

CAMPAIGN FOR PRESS & BROADCASTING FREEDOM

Incorporating the Campaign Against Racism in the Media & the Television Users Group

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MEMBERSHIP DRIVE

250,000 copies of a new membership leaflet have been printed in a drive to increase individual affiliations to the Campaign. A number of organisations have already agreed to circulate their members. If you have ideas about how the leaflet could be used effectively please contact either the Manchester or London office.

JOINT BROADCASTING LEAFLET

CPBF was also present at the South East Region TUC (SERTUC) event at Alexandra Palace on 1 May. A joint SERTUC/CPBF/BETA leaflet about the threatened future of public service broadcasting, entitled *Battle for the Airways*, has been produced. Copies available from SERTUC, Great Russell Street, London W1.

TUC FRINGE MEETING

This year's TUC fringe meeting will take place on 7 September at the Winterbourne Hotel, Bournemouth (opposite the conference centre). The meeting will begin at 12.45 pm. Members who can help with fringe meetings at the Labour Party and SLD conferences are asked to contact Tom O'Malley at the London office.

BLACK AND WHITE

Yaba Badoe (the Director) and Geoff Small (one of the reporters) who made the *Black and White* series on racism in Bristol for BBC TV spoke in Manchester on 25 June at the College of Adult Education, Cavendish Street. The event was organised jointly by the National Council and the CPBF NW Group to coincide with one of the National Council's out of London meetings.

Following the address by the two journalists the audience were invited to join in workshops on different aspects of the media with a final plenary session drawing out some of the current priorities and perspectives of the Campaign.

AGM ARRANGEMENTS

Following this year's AGM the new National Council has been looking at ways of tightening up on procedure to ensure that delegates get motions, reports and audited accounts well in advance of the meeting. To this end the National Council will begin planning next year's AGM earlier to allow more time for the circulation of documents and the receipt of amendments. The NC has also resolved to make positive efforts to increase the representation of women and people from ethnic minorities at the AGM.

SHEFFIELD GROUP

A conference called *Opening up or closing down - TV in the 90's*, held at Sheffield Polytechnic on 7 May has resulted in the setting up of a Sheffield based CPBF group. The conference, which was on the future of UK broadcasting, was addressed by a number of CPBF members and supporters.

New from CPBF

Out of the gutter

A survey of press treatment of homosexuality
 By Gary Armitage, Julienne Dickey and Sue Sharples
 Price £3.15

CPBF BENEFIT

African style jit band, Eyes on Brazil, top the bill at a benefit for the CPBF on 29 July, from 8.00 pm at the London School of Economics. Support is rock band, Risq, well-known in London venues.

Eyes on Brazil, currently touring with the Bhundu Boys, have been described by *City Limits* as the band to watch on the African music scene.

Tickets are £3.50 waged, £2.00 unwaged. The LSE is wheelchair accessible. The benefit has been organised by the CPBF Women's Section, and all women and men are welcome.

Edited for the National Committee by SIMON COLLINGS. Copy for FP48 should arrive at the office by 22 July 1988.



JOURNAL OF THE CAMPAIGN FOR PRESS AND BROADCASTING FREEDOM

No. 47 June 1988



1988 AGM Report - see pp.4&5

New Council threat to standards

The announcement on 16 May that William Rees-Mogg will be Chair of the new Broadcasting Standards Council (BSC) represents a direct assault by the government on public sector broadcasting. Rees-Mogg has an unenviable association with attacks on public service broadcasting, and the BBC in particular. His appointment is both partisan and likely to severely damage standards.

By creating the BSC, the government has laid the foundations for the replacement of the positive regulatory powers of the IBA and BBC with negative controls over broadcasting.

The government wants to deregulate broadcasting, lifting controls on ownership and large areas of content. But it needs to reassure its supporters that the

material transmitted after deregulation does not plumb the depths reached by sections of our print industry, and by TV in countries where regulation has been removed or weakened.

Furthermore in a deregulated environment the government will want some mechanism to prevent material which contradicts its political views being transmitted from abroad to millions of homes in this country.

Recommendation 18 of the Peacock Report touched on this issue. Peacock argued that with the advent of a free market in broadcasting the role of the IBA and the BBC as the promoters of high standards and the regulators of taste and decency would have to go.

Peacock recommended that: 'as regulation is phased out the normal laws of the land relating to obscenity, defamation, blasphemy, sedition and other similar matters should be extended to cover the broadcasting media and any

present exemptions removed.'

The Broadcasting Standards Council is the body which will eventually police broadcasting to ensure that it conforms to the laws outlined in Peacock's Recommendation 18.

The positive requirements in the BBC Charter and Licence and Agreement, and the 1981 Broadcasting Act, which require the BBC and the IBA to provide wide ranging programmes which inform, educate and entertain will be lifted. The BSC will slide into place as an authoritarian body with censorious powers over broadcasting.

The absence of a proper regulatory framework will mean that general programme standards will fall whilst interference from the BSC increases.

