top of it who is going to be active in discussions with government, parliament and the media, putting the case for the BBC".

Writing in *The Guardian*, Charlotte Higgins may have put it most succinctly: "Above all," she wrote, "(the new chairman needs) to be calm, wily, thick-skinned – and ready to endure brutal, bloody battles to come."

The surgery is beginning for the heart of the BBC.

■ http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/bbctrust/assets/files/pdf/ our_work/news_current_affairs/news_current_affairs. pdf

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Accounting for taste

WHEN a teacher was fatally stabbed in a school in Leeds one Monday in May, journalists were among the first there, soon after the paramedics and the police.

Reporters from the city's's papers, local radio stations and regional television were quickest to arrive – rapidly followed, as so often happens when a "big story" breaks, by those from London and "the nationals".

Such events frequently highlight the disparity between the "two medias" – those staffed by journalists who live and work within the communities they cover and those who are "parachuted in".

This latest incident in Leeds presented additional problems. Whatever may be said about regulation, reporting crime is itself a legal minefield – because what is, or is not said, may potentially influence the course of justice. And, when a culprit is younger than 18, the complications increase greatly.

Every reporter and sub-editor must always be upto-date with the law. Indeed, law is one of the largest and most important sections of any journalist's formal training while those who haven't been through college should still have key legal texts close to hand.

Although most rules regarding contempt of court and the primacy of the legal process come into effect once someone is charged, youth justice is more complicated.

A most difficult test comes in identifying a young person who may be a suspect or who may have been arrested. While naming a juvenile before charging is legal, the dilemma becomes one of sensitivity.

Within moments of the Leeds stabbing, a youth had been held. He was quickly arrested by the police.

The Sun, which named the teenager before he was charged, rightly claiming it was legally entitled to so do. The Yorkshire Post and its sibling title the Yorkshire Evening Post did not. Within a few hours of the incident, and even without social media, many in Leeds knew the 15-year-old's name.

Yorkshire Post editor Jeremy Clifford said he thought the youth's identity should have been legally protected from the outset. *The Sun* removed the name from its website soon after charging was confirmed.

The episode highlights the dilemma facing many journalists and their editors – the distinction between what is legal and what is sensitive.

Journalists parachuted in will leave an area almost as quickly as they arrive – distance inoculating them from any fall-out over how a story has been reported. They may well have had little influence on how a newsdesk and editors several hundred miles away "treated" a story – its position in a paper or its headlines.

Those who deal daily with readers and audiences may well face local antagonism. That *The Sun* is remembered in Yorkshire for its coverage of the Hillsborough tragedy added another dimension to how



LEGAL NICETIES: The Crown Court in Leeds will be a focus for reporters when the case comes to trial later this year.

Picture: Adam Christie.

some in the taxis, barbers' shops, coffee shops and bars of Leeds were taking about what had happened at a local school and how that was being reported.

For *Yorkshire Post* editor Jeremy Clifford, the episode emphasised aspects of the regulation debate.

"This absolutely underlines the differences between the practices of the national media and the local media which were exemplary in their behaviour and which should not, therefore, be subject to any modifications to press freedom," he told a trade website.

Such behaviour will again be tested when the accused comes to trial later in the year.

That job culls mean fewer sub-editors to check the copy while court reporters tweet further add to the pressures facing journalists in situations such as this.

The death of a teacher has shown how sensitivity and accountability remain at the centre of the debate over press regulation, as Adam Christie reports from Leeds.

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Manifest implications

Regulation and the media as an election issue will be debated at the forthcoming CPBF AGM. **Chris Aspinall** considers some issues.

SEPARATING widespread disdain for "the media" and the "spad-u-like" incest of the Westminister village seems almost impossible in the fall-out from last month's European Parliament elections and council polls in England.

The two are however inexorably and increasingly linked until next May's UK general election. (Having survived until now, circumstances that would unravel the fixed-term parliaments agreed when the coalition was formed still seem relatively unlikely.)

The crux is the concept of the "informed electorate". Outgoing and out-going Newsnight presenter Jeremy Paxman, interviewed for a programme looking back at 50 years of BBC2, considered this to be a crucial role for journalists and journalism – but it seems increasingly to be at odds with the priorities of the publishers.

Whether or not, in a James Bond-like melodrama, one regards those whose corporate tentacles seem to be trying to squeeze as much as cash as possible out of the world's consumers while simultaneously seeking governmental dominance gives the chatterati plenty of scope for post-prandial discourse. What remains less speculative is their effect: the US has provided ample evidence since the 1970s of the symbiosis between the strangulation of political debate and publishers' commercial interests.

Despite technology allowing – generally – individual to talk to individual more cheaply around the world than ever before, less "news" is being reported. Parasitic aggregation of celebrity tittle-tattle is everywhere, with publishers rushing to provide the quick-fix online nibbles that never fully satiate the appetite for "what I think I might *like* to know". This is more important (and profitable) than trying to provide the electorate with what it may, less palatably, "need to know" if it is to protect its own "small person" interests against those of the mega-corporations when politicians deign to open the polling stations.

Patrician and patronising stances by



proprietors and editors who "helpfully" suggest that readers need not exercise their intellects in such ways, because it was *The Sun* "wot won it" further undermine the covenant of representative democracy.

"Government by the people" is just that

- and we sell ourselves short if we fall into
the trap of believing that all we need to do
is vote once every few years. (Some would
even have us believe that getting to a
neighbourhood polling station is too much of
an effort for some.)

Just as democracy may be considered too important to be left to politicians, so it is equally too important to be entrusted to narrow commercial interests.

Regulation, per se, does not stifle investigative journalism. (Those who are old enough will remember *Death on the Rock* as an example of how regulated independent television could cause political havoc.) "Press freedom" is not synonymous

with wider discourse. (Those who are older remember how the cosy cabal of politicians and press barons denied the UK electorate all knowledge of monarchical matrimonial mayhem until the abdication was inevitable.)

Ipso may – to add to a plethora of mixed metaphors – be starting its life as toothless, its smile of whitened ceramic caps on nevertheless rotten stumps personified by the apparently reassuring figure of Sir Alan Moses. However, the stand-off in the national titles (see page 1) and the variances with regional papers (see page 7) will not be resolved without further parliamentary intervention.

That Rupert Murdoch still influences BSkyB, which wants to acquire Sky Italia and Sky Deutschland, a move that emerged at almost the same time as Sky and one of the UK's largest regional publishers, Johnston Press, announced a "strategic regional advertising partnership" raises more concerns about plurality (see page 5).

CPBF national council member Pat Holland (see page 2) has revealed just how seriously legislation enacted 30 years ago affects us today. Next year's election is not just about the UK media in the 2010s; it is about democracy in the 2040s.

The discussions involving Hacked Off director Brian Cathcart and MP John McDonnell coming at the CPBF AGM could not be better timed.

REGULATION POST-LEVESON and PREPARING FOR THE POLLS

SPEAKERS: Brian Cathcart and John McDonnell MP

after the CPBF AGM 2014

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