

Media North

CAMPAIGN FOR PRESS AND BROADCASTING FREEDOM (NORTH)

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All-out war on BBC

Decades-long fight hots up as new channels get ready to compete

THIS issue went online just before the US Presidential election ended. The US offers a disturbing model of what happens when political and media interests converge. In a deeply divided country Rupert Murdoch's Fox News, launched in 1996, has played a key role in feeding the rage of the Republican right with a daily catalogue of the damage their liberal enemies inflict on the traditional American way of life.



Since Donald Trump became President that relationship with Fox News has become far more intimate and damaging. Trump doesn't just exploit rage; he amplifies it. Nicole Hemmer, author of *Messengers From The Right*, describes Fox News as 'the nearest thing to

state TV' in the way it promotes relentlessly and uncritically the politics and pronouncements of Trump.

Fox TV creates a world of conspiracy theories, hatred and violence. Its stories are often drawn from the flourishing network of alt-right social media sites and given wider credence. Currently a third of Republican voters believe the QAnon conspiracy theory that the president is battling a global network of Satanic child sex traffickers.

For several years Fox News ran with the totally inaccurate slogan 'Fair and Balanced', to distinguish it from biased 'liberal' media. We are now beginning to see the same ideas promoted here in the attacks on the BBC. The planned new channel GB News is jointly owned by

Photo: David Shankbone / Wikimedia



Boosting Trump is good business for Murdoch's Fox News

Andrew Cole and Mark Schneider. They stressed that impartiality would be the new channel's distinguishing trait, in contrast to the BBC. Andrew Cole told his LinkedIn followers that the BBC was 'possibly the most biased propaganda ma-

chine in the world'. Really?

The BBC has been fending off attacks from Rupert Murdoch and other free marketeers for decades, but we are now seeing a new populist assault on the corporation's cultural 'biases' and challenges to its legitimacy which focus on cultural controversies. The manufactured outrage around the Last Night of the Proms back in August was a good example of this.

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WHY A SPECIAL ISSUE ON BBC? – PAGE 2

EDITORIAL

Why a special issue on the BBC?

This issue was originally planned to coincide with the publication of the result of the consultation into the decriminalisation of non-payment of the BBC licence fee. The consultation closed over six months ago but mysteriously it still hasn't reported.

We wanted to use the report to analyse the issues behind the intensified onslaught on the BBC since the Tory election victory last December. The range and ferocity of the attacks on the BBC by the government, the BBC-bashing Tory press and on social media have been so continuous and intense since then that we decided to go ahead anyway.

The chair of the BBC, Sir David Clementi, gave a speech recently to the Voice of the Listener and Viewer in which he said, "I have learnt in this role that a huge number of people describe themselves as a 'critical friend' of the BBC."

"But that in practice the term encompasses a huge range of opinion: from those who in truth want to change the BBC so much that it becomes unrecognizable; to those who do want to see change, but adhere strongly to the principles that underlie the Corporation: editorial independence; distinctive programming; universal funding, and universal responsibilities."

MediaNorth is a critical friend of the BBC and puts itself in the

second group. However we have to be clear. Many on the left no longer think this way, a group which was strengthened by the BBC coverage of the 2019 general election.

We have to counter this, and the view expressed to us recently by someone who attended the Leeds conference we organised on media coverage of the election earlier this year: "The sooner the BBC is defunct the better. It is a tool of government and corporate propaganda, is stuffed with Oxbridge people, and is an endless conduit of establishment status-quo views."

In the present political climate, be careful what you wish for.

Granville Williams
Editor

BBC in all-out fight for survival

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It is clear that the same playbook Fox News used to foment anger and resentment is being adopted in attacks on the BBC. There is fertile ground for this in post-Brexit Britain: we have a government with a deep hostility towards the BBC, backed up by the Tory-supporting press, a frenetic range of websites, YouTube material and, since June, 'Defund the BBC', all of which generate paranoia and inaccurate information about the BBC.