The BSC is a necessary preliminary to deregulation in broadcasting. It will provide the moral teeth necessary to win over sections of the government's

Continued p.3

Broadcasting report published

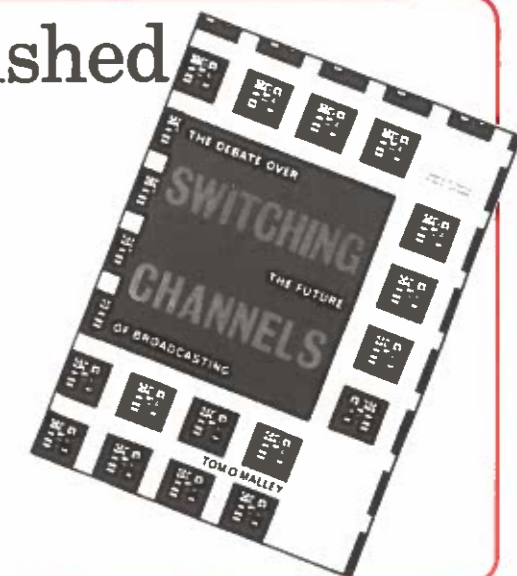
Switching Channels, the CPBF's new report on government broadcasting policy was launched at the House of Commons on Thursday 16 June. The report tackles head on the influence of media multinationals on government attacks on the BBC and ITV and outlines the devastating threat to standards and consumer choice posed by government plans for the media.

The report is based on a survey of government initiatives in broadcasting since 1981. It examines the influence of media multinationals, the press, Adam Smith Institute, adver-

tising agencies and other lobbyists on the shaping of government media policy. It contains an analysis of the composition, procedures and recommendations of the Peacock Committee, and a criticism of the implications of government policy for ITV, BBC, Cable & Satellite.

The report outlines a series of alternative proposals for media reform, which would both enhance choice and maintain high standards in UK broadcasting.

Switching Channels costs £2 and is available directly from the CPBF office or through bookshops.



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| d) Supporting membership (includes FREE CPBF publications) | £15 p.a. <input type="checkbox"/> | h) 10,000 to 50,000 members | £60 p.a. <input type="checkbox"/> |
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We want to join the Campaign for Press & Broadcasting Freedom and enclose a cheque/PO for £

Name(s)

Organisation (if applicable)

Secretary (if different from above)

Address

Postcode

Tel.

Where did you obtain your copy of FREE PRESS?

FILL IN & SEND OFF TO CPBF, 9, Poland Street London W1V 3DG

Stop Clause 28

by Pauline Illsley

On Wednesday 27 April the CPBF Women's Group held a Stop Clause 28 meeting at the University of London Union. Speakers were Melanie McFadyen, journalist and 'agony aunt' for *Just Seventeen*; Sam Chugg from the Stop Clause 28 Campaign and Caroline Spry, Assistant Commissioning Editor from Channel 4. Linda Bellos had been invited to speak but due to an emergency meeting in Lambeth was unable to attend. Teresa Stratford chaired the meeting and introduced the speakers.

Melanie McFadyen started off with a provocative, thoughtful and very funny talk based around letters received at *Just Seventeen* on the topic of homosexuality. Melanie's sympathetic and positive response to letters from young lesbians provoked a rash of moralising lectures from teenage girls and their guardians.

Indictment

Figures that the London Gay Teenage Group (funded by the GLC) compiled reported that 3 out of 5 gays suffered verbal abuse, 1 in 5 attempted suicide, 42% are rejected by their parents and 1 out of 10 are kicked out of home — a damning indictment of prejudice such as that expressed by these letters.

Melanie's column has led the right-wing protestors to accuse her of using her position for left-wing propaganda and for promoting homosexuality. Melanie herself drew the conclusion from the letters received that the 'anti-gay lobby' lacks reason and a rational outlook, she claims that their position is based on very primitive, absolutist statements usually focussing on what is considered 'natural'.

Statements like 'homosexuality is immature', 'unnatural', 'uncivilised', a 'disability', keep appearing — in fact the arguments seen on the letter's page were very similar to those used in the Houses of Parliament — no more sophisticated, just more articulate.

Tradition

In conclusion, Melanie pointed out that private schools will not be under the auspices of the local councils so will be able to 'promote' homosexuality in whichever way they see fit, and as one of the letters claimed, it is homosexuality in the public schools that filters down from the upper classes and corrupts everybody else — at least this tradition will not be lost.

Sam Chugg of the Stop Clause 28 Campaign based her talk on the potential effects of the clause and the impact the campaign has had on the homosexual community. Sam points out that the

clause will describe gay relationships as inferior to heterosexual (in fact apartheid makes a law of a prejudice, white man being superior to black man).

Prejudice

She feels that much homophobia derives from the fear that homosexuals molest children — that people don't want gays near their children. Sam is very concerned that this prejudice will only become more fixed as a result of the clause becoming law.

Sam pointed out that the term 'homosexual' is used as if it's homogenous, as if all gay people have one experience. This is obviously not the case and the most oppressed in the homosexual community, black lesbians and gays, the disabled and lesbian mothers will suffer most if they lose the support networks that local councils have set up for them.

