

<p>1 2 (2.00 pm) 3 MS PATRY HOSKINS: Good afternoon, sir. We have one witness 4 this afternoon and that witness is Lord Smith. 5 CHRISTOPHER ROBERT SMITH (sworn) 6 Questions by MS PATRY HOSKINS 7 MS PATRY HOSKINS: Lord Smith, if you could take a seat and 8 make yourself comfortable. First of all, could you 9 provide your full name to the Inquiry, please? 10 <b>A. I am Christopher Robert Smith, Lord Smith of Finsbury.</b> 11 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Lord Smith, I think you've previously 12 appeared by proxy at the Inquiry. Let me thank you for 13 the evidence that you there provided, although given 14 through another voice, and indeed for your present 15 statement and the obvious work that's gone into it. 16 Thank you. 17 <b>A. Thank you.</b> 18 MS PATRY HOSKINS: As Lord Justice Leveson has indicated, 19 you've actually now provided two statements to the 20 Inquiry. The first was in relation to your role as 21 chairman of the Advertising Standards Authority, and 22 it's dated 16 September 2011. The second is dated 23 30 April 2012, and that relates to Module 3 issues, if 24 I can describe it in that way. Can I confirm that all 25 that amounts to your formal evidence to this Inquiry?</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 1</p>	<p>1 Q. Two days after the election. Sticking with that date in 2 your mind, please, I want to understand the position in 3 terms of media, government policy and what the policy 4 was in relation to the media and press. I want to 5 understand the position you inherited on that date. So 6 if we can just rehearse the history very briefly in this 7 way. 8 It's correct to say, isn't it, that roughly seven 9 years before that, in June 1990, Sir David Calcutt's 10 first report had essentially ushered in the abolition of 11 the Press Council and set up the PCC. Calcutt 2, the 12 second Calcutt report, was delivered in January 1993, so 13 about four years before you took up office, and this 14 concluded that the PCC was not an effective regulator of 15 the press, essentially on the basis that the body was 16 set up by the industry and operating a code of practice 17 which was devised by the industry and he considered to 18 be overfavourable to the industry. So good so far? 19 <b>A. That would be an accurate summary of Sir David Calcutt's 20 conclusions.</b> 21 Q. He recommended in 1993 the establishment of a statutory 22 press tribunal. You're very familiar with that. 23 <b>A. Yes.</b> 24 Q. That statutory tribunal to have the power to impose 25 fines, amongst other things, and require the printing of</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 3</p>
<p>1 <b>A. It does indeed.</b> 2 Q. Thank you very much. We're going to start, please, with 3 a description of your career history. In that respect, 4 if you would turn to tab 1 of the bundle you should find 5 your second witness statement. At paragraph 1 of that, 6 you have set out helpfully for us a brief summary of 7 your career history. 8 You explain there that for 22 years, from the period 9 1983 to 2005, you were the Labour Member of Parliament 10 for Islington South and Finsbury, and from 1997 to 2001 11 in particular you were Secretary of State for Culture, 12 Media and Sport, responsible, amongst other things, for 13 government policy towards the media and the press. 14 You explain that from 2003 to 2008 you were founding 15 director of the Clore Leadership Programme. You're 16 currently the chairman of the Environment Agency and 17 chairman of the Advertising Standards Authority, and you 18 explain that you've recently been reappointed for 19 a further term of office for both positions. 20 For the purposes of these questions, we'll be 21 focusing on the period 1997 to 2001, when you were 22 Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport. You 23 took office, as I understand it, on 3 May 1997. Would 24 that be approximately correct? 25 <b>A. Yes. Two days after the election.</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 2</p>	<p>1 apologies and corrections and so on. Overall, 2 Lord Wakeham accepted it was a rather damning assessment 3 of the PCC in 1993. 4 That was all before your time. I simply want to set 5 the background to your evidence. Others will, in due 6 course, be asked about it. Only one other aspect of the 7 history that we need to remember before we focus on your 8 questions is that on 1 January 1995, Lord Wakeham had 9 been appointed chairman of the PCC. That was just 10 before your time, but nevertheless he remained chairman 11 of the PCC when you took office. 12 <b>A. I think he was chairman of the PCC throughout my period 13 of office as Secretary of State.</b> 14 Q. Going back to the date that I asked you to stick in your 15 mind, 3 May 1997, can you assist us with this: what were 16 your impressions, on taking up office, of the culture, 17 practices and ethics of the press at that time? 18 <b>A. The first thing to say is that it probably wasn't 19 a hugely current issue at that moment. There had, of 20 course, been a lot of discussion and debate around the 21 time of both the Calcutt reports, but since the Calcutt 22 review had taken place, and especially since John 23 Wakeham had taken over as chairman of the PCC, the issue 24 had appeared to go off the current political boil. One 25 of the things I would say is that I think John Wakeham</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 4</p>

<p>1 <b>was outstandingly skilful at taking the PCC forward</b>  2 <b>enough to take the sting out of the political debate,</b>  3 <b>and it was almost certainly due to the steps that he</b>  4 <b>had already taken, in terms of the people he'd brought</b>  5 <b>on to membership of the PCC, the way in which it was</b>  6 <b>making its adjudications, and he'd already taken quite</b>  7 <b>a lot of steps to effectively ensure that the Calcutt</b>  8 <b>proposal for statutory intervention did not have any</b>  9 <b>political legs.</b></p> <p>10 <b>When I became Secretary of State in 1997, I don't</b>  11 <b>think at that moment there was any major public or</b>  12 <b>political demand for statutory intervention.</b></p> <p>13 Q. So that was the position you inherited. You tell us at  14 paragraph 4 of your statement, just over the page from  15 where we've been looking -- you explain that the major  16 change that had taken place was the appointment of  17 Lord Wakeham but you say at the end of that  18 paragraph that one of the first things you did on taking  19 up office is you met with Lord Wakeham on 25 June 1997  20 to hear his views and proposals and to identify areas  21 where further progress might be needed.</p> <p>22 Given you say that there was no public demand, it  23 wasn't something that was top of everyone's agenda, why  24 identify areas where further progress might be needed?</p> <p>25 <b>A. Because it was -- despite not being a particularly hot</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 5</p>	<p>1 taking up office? Were you a believer in  2 self-regulation? Were you a supporter of the Calcutt 2  3 recommendations? Where did your opinion lie?</p> <p>4 <b>A. I was a strong believer in self-regulation, and I still</b>  5 <b>am. In a democracy, I believe it is very dangerous to</b>  6 <b>go down the road of statutory regulation of the press,</b>  7 <b>and however deleterious some of the behaviour of the</b>  8 <b>press may from time to time be, nonetheless having in</b>  9 <b>place a permanent apparatus of state regulation I think</b>  10 <b>would be profoundly detrimental to free speech. I still</b>  11 <b>believe that.</b></p> <p>12 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Will you please explain what you mean  13 by "self-regulation"? I've said it once today already.  14 Lots of people mean very, very different things by it,  15 and I'd be very grateful, as you explain your view, if  16 you'd expound precisely what you mean by that and what  17 you done mean.</p> <p>18 <b>A. By "self-regulation", I mean that the press should be</b>  19 <b>responsible for policing its own rules, should do so</b>  20 <b>effectively -- that perhaps we will come onto in due</b>  21 <b>course.</b></p> <p>22 MS PATRY HOSKINS: Yes.</p> <p>23 <b>A. As I say right at the end of my statement of evidence,</b>  24 <b>I think in any self-regulatory system there is scope for</b>  25 <b>having some sort of statutory backstop to assist with</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 7</p>
<p>1 <b>current issue, it was nonetheless clearly important, and</b>  2 <b>as I had taken over, as Secretary of State,</b>  3 <b>responsibility for the government's policy generally</b>  4 <b>towards the media and press regulation, I thought it was</b>  5 <b>important to meet Lord Wakeham -- I didn't know him</b>  6 <b>particularly well prior to that point -- to hear what</b>  7 <b>his views were, how things were going, and to indicate</b>  8 <b>that -- I think at that stage I thought that probably</b>  9 <b>the steps that had already been taken didn't go really</b>  10 <b>far enough, but I wanted to have a candid and</b>  11 <b>constructive discussion with him about what the future</b>  12 <b>might hold.</b></p> <p>13 Q. Okay. So you --</p> <p>14 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Presumably you knew Lord Wakeham?</p> <p>15 <b>A. I knew him a bit but more as a figure across the other</b>  16 <b>side of the House of Commons until he was translated to</b>  17 <b>the House of Lords. I'd seen him at the dispatch box</b>  18 <b>but I didn't particularly know him well personally.</b>  19 <b>I got to know him quite well over the succeeding months.</b></p> <p>20 MS PATRY HOSKINS: Around this period, May/June 1997, you'd  21 just taken up this post. You've explained that you met  22 with Lord Wakeham to discuss the future. You've  23 explained that at that time the behaviour of the press  24 was not particularly in the public eye. What were your  25 views though about how the press should be regulated, on</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 6</p>	<p>1 <b>the enforcement of decisions that are made by the</b>  2 <b>self-regulatory system, but the decisions themselves</b>  3 <b>should be made by a body that is voluntarily put</b>  4 <b>together by the press rather than imposed upon them by</b>  5 <b>government decision.</b></p> <p>6 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Right. Sorry, I'm going to just  7 press you on what that means. Decisions by a body  8 voluntarily put forward by the press. So you don't  9 necessarily mean editors?</p> <p>10 <b>A. Not necessarily editors at all. Indeed, I think it</b>  11 <b>could be argued that having current editors sitting on</b>  12 <b>the adjudicatory body for the press is not necessarily</b>  13 <b>a particularly sensible way of proceeding.</b></p> <p>14 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Well, so this is why I'm simply  15 trying to explore what the concept is, because although,  16 save for Sir Christopher Meyer, most people have  17 concerns about the current PCC system but describe it as  18 self-regulatory, that's very much dominated by press  19 editors on the Code Committee, and indeed the chairman  20 is selected effectively through PressBoF, which is very  21 much dominated by, if not exclusively staffed -- I'm not  22 sure, I think there may be some independent people there  23 now -- by the press. So if they can nominate everybody  24 who's on it -- I'm not suggesting this is quite how it  25 works -- then the element of having independent</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 8</p>

<p>1 engagement becomes a little bit more diffused because 2 you can choose who your independent people are. 3 <b>A. I think the key is having someone in the chair who is</b> 4 <b>unimpeachably independent, and I think John Wakeham</b> 5 <b>actually was in the way in which he ran the PCC.</b> 6 <b>I think that's also why he was right to bring in</b> 7 <b>significant people from the world outside who had no</b> 8 <b>connection whatsoever with the press.</b> 9 <b>The best analogy I can draw -- and you've already</b> 10 <b>received evidence on this -- is with the Advertising</b> 11 <b>Standards Authority, where, as chairman, I am appointed</b> 12 <b>by ASBoF, which is the advertising equivalent of</b> 13 <b>PressBoF, which provides the money for the system by</b> 14 <b>raising a levy on all advertising spend. ASBoF is an</b> 15 <b>entity primarily drawn from the advertising industry but</b> 16 <b>in seeking a chairman for the ASA they are required by</b> 17 <b>the memorandum and articles of the ASA to look for</b> 18 <b>someone who has had no connection whatsoever with the</b> 19 <b>advertising industry in the course of their life. So</b> 20 <b>they are required to look for someone who is totally</b> 21 <b>independent.</b> 22 <b>Then appointments to the ASA council are made by</b> 23 <b>that chairman and in drawing those appointments, he is</b> 24 <b>required to choose at least two-thirds of the members</b> 25 <b>who have also had no connection whatsoever with the</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 9</p>	<p>1 more difficult to find somebody who is truly independent 2 in the way that I am sure is possible for ASA to staff 3 the Press Complaints Commission. 4 If I give as the example -- I think I'll be 5 corrected because I'm going back some time in my memory. 6 Lord Hunt explained that he was asked in terms whether 7 he believed in a free press and freedom of speech in 8 a way that some might think meant: "Are you going to be 9 on our side?" 10 I'm not suggesting that anybody asked him that in 11 terms, and I'm not suggesting that was the intention 12 behind the question, I say immediately, but that is the 13 risk or there is a perceptive risk which wouldn't exist 14 in advertising, I think. Correct me if you think I'm 15 wrong. 16 <b>A. No, no, you're absolutely right to draw quite a clear</b> 17 <b>distinction between the two, and it is probably --</b> 18 <b>almost certainly easier to regulate advertising</b> 19 <b>effectively than it is to do the same with the press</b> 20 <b>because in advertising there is a clear defined purpose</b> 21 <b>of selling a product to the public and there are clear</b> 22 <b>consumer protection ambitions to be met.</b> 23 <b>In the case of the press, it's a matter of</b> 24 <b>expression of opinion, of description of people or</b> 25 <b>actions that may or may not have a harmful or</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 11</p>
<p>1 advertising and marketing industry during the course of 2 their life. So built into the system is a robust 3 provision for independence of mind and thought. 4 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I must let Ms Patry Hoskins continue, 5 but let me just ask whether the parallel quite works 6 between the ASA and the Press Council, because in 7 relation to the ASA, you have standards of appropriate 8 advertisements, and if an advertiser wants to advertise 9 in a way that offends those standards, then the media 10 and the rest simply won't publish the adverts. 11 <b>A. Yes.</b> 12 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: There's a tremendously easy sanction. 13 That's the first thing. 14 The second thing is that there is nothing perhaps 15 quite so fundamental within advertising as within the 16 press, because we can all agree with truthful, honest, 17 decent -- I can't remember the phrases. 18 <b>A. Legal, decent, honest and truthful.</b> 19 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I didn't do badly. 20 <b>A. Very good.</b> 21 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: -- for advertising, but actually, in 22 relation to intense desire for a free press, that 23 actually raises other issues which create a tension 24 perhaps between the press and those who are likely to 25 complain about the press, and therefore it may be rather</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 10</p>	<p>1 detrimental effect on those people that they're talking 2 about. 3 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: The concept of public interest. 4 <b>A. Much more difficult. And the concept of public interest</b> 5 <b>in relation to advertising is relatively clearly and</b> 6 <b>easily defined. The concept of public interest in</b> 7 <b>relation to the press is much more difficult to define.</b> 8 <b>So you're absolutely right to identify that there are</b> 9 <b>major differences between the two.</b> 10 <b>The other difference that you have also identified</b> 11 <b>is that we have a very effective sanction at the ASA,</b> 12 <b>which is that if we find an advertisement to be in</b> 13 <b>breach of the code then it cannot appear in any medium,</b> 14 <b>and there is an agreement across all parts of the media</b> 15 <b>that if there is an adverse adjudication, they will not</b> 16 <b>carry the ad. That's a quite powerful sanction.</b> 17 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I'm sorry. 18 MS PATRY HOSKINS: No, no, please. 19 We'll come back in due course to this very 20 interesting issue of the future of press regulation and 21 if any analogy can be drawn with the authority's work, 22 that would be very useful. 23 I'm just going to continue to take you through the 24 chronology. We'd been discussing your views back in 25 early or mid-1997 when you took office, and you've told</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 12</p>

<p>1 us about your views, that you believe very much in 2 self-regulation. It's at that point that Lord Justice 3 Leveson asked you about what that meant. 4 If you look at paragraph 5 of your statement, you 5 confirm that. You say: 6 "The only way to secure the objective of ethical 7 behaviour ... is through the self-regulatory route." 8 But you go on to say that you think it must be far 9 more robust and effective than it has been, and that 10 your views during your time at Secretary of State 11 probably became stronger in wanting to see more 12 robustness in the operations of the PCC. As you 13 identify -- and we'll look at this in some detail -- 14 there were significant improvements in the wake of the 15 death of Diana, Princess of Wales. But they were still, 16 you say, insufficient. We will look at that in some 17 detail if we can. 18 If we just, again, look at dates, Diana Princess of 19 Wales died on 31 August 1997, so a few months after you 20 took office. You explain in paragraph 6 of your 21 statement that following her death there was much public 22 concern about the actions of the paparazzi who had 23 chased her. In fact, you go on to tell us, further down 24 in your witness statement, paragraph 9, that in the two 25 or three weeks following her death you received</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 13</p>	<p>1 regulation of the press hadn't worked. Is that the 2 feeling that you got from the letters and from the -- 3 <b>A. That was very much the burden of a lot of the letters 4 that came in, yes.</b> 5 Q. So quite a contrast from when you'd first taken up 6 office, when public concern didn't seem to be very high, 7 and then suddenly overnight, literally, very high? 8 <b>A. It had become, directly as a result of the tragedy in 9 Paris, a very hot current topic of public concern and 10 debate.</b> 11 Q. You tell us at paragraph 7 of your statement that what 12 you did is that on 2 September, so two days after the 13 death, you wrote to the Prime Minister to recommend that 14 the government should not make any hasty public comments 15 about press regulation, that it might be necessary to 16 look at laws relating to harassment but it would not be 17 desirable or practical to move towards privacy 18 legislation. You also say it was up to newspaper 19 editors and proprietors, in the light of public 20 sentiment, to indicate now what action they proposed and 21 that you would be meeting with Lord Wakeham on 22 8 September. 23 Now, just in case there's anything you would like to 24 add, let's look at the actual document that was sent. 25 If you look behind tab 2 of the bundle you have, you</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 15</p>
<p>1 thousands of letters about press conduct. Can you tell 2 us a bit about that? Were those from members of the 3 public, from organisations? 4 <b>A. There were entirely letters -- 1,200 of them -- that 5 came into the department in the couple of weeks or so 6 after the death of Diana, all from ordinary members of 7 the public, and the overwhelming burden of those letters 8 was that the actions of the paparazzi were unacceptable, 9 press regulation clearly doesn't work, you, the 10 government, have to do something about it and we need 11 much better protection against intrusion.</b> 12 Q. Apart from the letters that you received at your 13 department, can you give us a flavour of how you could 14 gauge public opinion on this issue at that time? 15 <b>A. It was clearly something that was of general public 16 concern, not just the letters that were coming in to the 17 department but the discussions that were taking place in 18 pubs and buses up and down the country that you pick up 19 from all sorts of different sources, coupled with 20 actually quite a lot of discussion and debate in the 21 media itself about what had happened, and including, of 22 course, lots of letters to the press that gave the 23 public's view alongside the press' view.</b> 24 Q. I think I heard you -- I think I'd be correct in saying 25 that you said that one of the concerns is that</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 14</p>	<p>1 should see the first page is the letter -- do you call 2 that a letter? Memo? Whatever it is. 3 <b>A. Memorandum.</b> 4 Q. Memo that you sent to the Prime Minister on that date, 5 2 September 1997. You make it absolutely clear in the 6 first paragraph that there should be, essentially, 7 abstinence from any substantive comment on the issue 8 immediately. You explain that the issues of press 9 regulation are complex, have a long history -- obviously 10 we know that and we've just been discussing Calcutt and 11 Calcutt 2 -- and then you say this in the third 12 paragraph: 13 "As the first step, it is for newspaper editors and 14 proprietors now urgently to indicate what action they 15 propose to take in the light of the weekend's events." 16 Then you explain that John Wakeham is now engaged in 17 an urgent review with editors and so on. 18 I understand perhaps the concern not to do anything 19 rash and not to make a statement immediately, but why, 20 in your view, was it for newspaper editors and 21 proprietors to do something about it, given the very 22 strong public opinion and sentiment at that time? 23 <b>A. The first thing to say is that I believe it's a very 24 important lesson for governments not to rush into making 25 hasty pronouncements in immediate response to particular</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 16</p>