The *Sunday Times* recently quoted an anonymous government source who said an 'all-out war' was being waged on the broadcaster by the government, 'the most concerted attack it has ever faced'. Those of us who have a different vision of a strong, independent, reformed BBC for the 21st century need to get our voices heard more strongly.



Two Defund the BBC mobile billboards outside BBC Media City, Salford

Who's behind Defund the BBC?

DEFUND the BBC's aim is to decriminalise non-payment of the licence fee. But its long-term ambition is to reduce the scope of the BBC Charter, which sets governance rules, at the corporation's mid-term review in 2022.

Since its launch in June the group's activities have had extensive coverage in the *Sun*, *Express*, *Telegraph*, *Times* and *Daily Mail*. This has included publicity for a £100,000 funding appeal.

It was set up by James Yucel who claimed to be 'just a student

in his room' but is actually an experienced Conservative activist. The press officer is Liam Deacon who worked in the same capacity on the Brexit Party's 2019 general election campaign and before that worked at alt-right website Breitbart London, where in the 14 months before the referendum he published 450 stories about immigration, migrants or Islam.

Rebecca Ryan, the campaign coordinator, is also a veteran of the pro-Brexit campaign. In mid-July a billboard went up on one of London's busiest

roads featuring Gary Lineker and Emily Maitlis, their respective pay packets and the simple message: 'Are you still paying?' Below was a tagline carrying the point of the exercise: 'Defund the BBC'. After that she sent advertising vans blazoned with the group's slogans across northern England.

The group is also backed by two other prominent Brexiteers, Darren Grimes and Calvin Robinson. Their most recent activity involves distributing a leaflet telling homeowners how to 'legally cancel' their licence fee.



Two news channels are being planned for the UK. One is being considered by Rupert Murdoch's News UK, but so far details are thin on the ground. The other is GB News, which acquired a broadcast licence from Ofcom in January and is owned by the company All Perspectives. This is jointly owned by Andrew Cole and Mark Schneider, respectively current and former directors of Liberty Global, which owns Virgin Media. The company's largest shareholder is the US billionaire and Liberty Global owner John Malone.

Cole, who sits on the board of Liberty Global informed his LinkedIn followers that the BBC was 'possibly the most biased propaganda machine in the world' and asked them to watch out for 'the launch of a completely new TV news channel for the UK – one that will be distinctly different from the out-of-touch incumbents'.

Right-wing punditry

GB News has also hired former Sky News executive John McAndrew and appointed Angelos Frangopoulos, the former head of Sky News Australia, as chief executive. The latter replicated the Fox News formula of rolling news reporting during the day followed by distinctly right-wing punditry in the evening. This became far more pronounced after Murdoch took full ownership of the chan-

When opinions are dressed as news reports

Julian Petley on the threat posed to the BBC by two new Fox-type news channels

nel in December 2016.

The announcements about the new channels were greeted with hoots of glee by the BBC's many enemies in the national press. For example, the *Daily Mail*, 29 August, announced that 'the race is on to bring a US-style news service to Britain' and quoted an 'insider' to the effect that it 'will be less Left-wing and less woke than the BBC ... Just by taking a centrist line it will seem more to the Right because the others are so much to the Left'.

The following day's *Mail on Sunday* quoted a 'source close to GB news' as stating that 'the channel will be a truly impartial source of news, unlike the woke, wet BBC. It will deliver the facts, not opinion dressed as news'.

It is entirely unsurprising that papers which support the extreme right of the Tory party, and someone like Cole who considers *The Guardian* 'a disgust-

ing, extremist rag' and Bloomberg 'very suspect' and 'almost unreadable', take this view of the BBC.

But this is exactly the same ideological conjuring trick as played in the US by Fox News, whose claim to be 'fair and balanced' depends entirely on the canard that it is providing the 'balance' to the 'left-wing' news provided by NBC, ABC and CBS. But the simple truth of the matter is that the mainstream broadcast media in the US appear 'left-wing' only when viewed from a vertiginously conservative perspective.