Sam described the impact the campaign has had on the community and the response it has evoked. There have been many large, well attended meetings, groups set up in most towns — an impressive level of resistance that has had the support of many heterosexuals. The clause provoked the biggest demonstration of Lesbian and Gay Rights in this country.

International

There has also been an international response to what is happening in Britain — 7,000 people in Amsterdam demonstrated; pickets in Sydney against the British Embassy; demonstrations in Berlin; and representatives of many countries have written declarations to the European Parliament condemning Clause 28 as a breach of the Treaty of Rome and the Declaration of Human Rights.

In Britain itself there has been unprecedented support of the Stop the Clause Campaign by the trade union movement — unions such as NALGO, COHSE, NATFHE, NUPE, NUJ and BETA who have never before mobilised themselves for gay rights.

In conclusion, Sam said that the campaign will not give up but that they intend to try and organise a Private Member's Bill with the intention of repealing the Clause — they are speaking to Joan Ruddock with this in mind.

Channel 4

The last Speaker was Caroline Spry who told us about the process of developing a new lesbian and gay series for Channel 4 — the idea has taken over 3 years to get accepted and strangely enough since Clause 28 has created such public interest there has been much more support for the idea of the series. The intention is to run 8 weeks worth of 1 hour programmes.

During the discussion Sam Chugg suggested that people try and get some sort of commitment out of local boroughs about their intention regarding Clause 28 — for any rate-payer can initiate a court case in response to Clause 28 and the way in which the local councils follow this through will determine the manner in which the clause is put into practice. If your union branch hasn't passed a resolution condemning the clause — please ask them to.

Tell them what you think

The morning after the screening of *Death on the Rock*, the BBC documentary which examined the circumstances in which three IRA members died recently in Gibraltar, the *Daily Mirror* reported that Auntie had been inundated with calls from viewers complaining of bias towards the bombers. What happened to all the calls congratulating the Beeb on showing the film?

At this year's CPBF AGM, Julian Petley urged members to phone the BBC and IBA not just about programmes they find offensive but also when they see something good. This is especially important, he said, when a programme is likely to be criticised by the right.

In case you've lost the numbers they are:
BBC 01 743 8000
IBA 01 584 7001

Irish paper offers reply

The Dublin based paper the *Sunday Tribune* now offers the right of reply. In its 3 April edition, in a formal statement, the paper said: 'Inevitably we will make mistakes from time to time and, on occasion, we will unfairly impugn the reputation of individuals. In fairness to our readers and to anybody whose reputations we have unfairly impugned and, given that this newspaper is not insured against libel damages or costs, we undertake the following.

In the case of errors of fact, we will publish corrections when we become aware of such. In the case of unfairly impugning the reputation of any person we hereby offer that person or their representative the right of reply in this newspaper, subject only to reasonable length, the laws of libel and our right to respond to such reply.'

Book Reviews

Out of Focus: Writing on Women and the Media edited by Kath Davies, Julianne Dickey, Teresa Stratford, The Women's Press, £5.95.

For anyone interested in the portrayal of women in the media *Out of Focus* is ideal. In simple, accessible language the book explores the ways the media constructs the identity of women of different ages, class, race and physical ability or disability.

Twelve areas prevalent in media construction such as race, class, romance, sexuality, the domestic sphere and violence are critically analysed. The book highlights how the dominant discourse of television, newspapers and advertising constructs, marginalises or ignores or misrepresents women's lives, so that the repertoire of roles available are only those approved by the status quo. Valuable information on decoding and deconstruction are suggested so that women can reject dominant images and determine their own.

Essays have been contributed by journalists, educationalists, medical researchers and campaigners who are concerned with media stereotyping. The book is therefore a rich resource of information on a topic which is explored from many angles. Part of its appeal is that it can be 'dipped' into depending on the area of interest. It is especially amenable for media studies courses or for anyone interested in finding out more on the subject.

Big Mac

McDonald's, that world-famous fast-food chain, is taking Transnationals Information Centre London (TICL) to court over a report which examines their conditions of employment and work practices in the UK. It claims that the report is libellous, and seeks both damages and an injunction against TICL.

Hotels and catering is one of Britain's fastest growing industries, with one in ten school leavers finding jobs in the sector.

Discussion on employment practice, wages and conditions is becoming increasingly important. TICL is concerned that McDonald's is attempting to limit this discussion, and also that this action will inhibit other research into McDonald's operations.

TICL intend to defend the action fully but its budget is small and the legal costs for the fight are high. Donations can be sent to TICL McDonald's Fighting Fund, 9 Poland Street, London W1V 3DG.

The last section has some useful information for anyone wishing to tackle media sexism. It includes a range of information from letters of complaints to media bodies like the Advertising Standards Authority to the various campaigning organisations already involved in the fight such as the CPBF, Women in Media and Women's Airwaves.

The book is a stimulating read which will galvanise you into action.