4 (Pages 13 to 16)

<p>1 events. Much better to consider, to prepare and to come 2 out with statements and judgments that are much more 3 fully formed some time after the event. Indeed, as 4 I said in my memorandum to the Prime Minister: 5 "In due course, however, we shall be called upon to 6 make a clear statement of our position and I shall put 7 proposals to colleagues accordingly." 8 My point about the newspaper editors and proprietors 9 now urgently to indicate what action they propose to 10 take was really to put the onus first of all tonight 11 them, to say, "Look, folks, there's a huge amount of 12 public concern out there. What do you, channelled 13 through the rather able medium of Lord Wakeham, propose 14 to do to change your behaviour?" With the thought that 15 if that was not going to be sufficient, then government 16 might need to bring further pressure to bear 17 subsequently.</p> <p>18 Q. That's what you say in the third paragraph: 19 "This will help establish a benchmark against which 20 to consider whether further government action is 21 needed." 22 A. Yes.</p> <p>23 Q. Am I right in thinking that essentially you said, "You, 24 proprietors and editors, go away and think about it. 25 You come up with a proposal and then we will look at it,</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 17</p>	<p>1 as a spokesman for the press. He was coming forward 2 with ideas and proposals for tightening up the PCC code. 3 He was talking with me about how he intended to get that 4 agreed by the Code Committee, the public statements that 5 he was going to make in order to push the agenda 6 forward. My view was that because he was being so 7 proactive, so keen to make progress on this, that 8 actually that was much the best way of getting the press 9 rowing in behind him.</p> <p>10 One of the other things that he admitted to me in 11 private was he said, "If the government can keep up some 12 external pressure on me, pushing me all the time to go 13 a bit further, then that will be very helpful, he said, 14 in enabling me to make better progress with the editors 15 and proprietors." 16 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: That's: "If you don't do what I say, 17 you're going to get worse"? 18 A. Exactly.</p> <p>19 MS PATRY HOSKINS: Exactly. You described him as regulator. 20 I think he himself said in evidence that he didn't 21 consider himself to be a regulator, but I see your 22 point. 23 A. I think one of the interesting dilemmas of the 24 chairmanship of the PCC, especially at that time -- and 25 I think it endures -- is that the chairman is both and</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 19</p>
<p>1 decide whether it's enough, and if it's not, we might 2 have to propose some further changes ourselves"? 3 A. Yes.</p> <p>4 Q. Is that basically the position? 5 A. Yes, although of course in the discussions that I had 6 with Lord Wakeham a few days after I'd put that 7 memorandum to the Prime Minister, I did push him to go 8 further than he was already, at that stage, proposing to 9 do.</p> <p>10 Q. We'll come onto the first meeting that you had post the 11 death of Diana in a moment. At paragraph 8 of your 12 statement, you tell us that your main point of contact 13 for discussions with the press at that time was 14 Lord Wakeham. You repeated that several times. 15 A. Yes.</p> <p>16 Q. You say that you don't recall much contact with 17 proprietors or editors yourself. I want to understand 18 why it was that that view was taken, that you would 19 simply entrust this discussion that needed to take place 20 with the press and Lord Wakeham. 21 A. I think I took that view at that stage because 22 Lord Wakeham was himself keen to take the initiative and 23 to make the running. I think during that period of the 24 three or four weeks after 31 August, Lord Wakeham acted 25 primarily as a strong regulator of the press rather than</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 18</p>	<p>1 regulator and a champion. There is a very interesting 2 potential conflict in those roles, and although 3 a succession of chairs of the PCC would probably not 4 wish to describe themselves as regulators, they would 5 probably have seen themselves more as mediators. 6 I think the public were expecting them to be regulators, 7 and for that period in the immediate aftermath of the 8 death of Diana, I think John Wakeham was stepping up to 9 the plate and being a regulator.</p> <p>10 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: He was encouraging others to accept 11 restrictions. 12 A. Yes.</p> <p>13 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: But how can you ever be both 14 a regulator and a champion? 15 A. I think the nearest anyone has ever come to it is John 16 Wakeham.</p> <p>17 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: That may be, but are they not not 18 merely not always consistent but actually inconsistent? 19 A. I think they potentially present conflicts but not 20 always, and there are times when being an advocate for 21 the freedom of the press sits relatively easily 22 alongside a role of keeping the press honest in trying 23 to preserve those freedoms, and I think it is possible 24 to be both, but you have to have some pretty clearly 25 defined boundaries and I think they've never been in --</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 20</p>

5 (Pages 17 to 20)

<p>1 <b>in terms of the role of the chairman of the PCC, I don't</b>                  2 <b>think they've ever been as clearly defined as</b>                  3 <b>potentially they ought to be.</b>                  4 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: That's probably the point, because if                  5 I wanted to complain to the PCC, or to a body because                  6 I believed that I'd been unfairly treated by the press,                  7 I'm not sure I would want to go to somebody whose role                  8 in any sense was to be a champion of the press.                  9 <b>A. Perhaps "champion of the press" is not the right term.</b>                  10 <b>"Champion of the freedom of the press" might be a better</b>                  11 <b>are description, because I think it is possible to have</b>                  12 <b>confidence in the ability of someone to adjudicate, to</b>                  13 <b>analyse the information in front of them, to come to</b>                  14 <b>a robust decision against the rules that are laid down,</b>                  15 <b>whilst at the same time defending, in broad and general</b>                  16 <b>terms, the right of free expression in a free society.</b>                  17 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I understand that, but speaking from                  18 a judicial perspective, I think I might be concerned, if                  19 I were a complainant, that such a person might use the                  20 rather imprecise language of the code and define it                  21 against me, rather than absolutely square, because of                  22 their emphatic interest in a free press. Of course one                  23 has to be conscious of the importance of a free press                  24 and the importance of freedom of expression, but I think                  25 that if I were approaching somebody who was tasked with</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 21</p>	<p>1 especially in the light of, for example, events like the                  2 death of Princess Diana.                  3 We turn now to the meeting that you had. You told                  4 the Prime Minister you were going to have a meeting with                  5 Lord Wakeham to discuss potential changes, and you met                  6 with him on 8 September.                  7 If you look behind tab 2, behind the memo that we                  8 were just looking at to the Prime Minister, you will                  9 find a document dated 9 September 1997 which appears to                  10 be a minute of your meeting with Lord Wakeham on                  11 8 September. Do you see that?                  12 <b>A. Yes.</b>                  13 Q. It's prepared by the principal private secretary.                  14 <b>A. Yes.</b>                  15 Q. What you tell us about that meeting in your statement,                  16 before we look at the detail of it, is that you know                  17 that he was seeking urgent changes to the code and that                  18 you suggested further possible measures which could be                  19 contemplated in particular in relation to the actions of                  20 the paparazzi.                  21 If we look at the document itself, the minutes, it's                  22 clear there -- paragraph 2, you say that you welcome                  23 Lord Wakeham's initiative in setting in hand a review of                  24 what can be done to control the activities of the                  25 paparazzi. Then, in paragraph 3, Lord Wakeham explains</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 23</p>
<p>1 judging whether I had a legitimate complaint against the                  2 press, I would want the scales to be square, not tilted.                  3 <b>A. And the scales absolutely have to be square. Because of</b>                  4 <b>the grey area nature of some of the decisions that will</b>                  5 <b>need to be made by any press regulatory body, I can see</b>                  6 <b>absolutely the point about the need for the complainant</b>                  7 <b>to have confidence, but if the rules are as clear as it</b>                  8 <b>is possible to make them and if the process by which the</b>                  9 <b>chairman and the other members of the PCC come to their</b>                  10 <b>conclusions are clear and transparent and follow</b>                  11 <b>absolutely robust procedure, then I think it is possible</b>                  12 <b>for a complainant to have confidence.</b>                  13 MS PATRY HOSKINS: Perhaps we'll come back to discuss this                  14 when we're discussing the role that Lord Wakeham played                  15 during the passing of the human rights bill, but we'll                  16 come back to that in a moment.                  17 We're still going through the chronology. You'll                  18 understand why we're doing this, Lord Smith. If we look                  19 at the terms of reference of this Inquiry, one of the                  20 things that Lord Justice Leveson will have to do is                  21 to -- I just want to quote the exact paragraph:                  22 "... has to consider the extent to which there was                  23 a failure to act on previous warnings about media                  24 misconduct."                  25 So we need to understand what the PCC was doing,</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 22</p>	<p>1 that it might take some time. Paragraph 4, Lord Wakeham                  2 explains the possible programme of action. Paragraph 5,                  3 he explains that this is all going to be set out in                  4 a speech to the London Press Club.                  5 At paragraph 6, your response to that. You welcome                  6 the agenda, you wish him success. It's explained that                  7 you were particularly concerned that there should be                  8 a permanent change in press attitudes and that the press                  9 should not slip back into old ways when the events of                  10 the past week have receded from recent memory. You say                  11 that the government's natural instinct is to strengthen                  12 legislation rather than to introduce any privacy or                  13 harassment legislation and that you would watch                  14 developments with interest.                  15 <b>A. To strengthen self-regulation.</b>                  16 Q. Sorry, strengthen self-regulation.                  17 At paragraph 7, there's then a question on timescale                  18 able and then there's a discussion right at the end on                  19 procedural matters, ie whether it should be disclosed                  20 that a meeting has taken place.                  21 I don't see any reference in that to you saying,                  22 Lord Smith -- well, you say in your statement that you                  23 suggested further possible measures that could be taken.                  24 I don't see any mention of this. I'm wondering whether                  25 that's been missed out in the minute or --</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 24</p>

<p>1 <b>A. There are some references where Lord Wakeham was</b>                  2 <b>explaining his proposals. Under (c) I say -- it says:</b>                  3 <b>"The Secretary of State stressed that it was</b>                  4 <b>important to address the means by which photographs were</b>                  5 <b>taken rather than their source."</b>                  6 <b>Which reflects back on some of those points about</b>                  7 <b>the paparazzi that I made in my statement. And then,</b>                  8 <b>under (e):</b>                  9 <b>"The Secretary of State suggested that the press</b>                  10 <b>might, on such occasions, agree to take pooled</b>                  11 <b>photographs. Mr Phillips [who was my official] noted</b>                  12 <b>that there was precedent for press co-operation in the</b>                  13 <b>matter of news blackouts."</b>                  14 <b>Then, under (f):</b>                  15 <b>"The Secretary of State said that Lord Wakeham might</b>                  16 <b>also usefully look at the definition of the public</b>                  17 <b>interest defence in the code, which he noted was more</b>                  18 <b>widely drawn than that favoured either by the Calcutt or</b>                  19 <b>Select Committee reports."</b>                  20 <b>So there were various points where Lord Wakeham was</b>                  21 <b>saying, "I'm proposing this", where I was saying, "How</b>                  22 <b>about going a bit further and doing that?"</b>                  23 Q. Okay, so there was a discussion about options. You then                  24 tell us in your statement at paragraph 11 that you kept                  25 in regular contact with him and his office over the</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 25</p>	<p>1 following the death of Diana to Lord Wakeham. The                  2 government could have been more proactive, it might be                  3 said, during that period, in essentially suggesting                  4 changes. Would that be a fair assessment or --                  5 <b>A. I don't think that would be fair at all because the</b>                  6 <b>discussions that we had on 8 September were very much</b>                  7 <b>an assessment of what he was proposing, coupled with</b>                  8 <b>a range of proposals that I was making. In the</b>                  9 <b>subsequent couple of weeks, there was further discussion</b>                  10 <b>between our offices, so the government were keeping very</b>                  11 <b>much in touch with what Lord Wakeham was proposing. Our</b>                  12 <b>view was that it was up to him to come forward with</b>                  13 <b>proposals at this stage. It wasn't up to the government</b>                  14 <b>to come forward with proposals.</b>                  15 Q. Right.                  16 <b>A. When I met with him again on 24 September, the three</b>                  17 <b>principal things that I said -- basically I said to him</b>                  18 <b>at that point: "You've done pretty well to get this</b>                  19 <b>far", which he had, and he had been, I think, remarkably</b>                  20 <b>successful in getting some rather reluctant press</b>                  21 <b>editors and proprietors to agree to a range of changes.</b>                  22 <b>But the three things that I said, "Really, this isn't</b>                  23 <b>good enough yet" were firstly the need for the PCC --</b>                  24 Q. Can I interrupt you just so we can actually be looking                  25 at the minutes of the meeting of 24 September. It's not</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 27</p>
<p>1 following three weeks as he worked up his proposition                  2 for changes to the code. So he worked them up. Did you                  3 have any other input into the changes? Other than that                  4 discussion on 8 September and the discussions that you                  5 made, did you have any other formal input into the                  6 changes that he ended up proposing?                  7 <b>A. There was no -- until 24 September, which was the day</b>                  8 <b>before he made his public statement, when I next met</b>                  9 <b>him, there was no formal meeting, and as far as I am</b>                  10 <b>aware, there was no formal correspondence during that</b>                  11 <b>time, but there would almost certainly have been</b>                  12 <b>discussions between my private office and his office at</b>                  13 <b>the PCC about the evolving nature of what was happening.</b>                  14 Q. Tell me if my assessment is unfair, but the impression                  15 that's coming out here is that Princess Diana dies and                  16 effectively you write to the Prime Minister and you say,                  17 "Well, don't do anything hasty, I'm going to be meeting                  18 with Lord Wakeham and I'll discuss with him what the                  19 right thing to do is, and then if anything else needs to                  20 be done, the government can have a think about that."                  21 You then meet with Lord Wakeham and have an informal                  22 discussion about the proposed changes. He works up the                  23 proposals and on 25 September he's, essentially worked                  24 up the proposals himself. One might say that the                  25 government essentially handed over all responsibility</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 26</p>	<p>1 an exam. You can look at what you actually said. It's                  2 just on from tab 2. It's minutes dated 29 September                  3 1997, but they refer to the meeting on 24 September. Do                  4 you see that?                  5 <b>A. Yes.</b>                  6 Q. We can see there from paragraph 2 that you do say quite                  7 clearly: "Thank you very much for your proposals but the                  8 press must stay in the letter and spirit of                  9 undertakings", and that there remain areas in which the                  10 press needs to make further progress.                  11 Then, over the page at paragraph 5, this is where                  12 you set out that there are three further areas where the                  13 Press Complaints Commission needs to address.                  14 I interrupted you when you were about to tell us what                  15 those were.                  16 <b>A. These were indeed what I was recalling as being the</b>                  17 <b>three principal areas where I thought further progress</b>                  18 <b>was absolutely needed.</b>                  19 <b>The first was the issue of sanctions. The second</b>                  20 <b>was the definition of the public interest used to</b>                  21 <b>justify intrusion, and the third was the way in which</b>                  22 <b>the Commission's procedures were pretty much entirely</b>                  23 <b>reactive rather than proactive or intervening before the</b>                  24 <b>event.</b>                  25 Q. Of course, if we look back in the note to paragraph 4,</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 28</p>