Important questions

The arrival of the new channels raises two vitally important questions. Firstly, will Ofcom relax its regulations on due impartiality (as it has clearly done in the case of talkRADIO) in order to allow the new arrivals to broadcast opinion-driven news of the kind never yet seen

in the UK?

In this respect, it needs to be remembered that when in 1987 the US Federal Communications Commission suspended the 'Fairness Doctrine' this led not to greater freedom of speech and more diversity but to an intensification of the 'shock jock' phenomenon on the radio, and, with the consequent arrival of Fox News, a decided shift of the television news agenda to the right.

Second, what will be the impact of the new channels' news agenda on that of the PSBs, and especially the BBC? Consider the following scenario: GB News is sufficiently popular with certain sections of the TV audience to make it commercially successful. As viewing figures grow, either the PSBs decide that there's profit in populism, and follow suit, or they carry on as before. In the latter case, the terrestrial broadcasters, but particularly the BBC, soon find their news coverage being compared unfavourably with that of GB News, attracting yet more criticism for being overly 'liberal' – not only by right-wing newspapers and politicians but now by a right-wing television channel as well. As a defensive move, the PSBs start to shadow the agenda of GB News – and thus, ineluctably, broadcasting in the UK falls prey to exactly the same process of Foxification that Murdoch so successfully initiated in the States and Australia.

The television licence fee: What are the alternatives?

Barry White looks at how Europeans fund public service broadcasting

The very future of the TV licence fee hangs in the balance. Although safe until the next BBC Charter Review in 2027, when the way the BBC is governed and funded is decided, government ministers are reported as saying they are 'open minded' about how to fund the BBC from then onwards.

The present system has been criticised on the grounds of fairness. As a flat-rate fee applied uniformly (with exceptions for the over 75s receiving Pension Credit with the fee now paid for by the BBC), it's a regressive payment, taking a larger percentage of income from low-income earners than from high-income earners.

So what are the alternatives?

There are some basic principles to be established. Attempts to move to a commercial or subscription model should be resisted. Also whatever system is introduced must be independent of government and commercial pressures, with the central focus being the promotion of public service principles.

FINLAND

In January 2013, Finland scrapped its TV licence fee and introduced a public service broadcasting tax – the YLE tax – to fund the Finnish Broadcasting Company.

GERMANY

The same year Germany replaced its licence fee with a

household levy charged at a flat-rate per household with exemptions for certain low-income groups (e.g. welfare claimants and students). Businesses also pay the levy.

DENMARK

In Denmark the licence fee is being phased out over a five-year period which started on 1 January 2019. Public service broadcasters will instead be financed through taxes. However, opposition parties opposed the reduced budget for public broadcasters, which included a 20% budget decrease for the biggest public broadcaster, DR.

SWEDEN

Perhaps the most interesting example is Sweden. In November 2018 parliament (the Riksdag) decided that the radio and television licence fee, paid by all households that had a television, would be replaced by an individual public service fee. The only party to oppose the change was the far-right populist Sweden Democrats.

The fee is collected via the tax system and administered in

The system must be independent of government and commercial pressures, with the central focus being the promotion of public service principles