Evelyn Reid

TV News and the Ajax Syndrome, M.A. Dissertation at Institute of Education by P.E. Williams. The study reported covers the treatment of the nuclear disarmament issue by TV, and is valuable because of the scarcity of other studies and because of the attempt to bring some analysis to the data.

The Glasgow University Media Group Study of 1985 merely collated extracts from the news bulletins referring to nuclear disarmament. The present data

were gathered from adults, via their children's school, in a mainly working class area of Harlow, Essex, between 10.2.87 and 31.3.87. During this period, Thatcher was in Moscow and Gorbachev proposed major arms reductions.

The author refers to two theoretical perspectives, eventually preferring the Spiral of Silence description of Noelle-Neumann, rather than the better known Agenda Setting theories. The Spiral is found to be relevant to public awareness of the nuclear issue and is especially interesting because it distinguishes media influence on opinion (small); from its effect on expression of opinion by those who learn that their opinions are those of a minority (large TV influence).

Besides this, there is a good general discussion with an extensive bibliography and clear examples of news manipulation via frames in which it is discussed.

A Dissertation presented as part requirement for the Masters of Arts ('Psychology of Education') Degree, University of London Institute of Education, July 1987.

Copies available from Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom.

Letters to the Editor

Dear Editor

By all means say 'No to VAT on books', but so long as the UK does not bring to an end its membership of the EEC, or amend it by repealing Section 2 of the European Communities Act and repatriating power to Westminster, then as surely as night follows day, we are going to get it.

Yours sincerely,
Edward Barber

Dear Editor

Having just recently received a copy of the February issue of *Free Press* and also having just recently become a member of CPBF, I feel I must respond to a letter in that issue.

Stan Wills seems to take a bizarre attitude towards the use of 'gay' and 'homosexual'. He states that the word 'gay' is a 'catch phrase' and that the *Free Press* sunk to using an 'abbreviation'. I'm glad Mr Wills stated this, I don't think it's petty at all. I feel outraged that someone in a responsible movement should insult gays by calling their identity a catchphrase similar to Paul Daniels.

Does he really think that the majority of gay men go around thinking of themselves as 'homosexuals' as though they always define themselves by the terminology of the social sciences. Perhaps he doesn't understand the need to create an identity untampered with by an oppressive society in order to gain strength to fight that oppression.

Lesbians and gay men have never been accepted by the establishment and if Mr Wills thinks that we should resist any definitions of being 'gay' in order to get letters published in the *Daily Telegraph* then I fear he grossly underestimates the scale

of oppression facing lesbians and gay men in this country — pre and post Clause 28. It is more than just a matter of terminology to us. It is our very lives and identity at stake.

Yours sincerely
Toni Davidson

Dear Editor

When a woman criticises work which involves nudity or sex, she incurs the risk of having her criticism invalidated by being stereotyped as a prude. It's a device which side-steps the actual argument by putting down the criticiser, and in the mainstream media it has been done to women so repeatedly, we have to be extremely careful when making criticisms these days.

Perhaps I was not careful enough when I reviewed Simon Watney's book (FP45); there in his letter is the familiar old assumption. Even though my review explained exactly why I considered his cover design an unwise choice, the conclusion to which he jumps is that I cannot 'bring myself to look at it'.

How does he know what I find aesthetic or unacceptable? Unless he has been doing secret research among my friends, he knows very little about me. He has certainly never discussed these matters with me personally.

My criticism does not change the respect I have for Simon Watney's work with people who have AIDS, but I wanted to reply to his letter because I feel that, until those on the left take women's criticisms seriously, there is no hope for influencing the right.

Yours faithfully
Teresa Stratford

Telegraph IRA smear

On 3 May, following the explosion which killed 3 RAF men in Holland, the *Daily Telegraph* offered an explanation as to why the Dutch police had so far failed to find those guilty of the crime. An article by Christopher Dobson described Holland as a 'safe haven for IRA terrorists' and named two organisations and several individuals in connection with IRA activities.

The organisations named, the Irish Information Centre, Amsterdam, and the Ireland Komitee, Nijmegen, wrote to the *Daily Telegraph* to protest, as did Liz Curtis of Information on Ireland, who was incorrectly described by Dobson as representing British Troops Out. None of their letters have been printed, nor any replies received.

Dobson obtained his information from a Foreign Office circular entitled 'The Provisional IRA: International Contacts outside the United States'. This circular, dated Jan. 1988 and presented 'for general briefing purposes', gives a country-by-country outline of alleged sources of support for the IRA, including, as well as predictable stories of Libyan and Russian weaponry, attempts to prove the involvement of Irish studies and information groups in several European countries.

If *Daily Telegraph* journalists have access to this document, it is highly likely that others do too, with potentially extremely damaging consequences for those smeared by it. For, as Liz Curtis points out, being publicly named in connection with a terrorist organisation can not only prejudice your livelihood, it can endanger your life, and with no assured right of reply, these defamatory statements go uncorrected.

Readers who saw Dobson's article on 2.3.88, are encouraged to write and protest to Max Hastings, *Daily Telegraph* editor.

Teresa Stratford

Right of reply – the debate continues

Despite the failure of Ann Clwyd's Right of Reply Bill at its second reading in February, the debate it provoked is still very much alive.