<p>1 two of these issues are ones where Lord Wakeham had said                  2 to you, in effect: "I've been able to make absolutely no                  3 headway on these points." Look at paragraph 4:                  4 "He explained that there were two issues on which he                  5 had been unable to make headway [presumably with editors                  6 and proprietors]. The first was on sanctions against                  7 newspapers that broke the code. This needed a great                  8 deal more thought."                  9 Then on the issue of children of well-known figures,                  10 that's fine, but they wouldn't accept that spouses                  11 should be similarly protected. Do you see that?                  12 <b>A. Yeah. On the first issue of sanctions, I think we all</b>                  13 <b>accepted that this was a very difficult area. It's</b>                  14 <b>still a very difficult area, referring back to our</b>                  15 <b>exchange earlier on about the rather effective sanctions</b>                  16 <b>that are available to the ASA that would not be</b>                  17 <b>similarly translatable to any revamped press regulatory</b>                  18 <b>body.</b>                  19 <b>The issues of the definition of "public interest"</b>                  20 <b>and the proactive role that the PCC could or ought to</b>                  21 <b>play, those had not, at that stage, as far as I can</b>                  22 <b>recall, been part of the Lord Wakeham agenda. He did</b>                  23 <b>develop a procedure subsequently where he personally</b>                  24 <b>would intervene with editors prior to a story appearing,</b>                  25 <b>but that was very much part of his personal style and</b>                  Page 29</p>	<p>1 <b>difficulties in this whole area is that the balance of</b>                  2 <b>power between government and the press is a complex</b>                  3 <b>matter and one which -- there tends to be much more</b>                  4 <b>equality of power than there is with the role of</b>                  5 <b>government in many other areas of national life. There</b>                  6 <b>are moments when the balance changes in the government's</b>                  7 <b>favour, and the death of Diana was one such moment,</b>                  8 <b>where there was clear public demand for change. And so</b>                  9 <b>the changes that were put in place -- and there were</b>                  10 <b>quite a considerable number of changes that Lord Wakeham</b>                  11 <b>was able to put in place at that point -- were able to</b>                  12 <b>be carried through, sometimes, I suspect, with gritted</b>                  13 <b>teeth amongst the editors and proprietors, because there</b>                  14 <b>was a public wind at the back of change. But that</b>                  15 <b>moment did not last for terribly long, and the</b>                  16 <b>equilibrium returned more or less to normal, which makes</b>                  17 <b>it very difficult for government to take strident steps</b>                  18 <b>to restrain press activity.</b>                  19 <b>I would suggest that we are living through currently</b>                  20 <b>another such moment, where the balance has changed and</b>                  21 <b>it is possible to make further progress, but these are</b>                  22 <b>moments that have been seized.</b>                  23 Q. Princess Diana died on 31 August 1997 and you were                  24 Secretary of State until 2001. Just looking back over                  25 your years, how long did that period last, where there                  Page 31</p>
<p>1 <b>relationship with editors rather than a wholesale change</b>                  2 <b>in the reactive/proactive nature of the way the PCC</b>                  3 <b>worked.</b>                  4 Q. Can I stick on sanctions for the moment. It's clear                  5 from this minute of the meeting -- two things are clear.                  6 The first is that Lord Wakeham says, "Look, I've made no                  7 headway on sanctions. I'll need to give that a great                  8 deal more thought."                  9 Secondly, you say, "Despite that, frankly, it's one                  10 area which you need to address. It's something which                  11 still firmly remains on the agenda." Am I fairly                  12 assessing it?                  13 <b>A. Yes.</b>                  14 Q. We know from the announcement the very next day that                  15 sanctions did not form part of the changes proposed by                  16 Lord Wakeham and in fact they never did form part of any                  17 of the changes ever proposed by Lord Wakeham. Did you                  18 take any steps yourself to move forward the agenda on                  19 this issue or any other steps to ensure that this was an                  20 issue that continued to be reviewed and taken seriously                  21 by the PCC?                  22 <b>A. It's something that I raised from time to time, but I</b>                  23 <b>have to say with as little success subsequently as</b>                  24 <b>Lord Wakeham himself had had at that early outset.</b>                  25 <b>I suppose it's worth saying that one of the</b>                  Page 30</p>	<p>1 was that window of opportunity to make a difference?                  2 <b>A. Probably, I would estimate, for no more than two or</b>                  3 <b>three months.</b>                  4 Q. Okay. And after that, what? The position became much                  5 as it had been when you first took office?                  6 <b>A. Yes, although we did have a considerable amount of</b>                  7 <b>discussion, of course, as I've reflected in my</b>                  8 <b>statement, about the incorporation of the European</b>                  9 <b>Convention on Human Rights into British law and the</b>                  10 <b>potential impact that that might have on the press and</b>                  11 <b>press freedom and also on press activity.</b>                  12 Q. We'll come back to that. Moving through the chronology,                  13 we know that the next day after this meeting,                  14 Lord Wakeham's proposals were published and you describe                  15 the proposed changes in some detail in your statement.                  16 You explain that these included increased protection                  17 against the publication of photographs obtained by                  18 persistent pursuit or in places which might legitimately                  19 be regarded as private, extended protection for children                  20 between 16 and 21 -- of course, that was in direct                  21 response to the protection needed for the young princes                  22 who had lost their mother -- a ban on payment to minors                  23 for stories, requirements for intrusion into grief or                  24 shock to be handled with sympathy and then various other                  25 small changes, including a small change to the "public                  Page 32</p>



<p>1 interest" definition.</p> <p>2 You say that on the day of publication you issued</p> <p>3 a press release welcoming the changes but still saying</p> <p>4 that, yes, the PCC had done well, but that you expected</p> <p>5 newspapers to abide by all of this and that you expected</p> <p>6 the Commissioner and the newspaper industry to take the</p> <p>7 process of self-regulation even further.</p> <p>8 So again, we get the same scenario: yes, you've done</p> <p>9 well, but you kept pushing to say, "I want you to</p> <p>10 continue to do rather more." Would be that a fair</p> <p>11 assessment?</p> <p>12 <b>A. That would be an entirely fair assessment, yes.</b></p> <p>13 Q. At that stage, you said in evidence earlier that one of</p> <p>14 the reasons you were pushing is because Lord Wakeham had</p> <p>15 asked you to. Essentially he'd said, "Look, if you put</p> <p>16 a bit of pressure on me, then it would be easier for</p> <p>17 editors and proprietors to accept the changes I've</p> <p>18 proposed."</p> <p>19 So were you pushing because essentially there was</p> <p>20 this discussion with Lord Wakeham about needing to keep</p> <p>21 up the pressure or was the pressure because you</p> <p>22 genuinely believed or thought that you could actually</p> <p>23 push them into doing rather more?</p> <p>24 <b>A. The answer is both.</b></p> <p>25 Q. Did you ever achieve any more than Lord Wakeham himself</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 33</p>	<p>1 <b>major things that I kept on pressing.</b></p> <p>2 Q. You tell us, in effect -- in fact, expressly -- in</p> <p>3 paragraph 15 that you made no headway with the proposals</p> <p>4 that you would have liked to see, but of course all</p> <p>5 Lord Wakeham's proposals did translate to changes to the</p> <p>6 code. Why was that? Why was it that he was able to be</p> <p>7 successful where you were not?</p> <p>8 <b>A. Well, he was able to be successful because the proposals</b></p> <p>9 <b>that he was making were relatively modest. The</b></p> <p>10 <b>proposals that I was making would have been considerably</b></p> <p>11 <b>stronger in their impact on the press.</b></p> <p>12 <b>The other reason that I suspect he was quite</b></p> <p>13 <b>successful was that there was external pressure, both</b></p> <p>14 <b>from ourselves in government but also from the public,</b></p> <p>15 <b>and the editors and proprietors at that time recognised</b></p> <p>16 <b>they had to do something in order to demonstrate that</b></p> <p>17 <b>they had learnt some lessons.</b></p> <p>18 Q. You've described three things that you would have done</p> <p>19 that you think would have made a difference. Are there</p> <p>20 any other steps that you think you could have taken to</p> <p>21 advance those in any way?</p> <p>22 <b>A. Short of introducing government legislation, probably</b></p> <p>23 <b>not, because bringing pressure to bear both on the PCC</b></p> <p>24 <b>and more generally on the press through public</b></p> <p>25 <b>statements and speeches and so on were the tried and</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 35</p>
<p>1 put forward.</p> <p>2 <b>A. No, and it's a matter of some regret to me that I didn't</b></p> <p>3 <b>perhaps often enough return to the fray subsequently</b></p> <p>4 <b>over the course of the following three years.</b></p> <p>5 Q. In paragraph 13 of your statement, you tell us that you</p> <p>6 wanted to keep the pressure up on the PCC in light of</p> <p>7 these proposals. On 25 November, you wrote a minute to</p> <p>8 the Prime Minister essentially circulated to all Cabinet</p> <p>9 colleagues, saying:</p> <p>10 "Although these proposals are a welcome step,</p> <p>11 I don't think they go far enough to ensure a proper</p> <p>12 balance between the freedom of the press and the rights</p> <p>13 of the individual."</p> <p>14 You've just told us that you never did achieve the</p> <p>15 changes that you would have liked to see. Two things,</p> <p>16 really. Which changes do you think would have made</p> <p>17 a difference? Two, why do you think that they weren't</p> <p>18 achieved?</p> <p>19 <b>A. I think the three principal changes that I think had</b></p> <p>20 <b>crystallised in my mind and in the mind of government</b></p> <p>21 <b>colleagues following the meeting on 24 September with</b></p> <p>22 <b>Lord Wakeham were those three that we identified from</b></p> <p>23 <b>that meeting which related to sanctions, the definition</b></p> <p>24 <b>of public interest and the potential for the PCC to</b></p> <p>25 <b>become most proactive, and I think those were the three</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 34</p>	<p>1 <b>tested ways of bringing government pressure to bear.</b></p> <p>2 <b>The possibility of including legislation was something</b></p> <p>3 <b>that I was very anxious to avoid, if at all possible.</b></p> <p>4 Q. I'm told that Guy Black -- if you give me a moment, I'm</p> <p>5 just going to look at the note we were just looking at</p> <p>6 of your meeting. (Pause)</p> <p>7 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I'll ask a question, which might take</p> <p>8 Ms Patry Hoskins slightly out of order, but she can</p> <p>9 revert. It is a matter of fact, isn't it, that the</p> <p>10 calamity of the press behaviour in relation to</p> <p>11 Princess Diana, which led to this activity and some</p> <p>12 change was then followed by the activity of the press</p> <p>13 revealed in Motorman in 2002, and the activity of the</p> <p>14 press revealed by phone hacking in the same period. So</p> <p>15 the moment might only have been a moment, but it wasn't</p> <p>16 really very enduring.</p> <p>17 <b>A. I think there were some changes that did endure, but as</b></p> <p>18 <b>I say, I think in paragraph 20 of my submission, where</b></p> <p>19 <b>I say:</b></p> <p>20 <b>"Looking back, I should probably have been more</b></p> <p>21 <b>active in continuing to press the case for further</b></p> <p>22 <b>change, especially once the immediate public concerns</b></p> <p>23 <b>had died down."</b></p> <p>24 <b>And just earlier in that paragraph I say:</b></p> <p>25 <b>"Lord Wakeham's changes did lead, for a period at</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 36</p>

<p>1 <b>least, to more acceptable behaviour on the part of the</b> 2 <b>press."</b></p> <p>3 <b>I'm afraid that after a while, some old habits began</b> 4 <b>to creep back.</b></p> <p>5 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: But isn't that the problem with all 6 this? One can go back to the end of the last war -- and 7 I've said this several times in the course of the 8 Inquiry. Royal Commission, behaviour improves. Royal 9 Commission, behaviour approves. Calcutt 1, behaviour 10 doesn't really improve. Calcutt 2, slight changes. 11 Then this, Princess Diana, and try a little harder 12 again. Then all these other things and nothing much 13 happens and it all goes to bed and then the Guardian and 14 eventually -- we don't need to recount recent history. 15 How many times can we do this?</p> <p>16 <b>A. I think it's probably fair to say that for the two or</b> 17 <b>three years following the Wakeham changes immediately</b> 18 <b>after the death of Diana, the conduct of the press did</b> 19 <b>improve. Certainly in terms of the specifics of the</b> 20 <b>changes, their approach to the coverage of the princes,</b> 21 <b>handling of children and minors, some of the intrusive</b> 22 <b>taking of photographs, there was a palpable change of</b> 23 <b>behaviour. But after that two to three-year period,</b> 24 <b>I think it began to slip, and as we know from all the</b> 25 <b>evidence that you've been receiving, it slipped</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 37</p>	<p>1 <b>and especially, I hesitate to say, you, sir -- where all</b> 2 <b>of us have to get to. The difficulty is finding the</b> 3 <b>precise framework that will take us there.</b></p> <p>4 <b>There are clearly activities which are plainly</b> 5 <b>illegal. For those, having robust legal sanctions in</b> 6 <b>place is obviously the way to go. There are other</b> 7 <b>behaviours which are intrusive, which are unnecessarily</b> 8 <b>damaging to individuals, which are unpleasant and</b> 9 <b>unsavoury, and which need to be somehow curbed and</b> 10 <b>controlled --</b></p> <p>11 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Except where there's a dramatic and 12 obvious public interest.</p> <p>13 <b>A. Yes.</b></p> <p>14 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: And I recognise that, but if one just 15 takes your first point first, plainly illegal, robust 16 legal sanctions, this goes back to the example 17 I provided the other day. Many persons have sat there 18 and said, "Well, this isn't really a failure of the 19 press; this is a failure of the criminal law", and I ask 20 whether speeding is a failure of the criminal law or the 21 offence of the motorist who is speeding, and whether we 22 don't have to have a system whereby the press accept 23 they don't need a policeman sitting at their shoulder 24 and to say, "Well, you can't blame us for doing this, 25 that or the other because the law was there and didn't</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 39</p>
<p>1 <b>grievously in quite a number of ways.</b></p> <p>2 <b>The dilemma always is the freedom of one newspaper</b> 3 <b>to engage in inappropriate activity is the freedom of</b> 4 <b>another newspaper to investigate what they're doing --</b></p> <p>5 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: No, with great respect, I don't 6 accept that that --</p> <p>7 <b>A. I don't equate them, I have to say, but one of my</b> 8 <b>reasons for wanting to find a way of securing the</b> 9 <b>genuine freedom of the press, whilst at the same time</b> 10 <b>ensuring that behaviour is proper -- and that's a very</b> 11 <b>difficult equations to make. One of my reasons for</b> 12 <b>wanting to do that is that the freedom of the press can</b> 13 <b>result in real public interest being secured.</b></p> <p>14 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I have no doubt about that at all, 15 and I remain obviously open to persuasion, but I do not 16 accept that there would be any curtailment on the 17 freedom of the press to hold all those in office to 18 account, whether they be politicians, local government 19 workers, health service workers, judges, or to indulge 20 in investigative journalism, is imperilled by a system 21 that prevents the type of behaviour which I've heard so 22 much about in the last few months.</p> <p>23 Now, if you think I'm wrong about that, I'd be very, 24 very interested to hear it.</p> <p>25 <b>A. You're not wrong at all and that must be what all of us,</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 38</p>	<p>1 enforce the law" is, to my mind, not an argument that 2 causes me to be sympathetic to the view, but tell me. 3 It's your evidence, not mine.</p> <p>4 <b>A. No, clearly someone who breaks the law, it is their</b> 5 <b>responsibility for having done so. One of the problems,</b> 6 <b>I suspect, in all of this is the culture that develops</b> 7 <b>within the press -- not all parts of the press, but in</b> 8 <b>some parts of the press -- where it is assumed that the</b> 9 <b>end justifies the means, and the press needs to remind</b> 10 <b>itself that that is not always the case. But how we</b> 11 <b>produce a framework which enables the culture to change</b> 12 <b>and to change permanently rather than just for another</b> 13 <b>two or three years, that's what needs to be tried for.</b> 14 <b>I doubt if we'll get it perfect, but it can be better</b> 15 <b>than it is now.</b></p> <p>16 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I can live with something short of 17 perfect. What I personally would find it extremely 18 difficult to live with is improving things for two 19 years, because I would feel that a lot of people had 20 spent a lot of money and put a lot of effort into not 21 very much.</p> <p>22 <b>A. Mm.</b></p> <p>23 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: And that's everybody here and 24 everybody who's sat where you're sitting, those who have 25 told about the invasions of their privacy, who've gone</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 40</p>

10 (Pages 37 to 40)

<p>1 through the process of giving evidence in public to 2 identify the extent to which they've suffered at the 3 hands of the press, and the public money. So two years 4 would represent, for me, a real failure, I think.</p> <p>5 <b>A. And I have to hold up my hands and say the changes which 6 we were able to secure in 1997 and which lasted for 7 a two to three-year period in terms of their impact and 8 effect, I regret that I didn't see properly at the time 9 that this wasn't enough and we should have pushed 10 further.</b></p> <p>11 MS PATRY HOSKINS: Of course, one of the changes that was 12 made in that two to three-year period was the coming 13 into force of the human rights bill becoming the Human 14 Rights Act. Can I touch on that briefly. We've 15 discussed it with Lord Wakeham.</p> <p>16 You tell us at paragraph 16 that fairly soon after 17 all these discussions about changes to the code, the 18 focus changed because there was now a government 19 proposal to incorporate the Human Rights Convention into 20 British law. You tell us that getting the balance right 21 between articles 8 and 10 was something that you were 22 very anxious to secure and there were many discussions 23 within government, and between yourself and the PCC and 24 editors at that stage, to establish how you could best 25 achieve your objectives.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 41</p>	<p>1 that he thought, "I may as well aim high and then we'll 2 end up with a compromise", I think. Is that your 3 recollection, that he was responsible essentially for 4 tabling that particular issue?</p> <p>5 <b>A. I think he and others. I don't think he was solely 6 responsible, but he was a very effective voice in 7 arguing that case and certainly he gave every impression 8 at the time of believing in it rather more than as 9 a tactic.</b></p> <p>10 <b>As I point out in my evidence, there were some quite 11 robust discussions within government on this subject, 12 and the law offices in particular were powerfully 13 opposed to any suggestion that the press or the PCC, as 14 public bodies, should be exempt from the provisions of 15 the privacy part of the Convention.</b></p> <p>16 Q. Of course that didn't happen. We ended up with 17 section 12.</p> <p>18 <b>A. Yes.</b></p> <p>19 Q. But what I want to ask you is about the appropriateness 20 of the chairman of the PCC essentially lobbying for 21 a complete exemption and then eventually being one of 22 the parties to the agreement, to the solution, which 23 ended up being section 12. In your view, is that an 24 appropriate thing for the chairman of the PCC to do?</p> <p>25 <b>A. As things stood at the time, I think the role that</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 43</p>
<p>1 At paragraph 17 you say: 2 "The press argued strongly that they were worried 3 that the human rights bill would introduce a judge-made 4 law of privacy by the back door as cases were gradually 5 brought. They were demanding at the outset that the PCC 6 and the press should be exempted from the provisions of 7 the human rights bill."</p> <p>8 When you say "the press" were arguing strongly and 9 then you go on to say "they were demanding that the 10 press and the PCC should be essentially exempted", do 11 you mean Lord Wakeham?</p> <p>12 <b>A. No, I mean both the press and Lord Wakeham. It was an 13 argument that was being put quite strongly by a number 14 of editors and proprietors, by Sir David English 15 particularly, who was the chairman of the PCC Code 16 Committee, and by Lord Wakeham, and in a way, when we 17 got to these few months of discussion about the Human 18 Rights Act, Lord Wakeham had moved from being in 19 regulator mode, which he had been the 20 previous September, into being champion of the freedom 21 of the press mode by the time we got to these 22 discussions.</b></p> <p>23 Q. He suggested that the press should be exempted from the 24 provisions of the human rights bill initially. He 25 explained to us that that was a tactic, essentially,</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 42</p>	<p>1 <b>Lord Wakeham played in relation to the press meant that 2 if you wanted to find a collective view that was likely 3 to find purchase across the editors and proprietors of 4 the press -- remember, these are fiercely competing 5 individuals quite a lot of the time -- if you wanted to 6 secure a collective view, then Lord Wakeham was the 7 route to channel it. So I think at the time everyone 8 accepted that this was an appropriate role for him, both 9 as an individual but also as chairman of the PCC, to 10 play.</b></p> <p>11 <b>If you ask me in general terms: "Is it an 12 appropriate thing for the body that regulates the 13 press?", probably I would have to say now: no.</b></p> <p>14 Q. You then go on in your witness statement at paragraph 20 15 to say that you believed at the time the changes were 16 made that they'd make some difference but you didn't 17 believe that they would resolve the problems completely. 18 With hindsight, the view is stronger. You say the 19 changes led to a period where some more acceptable 20 behaviour took place but then you say -- and you've 21 already touched on this: 22 "I'm afraid that after a while, some old habits 23 began to creep back, and in any case there had been 24 little progress on proactive work by the PCC on the 25 public interest test and on effective sanctions."</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 44</p>