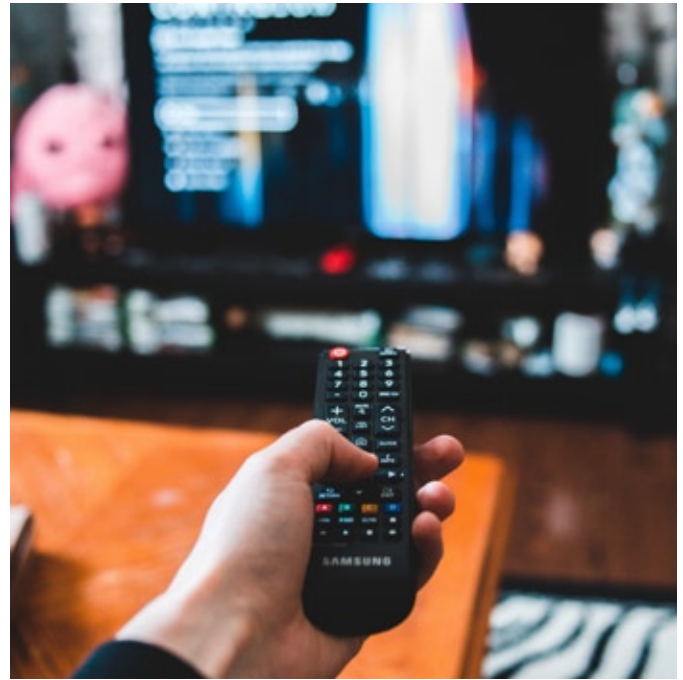


Photo: Eric McLeant / unsplash.com

a closed (or ring-fenced) system so that funds are kept separate from other funds in the government budget. It's paid by everyone aged 18 and over who has a taxable earned income. The maximum payment is 1,350 SEK/year per person (around £120). Depending on your income the fee can be lower and in some cases it can be zero.

Fees are collected by the Swedish Tax Agency and based on individual income tax returns. The Agency pays the money to a special public service account administered by the Legal, Financial and Administrative Services Agency. Through this agency the money is administered in a ring-fenced system separate from the rest of the central government budget. The money in the account may only be used to finance public service broadcasting activities.

There are five public service TV channels: SVT1, SVT2, SVT24, Barnkanalen (Children's channel) and Kunskapskanalen (The Knowledge channel). There is no advertising on these channels. Within these public service channels there is also regional broadcasting, and Swedish Radio channels are also included in the fee.

The system was introduced on 1 January 2019 and along with the new fee, other changes

were introduced which aimed at strengthening the independence of public service broadcasting.

PROS AND CONS

Just how successful these changes turn out remain to be seen. One big advantage is that via the tax system everybody who pays tax has to pay and it's fairer and provides a more reliable income for PSB. On the other hand there are those who say that PSB is just the voice of the government and this is said to be easier to claim as the parliament decides on the allocation of funding to the broadcasters.

To counter this, the Government appointed an inquiry on constitutional reform to analyse whether the public service companies' independence is sufficiently guaranteed through the current regulations or whether their independence can and should be further strengthened through amendments to the constitution.

Meanwhile back in the UK it's worth remembering that in November 2004 Dominic Cummings, now Boris Johnson's most powerful adviser, wrote an article for *The Business*, a now defunct newspaper, calling for a 'campaign to end the licence fee and break the BBC's stranglehold'. Hard struggles lie ahead.

As the BBC comes under relentless attack, **Tom Mills** dissects the issues involved in a critical defence of the corporation

Battle lines drawn in fight for future of BBC

In my work on the BBC I've done my best to try to demystify the institution; to use social scientific and historical evidence to help people see the BBC for what it is rather than what they imagine it is, or wish it to be.

When I started this work over a decade ago there were two prevalent myths, which are still the dominant ways of understanding it today. The first is to see the BBC as a culturally left-wing institution, biased against Conservative values and right-wing politicians and movements. The second is to see it as genuinely independent, answerable to the public rather than politicians, and responsive to the public interest rather than the imperatives of the market. Neither is accurate.

The first is a fantasy long propagated by politicians and the right-wing press. It is superficially convincing (at least to some people) because the principle of 'due impartiality'

means the dominance right-wing perspectives enjoy in the oligarchic press is less marked in broadcasting, and because the BBC's commitment to 'diversity' means its output is more representative of contemporary Britain than many Conservatives would like (though it is worth noting that the BBC falls short on both).