Anxiety about deteriorating standards (not to be confused with attacks on the BBC for 'Death on the Rock') has been voiced by a wide range of people – not only the general public, but also organisations and charities, church leaders, Lords and backbenchers from all parties.

What has fueled the argument more than anything else, however, is the intervention of the government.

In January the press was warned by the government that it could face future statutory controls. The Earl of Arran, the government spokesperson in the Lords, has repeated this threat. And more importantly Home Office Minister, Timothy Renton, has on several occasions warned that legislation will be introduced if the press fails to regulate itself voluntarily.

Concerned at this prospect Mr John Birt, Deputy Director General of the BBC, recently proposed a plan 'to improve deteriorating standards and offset the possibility of government intervention.'

Ann Clwyd told the Guild of British Newspaper Editors on 25 March that: 'The industry is at a crossroads. It can bury its head in the sand and wish the government threats away, or it can take the initiative.'

Take the initiative it must, or it will be tackled head on by a government eager to impose restraints likely neither to satisfy the public nor maintain the freedom that true journalism

requires.

Mr Michael Shea, the Queen's former press secretary, believes that the answer lies in tightening the power of the existing Press Council to allow it to act quickly and independently to curb excesses rather than merely to act when complaints are brought to it.

Last year the Press Council upheld just three per cent of the mountain of complaints it received. Newspapers themselves are giving up on it – it is being increasingly disregarded and discredited by such people as *Today* Editor, David Montgomery. The *Sun* is currently running a vendetta against the Council. And the NUJ continues to boycott it for its lack of effectiveness.

Even the Press Council itself has recognised it can't prevent the slide of standards in the media.

Sir Zelman Cowen, retiring Chairperson of the Press Council, told the Guild of British Newspaper Editors that there were areas where he believed there might be a case for legislation. 'Ms Clwyd's Right of Reply proposals have to be thought about. Subject to proper and reasonable controls the right of reply is the most effective remedy which may be provided,' he said.

Public confidence in the media has reached an all time low. Some form of statutory restraint needs to be introduced. But the initiative must be taken by us if we are to ensure that these controls are on our terms – to defend press freedom, improve media standards and provide new accountability to the public.

Kirsti Corbett

Tom O'Malley, CPBF spokesperson, said: 'Ms McDonough lost her job because she wrote an article in a newspaper. This type of pressure on public employees is a clear threat to free speech.'

Slide Library

The Women Artists Slide Library is a resource gathering information on women artists, past and present, all over the world. It is the biggest resource on women's art in this country. WASL has three slide sections: contemporary (which comprises the membership), documentation and historical. The contemporary section is one of the most

vital and important areas of the library and is building up steadily. The documentation section records exhibitions and events that include or relate to work by women artists. The historical section deals with those women artists who are dead – making sure they are not forgotten.

Everything is backed up by press cuttings and other research material which encompasses catalogues, books, magazines, cards and posters. New areas being developed are a black and white photographic section, a collection of taped interviews and conversations with women artists and an index of Black women artists.

For more information contact WASL, Fulham Palace, Bishops Avenue, London SW6 6EA.

Monopolies and media freedom

Over the last 45 years, concentration of ownership in the media has increased dramatically. James Curran's and Jean Seaton's highly successful book, *Power Without Responsibility*, now in its 3rd edition, details the history and effects of the concentration, as well as investigating and analysing media developments over the past century. The following information is taken from the chapter *The press in the age of conglomerates*.

In 1987, three publishers – Maxwell, Murdoch and Stevens – together controlled 73 per cent of national daily and 82 per cent of national Sunday circulation (see Table 1). The leading publishers of regional newspapers also consolidated their position (see Table 2).

This concentration of ownership has had inevitable consequences in terms of editorial policy. From 1974 onwards, national newspapers grew markedly more partisan with the impact of a new generation of predominantly right-wing interventionist proprietors.

Murdoch imposed changes in his newspapers, sometimes regardless of his readers' views – in the February 1974 general election, the *Sun* switched from Labour to Conservative, despite the fact that over half of its readers supported Labour. And Maxwell, a former Labour MP, who acquired the *Mirror* Group in 1984 also interfered in the editorial policy of his newspapers – 'I certainly have a major say in the political line of the paper,' he said about the *Daily Mirror*.

Victor (later Lord) Matthews, who became head of the Express Group between 1977 and 1985, summed up what all proprietors seemed to think: 'By and large editors will have complete freedom – as long as they agree with the policy I have laid down.'

Editorial interference at first did cause some resistance from the journalists involved. But on only one occasion

did the opposition prove successful. Tiny Rowland took over the *Observer* in 1981 and when it became known that he wanted to introduce major changes, he was forced to accept new Articles of Association and independent directors, in order to prevent him from interfering.

Today, proprietors generally choose the editors they want. And journalists tend to work for newspapers whose editorial outlook coincides with their views, not only for fear of having copy heavily cut or unused, but also because conforming to the political requirements often brings rewards in terms of good assignments, promotion and consequent peer group esteem.