<p>1 You go on to say at the end of the paragraph that                  2 you still believe, despite this, that strong                  3 self-regulation is the right answer but it does have to                  4 be demonstrably strong and that can't be said of the PCC                  5 at present.                  6 Earlier when you gave evidence, you had an exchange                  7 with Lord Justice Leveson about the ASA example and you                  8 were asked a number of questions about whether or not                  9 that example could successfully translate to a new                  10 regulatory body which regulates the press. We've                  11 covered that in some detail now. Is there anything else                  12 that you would like to say? You cover this at                  13 paragraphs 22 and 23 of your statement, if you want to                  14 refresh your memory on what you've said to us in                  15 writing. Is there anything in particular that you would                  16 like to add to what you've already said?                  17 <b>A. I think the two things I would add, apart from the</b>                  18 <b>importance of perceptible independence of the council</b>                  19 <b>that makes the decisions, are firstly finding effective</b>                  20 <b>sanctions in relation to the press -- the most obvious</b>                  21 <b>sanction would be a requirement for equal prominence.</b>                  22 <b>A system of fines of some kind has been mooted many</b>                  23 <b>times. Very difficult to put in place, but nonetheless</b>                  24 <b>should certainly be considered as a way of toughening</b>                  25 <b>the ability of the PCC or its successor to make</b>                  Page 45</p>	<p>1 <b>enable decisions of a self-regulatory body to be</b>                  2 <b>enforced effectively might well have quite a lot to be</b>                  3 <b>said for them. Rather than having direct statutory</b>                  4 <b>control or direct -- a government-appointed body making</b>                  5 <b>the decision --</b>                  6 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: There's no question of my going                  7 towards a government-appointed regulation.                  8 <b>A. If you still maintain a body that is voluntarily put</b>                  9 <b>together by the press, as we discussed earlier on, but</b>                  10 <b>make sure that its decisions are enforceable by having</b>                  11 <b>some sort of statutory authority underpinning it,</b>                  12 <b>I think that might provide a more effective ability to</b>                  13 <b>have -- for the press to have regard to.</b>                  14 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Just think about the word                  15 "voluntarily". If the ASA did not exist, Ofcom would                  16 have to do it.                  17 <b>A. In relation to broadcast media, yes.</b>                  18 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes, or the OFT.                  19 <b>A. In relation to the non-broadcast media, there is no</b>                  20 <b>statutory provision about advertising responsibility.</b>                  21 <b>If the ASA didn't exist, I suspect any government would</b>                  22 <b>have to put together something to replace it.</b>                  23 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes.                  24 <b>A. But the industry has always -- the advertising industry</b>                  25 <b>has always recognised that in order for advertising to</b>                  Page 47</p>
<p>1 a newspaper recognise that it has made a mistake and to                  2 deter it from making a similar mistake again.                  3 The other point I'd make is that ultimately the ASA                  4 system has two statutory backstops. In relation to the                  5 non-broadcast media, it's currently the Office of Fair                  6 Trading.                  7 Q. Yes.                  8 <b>A. In relation to the broadcast media, it's Ofcom. Indeed,</b>                  9 <b>all our work in the broadcast arena is done on</b>                  10 <b>a co-regulatory basis on Ofcom's behalf rather than on</b>                  11 <b>a self-regulatory basis.</b>                  12 I think having those back stops in place, which are                  13 hardly ever invoked -- we've referred, I think, two                  14 companies to the OFT in the course of the last four                  15 years. One was Ryanair, one was Groupon. In the case                  16 of Ofcom, I think there have been one or two cases of                  17 Ofcom taking over a licence inquiry into a particular                  18 broadcaster because of a persistent offence. So very                  19 rarely invoked, but the existence of the backstop means                  20 that our adjudications are probably taken more seriously                  21 by the people who receive them than if the backstops did                  22 not exist.                  23 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Why shouldn't that happen for the                  24 press?                  25 <b>A. I think the potential for having a backstop in order to</b>                  Page 46</p>	<p>1 be effective, it has to have some degree of trust from                  2 consumers, and this is a way for them of ensuring that                  3 it happens.                  4 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes. But again, as I'm examining in                  5 my mind, of course, you are viewing whether the                  6 advertisement placed fits the standards that you                  7 identify.                  8 <b>A. Yes.</b>                  9 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: So to that extent, the criticism that                  10 you make is directed not to the medium through which the                  11 advertisement is being put out to be the public; it's                  12 directed to the person who is putting the advertisement                  13 out.                  14 <b>A. Yes. It is the advertiser who is -- who carries</b>                  15 <b>responsibility for the advertisement, although, having</b>                  16 <b>said that, in the case of broadcast advertising, it is</b>                  17 <b>the broadcaster who ultimately carries responsibility,</b>                  18 <b>but they will, of course, pray in aid the case that the</b>                  19 <b>advertiser themselves has made to them.</b>                  20 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes, and to such extent as they've                  21 been convinced by the advertiser, then doubtless they                  22 will have remedies back against the advertiser. I'm not                  23 trying to look at the contractual arrangements. But                  24 there isn't that same one stage removed in relation to                  25 the press.                  Page 48</p>

<p>1 <b>A. That is indeed true and that is why it is more difficult</b>  2 <b>both to devise sanctions but also to get buy-in from</b>  3 <b>right across the press. One of the reasons the ASA</b>  4 <b>system is effective is that there is buy-in across the</b>  5 <b>whole of the advertising industry. Everywhere</b>  6 <b>recognises that this is a system that ultimately</b>  7 <b>protects advertising, and simply -- for example, good</b>  8 <b>companies who are good advertisers, who follow the code,</b>  9 <b>don't want to be undercut by bad advertisers who don't</b>  10 <b>follow the code. They want to see the system operating</b>  11 <b>robustly. You don't have the same immediate buy-in</b>  12 <b>across the press.</b></p> <p>13 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: No, and indeed the finance -- it's  14 financed by advertising revenues, which is slightly  15 different from the way in which -- who is paying for the  16 regulation of the press.</p> <p>17 <b>A. The ASA system is financed by a 0.1 per cent levy on all</b>  18 <b>advertising spend, whereas, of course, the PCC is</b>  19 <b>financed by direct contributions from newspaper groups.</b></p> <p>20 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes. The other problem of the system  21 as present which you've really identified is it depends  22 to a very, very large extent on finding an individual  23 human being who is capable of commanding the respect of  24 the entire press, the confidence of the public and the  25 confidence of the government and/or politicians and all</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 49</p>	<p>1 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: What you're championing then is your  2 code, actually.</p> <p>3 <b>A. Yes.</b></p> <p>4 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: You're not championing the industry;  5 you're championing the code and the effectiveness of the  6 code.</p> <p>7 <b>A. Absolutely.</b></p> <p>8 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Which is rather different.</p> <p>9 <b>A. Yes.</b></p> <p>10 MS PATRY HOSKINS: Lord Smith, those were all my questions.  11 Is there anything that you would like to add?</p> <p>12 <b>A. There's just one further point that I would add, rather</b>  13 <b>separate from most of the issues that we've been</b>  14 <b>discussing and which has risen in one or two discussions</b>  15 <b>in the House of Lords recently. That is in relation to</b>  16 <b>decisions that are taken at the moment by secretaries of</b>  17 <b>state about issues of media ownership and control.</b>  18 <b>I believe very strongly, looking back on my time at</b>  19 <b>Secretary of State but also looking at what's happened</b>  20 <b>subsequently, that those decisions should almost</b>  21 <b>certainly not rest with a political figure, however</b>  22 <b>honourable that person may be. That decisions about</b>  23 <b>applying the public interest plurality tests to media</b>  24 <b>ownership issues are matters that should be for either</b>  25 <b>the Competition Commission or Ofcom or both, and should</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 51</p>
<p>1 those who might be affected. That itself may be  2 a pretty big ask.</p> <p>3 <b>A. It's a very big ask, and the nearest we have ever come</b>  4 <b>to it was Lord Wakeham, who did, I think, in both the</b>  5 <b>changes that he managed to persuade the press to accept</b>  6 <b>and the way in which he followed them through, I think</b>  7 <b>he was -- he did an outstanding job. It is an almost</b>  8 <b>impossible task for any one individual to do.</b></p> <p>9 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: And in the context of also allowing  10 him to be described as a champion, becomes even more  11 difficult.</p> <p>12 <b>A. I can absolutely see the dilemma in this dual role that</b>  13 <b>he performed and that up to now chairmen and women of</b>  14 <b>the PCC have performed.</b></p> <p>15 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Well, the default position more  16 recently has been: "We weren't regulators at all", which  17 means the press aren't regulated, if that's right.</p> <p>18 <b>A. And I think one of the important things that I think in</b>  19 <b>any reformed PCC is that it has primarily to regard</b>  20 <b>itself as a regulator. Certainly the ASA views itself</b>  21 <b>as a regulator.</b></p> <p>22 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Not a champion of advertising.</p> <p>23 <b>A. No, although we will, from time to time, remind the</b>  24 <b>world that 99 per cent of advertising does not break the</b>  25 <b>code and is indeed legal, decent, honest and truthful.</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 50</p>	<p>1 <b>not rest in the hands of a Secretary of State.</b></p> <p>2 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: How would one then ensure that the  3 public interest, which politicians are elected to serve  4 and are mandated to serve by those that elect them, are  5 represented in the decision-making that must flow?</p> <p>6 <b>A. Because, sir, they would place a very clear requirement</b>  7 <b>on Ofcom or the Competition Commission to judge the</b>  8 <b>public interest when coming to their decision and</b>  9 <b>presumably that decision would be reviewable by a court</b>  10 <b>if it were inadequately made.</b></p> <p>11 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: But, as I'm sure you know, the  12 decisions which we review and which I have reviewed in  13 a different life always provide within them room for  14 a policy view which is not irrational or which does not  15 taking into account considerations which are irrelevant  16 or not taking account of considerations which are  17 relevant -- the Wednesbury test -- and I'm not sure the  18 court is an appropriate vehicle to make policy  19 decisions. I'm just wondering how you would ensure that  20 the government, who will have a view about policy,  21 should be able adequately and appropriately to feed into  22 the decision of whichever body is charged with making  23 the decision.</p> <p>24 To some extent it's all -- it's the question of the  25 democratic deficit, isn't it?</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 52</p>

<p>1 <b>A. Yes, but also there must be protection against any</b>                  2 <b>possible suggestion of a decision being made for</b>                  3 <b>partisan political reasons rather than for reasons of</b>                  4 <b>the national interest.</b>                  5 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Of course.                  6 <b>A. And so enabling a government view to be stated openly,</b>                  7 <b>transparently, put into the process alongside the</b>                  8 <b>overriding principle of the public interest as</b>                  9 <b>identified in legislation, and then to have an entirely</b>                  10 <b>impartial body then making the decision seems to be much</b>                  11 <b>better than placing what is ultimately going to be</b>                  12 <b>a potentially intolerable burden on an individual</b>                  13 <b>Secretary of State.</b>                  14 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Not least because I think somebody                  15 has said somewhere, either in the Inquiry or elsewhere,                  16 that every politician would have a strong view on some                  17 topics, one way or the other, and it then becomes                  18 difficult for them to exercise an independent national                  19 interest mind.                  20 <b>A. Absolutely. I know in a very small way -- and I hold</b>                  21 <b>a range of strong views -- if a view that I hold would</b>                  22 <b>in any way run the risk of jeopardising the impartiality</b>                  23 <b>of a decision that the ASA council had to make on</b>                  24 <b>a particular adjudication, I would resile myself from</b>                  25 <b>the process and ensure that I did not take any part in</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 53</p>	<p>1 <b>relationship of the politicians and the media, I always</b>                  2 <b>tried, through the whole of my time as Secretary of</b>                  3 <b>State, to approach issues of press regulation, media</b>                  4 <b>policy from the point of view of what is going to be</b>                  5 <b>best for a flourishing media, rather than from the point</b>                  6 <b>of view of which particular company is arguing what</b>                  7 <b>particular case, and I think it is perfectly possible</b>                  8 <b>for ministers to take that view and to take a properly</b>                  9 <b>impartial approach to the way in which they view these</b>                  10 <b>matters, despite the fact that the press are campaigning</b>                  11 <b>out there for or against political parties. It is</b>                  12 <b>entirely possible for ministers to approach the making</b>                  13 <b>of policy in a way that has regard to the public</b>                  14 <b>interest rather than any partisan interest.</b>                  15 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: All right. Thank you.                  16 MS PATRY HOSKINS: Thank you very much indeed.                  17 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Lord Smith, thank you very much                  18 indeed.                  19 <b>A. Thank you.</b>                  20 <b>(3.36 pm)</b>                  21 <b>(The hearing adjourned until 10 o'clock the following day)</b>                  22                  23                  24                  25</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 55</p>
--	---

<p>1 <b>it.</b>                  2 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes. Well, that's on the competition                  3 issues. As I run through the remit that I have, is                  4 there anything that you would like to say in the light                  5 of all the circumstances as to the relationship between                  6 the press and politicians?                  7 <b>A. Always difficult, interesting, frequently infuriating.</b>                  8 <b>Politicians need the press. Politicians would love the</b>                  9 <b>press to be constantly adulatory about them. They never</b>                  10 <b>are.</b>                  11 <b>However, I would draw a distinction, I think,</b>                  12 <b>between the way in which the press deal with politicians</b>                  13 <b>and the way they deal with ordinary people who get</b>                  14 <b>caught up in events. Politicians put themselves forward</b>                  15 <b>into the public spotlight.</b>                  16 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: That's a different point.                  17 <b>A. Ordinary people don't.</b>                  18 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Because it's dealing with the press                  19 and the public, and you say a politician is a member of                  20 the public and must have certain rights, but they have                  21 to be calibrated differently because they put themselves                  22 forward for public office.                  23 <b>A. Yes.</b>                  24 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I understand that. Very well.                  25 <b>A. In relation to the sort of public policy issues and the</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 54</p>	
---	--