The second is the animating myth of the BBC itself, and it is a view still shared by many of its liberal supporters. It's a nice idea, but it bears very little relation to reality, as I show in some detail in my book. The BBC has never been

In recent decades the BBC has been increasingly commercialised and stripped of any genuine public ethos, except at the margins

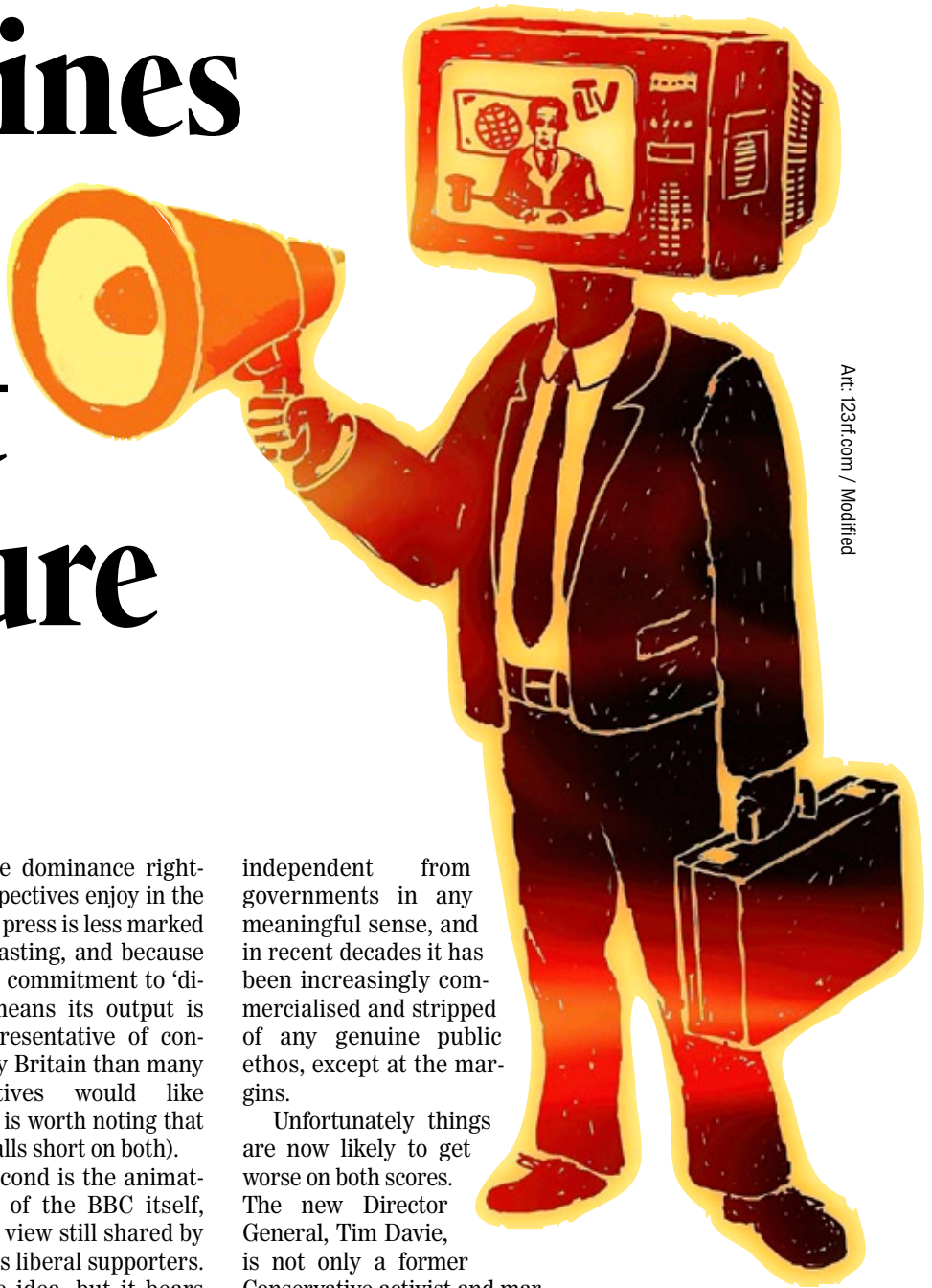
independent from governments in any meaningful sense, and in recent decades it has been increasingly commercialised and stripped of any genuine public ethos, except at the margins.