It can safely be said that the rightward shift of the press has failed to reflect the diversity of public opinion. The great danger is that this concentration could further unknowingly influ-

ence people into believing that the politics expressed are the only politics worth considering.

The CPBF is setting up an investigation into the concentration of ownership internationally, and will hopefully be working with the International Federation of Journalists. A Private Member's Bill will be drafted and presented in the Autumn with the aim of reducing monopolies in the media.

Kirsti Corbett

Power Without Responsibility is available in University Paperbacks and costs £8.95 – see the CPBF's literature catalogue.

James Curran is Principal Lecturer in Communications at Goldsmiths' College, University of London. Jean Seaton is Senior Lecturer in Sociology at the Polytechnic of the South Bank, London.

Table 1 Concentration of ownership of daily and Sunday newspapers, 1947–85

	The three leading corporations' shares of:				
	Total daily and Sunday paper circulation	Total daily paper circulation	Total Sunday paper circulation	National daily circulation	National Sunday circulation
	%	%	%	%	%
1947	42	42	66	62	60
1961	65	67	84	89	84
1976	53	49	80	72	86
1985	58	55	79	75	83

Sources: derived from *Royal Commission on the Press 1947–9 Report* (1949), Appendices 3 and 5; *Royal Commission on the Press 1961–2 Report* (1962), Appendices 2, 3, and 4; *Royal Commission on the Press 1974–7 Final Report* (1977), Annex 3; *32nd Annual Report of the Press Council 1985* (1986), Table 4.

Note: The three leading publishing corporations have been defined in terms of their market share of each of the categories of publication listed in this table. Total daily and Sunday paper circulation has been calculated by multiplying daily paper circulation six times to obtain a total weekly circulation of daily and Sunday papers.

Table 2 Concentration of ownership in the provincial press, 1947–85

	The five leading chains' share of:			
	Regional evening newspaper circulation	Regional morning newspaper circulation	Local weekly circulation	Local weekly freesheet circulation
	%	%	%	%
1947	44	65	8	—
1961	53	70	13	—
1976	58	69	25	NA
1985	53	73	30	33

Sources: derived from *Royal Commission on the Press 1947–9 Report* (1949), Appendices 4 and 5; *Royal Commission on the Press 1961–2 Report* (1962), Appendices 2, 3, and 4; *Royal Commission on the Press 1974–7 Final Report* (1977), Annex 3; and N. Hartley, P. Gudgeon, and R. Crafts, *Concentration of Ownership in the Provincial Press* (Royal Commission on the Press 1974–7, Research Series 5); *32nd Annual Report of the Press Council 1985* (1986), Tables 4 and 5 and D1 and D2.

Note: The five leading chains are not all the same in each category of publication.

Free speech

The CPBF has added its support to calls for the re-instatement of Roisin McDonough, a Community Worker with Belfast City Council.

Ms McDonough was suspended from her job after an article written by her appeared in *The Irish Times* on 31 March 1988. The article, 'Cry from the Heart of West Belfast', described the local people's reaction to the recent violence.

Her suspension, for allegedly breaking the terms of her employment, was decided on at a meeting which she knew nothing about. Backed by her union (NIPSA) Roisin McDonough is appealing to the Fair Employment Agency to reinstate her.

Continued from front page

supporters who may be wavering on the issue of deregulation. It is a dangerous and profoundly anti-democratic development.

Wendy Moore, CPBF Secretary, said: 'The government has shown by its repeated attempts to bully the broadcasters that it wishes to control what the viewer is allowed to see.'

'The CPBF believes that only broadcasting bodies which are properly accountable to the people through Parliament and have clear public service obligations such as those embodied in the 1981 Broadcasting Act will guarantee high standards and editorial independence.'

AGM report

Some eighty members present at the Campaign's AGM on 9 April heard Secretary Wendy Moore report on twelve months packed with activity. She told delegates that action in defying the government's ban on the Peter Wright book *Spycatcher* and the campaign for a right of reply through Ann Clwyd's Private Members Bill had brought the Campaign very much into the public eye.

Looking ahead to the coming year, she said that the priorities were further activity in the area of legislation — following up on the right of reply debate and developing new material on concentration of ownership — and defending public service broadcasting.

A third important area of work and a prerequisite for the first two was the building of a strong financial base, she added.

Spycatcher

The report went on to detail the activities of sub-groups and regional groups, fundraising (including the highly successful *Ballad of a Spycatcher* record), membership, anti-racism and anti-sexism work and the Clause 28 campaign.

The Secretary also provided a separate written report on efforts made during the year to set up an independent enquiry into the ending of the contracts of two Black workers in February 1987. The enquiry had never taken place because it had proved impossible to reach agreement on the membership of the enquiry panel. The CPBF had sought to progress the issue but letters had gone unanswered making a resolution impossible. The reports were accepted by the meeting.

Echoing the need for a strong financial base, Treasurer John Beck reported that careful housekeeping during the year meant that the Campaign went into 1988/89 with a small surplus. He warned, however, that funds would need to keep coming in if the CPBF was to retain a full-time member of staff in London beyond December.