<b>A</b>	<b>advertisement</b> 12:12 48:6,11 48:12,15	<b>appointments</b> 9:22,23	22:16 24:9 25:6 28:25	52:22 53:10	2:16,17 4:9,10 4:12,23 8:19	41:17 42:15 49:8,10 50:25 51:2,5,6
<b>abide</b> 33:5	<b>advertisements</b> 10:8	<b>approach</b> 37:20 55:3,9,12	29:14 31:14,24 32:12 36:20	<b>boundaries</b> 20:25	19:11,16,23 19:25 21:1 22:9 42:15	<b>colleagues</b> 17:7 34:9,21
<b>ability</b> 21:12 45:25 47:12	<b>advertiser</b> 10:8 48:14,19,21,22	<b>approaching</b> 21:25	37:4,6 39:16 42:4 44:23	<b>breach</b> 12:13	43:20,24 44:9	<b>collective</b> 44:2,6
<b>able</b> 17:13 24:18 29:2 31:11,11 35:6,8 41:6 52:21	<b>advertisers</b> 49:8 49:9	<b>appropriate</b> 10:7 43:24 44:8,12 52:18	46:12 48:22 51:18	<b>break</b> 50:24	<b>chairmanship</b> 19:24	<b>come</b> 7:20 12:19 17:1,25 18:10 20:15 21:13 22:9,13,16 27:12,14 32:12 50:3
<b>abolition</b> 3:10	<b>advertising</b> 1:21 2:17 9:10,12 9:14,15,19 10:1,15,21 11:14,18,20 12:5 47:20,24 47:25 48:16 49:5,7,14,18 50:22,24	<b>appropriately</b> 52:21	<b>background</b> 4:5	<b>breaks</b> 40:4	<b>chairmen</b> 50:13	<b>comfortable</b> 1:8
<b>absolutely</b> 11:16 12:8 16:5 21:21 22:3,6 22:11 28:18 29:2 50:12 51:7 53:20	<b>adverts</b> 10:10	<b>appropriateness</b> 43:19	<b>backstop</b> 7:25 46:19,25	<b>brief</b> 2:6	<b>chairs</b> 20:3	<b>coming</b> 14:16 19:1 26:15 41:12 52:8
<b>abstinence</b> 16:7	<b>advocate</b> 20:20	<b>approves</b> 37:9	<b>backstops</b> 46:4 46:21	<b>bring</b> 9:6 17:16	<b>champion</b> 20:1 20:14 21:8,9 21:10 42:20 50:10,22	<b>commanding</b> 49:23
<b>accept</b> 20:10 29:10 33:17 38:6,16 39:22 50:5	<b>afraid</b> 37:3 44:22	<b>approximately</b> 2:24	<b>bad</b> 49:9	<b>bringing</b> 35:23 36:1	<b>championing</b> 51:1,4,5	<b>comment</b> 16:7
<b>acceptable</b> 37:1 44:19	<b>aftermath</b> 20:7	<b>April</b> 1:23	<b>badly</b> 10:19	<b>British</b> 32:9 41:20	<b>change</b> 5:16 17:14 24:8 30:1 31:8,14 32:25 36:12,22 37:22 40:11,12	<b>comments</b> 15:14
<b>accepted</b> 4:2 29:13 44:8	<b>afternoon</b> 1:3,4	<b>area</b> 22:4 29:13 29:14 30:10 31:1	<b>balance</b> 31:1,6 31:20 34:12 41:20	<b>broad</b> 21:15	<b>changed</b> 31:20 41:18	<b>Commission</b> 11:3 28:13 37:8,9 51:25 52:7
<b>account</b> 38:18 52:15,16	<b>Agency</b> 2:16	<b>areas</b> 5:20,24 28:9,12,17 31:5	<b>ban</b> 32:22	<b>broadcast</b> 46:8,9 47:17 48:16	<b>changes</b> 18:2 23:5,17 26:2,3 26:6,22 27:4 27:21 30:15,17 31:6,9,10 32:15,25 33:3 33:17 34:15,16 34:19 35:5 36:17,25 37:10 37:17,20 41:5 41:11,17 44:15 44:19 50:5	<b>Commissioner</b> 33:6
<b>accurate</b> 3:19	<b>agenda</b> 5:23 19:5 24:6 29:22 30:11,18	<b>arena</b> 46:9	<b>basically</b> 18:4 27:17	<b>broke</b> 29:7	<b>channel</b> 44:7	<b>Commission's</b> 28:22
<b>achieve</b> 33:25 34:14 41:25	<b>agree</b> 10:16 25:10 27:21	<b>argued</b> 8:11 42:2	<b>basis</b> 3:15 46:10 46:11	<b>brought</b> 5:4 42:5	<b>channelled</b> 17:12	<b>Committee</b> 8:19 19:4 25:19 42:16
<b>achieved</b> 34:18	<b>agreed</b> 19:4	<b>arguing</b> 42:8 43:7 55:6	<b>bear</b> 17:16 35:23 36:1	<b>built</b> 10:2	<b>charged</b> 52:22	<b>Commons</b> 6:16
<b>act</b> 22:23 41:14 42:18	<b>agreement</b> 12:14 43:22	<b>argument</b> 40:1 42:13	<b>becoming</b> 41:13	<b>burden</b> 14:7 15:3 53:12	<b>chased</b> 13:23	<b>companies</b> 46:14 49:8
<b>acted</b> 18:24	<b>aid</b> 48:18	<b>arrangements</b> 48:23	<b>bed</b> 37:13	<b>buses</b> 14:18	<b>children</b> 29:9 32:19 37:21	<b>company</b> 55:6
<b>action</b> 15:20 16:14 17:9,20 24:2	<b>aim</b> 43:1	<b>articles</b> 9:17 41:21	<b>began</b> 37:3,24 44:23	<b>buy-in</b> 49:2,4,11	<b>choose</b> 9:2,24	<b>competing</b> 44:4 51:25 52:7 54:2
<b>actions</b> 11:25 13:22 14:8 23:19	<b>allowing</b> 50:9	<b>ASA</b> 9:16,17,22 10:6,7 11:2 12:11 29:16 45:7 46:3 47:15,21 49:3 49:17 50:20 53:23	<b>behalf</b> 46:10	<b>C</b>	<b>Christopher</b> 1:5 1:10 8:16	<b>complain</b> 10:25 21:5
<b>active</b> 36:21	<b>alongside</b> 14:23 20:22 53:7	<b>ASBoF</b> 9:12,14	<b>behaviour</b> 6:23 7:7 13:7 17:14 36:10 37:1,8,9 37:9,23 38:10 38:21 44:20	<b>c</b> 25:2	<b>chronology</b> 12:24 22:17 32:12	<b>complaint</b> 22:1
<b>activities</b> 23:24 39:4	<b>ambitions</b> 11:22	<b>asked</b> 4:6,14 11:6,10 13:3 33:15 45:8	<b>beliefs</b> 7:5,11 13:1 16:23 44:17 45:2 51:18	<b>Calcutt</b> 3:11,12 4:21,21 5:7 7:2 16:10,11 25:18 37:9,10	<b>circulated</b> 34:8	<b>complaints</b> 11:3 28:13
<b>activity</b> 31:18 32:11 36:11,12 36:13 38:3	<b>amount</b> 17:11 32:6	<b>articles</b> 9:17 41:21	<b>believed</b> 11:7 21:6 33:22 44:15	<b>4:21,21 5:7 7:2</b>	<b>circumstances</b> 54:5	<b>complete</b> 43:21
<b>actual</b> 15:24	<b>amounts</b> 1:25	<b>ASA</b> 9:16,17,22 10:6,7 11:2 12:11 29:16 45:7 46:3 47:15,21 49:3 49:17 50:20 53:23	<b>believer</b> 7:1,4	<b>16:10,11 25:18</b>	<b>clear</b> 11:16,20,21 16:5 17:6 22:7 22:10 23:22 30:4,5 31:8 52:6	<b>completely</b> 44:17
<b>ad</b> 12:16	<b>analogy</b> 9:9 12:21	<b>assessing</b> 30:12	<b>believing</b> 43:8	<b>37:9,10</b>	<b>clare</b> 2:15	<b>complex</b> 16:9 31:2
<b>add</b> 15:24 45:16 45:17 51:11,12	<b>analyse</b> 21:13	<b>assessment</b> 4:2 26:14 27:4,7 33:11,12	<b>benchmark</b> 17:19	<b>Calcutt's</b> 3:9,19	<b>Club</b> 24:4	<b>concern</b> 13:22 14:16 15:6,9 16:18 17:12
<b>address</b> 25:4 28:13 30:10	<b>and/or</b> 49:25	<b>assist</b> 4:15 7:25	<b>best</b> 9:9 19:8 41:24 55:5	<b>calibrated</b> 54:21	<b>code</b> 3:16 8:19 12:13 19:2,4 21:20 23:17 25:17 26:2 29:7 35:6	<b>concerned</b> 21:18 24:7
<b>adequately</b> 52:21	<b>announcement</b> 30:14	<b>assisted</b> 4:15 7:25	<b>better</b> 14:11 17:1 19:14 21:10 40:14 53:11	<b>call</b> 16:1	<b>concluded</b> 3:14 22:10	<b>conclusions</b> 3:20 22:10
<b>adjourned</b> 55:21	<b>answer</b> 33:24 45:3	<b>assumed</b> 40:8	<b>big</b> 50:2,3	<b>called</b> 17:5	<b>conduct</b> 14:1 37:18	
<b>adjudicate</b> 21:12	<b>answering</b> 36:3 41:22	<b>attitudes</b> 24:8	<b>bill</b> 22:15 41:13 42:3,7,24	<b>campaigning</b> 55:10		
<b>adjudication</b> 12:15 53:24	<b>anybody</b> 11:10	<b>August</b> 13:19 18:24 31:23	<b>bit</b> 6:15 9:1 14:2 19:13 25:22 33:16	<b>candid</b> 6:10		
<b>adjudications</b> 5:6 46:20	<b>apart</b> 14:12 45:17	<b>authority</b> 1:21 2:17 9:11 47:11	<b>Black</b> 36:4	<b>capable</b> 49:23		
<b>adjudicatory</b> 8:12	<b>apologies</b> 4:1	<b>authority's</b> 12:21	<b>blackouts</b> 25:13	<b>career</b> 2:3,7		
<b>admitted</b> 19:10	<b>apparatus</b> 7:9	<b>available</b> 29:16	<b>blame</b> 39:24	<b>carried</b> 31:12		
<b>advance</b> 35:21	<b>appear</b> 12:13	<b>avoid</b> 36:3	<b>bodies</b> 43:14	<b>carries</b> 48:14,17		
<b>adverse</b> 12:15	<b>appeared</b> 1:12 4:24	<b>aware</b> 26:10	<b>body</b> 3:15 8:3,7 8:12 21:5 22:5 29:18 44:12 45:10 47:1,4,8	<b>carry</b> 12:16		
<b>advertise</b> 10:8	<b>appearing</b> 29:24	<b>B</b>		<b>case</b> 11:23 15:23 36:21 40:10 43:7 44:23 46:15 48:16,18 55:7		
	<b>appears</b> 23:9	<b>back</b> 4:14 11:5 12:19,24 22:13		<b>cases</b> 42:4 46:16		
	<b>applying</b> 51:23			<b>caught</b> 54:14		
	<b>appointed</b> 4:9 9:11			<b>causes</b> 40:2		
	<b>appointment</b> 5:16			<b>cent</b> 49:17 50:24		
				<b>certain</b> 54:20		
				<b>certainly</b> 5:3 11:18 26:11 37:19 43:7 45:24 50:20 51:21		
				<b>chair</b> 9:3		
				<b>chairman</b> 1:21		

<b>confidence</b> 21:12 22:7,12 49:24 49:25	41:11 43:16 46:14 48:5,18 49:18 53:5	52:19	<b>differences</b> 12:9	<b>due</b> 4:5 5:3 7:20 12:19 17:5	34:11 52:2,19 53:25	<b>exercise</b> 53:18
<b>confirm</b> 1:24 13:5	<b>court</b> 52:9,18	<b>decision-making</b> 52:5	<b>different</b> 7:14 14:19 49:15 51:8 52:13 54:16	<hr/> <b>E</b> <hr/>	<b>ensuring</b> 38:10 48:2	<b>exist</b> 11:13 46:22 47:15,21
<b>conflict</b> 20:2	<b>cover</b> 45:12	<b>default</b> 50:15	<b>differently</b> 54:21	<b>e</b> 25:8	<b>entire</b> 49:24	<b>existence</b> 46:19
<b>conflicts</b> 20:19	<b>coverage</b> 37:20	<b>defence</b> 25:17	<b>difficult</b> 11:1 12:4,7 29:13 29:14 31:17 38:11 40:18 45:23 49:1 50:11 53:18 54:7	33:13 36:24 45:6 47:9	<b>entirely</b> 14:4 28:22 33:12 53:9 55:12	<b>expected</b> 33:4,5
<b>connection</b> 9:8 9:18,25	<b>covered</b> 45:11	<b>defending</b> 21:15	<b>difficulties</b> 31:1	<b>early</b> 12:25 30:24	<b>entity</b> 9:15	<b>expecting</b> 20:6
<b>conscious</b> 21:23	<b>co-operation</b> 25:12	<b>deficit</b> 52:25	<b>difficulty</b> 39:2	<b>easier</b> 11:18 33:16	<b>entrust</b> 18:19	<b>explain</b> 2:8,14,18 5:15 7:12,15 13:20 16:8,16 32:16
<b>consider</b> 17:1,20 19:21 22:22	<b>co-regulatory</b> 46:10	<b>defined</b> 11:20 12:6 20:25 21:2	<b>dilemma</b> 38:2 50:12	<b>editors</b> 8:9,10,11 8:19 15:19 16:13,17,20 17:8,24 18:17 19:14 27:21 29:5,24 30:1 31:13 33:17 35:15 41:24 42:14 44:3	<b>Environment</b> 2:16	<b>explains</b> 23:25 24:2,3
<b>considerable</b> 31:10 32:6	<b>create</b> 10:23	<b>definition</b> 25:16 28:20 29:19 33:1 34:23	<b>dilemmas</b> 19:23	<b>effect</b> 12:1 29:2 35:2 41:8	<b>equal</b> 45:21	<b>explaining</b> 25:2
<b>considerably</b> 35:10	<b>creep</b> 37:4 44:23	<b>degree</b> 48:1	<b>direct</b> 32:20 47:3 47:4 49:19	<b>effective</b> 3:14 12:11 13:9 29:15 43:6 44:25 45:19 47:12 48:1 49:4	<b>equate</b> 38:7	<b>explains</b> 23:25 24:2,3
<b>considerations</b> 52:15,16	<b>criminal</b> 39:19 39:20	<b>deleterious</b> 7:7	<b>directed</b> 48:10 48:12	<b>effectively</b> 5:7 7:20 8:20 11:19 26:16 47:2	<b>equations</b> 38:11	<b>explains</b> 23:25 24:2,3
<b>considered</b> 3:17 45:24	<b>criticism</b> 48:9	<b>delivered</b> 3:12	<b>directly</b> 15:8	<b>effort</b> 40:20	<b>equilibrium</b> 31:16	<b>explore</b> 8:15
<b>consistent</b> 20:18	<b>crystallised</b> 34:20	<b>demand</b> 5:12,22 31:8	<b>director</b> 2:15	<b>effective</b> 3:14 12:11 13:9 29:15 43:6 44:25 45:19 47:12 48:1 49:4	<b>equivalent</b> 9:12	<b>express</b> 7:16
<b>constantly</b> 54:9	<b>culture</b> 2:11,22 4:16 40:6,11	<b>demanding</b> 42:5 42:9	<b>disclosed</b> 24:19	<b>effectiveness</b> 51:5	<b>especially</b> 4:22 19:24 23:1 36:22 39:1	<b>expression</b> 11:24 21:16,24
<b>constructive</b> 6:11	<b>curbed</b> 39:9	<b>democracy</b> 7:5	<b>discuss</b> 6:22 22:13 23:5 26:18	<b>effort</b> 40:20	<b>essentially</b> 3:10 3:15 16:6 17:23 26:23,25 27:3 33:15,19 34:8 42:10,25 43:3,20	<b>expressly</b> 35:2
<b>consumer</b> 11:22	<b>current</b> 4:19,24 6:1 8:11,17 15:9	<b>democratic</b> 52:25	<b>discussed</b> 41:15 47:9	<b>either</b> 25:18 51:24 53:15	<b>establish</b> 17:19 41:24	<b>extended</b> 32:19
<b>consumers</b> 48:2	<b>currently</b> 2:16 31:19 46:5	<b>demonstrably</b> 45:4	<b>discussing</b> 12:24 16:10 22:14 51:14	<b>election</b> 2:25 3:1 element 8:25	<b>establishment</b> 3:21	<b>extent</b> 22:22 41:2 48:9,20 49:22 52:24
<b>contact</b> 18:12,16 25:25	<b>curtailment</b> 38:16	<b>demonstrate</b> 35:16	<b>discussion</b> 4:20 6:11 14:20 18:19 24:18 25:23 26:4,22 27:9 32:7 33:20 42:17	<b>ethics</b> 4:17	<b>eye</b> 6:24	<b>external</b> 19:12 35:13
<b>contemplated</b> 23:19	<hr/> <b>D</b> <hr/>	<b>department</b> 14:5 14:13,17	<b>discussions</b> 14:17 18:5,13 26:4,12 27:6 41:17,22 42:22 43:11 51:14	<b>European</b> 32:8	<b>extremely</b> 40:17	<b>extremely</b> 40:17
<b>context</b> 50:9	<b>damaging</b> 39:8	<b>depends</b> 49:21	<b>discovery</b> 11:17 54:11	<b>event</b> 17:3 28:24	<b>extremely</b> 40:17	<b>eye</b> 6:24
<b>continue</b> 10:4 12:23 33:10	<b>damning</b> 4:2	<b>describe</b> 1:24 8:17 20:4 32:14	<b>document</b> 15:24 23:9,21	<b>eventually</b> 37:14 43:21	<b>fact</b> 13:23 30:16 35:2 36:9 55:10	<b>fact</b> 13:23 30:16 35:2 36:9 55:10
<b>continued</b> 30:20	<b>dangerous</b> 7:5	<b>described</b> 19:19 35:18 50:10	<b>doing</b> 22:18,25 25:22 33:23 38:4 39:24	<b>events</b> 16:15 17:1 23:1 24:9 54:14	<b>failure</b> 22:23 39:18,19,20 41:4	<b>failure</b> 22:23 39:18,19,20 41:4
<b>continuing</b> 36:21	<b>date</b> 3:1,5 4:14 16:4	<b>description</b> 2:3 11:24 21:11	<b>dominated</b> 8:18 8:21	<b>everybody</b> 8:23 40:23,24	<b>fair</b> 27:4,5 33:10 33:12 37:16 46:5	<b>fair</b> 27:4,5 33:10 33:12 37:16 46:5
<b>contractual</b> 48:23	<b>dated</b> 1:22,22 23:9 28:2	<b>desirable</b> 15:17	<b>door</b> 42:4	<b>everyone's</b> 5:23	<b>fairly</b> 30:11 41:16	<b>fairly</b> 30:11 41:16
<b>contrast</b> 15:5	<b>dates</b> 13:18	<b>desire</b> 10:22	<b>doubt</b> 38:14 40:14	<b>evidence</b> 1:13,25 4:5 7:23 9:10 19:20 33:13 37:25 40:3 41:1 43:10 45:6	<b>familiar</b> 3:22	<b>familiar</b> 3:22
<b>contributions</b> 49:19	<b>David</b> 3:9,19 42:14	<b>despite</b> 5:25 30:9 45:2 55:10	<b>doubtless</b> 48:21	<b>exchange</b> 29:15 45:6	<b>far</b> 3:18 6:10 13:8 26:9 27:19 29:21 34:11	<b>far</b> 3:18 6:10 13:8 26:9 27:19 29:21 34:11
<b>control</b> 23:24 47:4 51:17	<b>day</b> 26:7 30:14 32:13 33:2 39:17 55:21	<b>despite</b> 5:25 30:9 45:2 55:10	<b>dispatch</b> 6:17	<b>exam</b> 28:1	<b>favour</b> 31:7	<b>favour</b> 31:7
<b>controlled</b> 39:10	<b>days</b> 2:25 3:1 15:12 18:6	<b>despite</b> 5:25 30:9 45:2 55:10	<b>distinction</b> 11:17 54:11	<b>examining</b> 48:4	<b>favoured</b> 25:18	<b>favoured</b> 25:18
<b>Convention</b> 32:9 41:19 43:15	<b>deal</b> 29:8 30:8 54:12,13	<b>despite</b> 5:25 30:9 45:2 55:10	<b>document</b> 15:24 23:9,21	<b>example</b> 11:4 23:1 39:16 45:7,9 49:7	<b>feed</b> 52:21	<b>feed</b> 52:21
<b>convinced</b> 48:21	<b>death</b> 13:15,21 13:25 14:6 15:13 18:11 20:8 23:2 27:1 31:7 37:18	<b>despite</b> 5:25 30:9 45:2 55:10	<b>doing</b> 22:18,25 25:22 33:23 38:4 39:24	<b>enable</b> 47:1	<b>feel</b> 40:19	<b>feel</b> 40:19
<b>correct</b> 2:24 3:8 11:14 14:24	<b>debate</b> 4:20 5:2 14:20 15:10	<b>despite</b> 5:25 30:9 45:2 55:10	<b>dominated</b> 8:18 8:21	<b>enables</b> 40:11	<b>feeling</b> 15:2	<b>feeling</b> 15:2
<b>corrected</b> 11:5	<b>decide</b> 18:1	<b>despite</b> 5:25 30:9 45:2 55:10	<b>door</b> 42:4	<b>enabling</b> 19:14 53:6	<b>fiercely</b> 44:4	<b>fiercely</b> 44:4
<b>corrections</b> 4:1	<b>decision</b> 8:5 21:14 47:5 52:8,9,22,23 53:2,10,23	<b>despite</b> 5:25 30:9 45:2 55:10	<b>doubt</b> 38:14 40:14	<b>encouraging</b> 20:10	<b>figure</b> 6:15 51:21	<b>figure</b> 6:15 51:21
<b>correspondence</b> 26:10	<b>decisions</b> 8:1,2,7 22:4 45:19 47:1,10 51:16 51:20,22 52:12	<b>despite</b> 5:25 30:9 45:2 55:10	<b>dramatic</b> 39:11	<b>ended</b> 26:6 43:16 43:23	<b>figures</b> 29:9	<b>figures</b> 29:9
<b>council</b> 3:11 9:22 10:6 45:18 53:23	<b>debate</b> 4:20 5:2 14:20 15:10	<b>despite</b> 5:25 30:9 45:2 55:10	<b>draw</b> 9:9 11:16 54:11	<b>endure</b> 36:17	<b>finance</b> 49:13	<b>finance</b> 49:13
<b>country</b> 14:18	<b>decent</b> 10:17,18 50:25	<b>despite</b> 5:25 30:9 45:2 55:10	<b>drawing</b> 9:23	<b>endures</b> 19:25	<b>financed</b> 49:14 49:17,19	<b>financed</b> 49:14 49:17,19
<b>couple</b> 14:5 27:9	<b>decide</b> 18:1	<b>despite</b> 5:25 30:9 45:2 55:10	<b>drawn</b> 9:15 12:21 25:18	<b>enforce</b> 40:1	<b>find</b> 2:4 11:1 12:12 23:9 38:8 40:17 44:2,3	<b>find</b> 2:4 11:1 12:12 23:9 38:8 40:17 44:2,3
<b>coupled</b> 14:19 27:7	<b>decision</b> 8:5 21:14 47:5 52:8,9,22,23 53:2,10,23	<b>despite</b> 5:25 30:9 45:2 55:10	<b>dual</b> 50:12	<b>enforceable</b> 47:10	<b>finding</b> 39:2 45:19 49:22	<b>finding</b> 39:2 45:19 49:22
<b>course</b> 4:6,20 7:21 9:19 10:1 12:19 14:22 17:5 18:5 21:22 28:25 32:7,20 34:4 35:4 37:7	<b>decisions</b> 8:1,2,7 22:4 45:19 47:1,10 51:16 51:20,22 52:12	<b>despite</b> 5:25 30:9 45:2 55:10		<b>enforced</b> 47:2	<b>fine</b> 29:10	<b>fine</b> 29:10



