

<p>1 2 (2.00 pm) 3 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Sorry I'm late, Mr Jay. 4 MR JAY: Sir, the first witness this afternoon is the Right 5 Honourable Ed Miliband, please. 6 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Thank you very much. 7 EDWARD SAMUEL MILIBAND (affirmed) 8 Questions by MR JAY 9 MR JAY: You've kindly provided us with a statement. I'm 10 not sure the copy I have is dated. It matters not. Are 11 you happy to confirm that this is your formal evidence 12 to the Inquiry? 13 <b>A. Yes, I am.</b> 14 Q. Thank you very much. Of course, you were Secretary of 15 State for Energy and Climate Change between October 2008 16 and May 2010, and since September 2010, leader of the 17 opposition. Can I ask you, please, to develop your 18 over-arching thoughts on the first page of your 19 statement at 06816 first? 20 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Before you do, if I can get a word in 21 edgeways, Mr Miliband, thank you very much indeed for 22 the obvious effort and thought that's been put into the 23 evidence that you've provided. I'm grateful. 24 <b>A. Thank you, sir.</b> 25 Thank you, Mr Jay. Can I start by saying that it is</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 1</p>	<p>1 <b>outset that an organisation like News International had</b> 2 <b>huge power, and I think politicians were reticent of</b> 3 <b>speaking out about some of the practices that were</b> 4 <b>exposed, I include myself in that. There came a moment</b> 5 <b>when I felt it was impossible not to speak out. I knew</b> 6 <b>at that moment I was crossing a Rubicon, if you like.</b> 7 <b>I did do that and I think it was the right thing to do.</b> 8 <b>The final thing I want to say to you, sir, is that</b> 9 <b>no politician is going to come before you and give you</b> 10 <b>a blank cheque, and you wouldn't expect that, I know,</b> 11 <b>from reading the evidence, but I think there is a huge</b> 12 <b>responsibility on politicians to make sure -- and</b> 13 <b>I gather this was echoed by Sir John Major this</b> 14 <b>morning -- that your recommendations do not end up on</b> 15 <b>a dusty shelf somewhere, as I think you yourself have</b> 16 <b>remarked.</b> 17 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes, I said the second shelf. 18 Mr Paxman thought it ought to be the bottom shelf. 19 <b>A. I remember reading that, sir, but I think we have a huge</b> 20 <b>responsibility and I want to say, really, echoing</b> 21 <b>something you said at the beginning of this week and</b> 22 <b>something that Tony Blair said in his testimony, that</b> 23 <b>for any Prime Minister this is going to be very</b> 24 <b>difficult and I want to say that I will do everything</b> 25 <b>I can to seek to work on a cross-party basis so ensure</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 3</p>
<p>1 <b>a privilege for me to be able to give evidence to the</b> 2 <b>Inquiry. I do provide an opening statement and I want</b> 3 <b>to briefly develop those points.</b> 4 <b>I think the first point to make is that we have</b> 5 <b>elements of an outstanding press in this country. We</b> 6 <b>certainly have fantastic traditions of the press.</b> 7 <b>Indeed, the expose of phone hacking only happened</b> 8 <b>because of the rigour and dedication of parts of the</b> 9 <b>press, so I think it's very, very important that the</b> 10 <b>recommendations that come out of this Inquiry uphold</b> 11 <b>that freedom of the press and those great traditions.</b> 12 <b>I think secondly, reading the compelling evidence</b> 13 <b>that has been put to this Inquiry, I think particularly</b> 14 <b>of the evidence of Kate and Gerry McCann, there's</b> 15 <b>clearly something that's gone very wrong in the way the</b> 16 <b>press deal with individuals, individuals who don't seek</b> 17 <b>celebrity, and I hope that can be put right by some of</b> 18 <b>the recommendations of this Inquiry.</b> 19 <b>I think thirdly it's right to acknowledge that the</b> 20 <b>failure to get to grips with these issues earlier is</b> 21 <b>a collective failure of the establishment. The press,</b> 22 <b>the police, who didn't investigate properly, and indeed</b> 23 <b>politicians, who were at least aware of some of what was</b> 24 <b>going on and didn't speak out.</b> 25 <b>Fourthly, I think it's right to say right at the</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 2</p>	<p>1 <b>that your recommendations provide a framework for us for</b> 2 <b>the future.</b> 3 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I'm very grateful for that assurance. 4 I've spoken lightly of the second shelf, but 5 actually there is a serious point, that this is not an 6 area of the law with which I have been particularly 7 familiar in my practice, either at the bar or on the 8 bench, but I have been very disturbed to read that since 9 the War, there have been repeated attempts to seek to 10 address this issue, all of which in the end have just 11 foundered, and I would be very disappointed if the 12 amount of effort -- not just public money, public money 13 as well, but intellectual effort from all the people who 14 have been the core participants, from all those who have 15 given evidence, and it's why I have thanked everybody 16 who has prepared a statement, who have obviously thought 17 about the issues -- if all that effort was wasted and 18 didn't achieve something. 19 I'm not entirely reassured by the repeated comment 20 that the very fact of the Inquiry has already made 21 a difference. It may do this month, it may do next 22 year, but I think the effort requires a rather greater 23 repayment than that. 24 <b>A. I concur with those remarks, sir.</b> 25 MR JAY: Thank you. May I move on to question 2, the second</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 4</p>