Recruitment

He urged supporters to get organisations to affiliate and to recruit individual members. He said that during the year the Media Research Trust was expected to begin to attract funding for specific research work.

Between the Secretary's and Treasurer's reports the meeting was addressed by strikers Howard Hannah (NUJ) from North London Advertiser and Paul Morgan (ACTT) from TV-am. Both speakers related the latest developments in the two disputes. In thanking

them, the Chair of the Campaign, Tony Lennon, said that both strikes illustrated the connection between attacks on union organisation and the lowering of standards. CPBF has supported the workers in both disputes.

Workshops

After further reports from Manchester and Bristol, from the sub-groups and from the Editor of Free Press, the delegates went on to debate the motions, all but one of which (Motion 7) were agreed. Seventeen motions and one emergency motion were discussed by the meeting.

In the afternoon delegates divided into three workshops which looked at practical ways of furthering some of the main themes highlighted during the morning session. The workshops were on censorship, the attacks on broadcasting and concentration of ownership.

In summing up at the end of the AGM the Chair said that the meeting had added clarity to a number of areas of policy. 'The Campaign can look ahead with confidence to its ten year anniversary', he said.

Motions

Motion 1 expressed concern at police vetting of journalists covering trials at the Central Criminal Court.

Motion 2 condemned police attempts to obtain unpublished and untransmitted material relating to the Wapping dispute.

Motion 3 applauded MPs who supported Richard Shephard's Protection of Official Information Bill and called for a campaign on the issue of secrecy.

Motion 4 condemned the increasing amount of state interference in the media and proposed a campaign of resistance.

Motion 5 called for pressure on the BBC to transmit the Zircon film from the Secret Society series.

Motion 6 instructed the National Council to draft a Bill to regulate concentration of ownership in the media.

Motion 7 — also on media concentration — fell in the absence of the proposer.

Motion 8 urged the CPBF to promote a better understanding between local newspaper journalists and union branches.

Motion 9 condemned Clause 28 of the Local Government Bill (now Act) and called for its repeal.

Motion 10 advocated a campaign against the production and distribution of pornographic material.

Motion 11 reaffirmed a commitment to combating racism and set out a plan of action for increased activity in this area.

Motion 12 called for a programme of fundraising with a view to securing a sound financial base for the Campaign.

Motion 13 proposed the setting up of a group to prepare plans for the 10th anniversary of the CPBF later this year.

Motion 14 called for a campaign against deregulation in broadcasting.

Motion 15 urged the National Council to build on the Media Manifesto by for-

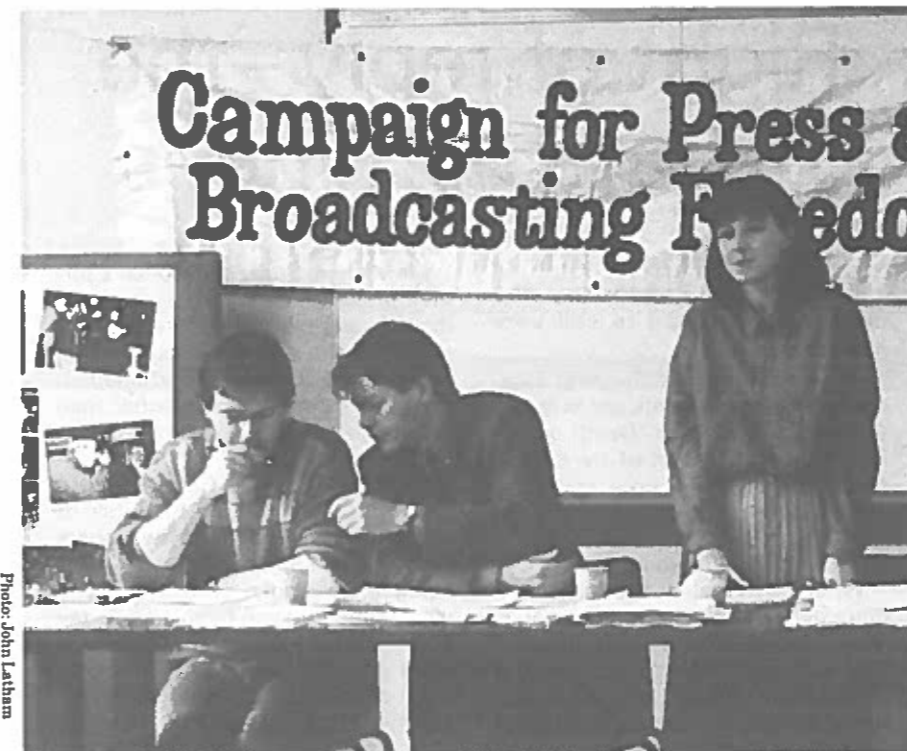


Photo: John Latham

● CPBF Secretary Wendy Moore reports on a year in which the campaign was very much in the public eye.

mulating more detailed proposals on aspects of media reform.