<p><b>fin</b> 3:25 45:22  <b>Finsbury</b> 1:10  2:10  <b>firmly</b> 30:11  <b>first</b> 1:8,20 3:10  4:18 5:18  10:13 15:5  16:1,6,13,23  17:10 18:10  28:19 29:6,12  30:6 32:5  39:15,15  <b>firstly</b> 27:23  45:19  <b>fits</b> 48:6  <b>flavour</b> 14:13  <b>flourishing</b> 55:5  <b>flow</b> 52:5  <b>focus</b> 4:7 41:18  <b>focusing</b> 2:21  <b>folks</b> 17:11  <b>follow</b> 22:10  49:8,10  <b>followed</b> 36:12  50:6  <b>following</b> 13:21  13:25 26:1  27:1 34:4,21  37:17 55:21  <b>force</b> 41:13  <b>form</b> 30:15,16  <b>formal</b> 1:25 26:5  26:9,10  <b>formed</b> 17:3  <b>forward</b> 5:1 8:8  19:1,6 27:12  27:14 30:18  34:1 54:14,22  <b>founding</b> 2:14  <b>four</b> 3:13 18:24  46:14  <b>framework</b> 39:3  40:11  <b>frankly</b> 30:9  <b>fray</b> 34:3  <b>free</b> 7:10 10:22  11:7 21:16,16  21:22,23  <b>freedom</b> 11:7  20:21 21:10,24  32:11 34:12  38:2,3,9,12,17  42:20  <b>freedoms</b> 20:23  <b>frequently</b> 54:7  <b>front</b> 21:13  <b>full</b> 1:9  <b>fully</b> 17:3  <b>fundamental</b>  10:15  <b>further</b> 2:19 5:21  5:24 13:23  17:16,20 18:2  18:8 19:13  23:18 24:23  25:22 27:9</p>	<p>28:10,12,17  31:21 33:7  36:21 41:10  51:12  <b>future</b> 6:11,22  12:20</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>G</b></p> <p><b>gauge</b> 14:14  <b>general</b> 14:15  21:15 44:11  <b>generally</b> 6:3  35:24  <b>genuine</b> 38:9  <b>genuinely</b> 33:22  <b>getting</b> 19:8  27:20 41:20  <b>give</b> 11:4 14:13  30:7 36:4  <b>given</b> 1:13 5:22  16:21  <b>giving</b> 41:1  <b>go</b> 4:24 6:9 7:6  13:8,23 17:24  18:7 19:12  21:7 34:11  37:6 39:6 42:9  44:14 45:1  <b>goes</b> 37:13 39:16  <b>going</b> 2:2 4:14  6:7 8:6 11:5,8  12:23 17:15  19:5,17 22:17  23:4 24:3  25:22 26:17  36:5 47:6  53:11 55:4  <b>good</b> 1:3 3:18  10:20 27:23  49:7,8  <b>government</b> 2:13  3:3 8:5 14:10  15:14 17:15,20  19:11 26:20,25  27:2,10,13  31:2,5,17  34:20 35:14,22  36:1 38:18  41:18,23 43:11  47:21 49:25  52:20 53:6  <b>governments</b>  16:24  <b>government's</b>  6:3 24:11 31:6  <b>government-a...</b>  47:4,7  <b>gradually</b> 42:4  <b>grateful</b> 7:15  <b>great</b> 29:7 30:7  38:5  <b>grey</b> 22:4  <b>grief</b> 32:23  <b>grievously</b> 38:1  <b>gritted</b> 31:12  <b>Groupon</b> 46:15</p>	<p><b>groups</b> 49:19  <b>Guardian</b> 37:13  <b>Guy</b> 36:4</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>H</b></p> <p><b>habits</b> 37:3 44:22  <b>hacking</b> 36:14  <b>hand</b> 23:23  <b>handed</b> 26:25  <b>handled</b> 32:24  <b>handling</b> 37:21  <b>hands</b> 41:3,5  52:1  <b>happen</b> 43:16  46:23  <b>happened</b> 14:21  51:19  <b>happening</b> 26:13  <b>happens</b> 37:13  48:3  <b>harassment</b>  15:16 24:13  <b>harder</b> 37:11  <b>harmful</b> 11:25  <b>hasty</b> 15:14  16:25 26:17  <b>headway</b> 29:3,5  30:7 35:3  <b>health</b> 38:19  <b>hear</b> 5:20 6:6  38:24  <b>heard</b> 14:24  38:21  <b>hearing</b> 55:21  <b>help</b> 17:19  <b>helpful</b> 19:13  <b>helpfully</b> 2:6  <b>hesitate</b> 39:1  <b>high</b> 15:6,7 43:1  <b>hindsight</b> 44:18  <b>history</b> 2:3,7 3:6  4:7 16:9 37:14  <b>hold</b> 6:12 38:17  41:5 53:20,21  <b>honest</b> 10:16,18  20:22 50:25  <b>honourable</b>  51:22  <b>Hoskins</b> 1:3,6,7  1:18 6:20 7:22  10:4 12:18  19:19 22:13  36:8 41:11  51:10 55:16  <b>hot</b> 5:25 15:9  <b>House</b> 6:16,17  51:15  <b>huge</b> 17:11  <b>hugely</b> 4:19  <b>human</b> 22:15  32:9 41:13,13  41:19 42:3,7  42:17,24 49:23  <b>Hunt</b> 11:6</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>I</b></p>	<p><b>ideas</b> 19:2  <b>identified</b> 12:10  34:22 49:21  53:9  <b>identify</b> 5:20,24  12:8 13:13  41:2 48:7  <b>illegal</b> 39:5,15  <b>immediate</b> 16:25  20:7 36:22  49:11  <b>immediately</b>  11:12 16:8,19  37:17  <b>impact</b> 32:10  35:11 41:7  <b>impartial</b> 53:10  55:9  <b>impartiality</b>  53:22  <b>imperilled</b> 38:20  <b>importance</b>  21:23,24 45:18  <b>important</b> 6:1,5  16:24 25:4  50:18  <b>impose</b> 3:24  <b>imposed</b> 8:4  <b>impossible</b> 50:8  <b>imprecise</b> 21:20  <b>impression</b>  26:14 43:7  <b>impressions</b> 4:16  <b>improve</b> 37:10  37:19  <b>improvements</b>  13:14  <b>improves</b> 37:8  <b>improving</b> 40:18  <b>inadequately</b>  52:10  <b>inappropriate</b>  38:3  <b>included</b> 32:16  <b>including</b> 14:21  32:25 36:2  <b>inconsistent</b>  20:18  <b>incorporate</b>  41:19  <b>incorporation</b>  32:8  <b>increased</b> 32:16  <b>independence</b>  10:3 45:18  <b>independent</b>  8:22,25 9:2,4  9:21 11:1  53:18  <b>indicate</b> 6:7  15:20 16:14  17:9  <b>indicated</b> 1:18  <b>individual</b> 34:13  44:9 49:22  50:8 53:12</p>	<p><b>individuals</b> 39:8  44:5  <b>indulge</b> 38:19  <b>industry</b> 3:16,17  3:18 9:15,19  10:1 33:6  47:24,24 49:5  51:4  <b>informal</b> 26:21  <b>information</b>  21:13  <b>infuriating</b> 54:7  <b>inherited</b> 3:5  5:13  <b>initially</b> 42:24  <b>initiative</b> 18:22  23:23  <b>input</b> 26:3,5  <b>inquiry</b> 1:9,12  1:20,25 22:19  37:8 46:17  53:15  <b>instinct</b> 24:11  <b>insufficient</b>  13:16  <b>intended</b> 19:3  <b>intense</b> 10:22  <b>intention</b> 11:11  <b>interest</b> 12:3,4,6  21:22 24:14  25:17 28:20  29:19 33:1  34:24 38:13  39:12 44:25  51:23 52:3,8  53:4,8,19  55:14,14  <b>interested</b> 38:24  <b>interesting</b> 12:20  19:23 20:1  54:7  <b>interrupt</b> 27:24  <b>interrupted</b>  28:14  <b>intervene</b> 29:24  <b>intervening</b>  28:23  <b>intervention</b> 5:8  5:12  <b>intolerable</b> 53:12  <b>introduce</b> 24:12  42:3  <b>introducing</b>  35:22  <b>intrusion</b> 14:11  28:21 32:23  <b>intrusive</b> 37:21  39:7  <b>invasions</b> 40:25  <b>investigate</b> 38:4  <b>investigative</b>  38:20  <b>invoked</b> 46:13,19  <b>irrational</b> 52:14  <b>irrelevant</b> 52:15  <b>Islington</b> 2:10</p>	<p><b>issue</b> 4:19,23 6:1  12:20 14:14  16:7 28:19  29:9,12 30:19  30:20 43:4  <b>issued</b> 33:2  <b>issues</b> 1:23 10:23  16:8 29:1,4,19  51:13,17,24  54:3,25 55:3</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>J</b></p> <p><b>January</b> 3:12 4:8  <b>jeopardising</b>  53:22  <b>job</b> 50:7  <b>John</b> 4:22,25 9:4  16:16 20:8,15  <b>journalism</b>  38:20  <b>judge</b> 52:7  <b>judges</b> 38:19  <b>judge-made</b> 42:3  <b>judging</b> 22:1  <b>judgments</b> 17:2  <b>judicial</b> 21:18  <b>June</b> 3:9 5:19  <b>Justice</b> 1:11,18  6:14 7:12 8:6  8:14 10:4,12  10:19,21 12:3  12:17 13:2  19:16 20:10,13  20:17 21:4,17  22:20 36:7  37:5 38:5,14  39:11,14 40:16  40:23 45:7  46:23 47:6,14  47:18,23 48:4  48:9,20 49:13  49:20 50:9,15  50:22 51:1,4,8  52:2,11 53:5  53:14 54:2,16  54:18,24 55:15  55:17  <b>justifies</b> 40:9  <b>justify</b> 28:21</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>K</b></p> <p><b>keen</b> 18:22 19:7  <b>keep</b> 19:11 33:20  34:6  <b>keeping</b> 20:22  27:10  <b>kept</b> 25:24 33:9  35:1  <b>key</b> 9:3  <b>kind</b> 45:22  <b>knew</b> 6:14,15  <b>know</b> 6:5,18,19  16:10 23:16  30:14 32:13  37:24 52:11  53:20</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>L</b></p> <p><b>Labour</b> 2:9  <b>laid</b> 21:14  <b>language</b> 21:20  <b>large</b> 49:22  <b>lasted</b> 41:6  <b>law</b> 32:9 39:19  39:20,25 40:1  40:4 41:20  42:4 43:12  <b>laws</b> 15:16  <b>lead</b> 36:25  <b>Leadership</b> 2:15  <b>learnt</b> 35:17  <b>led</b> 36:11 44:19  <b>legal</b> 10:18 39:5  39:16 50:25  <b>legislation</b> 15:18  24:12,13 35:22  36:2 53:9  <b>legitimate</b> 22:1  <b>legitimately</b>  32:18  <b>legs</b> 5:9  <b>lesson</b> 16:24  <b>lessons</b> 35:17  <b>letter</b> 16:1,2 28:8  <b>letters</b> 14:1,4,7  14:12,16,22  15:2,3  <b>let's</b> 15:24  <b>Leveson</b> 1:11,18  6:14 7:12 8:6  8:14 10:4,12  10:19,21 12:3  12:17 13:3  19:16 20:10,13  20:17 21:4,17  22:20 36:7  37:5 38:5,14  39:11,14 40:16  40:23 45:7  46:23 47:6,14  47:18,23 48:4  48:9,20 49:13  49:20 50:9,15  50:22 51:1,4,8  52:2,11 53:5  53:14 54:2,16  54:18,24 55:15  55:17  <b>levy</b> 9:14 49:17  <b>licence</b> 46:17  <b>lie</b> 7:3  <b>life</b> 9:19 10:2  31:5 52:13  <b>light</b> 15:19 16:15  23:1 34:6 54:4  <b>liked</b> 34:15 35:4  <b>literally</b> 15:7  <b>little</b> 9:1 30:23  37:11 44:24  <b>live</b> 40:16,18  <b>living</b> 31:19  <b>lobbying</b> 43:20  <b>local</b> 38:18</p>
---	--	--	--	--	--	---