Unfortunately things are now likely to get worse on both scores. The new Director General, Tim Davie, is not only a former Conservative activist and marketing executive for PepsiCo, but his previous role was in the fully commercialised wing of the BBC, BBC Studios. It was always likely therefore that he would follow his predecessors and further marketise the BBC, and in September it was reported in *The Times* that he is considering commercialising the BBC's remaining in-house production, with children's programmes first in the firing line.

Davie's most prominent statements, though, have been

around restoring impartiality at the BBC, with a particular focus being on its journalists' use of social media. In theory this would be a very good idea. Unfortunately it appears the main concern is with liberal political views expressed by the likes of Gary Lineker on Twitter, rather than the poor editorial standards and violations of political impartiality that have undermined the BBC's reputation on the Left in recent years.

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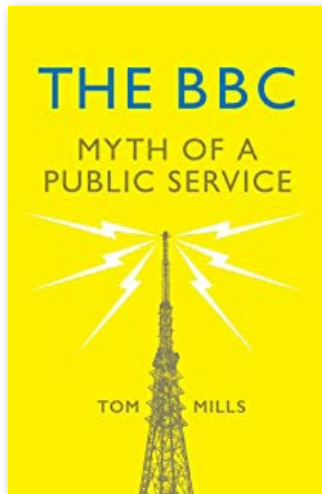
Johnson government targets the BBC

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The political context is of course important, and it will shape what Davie and the rest of the BBC leadership do (a lot of energy goes into government diplomacy).

The Johnson government has ratcheted up its rhetoric against the BBC and the Culture Secretary Oliver Dowden recently stated that when it comes to the appointment of the new BBC chair in February they are looking for ‘a strong, credible figure who can hold the BBC to account’ and ‘ensure that the BBC returns to its core values of impartiality’. So political independence is set to be reduced even further and it appears the government, meanwhile, still intends to decriminalise the licence fee, a move it says is intended to protect low income groups – a claim that shouldn’t be taken seriously by anyone remotely serious.

The proposal is plainly intended to further defund the BBC, doubling down on the policy of the Cameron-Osborne government and it will lead to very serious reduction in the BBC’s services.



Tom Mills' book on the BBC is an essential read

All this raises the question of how defenders of public media should respond. No doubt there will be some who still hold a rather rose-tinted view of the BBC who are minded to (once again) offer a full-throated defence of its record. For many people, though, this will now ring hollow. On the Left, opinion has significantly shifted since I started researching and writing on the BBC, and a third perspective on the organisation has emerged. Among the most politically engaged,

trust in the BBC has fallen significantly, and on the Left it is widely regarded as having been corrupted by a decade of Conservative rule, to the point that it is simply not worth saving.

I have some sympathy with this perspective, but ultimately I think it is too shallow analytically and too fatalistic politically. One common response to those who would abandon the BBC to its unhappy fate is to concede that there are serious problems with its political output, but to emphasise its achievements in cultural and educational programming.

This is fine to a point, and is better than simply sticking your head in the sand and pretending that all is well with public service broadcasting – which has been the usual response of the liberal-left. But I

There are reasons why the BBC has been failing us, and there are concrete ways that these failings can be addressed

think it fails to do justice both to the problems with cultural programming and to the capacity to address the problems with BBC’s journalism.

There are specific reasons why the BBC has been failing us, and equally there are concrete ways that these failings can be addressed. While there is a need to defend the BBC from the media oligarchs and their political allies, the most crucial thing is to still maintain a realistic and constructive critique of the BBC, and not to concede the political agenda to the right.

There may not be the immediate prospect of policy change, but there is on the other hand time to develop a vision and policy agenda. The current Royal Charter runs until 2027, and the licence fee is safe until then. The task in the coming years is to offer a powerful critique of the existing media system and a positive vision for 21st century public digital media.

Tom Mills is a lecturer in sociology at Aston University, and is Vice Chair of the Media Reform Coalition

BBC DG lays down the law

By **Granville Williams**

TIM DAVIE took over as Director General of the BBC in September and made his first speech at the BBC, Cardiff, on 3 September. One priority was to ‘renew our commitment to impartiality’.