Motion 16 supported the strikers at TV-am and North London Advertiser and urged continuing assistance. (The second of these disputes is now over.)

Motion 17 instructed the National Council to develop work around the right of reply and to attempt to table a revised Bill in the autumn.

Emergency Motion 1 condemned the seizure of untransmitted BBC and ITN footage by the RUC following the deaths of two army corporals in Belfast.

democratic route to the restoration of public confidence in the media, he said, and would extend access and accountability.

Although conference rejected calls for an integrated ministry of Broadcasting, Arts and Telecommunications, a media-wide Code of Conduct (largely because of a misunderstanding) and the redefinition of newspapers to exclude the likes of Sunday Sport, the rest of the motion won overwhelming approval from delegates.

The NUJ is now committed to promote most of the Media Manifesto demands, and to push for a labour movement inquiry into the threat to democracy posed by governmental, judicial and secret service interference with the media. It is also to organise a conference marking the 50th anniversary of its first campaign against the Official Secrets Act.

The National Council is to offer assistance to the NUJ in these important initiatives. In the meantime it is vital that the issues are debated and developed by other unions.

Fund for black journalists

Pick up a tabloid and the odds are that you'll find at least one racist comment.

The NUJ has become increasingly concerned that journalism is unrepresentative of the public it serves in one important respect — that there are far too few black faces to be seen on the staffs of daily and weekly newspapers and news agencies.

It believes that increasing the number of black journalists will lead to fairer media coverage of ethnic minority groups.

For this reason the George Viner Memorial Fund has been established for the sponsorship of black journalism students on industry recognised pre-entry courses.

But like any other charity it needs money. To send donations and to find out more about the Fund, write to the NUJ, Acorn House, 314-320 Gray's Inn Road, London WC1X 8DP. Cheques should be made payable to the 'George Viner Memorial Fund.'

Draft model resolution

Use this draft resolution, either in full or in part, to start the debate about media reform in the organisations of which you are a member.

This (.....) welcomes the Campaign For Press and Broadcasting Freedom's Media Manifesto. It recognises that the print media is dominated by a small group of unaccountable multinationals and that broadcasting is organised in a closed, unaccountable and undemocratic manner. It believes that there is an urgent need for a full programme of media reform which would include the following:

1. A Freedom of Information Act, the repeal of the Official Secrets and Prevention of Terrorism Acts, and an end to security vetting in broadcasting.
2. Legislation to break up the media monopolies, to restrict the number of publications that any one company can own and to halt the concentration of ownership in the electronic media.
3. The establishing of an integrated Ministry of Broadcasting, the Arts, and Telecommunications.
4. A revision of the laws governing broadcasting to establish elected bodies in place of the IBA and the BBC Board of Governors and a series of regional media councils, part elected, part appointed by employees and local authorities who together would be responsible for allocating and supervising TV, radio, cable and satellite franchises.
5. A National and a series of regional

Media Enterprise boards which would support local access based media facilities (print, recording studios etc), promote media training and support new media advertising, taxation and local authority grants.

6. A series of regional advisory bodies with the power to influence the media on matters of representation relating to class, sex, race and disability in both output and employment.

7. Writing into the laws governing the media an obligation to uphold the highest professional ethical standards as exemplified by the NUJ and NGA Codes of Conduct and to 'reflect the widest possible range of opinions on matters of industrial and political controversy'.

8. Bringing British Telecom back into public ownership and establishing an elected National Communications Council with powers to ensure that telecommunications technologies — cable and satellite — are developed in the public interest and that firm legislation is introduced to regulate international satellite transmissions in co-operation with other countries.

9. The introduction of Industrial Democracy with the right of workers to be elected onto editorial and management boards.

10. A statutory right of reply.
11. Legislation designed to guarantee all lawful publications the right to distribution.
It urges the (.....) to build a campaign aimed at explaining and building support for this programme amongst the public.

NUJ backs manifesto

NUJ President Lionel Morrison.

CPBF National Council member Mike Jempson (Bristol Branch) then moved a mammoth composite motion running to four pages, littered with references to recent cases of state interference with the media and centred around the demands of the CPBF Media Manifesto.

He presented a 'news bulletin' outlining the links between the business interests of unaccountable corporations and individuals who own or control the media and the political aims of an oppressive government.

The erosion of hard won journalistic freedoms are 'a recipe for fascism,' he said. The growing catalogue of restrictions on the media causes 'gallows laughter' to resound around the world when Britain claims to be a defender of press freedom.

The CPBF Media Manifesto offers a

The annual conference of the National Union of Journalists at Sheffield in April opened with a major debate about the current crisis in press and broadcasting freedom and gave backing to the CPBF Media Manifesto.

Introducing the Press & Broadcasting Freedom section of the NUJ Annual Report Deputy General Secretary Jake Ecclestone paid tribute to the few individuals and organisations (including the CPBF) that have stood up to the State over such issues.

He drew attention to the 'rising climate of intolerance' and warned that press and broadcasting freedom is 'under greater threat from the State and its agencies than at any time in the union's history.' This theme was also dwelt upon in the address by outgoing