<b>London</b> 24:4	12:9 35:1	<b>Minister</b> 15:13	40:13	11:24 14:14	55:11	25:4,11 32:17
<b>long</b> 16:9 31:15	<b>making</b> 5:6	16:4 17:4 18:7	<b>never</b> 20:25	16:22	<b>partisan</b> 53:3	37:22
31:25	16:24 27:8	23:4,8 26:16	30:16 34:14	<b>opportunity</b> 32:1	55:14	<b>phrases</b> 10:17
<b>look</b> 9:17,20 13:4	35:9,10 46:2	34:8	54:9	<b>opposed</b> 43:13	<b>parts</b> 12:14 40:7	<b>pick</b> 14:18
13:13,16,18	47:4 52:22	<b>ministers</b> 55:8	<b>nevertheless</b>	<b>options</b> 25:23	40:8	<b>place</b> 4:22 5:16
15:16,24,25	53:10 55:12	55:12	4:10	<b>order</b> 19:5 35:16	<b>passing</b> 22:15	7:9 14:17
17:11,25 22:18	<b>managed</b> 50:5	<b>minors</b> 32:22	<b>new</b> 45:9	36:8 46:25	<b>Patry</b> 1:3,6,7,18	18:19 24:20
23:7,16,21	<b>mandated</b> 52:4	37:21	<b>news</b> 25:13	47:25	6:20 7:22 10:4	31:9,11 39:6
25:16 28:1,25	<b>marketing</b> 10:1	<b>minute</b> 23:10	<b>newspaper</b> 15:18	<b>ordinary</b> 14:6	12:18 19:19	44:20 45:23
29:3 30:6	<b>matter</b> 11:23	24:25 30:5	16:13,20 17:8	54:13,17	22:13 36:8	46:12 52:6
33:15 36:5	25:13 31:3	34:7	33:6 38:2,4	<b>organisations</b>	41:11 51:10	<b>placed</b> 48:6
48:23	34:2 36:9	<b>minutes</b> 23:21	46:1 49:19	14:3	55:16	<b>places</b> 32:18
<b>looking</b> 5:15	<b>matters</b> 24:19	27:25 28:2	<b>newspapers</b> 29:7	<b>ought</b> 21:3 29:20	<b>Pause</b> 36:6	<b>placing</b> 53:11
23:8 27:24	51:24 55:10	<b>misconduct</b>	33:5	<b>outset</b> 30:24 42:5	<b>paying</b> 49:15	<b>plainly</b> 39:4,15
31:24 36:5,20	<b>May/June</b> 6:20	22:24	<b>nominate</b> 8:23	<b>outside</b> 9:7	<b>payment</b> 32:22	<b>plate</b> 20:9
51:18,19	<b>mean</b> 7:12,14,16	<b>missed</b> 24:25	<b>non-broadcast</b>	<b>outstanding</b> 50:7	<b>PCC</b> 3:11,14 4:3	<b>play</b> 29:21 44:10
<b>Lord</b> 1:4,7,10,11	7:17,18 8:9	<b>mistake</b> 46:1,2	46:5 47:19	<b>outstandingly</b>	4:9,11,12,23	<b>played</b> 22:14
1:11,18 4:2,8	42:11,12	<b>Mm</b> 40:22	<b>normal</b> 31:16	5:1	5:1,5 8:17 9:5	44:1
5:17,19 6:5,14	<b>means</b> 8:7 25:4	<b>mode</b> 42:19,21	<b>note</b> 28:25 36:5	<b>Overall</b> 4:1	13:12 19:2,24	<b>please</b> 1:9 2:2
6:14,22 7:12	40:9 46:19	<b>modest</b> 35:9	<b>noted</b> 25:11,17	<b>overfavourable</b>	20:3 21:1,5	3:2 7:12 12:18
8:6,14 10:4,12	50:17	<b>Module</b> 1:23	<b>November</b> 34:7	3:18	22:9,25 26:13	<b>plurality</b> 51:23
10:19,21 11:6	<b>meant</b> 11:8 13:3	<b>moment</b> 4:19	<b>number</b> 31:10	<b>overnight</b> 15:7	27:23 29:20	<b>pm</b> 1:2 55:20
12:3,17 13:2	44:1	5:11 18:11	38:1 42:13	<b>overriding</b> 53:8	30:2,21 33:4	<b>point</b> 6:6 13:2
15:21 17:13	<b>measures</b> 23:18	22:16 30:4	45:8	<b>overwhelming</b>	34:6,24 35:23	17:8 18:12
18:6,14,20,22	24:23	31:7,15,20		14:7	41:23 42:5,10	19:22 21:4
18:24 19:16	<b>media</b> 2:12,13,22	36:4,15,15		<b>ownership</b> 51:17	42:15 43:13,20	22:6 27:18
20:10,13,17	3:3,4 6:4 10:9	51:16	<b>O</b>	51:24	43:24 44:9,24	31:11 39:15
21:4,17 22:14	12:14 14:21	<b>moments</b> 31:6,22	<b>objective</b> 13:6	<b>o'clock</b> 55:21	45:4,25 49:18	43:10 46:3
22:18,20 23:5	22:23 46:5,8	<b>money</b> 9:13	<b>objectives</b> 41:25		50:14,19	51:12 54:16
23:10,23,25	47:17,19 51:17	40:20 41:3	<b>obtained</b> 32:17	<b>P</b>	<b>people</b> 5:4 7:14	55:4,5
24:1,22 25:1	51:23 55:1,3,5	<b>months</b> 6:19	<b>obvious</b> 1:15	<b>page</b> 5:14 16:1	8:16,22 9:2,7	<b>points</b> 25:6,20
25:15,20 26:18	<b>mediators</b> 20:5	13:19 32:3	39:12 45:20	28:11	11:24 12:1	29:3
26:21 27:1,11	<b>medium</b> 12:13	38:22 42:17	<b>obviously</b> 16:9	<b>palpable</b> 37:22	40:19 46:21	<b>policeman</b> 39:23
29:1,22 30:6	17:13 48:10	<b>mooted</b> 45:22	38:15 39:6	<b>paparazzi</b> 13:22	54:13,17	<b>policing</b> 7:19
30:16,17,24	<b>meet</b> 6:5 26:21	<b>mother</b> 32:22	<b>occasions</b> 25:10	14:8 23:20,25	<b>perceptible</b>	<b>policy</b> 2:13 3:3,3
31:10 32:14	<b>meeting</b> 15:21	<b>motorist</b> 39:21	<b>Ofcom</b> 46:8,16	25:7	45:18	6:3 52:14,18
33:14,20,25	18:10 23:3,4	<b>Motorman</b> 36:13	46:17 47:15	<b>paragraph</b> 2:5	<b>perceive</b> 11:13	52:20 54:25
34:22 35:5	23:10,15 24:20	<b>move</b> 15:17	51:25 52:7	5:14,18 13:4	<b>perfect</b> 40:14,17	55:4,13
36:7,25 37:5	26:9,17 27:25	30:18	<b>Ofcom's</b> 46:10	13:20,24 15:11	<b>perfectly</b> 55:7	<b>political</b> 4:24 5:2
38:5,14 39:11	28:3 30:5	<b>moved</b> 42:18	<b>offence</b> 39:21	16:6,12 17:18	<b>performed</b> 50:13	5:9,12 51:21
39:14 40:16,23	32:13 34:21,23	<b>Moving</b> 32:12	46:18	18:11 22:21	50:14	53:3 55:11
41:15 42:11,12	36:6		<b>offends</b> 10:9	23:22,25 24:1	<b>period</b> 2:8,21	<b>political</b> 53:16
42:16,18 44:1	<b>member</b> 2:9		<b>office</b> 2:19,23	24:2,5,17	4:12 6:20	54:19
44:6 45:7	54:19	<b>N</b>	3:13 4:11,13	25:24 28:6,11	18:23 20:7	<b>politicians</b> 38:18
46:23 47:6,14	<b>members</b> 9:24	<b>name</b> 1:9	4:16 5:19 7:1	28:25 29:3	27:3 31:25	49:25 52:3
47:18,23 48:4	14:2,6 22:9	<b>national</b> 31:5	12:25 13:20	34:5 35:3	36:14,25 37:23	54:6,8,8,12,14
48:9,20 49:13	<b>membership</b> 5:5	53:4,18	15:6 25:25	36:18,24 41:16	41:7,12 44:19	55:1
49:20 50:4,9	<b>memo</b> 16:2,4	<b>natural</b> 24:11	26:12,12 32:5	42:1 44:14	<b>permanent</b> 7:9	<b>pooled</b> 25:10
50:15,22 51:1	23:7	<b>nature</b> 22:4	38:17 46:5	45:1	24:8	<b>position</b> 3:2,5
51:4,8,10 52:2	<b>memorandum</b>	26:13 30:2	54:22	<b>paragraphs</b>	<b>permanently</b>	5:13 17:6 18:4
52:11 53:5,14	9:17 16:3 17:4	<b>nearest</b> 20:15	<b>offices</b> 27:10	45:13	40:12	32:4 50:15
54:2,16,18,24	18:7	50:3	43:12	<b>parallel</b> 10:5	<b>persistent</b> 32:18	<b>positions</b> 2:19
55:15,17,17	<b>memory</b> 11:5	<b>necessarily</b> 8:9	<b>official</b> 25:11	<b>Paris</b> 15:9	46:18	<b>possibility</b> 36:2
<b>Lords</b> 6:17 51:15	24:10 45:14	8:10,12	<b>OFT</b> 46:14 47:18	<b>Parliament</b> 2:9	<b>person</b> 21:19	<b>possible</b> 11:2
<b>lost</b> 32:22	<b>mention</b> 24:24	<b>necessary</b> 15:15	<b>Okay</b> 6:13 25:23	<b>part</b> 29:22,25	48:12 51:22	20:23 21:11
<b>lot</b> 4:20 5:7	<b>merely</b> 20:18	<b>need</b> 4:7 14:10	32:4	30:15,16 37:1	<b>personal</b> 29:25	22:8,11 23:18
14:20 15:3	<b>met</b> 5:19 6:21	17:16 22:5,6	<b>old</b> 24:9 37:3	43:15 53:25	<b>personally</b> 6:18	24:2,23 31:21
40:19,20,20	11:22 23:5	22:25 27:23	44:22	<b>particular</b> 2:11	29:23 40:17	36:3 53:2 55:7
44:5 47:2	26:8 27:16	30:7,10 37:14	<b>once</b> 7:13 36:22	16:25 23:19	<b>persons</b> 39:17	55:12
<b>lots</b> 7:14 14:22	<b>Meyer</b> 8:16	39:9,23 54:8	<b>ones</b> 29:1	43:4,12 45:15	<b>perspective</b>	<b>post</b> 6:21 18:10
<b>love</b> 54:8	<b>mid-1997</b> 12:25	<b>needed</b> 5:21,24	<b>onus</b> 17:10	46:17 53:24	21:18	<b>potential</b> 20:2
	<b>mind</b> 3:2 4:15	17:21 18:19	<b>open</b> 38:15	55:6,7	<b>persuade</b> 50:5	23:5 32:10
<b>M</b>	10:3 34:20,20	28:18 29:7	<b>openly</b> 53:6	<b>particularly</b> 5:25	<b>persuasion</b> 38:15	34:24 46:25
<b>main</b> 18:12	40:1 48:5	32:21	<b>operating</b> 3:16	6:6,18,24 8:13	<b>Phillips</b> 25:11	<b>potentially</b> 20:19
<b>maintain</b> 47:8	53:19	<b>needing</b> 33:20	49:10	24:7 42:15	<b>phone</b> 36:14	21:3 53:12
<b>major</b> 5:11,15	<b>mine</b> 40:3	<b>needs</b> 26:19	<b>operations</b> 13:12	<b>parties</b> 43:22	<b>photographs</b>	<b>power</b> 3:24 31:2
		28:10,13 40:9	<b>opinion</b> 7:3			

31:4 <b>powerful</b> 12:16 <b>powerfully</b> 43:12 <b>practical</b> 15:17 <b>practice</b> 3:16 <b>practices</b> 4:17 <b>pray</b> 48:18 <b>precedent</b> 25:12 <b>precise</b> 39:3 <b>precisely</b> 7:16 <b>prepare</b> 17:1 <b>prepared</b> 23:13 <b>present</b> 1:14 20:19 45:5 49:21 <b>preserve</b> 20:23 <b>press</b> 2:13 3:4,11 3:15,22 4:17 6:4,23,25 7:6,8 7:18 8:4,7,8,12 8:18,23 9:8 10:6,16,22,24 10:25 11:3,7 11:19,23 12:7 12:20 14:1,9 14:22,23 15:1 15:15 16:8 18:13,20,25 19:1,8 20:21 20:22 21:6,8,9 21:10,22,23 22:2,5 24:4,8,8 25:9,12 27:20 28:8,10,13 29:17 31:2,18 32:10,11,11 33:3 34:12 35:11,24 36:10 36:12,14,21 37:2,18 38:9 38:12,17 39:19 39:22 40:7,7,8 40:9 41:3 42:2 42:6,8,10,12 42:21,23 43:13 44:1,4,13 45:10,20 46:24 47:9,13 48:25 49:3,12,16,24 50:5,17 54:6,8 54:9,12,18 55:3,10 <b>PressBoF</b> 8:20 9:13 <b>pressing</b> 35:1 <b>pressure</b> 17:16 19:12 33:16,21 33:21 34:6 35:13,23 36:1 <b>presumably</b> 6:14 29:5 52:9 <b>pretty</b> 20:24 27:18 28:22 50:2 <b>prevents</b> 38:21 <b>previous</b> 22:23	42:20 <b>previously</b> 1:11 <b>primarily</b> 9:15 18:25 50:19 <b>Prime</b> 15:13 16:4 17:4 18:7 23:4 23:8 26:16 34:8 <b>princes</b> 32:21 37:20 <b>Princess</b> 13:15 13:18 23:2 26:15 31:23 36:11 37:11 <b>principal</b> 23:13 27:17 28:17 34:19 <b>principle</b> 53:8 <b>printing</b> 3:25 <b>prior</b> 6:6 29:24 <b>privacy</b> 15:17 24:12 40:25 42:4 43:15 <b>private</b> 19:11 23:13 26:12 32:19 <b>proactive</b> 19:7 27:2 28:23 29:20 34:25 44:24 <b>probably</b> 4:18 6:8 11:17 13:11 20:3,5 21:4 32:2 35:22 36:20 37:16 44:13 46:20 <b>problem</b> 37:5 49:20 <b>problems</b> 40:5 44:17 <b>procedural</b> 24:19 <b>procedure</b> 22:11 29:23 <b>procedures</b> 28:22 <b>proceeding</b> 8:13 <b>process</b> 22:8 33:7 41:1 53:7 53:25 <b>produce</b> 40:11 <b>product</b> 11:21 <b>profoundly</b> 7:10 <b>programme</b> 2:15 24:2 <b>progress</b> 5:21,24 19:7,14 28:10 28:17 31:21 44:24 <b>prominence</b> 45:21 <b>pronouncements</b> 16:25 <b>proper</b> 34:11 38:10	<b>properly</b> 41:8 55:8 <b>proposal</b> 5:8 17:25 41:19 <b>proposals</b> 5:20 17:7 19:2 25:2 26:23,24 27:8 27:13,14 28:7 32:14 34:7,10 35:3,5,8,10 <b>propose</b> 16:15 17:9,13 18:2 <b>proposed</b> 15:20 26:22 30:15,17 32:15 33:18 <b>proposing</b> 18:8 25:21 26:6 27:7,11 <b>proposition</b> 26:1 <b>proprietors</b> 15:19 16:14,21 17:8,24 18:17 19:15 27:21 29:6 31:13 33:17 35:15 42:14 44:3 <b>protected</b> 29:11 <b>protection</b> 11:22 14:11 32:16,19 32:21 53:1 <b>protects</b> 49:7 <b>provide</b> 1:9 47:12 52:13 <b>provided</b> 1:13,19 39:17 <b>provides</b> 9:13 <b>provision</b> 10:3 47:20 <b>provisions</b> 42:6 42:24 43:14 <b>proxy</b> 1:12 <b>public</b> 5:11,22 6:24 11:21 12:3,4,6 13:21 14:3,7,14,15 15:6,9,14,19 16:22 17:12 19:4 20:6 25:16 26:8 28:20 29:19 31:8,14 32:25 34:24 35:14,24 36:22 38:13 39:12 41:1,3 43:14 44:25 48:11 49:24 51:23 52:3,8 53:8 54:15,19 54:20,22,25 55:13 <b>publication</b> 32:17 33:2 <b>public's</b> 14:23 <b>publish</b> 10:10 <b>published</b> 32:14 <b>pubs</b> 14:18	<b>purchase</b> 44:3 <b>purpose</b> 11:20 <b>purposes</b> 2:20 <b>pursuit</b> 32:18 <b>push</b> 18:7 19:5 33:23 <b>pushed</b> 41:9 <b>pushing</b> 19:12 33:9,14,19 <b>put</b> 8:3,8 17:6,10 18:6 31:9,11 33:15 34:1 40:20 42:13 45:23 47:8,22 48:11 53:7 54:14,21 <b>putting</b> 48:12	<b>recognise</b> 39:14 46:1 <b>recognised</b> 35:15 47:25 <b>recognises</b> 49:6 <b>recollection</b> 43:3 <b>recommend</b> 15:13 <b>recommendati...</b> 7:3 <b>recommended</b> 3:21 <b>recount</b> 37:14 <b>refer</b> 28:3 <b>reference</b> 22:19 24:21 <b>references</b> 25:1 <b>referred</b> 46:13 <b>referring</b> 29:14 <b>reflected</b> 32:7 <b>reflects</b> 25:6 <b>reformed</b> 50:19 <b>refresh</b> 45:14 <b>regard</b> 47:13 50:19 55:13 <b>regarded</b> 32:19 <b>regret</b> 34:2 41:8 <b>regular</b> 25:25 <b>regulate</b> 11:18 <b>regulated</b> 6:25 50:17 <b>regulates</b> 44:12 45:10 <b>regulation</b> 6:4 7:6,9 12:20 14:9 15:1,15 16:9 47:7 49:16 55:3 <b>regulator</b> 3:14 18:25 19:19,21 20:1,9,14 42:19 50:20,21 <b>regulators</b> 20:4,6 50:16 <b>regulatory</b> 22:5 29:17 45:10 <b>rehearse</b> 3:6 <b>related</b> 34:23 <b>relates</b> 1:23 <b>relating</b> 15:16 <b>relation</b> 1:20 3:4 10:7,22 12:5,7 23:19 36:10 44:1 45:20 46:4,8 47:17 47:19 48:24 51:15 54:25 <b>relationship</b> 30:1 54:5 55:1 <b>relatively</b> 12:5 20:21 35:9 <b>release</b> 33:3 <b>relevant</b> 52:17 <b>reluctant</b> 27:20 <b>remain</b> 28:9 38:15	<b>remained</b> 4:10 <b>remains</b> 30:11 <b>remarkably</b> 27:19 <b>remedies</b> 48:22 <b>remember</b> 4:7 10:17 44:4 <b>remind</b> 40:9 50:23 <b>remit</b> 54:3 <b>removed</b> 48:24 <b>repeated</b> 18:14 <b>replace</b> 47:22 <b>report</b> 3:10,12 <b>reports</b> 4:21 25:19 <b>represent</b> 41:4 <b>represented</b> 52:5 <b>require</b> 3:25 <b>required</b> 9:16,20 9:24 <b>requirement</b> 45:21 52:6 <b>requirements</b> 32:23 <b>resile</b> 53:24 <b>resolve</b> 44:17 <b>respect</b> 2:3 38:5 49:23 <b>response</b> 16:25 24:5 32:21 <b>responsibility</b> 6:3 26:25 40:5 47:20 48:15,17 <b>responsible</b> 2:12 7:19 43:3,6 <b>rest</b> 10:10 51:21 52:1 <b>restrain</b> 31:18 <b>restrictions</b> 20:11 <b>result</b> 15:8 38:13 <b>return</b> 34:3 <b>returned</b> 31:16 <b>revamped</b> 29:17 <b>revealed</b> 36:13 36:14 <b>revenues</b> 49:14 <b>revert</b> 36:9 <b>review</b> 4:22 16:17 23:23 52:12 <b>reviewable</b> 52:9 <b>reviewed</b> 30:20 52:12 <b>right</b> 7:23 8:6 9:6 11:16 12:8 17:23 21:9,16 24:18 26:19 27:15 41:20 45:3 49:3 50:17 55:15 <b>rights</b> 22:15 32:9 34:12 41:13,14 41:19 42:3,7 42:18,24 54:20	<b>risen</b> 51:14 <b>risk</b> 11:13,13 53:22 <b>road</b> 7:6 <b>Robert</b> 1:5,10 <b>robust</b> 10:2 13:9 21:14 22:11 39:5,15 43:11 <b>robustly</b> 49:11 <b>robustness</b> 13:12 <b>role</b> 1:20 20:22 21:1,7 22:14 29:20 31:4 43:25 44:8 50:12 <b>roles</b> 20:2 <b>room</b> 52:13 <b>roughly</b> 3:8 <b>route</b> 13:7 44:7 <b>rowing</b> 19:9 <b>Royal</b> 37:8,8 <b>rules</b> 7:19 21:14 22:7 <b>run</b> 53:22 54:3 <b>running</b> 18:23 <b>rush</b> 16:24 <b>Ryanair</b> 46:15
			<b>Q</b>			<b>S</b>
			<b>question</b> 11:12 24:17 36:7 47:6 52:24 <b>questions</b> 1:6 2:20 4:8 45:8 51:10 <b>quite</b> 5:6 6:19 8:24 10:5,15 11:16 12:16 14:20 15:5 28:6 31:10 35:12 38:1 42:13 43:10 44:5 47:2 <b>quote</b> 22:21			<b>sanction</b> 10:12 12:11,16 45:21 <b>sanctions</b> 28:19 29:6,12,15 30:4,7,15 34:23 39:5,16 44:25 45:20 49:2 <b>sat</b> 39:17 40:24 <b>save</b> 8:16 <b>saying</b> 14:24 24:21 25:21,21 30:25 33:3 34:9 <b>says</b> 25:2 30:6 <b>scales</b> 22:2,3 <b>scenario</b> 33:8 <b>scope</b> 7:24 <b>seat</b> 1:7 <b>second</b> 1:22 2:5 3:12 10:14 28:19 <b>Secondly</b> 30:9 <b>secretaries</b> 51:16 <b>secretary</b> 2:11 2:22 4:13 5:10 6:2 13:10 23:13 25:3,9 25:15 31:24 51:19 52:1 53:13 55:2 <b>section</b> 43:17,23 <b>secure</b> 13:6 41:6 41:22 44:6 <b>secured</b> 38:13 <b>securing</b> 38:8 <b>see</b> 13:11 16:1
			<b>R</b>			
			<b>raised</b> 30:22 <b>raises</b> 10:23 <b>raising</b> 9:14 <b>ran</b> 9:5 <b>range</b> 27:8,21 53:21 <b>rarely</b> 46:19 <b>rash</b> 16:19 <b>reactive</b> 28:23 <b>reactive/proac...</b> 30:2 <b>real</b> 38:13 41:4 <b>really</b> 6:9 17:10 27:22 34:16 36:16 37:10 39:18 49:21 <b>reappointed</b> 2:18 <b>reason</b> 35:12 <b>reasons</b> 33:14 38:8,11 49:3 53:3,3 <b>recall</b> 18:16 29:22 <b>recalling</b> 28:16 <b>receded</b> 24:10 <b>receive</b> 46:21 <b>received</b> 9:10 13:25 14:12 <b>receiving</b> 37:25			