He said, “We’ll take action in coming weeks, but to be clear, there will be new guidance on how we best deliver our impartiality guideline; new social media rules, which will be rigorously enforced; and clearer direction on the declaration of external interests.”

Well we now have his policy statement on this. In addition to strict new social media



Tim Davie

guidelines, Davie introduced a ban on the broadcaster’s news reporters taking part in ‘public demonstrations or gatherings about controversial issues’ even when not marching under an identifiable BBC banner.

BBC journalists were told that new rules on impartiality



Michelle Stanistreet

meant they would no longer be able to go on Pride marches, even in a personal capacity, in case their presence is taken as a sign of political bias. This was changed the next day: they could. Davie blamed ‘inaccurate commentary’ for the confusion.

Michelle Stanistreet, NUJ general secretary, said:

“Following the publication of the guidelines yesterday, the NUJ sought an urgent meeting with the BBC to address our members’ concerns about the changes which could constrain individuals’ ability to meaningfully participate and engage in issues that matter to them – whether that’s in their trade union, their communities or in events such as Pride ... It’s disappointing that there was no consultation with staff unions on these changes ahead of them being announced, and we’ll be raising all the concerns NUJ members and reps have shared with us when we meet the BBC.”

So, what has the BBC ever done for me?

Here's what you get for an outlay of just £3.02 a week

ALL democracies require balanced, impartial news coverage which does not depend on the personal prejudices and foibles of media moguls, commercial pressure to appease shareholders or government interference. A functioning democracy cannot exist without a plural, trusted and vigorous media; the BBC is at the core of UK's public service broadcasting.

In the fog and fury of the attacks on the BBC, these key statistics demonstrate the range and impact of its work:

- The £157.50 licence fee amount equates to £3.02 a week or £13.13 a month, for which the BBC provides nine national TV channels plus regional programming; 10 national radio stations; 40 local radio stations plus dedicated Nations radio services; one of the UK's most popular websites; the radio app BBC Sounds; and BBC iPlayer.

- In the last financial year 95 per cent of the BBC's controllable spend went on content for audiences and delivery, with just 5 per cent spent on running the organisation. It also

runs the Proms and national orchestras.

- 91 per cent of UK adults use BBC television, radio or online each week.

- The BBC won 184 major awards in total, including five Golden Globes and 16 Baftas for shows like *Bodyguard* and *Killing Eve* in 2019.



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- 426 million people access the BBC around the world each week (including World Service, Worldwide and Global News). *Blue Planet II* reached three quarters of a billion people.

- BBC iPlayer served more than 4 billion programme requests in 2019.

- CBeebies was named

Channel of the Year at the 2019 Royal Television Society Awards. The BBC reaches eight out of ten children each week

- Each week BBC Scotland reaches around a fifth of audiences in Scotland.

- BBC Studios generated record returns of £243m to the public service in 2018/19.

- The BBC is responsible for 42 per cent of all investment into original UK TV content.

- The BBC is free from shareholder pressure, advertiser influence and the chase for ratings.

- The broadcaster is Europe's biggest provider of media and creative skills training.

- The BBC is a major driver of the creative industries which contributed £111.7 billion to the UK in 2018, equivalent to £306 million every day.

- The BBC generates £2 in economic value for every £1 of the licence fee it receives.

- It has the third most viewed website after Google and Facebook.

- BBC Bitesize, which provides free study materials, is used by 82% of secondary school students in the UK.



The War Against the BBC. How an unprecedented combination of hostile forces is destroying Britain's greatest cultural institution ... And why you should care.

Patrick Barwise
Peter York

Two new books on the BBC

THE dramatic titles of two new books on the BBC indicate the polarised current climate in terms of attitudes to the BBC. One published in October and edited by John Mair is *The BBC: A Winter of Discontent*. The book's subtitle echoes another controversial period in UK history – the industrial strife of winter 1978.