19:21 22:5 23:11 24:21,24 28:4,6 29:11 34:15 35:4 41:8 49:10 50:12 <b>seeking</b> 9:16 23:17 <b>seen</b> 6:17 20:5 <b>seized</b> 31:22 <b>Select</b> 25:19 <b>selected</b> 8:20 <b>self-regulation</b> 7:2,4,13,18 13:2 24:15,16 33:7 45:3 <b>self-regulatory</b> 7:24 8:2,18 13:7 46:11 47:1 <b>selling</b> 11:21 <b>sense</b> 21:8 <b>sensible</b> 8:13 <b>sent</b> 15:24 16:4 <b>sentiment</b> 15:20 16:22 <b>separate</b> 51:13 <b>September</b> 1:22 15:12,22 16:5 23:6,9,11 26:4 26:7,23 27:6 27:16,25 28:2 28:3 34:21 42:20 <b>seriously</b> 30:20 46:20 <b>serve</b> 52:3,4 <b>service</b> 38:19 <b>set</b> 2:6 3:11,16 4:4 24:3 28:12 <b>setting</b> 23:23 <b>seven</b> 3:8 <b>shock</b> 32:24 <b>short</b> 35:22 40:16 <b>shoulder</b> 39:23 <b>side</b> 6:16 11:9 <b>significant</b> 9:7 13:14 <b>similar</b> 46:2 <b>similarly</b> 29:11 29:17 <b>simply</b> 4:4 8:14 10:10 18:19 49:7 <b>sir</b> 1:3 3:9,19 8:16 39:1 42:14 52:6 <b>sits</b> 20:21 <b>sitting</b> 8:11 39:23 40:24 <b>skilful</b> 5:1 <b>slight</b> 37:10 <b>slightly</b> 36:8 49:14 <b>slip</b> 24:9 37:24	<b>slipped</b> 37:25 <b>small</b> 32:25,25 53:20 <b>Smith</b> 1:4,5,7,10 1:10,11 22:18 24:22 51:10 55:17 <b>society</b> 21:16 <b>solely</b> 43:5 <b>solution</b> 43:22 <b>somebody</b> 11:1 21:7,25 53:14 <b>soon</b> 41:16 <b>sorry</b> 8:6 12:17 24:16 <b>sort</b> 7:25 47:11 54:25 <b>sorts</b> 14:19 <b>source</b> 25:5 <b>sources</b> 14:19 <b>South</b> 2:10 <b>speaking</b> 21:17 <b>specifics</b> 37:19 <b>speech</b> 7:10 11:7 24:4 <b>speeches</b> 35:25 <b>speeding</b> 39:20 39:21 <b>spend</b> 9:14 49:18 <b>spent</b> 40:20 <b>spirit</b> 28:8 <b>spokesman</b> 19:1 <b>Sport</b> 2:12,22 <b>spotlight</b> 54:15 <b>spouses</b> 29:10 <b>square</b> 21:21 22:2,3 <b>staff</b> 11:2 <b>staffed</b> 8:21 <b>stage</b> 6:8 18:8,21 27:13 29:21 33:13 41:24 48:24 <b>standards</b> 1:21 2:17 9:11 10:7 10:9 48:6 <b>start</b> 2:2 <b>state</b> 2:11,22 4:13 5:10 6:2 7:9 13:10 25:3 25:9,15 31:24 51:17,19 52:1 53:13 55:3 <b>stated</b> 53:6 <b>statement</b> 1:15 2:5 5:14 7:23 13:4,21,24 15:11 16:19 17:6 18:12 23:15 24:22 25:7,24 26:8 32:8,15 34:5 44:14 45:13 <b>statements</b> 1:19 17:2 19:4 35:25	<b>statutory</b> 3:21,24 5:8,12 7:6,25 46:4 47:3,11 47:20 <b>stay</b> 28:8 <b>step</b> 16:13 34:10 <b>stepping</b> 20:8 <b>steps</b> 5:3,7 6:9 30:18,19 31:17 35:20 <b>stick</b> 4:14 30:4 <b>Sticking</b> 3:1 <b>sting</b> 5:2 <b>stood</b> 43:25 <b>stops</b> 46:12 <b>stories</b> 32:23 <b>story</b> 29:24 <b>strengthen</b> 24:11 24:15,16 <b>stressed</b> 25:3 <b>strident</b> 31:17 <b>strong</b> 7:4 16:22 18:25 45:2,4 53:16,21 <b>stronger</b> 13:11 35:11 44:18 <b>strongly</b> 42:2,8 42:13 51:18 <b>style</b> 29:25 <b>subject</b> 43:11 <b>submission</b> 36:18 <b>subsequent</b> 27:9 <b>subsequently</b> 17:17 29:23 30:23 34:3 51:20 <b>substantive</b> 16:7 <b>succeeding</b> 6:19 <b>success</b> 24:6 30:23 <b>successful</b> 27:20 35:7,8,13 <b>successfully</b> 45:9 <b>succession</b> 20:3 <b>successor</b> 45:25 <b>suddenly</b> 15:7 <b>suffered</b> 41:2 <b>sufficient</b> 17:15 <b>suggest</b> 31:19 <b>suggested</b> 23:18 24:23 25:9 42:23 <b>suggesting</b> 8:24 11:10,11 27:3 <b>suggestion</b> 43:13 53:2 <b>summary</b> 2:6 3:19 <b>supporter</b> 7:2 <b>suppose</b> 30:25 <b>sure</b> 8:22 11:2 21:7 47:10 52:11,17 <b>suspect</b> 31:12 35:12 40:6	47:21 <b>sworn</b> 1:5 <b>sympathetic</b> 40:2 <b>sympathy</b> 32:24 <b>system</b> 7:24 8:2 8:17 9:13 10:2 38:20 39:22 45:22 46:4 49:4,6,10,17 49:20 <hr/> <b>T</b> <hr/> <b>tab</b> 2:4 15:25 23:7 28:2 <b>tabling</b> 43:4 <b>tactic</b> 42:25 43:9 <b>take</b> 1:7 5:2 12:23 16:15 17:10 18:19,22 24:1 25:10 30:18 31:17 33:6 36:7 39:3 53:25 55:8,8 <b>taken</b> 4:22,23 5:4,6,16 6:2,9 6:21 15:5 18:18 24:20,23 25:5 30:20 35:20 46:20 51:16 <b>takes</b> 39:15 <b>talking</b> 12:1 19:3 <b>task</b> 50:8 <b>tasked</b> 21:25 <b>teeth</b> 31:13 <b>tell</b> 5:13 13:23 14:1 15:11 18:12 23:15 25:24 26:14 28:14 34:5 35:2 40:2 41:16,20 <b>tends</b> 31:3 <b>tension</b> 10:23 <b>term</b> 2:19 21:9 <b>terms</b> 3:3 5:4 11:6,11 21:1 21:16 22:19 37:19 41:7 44:11 <b>terribly</b> 31:15 <b>test</b> 44:25 52:17 <b>tested</b> 36:1 <b>tests</b> 51:23 <b>thank</b> 1:12,16,17 2:2 28:7 55:15 55:16,17,19 <b>they'd</b> 44:16 <b>thing</b> 4:18 10:13 10:14 16:23 26:19 43:24 44:12 <b>things</b> 2:12 3:25 4:25 5:18 6:7 7:14 19:10	22:20 27:17,22 30:5 34:15 35:1,18 37:12 40:18 43:25 45:17 50:18 <b>think</b> 1:11 4:12 4:25 5:11 6:8 7:9,24 8:10,22 9:3,4,6 11:4,8 11:14,14 13:8 14:24,24 17:24 18:21,23 19:20 19:23,25 20:6 20:8,15,19,23 20:25 21:2,11 21:18,24 22:11 26:20 27:5,19 29:12 34:11,16 34:17,19,19,25 35:19,20 36:17 36:18 37:16,24 38:23 41:4 43:2,5,5,25 44:7 45:17 46:12,13,16,25 47:12,14 50:4 50:6,18,18 53:14 54:11 55:7 <b>thinking</b> 17:23 <b>third</b> 16:11 17:18 28:21 <b>thought</b> 6:4,8 10:3 17:14 28:17 29:8 30:8 33:22 43:1 <b>thousands</b> 14:1 <b>three</b> 13:25 18:24 26:1 27:16,22 28:12 28:17 32:3 34:4,19,22,25 35:18 37:17 40:13 <b>three-year</b> 37:23 41:7,12 <b>tightening</b> 19:2 <b>tilted</b> 22:2 <b>time</b> 4:4,10,17,21 6:23 7:8,8 11:5 13:10 14:14 16:22 17:3 18:13 19:12,24 21:15 24:1 26:11 30:22,22 35:15 38:9 41:8 42:21 43:8,25 44:5,7 44:15 50:23,23 51:18 55:2 <b>times</b> 18:14 20:20 37:7,15 45:23 <b>timescale</b> 24:17 <b>today</b> 7:13	<b>told</b> 12:25 23:3 34:14 36:4 40:25 <b>tonight</b> 17:10 <b>top</b> 5:23 <b>topic</b> 15:9 <b>topics</b> 53:17 <b>totally</b> 9:20 <b>touch</b> 27:11 41:14 <b>touched</b> 44:21 <b>toughening</b> 45:24 <b>Trading</b> 46:6 <b>tragedy</b> 15:8 <b>translate</b> 29:17 <b>translate</b> 35:5 45:9 <b>translated</b> 6:16 <b>transparent</b> 22:10 <b>transparently</b> 53:7 <b>treated</b> 21:6 <b>tremendously</b> 10:12 <b>tribunal</b> 3:22,24 <b>tried</b> 35:25 40:13 55:2 <b>true</b> 49:1 <b>truly</b> 11:1 <b>trust</b> 48:1 <b>truthful</b> 10:16,18 50:25 <b>try</b> 37:11 <b>trying</b> 8:15 20:22 48:23 <b>turn</b> 2:4 23:3 <b>two</b> 1:19 2:25 3:1 11:17 12:9 13:24 15:12 29:1,4 30:5 32:2 34:15,17 37:16,23 40:13 40:18 41:3,7 41:12 45:17 46:4,13,16 51:14 <b>two-thirds</b> 9:24 <b>type</b> 38:21 <hr/> <b>U</b> <hr/> <b>ultimately</b> 46:3 48:17 49:6 53:11 <b>unable</b> 29:5 <b>unacceptable</b> 14:8 <b>undercut</b> 49:9 <b>underpinning</b> 47:11 <b>understand</b> 2:23 3:2,5 16:18 18:17 21:17 22:18,25 54:24	<b>undertakings</b> 28:9 <b>unfair</b> 26:14 <b>unfairly</b> 21:6 <b>unimpeachably</b> 9:4 <b>unnecessarily</b> 39:7 <b>unpleasant</b> 39:8 <b>unsavoury</b> 39:9 <b>urgent</b> 16:17 23:17 <b>urgently</b> 16:14 17:9 <b>use</b> 21:19 <b>useful</b> 12:22 <b>usefully</b> 25:16 <b>ushered</b> 3:10 <hr/> <b>V</b> <hr/> <b>various</b> 25:20 32:24 <b>vehicle</b> 52:18 <b>view</b> 7:15 14:23 14:23 16:20 18:18,21 19:6 27:12 40:2 43:23 44:2,6 44:18 52:14,20 53:6,16,21 55:4,6,8,9 <b>viewing</b> 48:5 <b>views</b> 5:20 6:7,25 12:24 13:1,10 50:20 53:21 <b>voice</b> 1:14 43:6 <b>voluntarily</b> 8:3,8 47:8,15 <hr/> <b>W</b> <hr/> <b>wake</b> 13:14 <b>Wakeham</b> 4:2,8 4:23,25 5:17 5:19 6:5,14,22 9:4 15:21 16:16 17:13 18:6,14,20,22 18:24 20:8,16 22:14 23:5,10 23:25 24:1 25:1,15,20 26:18,21 27:1 27:11 29:1,22 30:6,16,17,24 31:10 33:14,20 33:25 34:22 37:17 41:15 42:11,12,16,18 44:1,6 50:4 <b>Wakeham's</b> 23:23 32:14 35:5 36:25 <b>Wales</b> 13:15,19 <b>want</b> 3:2,4 4:4 18:17 21:7 22:2,21 33:9
---	---	--	--	---	--	--

43:19 45:13 49:9,10 <b>wanted</b> 6:10 21:5 34:6 44:2,5 <b>wanting</b> 13:11 38:8,12 <b>wants</b> 10:8 <b>war</b> 37:6 <b>warnings</b> 22:23 <b>wasn't</b> 4:18 5:23 27:13 36:15 41:9 <b>watch</b> 24:13 <b>way</b> 1:24 3:7 5:5 8:13 9:5 10:9 11:2,8 13:6 19:8 28:21 30:2 35:21 38:8 39:6 42:16 45:24 48:2 49:15 50:6 53:17,20 53:22 54:12,13 55:9,13 <b>ways</b> 24:9 36:1 38:1 <b>Wednesbury</b> 52:17 <b>week</b> 24:10 <b>weekend's</b> 16:15 <b>weeks</b> 13:25 14:5 18:24 26:1 27:9 <b>welcome</b> 23:22 24:5 34:10 <b>welcoming</b> 33:3 <b>well-known</b> 29:9 <b>weren't</b> 34:17 50:16 <b>we'll</b> 2:20 12:19 13:13 18:10 22:13,15 32:12 40:14 43:1 <b>we're</b> 2:2 22:14 22:17,18 <b>we've</b> 5:15 16:10 41:14 45:10 46:13 51:13 <b>whatsoever</b> 9:8 9:18,25 <b>whichever</b> 52:22 <b>whilst</b> 21:15 38:9 <b>wholesale</b> 30:1 <b>who've</b> 40:25 <b>widely</b> 25:18 <b>wind</b> 31:14 <b>window</b> 32:1 <b>wish</b> 20:4 24:6 <b>witness</b> 1:3,4 2:5 13:24 44:14 <b>women</b> 50:13 <b>wondering</b> 24:24 52:19 <b>word</b> 47:14 <b>work</b> 1:15 12:21 14:9 44:24	46:9 <b>worked</b> 15:1 26:1,2,23 30:3 <b>workers</b> 38:19 38:19 <b>works</b> 8:25 10:5 26:22 <b>world</b> 9:7 50:24 <b>worried</b> 42:2 <b>worse</b> 19:17 <b>worth</b> 30:25 <b>wouldn't</b> 11:13 29:10 <b>write</b> 26:16 <b>writing</b> 45:15 <b>wrong</b> 11:15 38:23,25 <b>wrote</b> 15:13 34:7 <hr/> <b>Y</b> <hr/> <b>Yeah</b> 29:12 <b>years</b> 2:8 3:9,13 31:25 34:4 37:17 40:13,19 41:3 46:15 <b>young</b> 32:21 <hr/> <b>0</b> <hr/> <b>0.1</b> 49:17 <hr/> <b>1</b> <hr/> <b>1</b> 2:4,5 4:8 37:9 <b>1,200</b> 14:4 <b>10</b> 41:21 55:21 <b>11</b> 25:24 <b>12</b> 43:17,23 <b>13</b> 34:5 <b>15</b> 35:3 <b>16</b> 1:22 32:20 41:16 <b>17</b> 42:1 <b>1983</b> 2:9 <b>1990</b> 3:9 <b>1993</b> 3:12,21 4:3 <b>1995</b> 4:8 <b>1997</b> 2:10,21,23 4:15 5:10,19 6:20 13:19 16:5 23:9 28:3 31:23 41:6 <hr/> <b>2</b> <hr/> <b>2</b> 3:11 7:2 15:12 15:25 16:5,11 23:7,22 28:2,6 37:10 <b>2.00</b> 1:2 <b>20</b> 36:18 44:14 <b>2001</b> 2:10,21 31:24 <b>2002</b> 36:13 <b>2003</b> 2:14 <b>2005</b> 2:9 <b>2008</b> 2:14 <b>2011</b> 1:22 <b>2012</b> 1:23	<b>21</b> 32:20 <b>22</b> 2:8 45:13 <b>23</b> 45:13 <b>24</b> 26:7 27:16,25 28:3 34:21 <b>25</b> 5:19 26:23 34:7 <b>29</b> 28:2 <hr/> <b>3</b> <hr/> <b>3</b> 1:23 2:23 4:15 23:25 <b>3.36</b> 55:20 <b>30</b> 1:23 <b>31</b> 13:19 18:24 31:23 <hr/> <b>4</b> <hr/> <b>4</b> 5:14 24:1 28:25 29:3 <hr/> <b>5</b> <hr/> <b>5</b> 13:4 24:2 28:11 <hr/> <b>6</b> <hr/> <b>6</b> 13:20 24:5 <hr/> <b>7</b> <hr/> <b>7</b> 15:11 24:17 <hr/> <b>8</b> <hr/> <b>8</b> 15:22 18:11 23:6,11 26:4 27:6 41:21 <hr/> <b>9</b> <hr/> <b>9</b> 13:24 23:9 <b>99</b> 50:24			
---	--	---	--	--	--