The contributors to the book are a diverse bunch (former *Today* reporter John Humphreys, Rod Liddle from the *Sunday Times* and former BBC presenter Robin Aitken) with some welcoming the demise of the BBC, while others offer more positive views.

The other well-trailed book is *The War Against the BBC* by Patrick Barwise and Peter York which is due out later in November. Judging by the extracts published so far it looks like it will be a valuable book providing the case for the BBC's defence.

Is BBC really too big for its own good?

FOR years the arguments by those attacking the BBC were essentially economic. The sheer scale of the BBC meant that it unfairly drove out commercial media.

This was the case that the big regional newspaper groups used to put against BBC local radio.

The Local Democracy Reporter (LDR) scheme was

launched in 2017 by James Harding, director of BBC News and Current Affairs (and former editor of *The Times*) and Ashley Highfield, chair of the News Media Association and chief executive of Johnston Press. Both have long gone from these posts but the scheme still continues.

The BBC pays for 150 LDRs and most of them (9 out of 10)

work for the big regional publishers (Reach, Newsquest, JPIMedia).

A June 2020 BBC report thought it worked well but said the requirements for hosting an LDR should be widened so that more smaller publishers can take part, as previously the scale and capacity of some organisations may have given them a 'greater advantage'.

30% drop in funding for the BBC since 2010

THE attack on the BBC didn't just start after the Tory election victory of December 2019. Research shows that there has already been a 30% drop in public funding for the BBC since 2010. A decade of Tory governments resulted in raids on the BBC licence fee to fund other policy initiatives or actions which sought to weaken the BBC in other ways.

These include:

- the cost of the TV licence was frozen between 2010 and 2017
- in 2013/14, a number of new obligations were imposed on the licence fee: Broadband rollout, S4C, Local TV and BBC Monitoring (£250million per annum)
- from 2014 the BBC began paying the majority of the costs



of running the World Service, previously funded by the Foreign Office

- since 2018 the DWP has gradually removed funding for free TV licences for the over 75s

Once income figures are inflation-adjusted the value of public funding significantly drops.

The decision to force the BBC to take on the payment of the free TV licences for the over 75s was taken by the then

chancellor George Osborne, but the influence of Rupert Murdoch in this decision was significant.

Osborne and Murdoch met twice in June 2015. The meeting with the News Corp mogul appears to have taken place before Osborne met BBC director general Tony Hall to discuss plans for it to pay the cost of funding TV licences for the over-75s.

The chancellor also held meetings with the then *Sun* editor, David Dinsmore, in the same month and News Corp chief executive Robert Thomson in May. Details of the funding cuts were then revealed in News Corp's *Sunday Times* on 5 July.

On 6 July, the government

formally announced that it had reached an agreement with the BBC to drop licence fee charges for over-75s, leaving the corporation with a £650m drop in licence fee income in 2017/18.

The research, published by the Voice of the Viewer and Listener, shows public funding for the BBC in 2010/11 was £3.95bn, with £3.54bn of that spent on services for UK audiences. In 2019/20 the BBC's public funding will be £3.65bn, with £3.2bn for UK services.

Once inflation is taken into account, 2019/20 net public funding is equivalent to £2.48bn in 2010 money - just 70% of the 2010/11 budget during a time when production and distribution costs have risen considerably.

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New booklet leads call for media reform

CPBF(NORTH) has recently published *Fix the Media: What We Can Do*. The 60-page booklet argues that the prospects for media reform under the hard-right Tory government now in power are minimal. Instead Tory hardliners want their own destructive 'reforms' – and one target of these is the BBC, which it is actively destabilising.

This situation makes it all the more urgent for media reform campaigners to clarify what can be done. This spurred a working group to draw together their ideas to promote a wider discussion.

Fix the Media focuses on some key policy proposals and argues that the media reform movement needs to move quickly and get organised to build wide support for them.



Cover of *Fix The Media*.

The publication is available in both online and print versions. You can read it on line at www.medianorth.org.uk

For details on how to purchase a print copy (£4.00 inc P&P) go to our website at www.medianorth.org.uk

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