<p>1 page of your statement, 06817. The third paragraph,  2 first of all, where you bring in the theme of press  3 freedom with responsibility, which reflects evidence  4 we've recently heard as well. You say in the last  5 sentence of that paragraph that you think the public  6 interest is best served if there is respect on both  7 sides and fair play "in our dealings with each other".  8 It's a question though, Mr Miliband: how do you promote  9 that state of affairs?</p> <p>10 <b>A. Well, Mr Jay, I think this is an important question and</b>  11 <b>I'll be honest with you: I think it's one I've wrestled</b>  12 <b>with a lot in thinking about my evidence.</b></p> <p>13 <b>I said at the outset that my primary interest in the</b>  14 <b>work of the Inquiry was to protect the innocent victims,</b>  15 <b>the people who didn't seek celebrity, and I want to</b>  16 <b>reaffirm that before I talk about this relationship,</b>  17 <b>because I think it's very, very important to set some</b>  18 <b>context.</b></p> <p>19 <b>Having said that, I think that we should be seeking</b>  20 <b>in our democracy a relationship of mutual respect. Let</b>  21 <b>me just say a little bit about what I mean by that.</b>  22 <b>Respect from politicians for a free, fair and strong</b>  23 <b>press I think is very, very important, and not respect</b>  24 <b>for individual politicians from the press, not</b>  25 <b>deference, but a sense that there is fair play, a sense</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 5</p>	<p>1 Q. Thank you. Can I move on to interleave what you say  2 under question 11, which is page 06823, where you deal  3 with the issue of the media's impact on political  4 debate, the diversity of opinion. A number of witnesses  5 have spoken about the conflation or fusion of news and  6 comment, Mr Miliband. First of all, do you think that  7 that is a significant problem, and if so, what would you  8 do about it?</p> <p>9 <b>A. Yes, this is perhaps one of the trickier issues. The</b>  10 <b>code -- and I think this first arose in the questioning</b>  11 <b>of Peter Mandelson. Well, at least I hadn't realised</b>  12 <b>this about the code until the questioning of Peter</b>  13 <b>Mandelson. The code is very radical on this point, in</b>  14 <b>saying that there should be a separation of fact and</b>  15 <b>comment.</b></p> <p>16 <b>My honest view about this is that I think this is</b>  17 <b>not something that is necessarily going to lend itself</b>  18 <b>to a regulatory solution or a redress solution in quite</b>  19 <b>the same way as issues of other things that appear in</b>  20 <b>the code around privacy or harassment or inaccuracy --</b>  21 <b>which I think is slightly distinct from the blurring of</b>  22 <b>fact and comment -- are treated, because I think it's</b>  23 <b>very, very difficult to see how you can sort of regulate</b>  24 <b>the fact/comment distinction.</b></p> <p>25 <b>I should say right at the outset: I'm not in favour</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 7</p>
<p>1 of being able to get one's views across. I think that  2 would be the ideal we'd be seeking.</p> <p>3 <b>I have to say, I think we're a long way from the</b>  4 <b>ideal at the moment. I think at its worst, there is</b>  5 <b>a sort of mutual culture of contempt, I would say, from</b>  6 <b>the press, who think the politicians aren't straight</b>  7 <b>with them and who behave badly, and from politicians who</b>  8 <b>think we're just not going to get a fair hearing.</b></p> <p>9 <b>I think the reason this is important is because it</b>  10 <b>is perhaps part of the context to what I describe in my</b>  11 <b>statement and others have described in different terms</b>  12 <b>as the excessive closeness that there can sometimes be.</b>  13 <b>Why do politicians -- and this is not a defence or an</b>  14 <b>alibi -- seek the closeness? Sometimes it's because</b>  15 <b>it's the way of getting a good hearing. I think you had</b>  16 <b>a flavour of that from some of the participants.</b></p> <p>17 <b>So I think I've set out to you what I think the</b>  18 <b>ideal is, but we're a long way away from it.</b></p> <p>19 <b>I'll say just one other point. I think the biggest</b>  20 <b>injustice, if you like, that needs to be put right by</b>  21 <b>the Inquiry is in relation to ordinary people, but</b>  22 <b>I think it would be a great thing if, in the work the</b>  23 <b>Inquiry does and the recommendations it makes, it can</b>  24 <b>help to improve that relationship, because I think that</b>  25 <b>would be good for our democracy, frankly.</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 6</p>	<p>1 of statutory regulation to ensure balance, for example.  2 I'm not in favour of statutory regulation of content in  3 the sense of having balance like we do in relation to  4 the broadcasters.</p> <p>5 <b>I hope that one outcome might be, though, that if we</b>  6 <b>have a new body charged with looking at these issues and</b>  7 <b>dealing with upholding the code, they can at least seek</b>  8 <b>to raise standards. Some witnesses have suggested, for</b>  9 <b>example, an annual report on these issues.</b></p> <p>10 <b>I think finally I'd say inaccuracy is a problem, is</b>  11 <b>in the code, and I think, you know, there should be</b>  12 <b>a remedy for inaccuracies, and I suspect all the</b>  13 <b>newspapers that you've had before you would accept that.</b></p> <p>14 Q. Thank you. At the next paragraph under question 11 on  15 this page, you make it clear that you see journalists  16 and editors. Of course, there's a public interest in  17 doing that. They will express views which may influence  18 your thinking, but you approach it on the basis that  19 they should have no greater influence than the quality  20 of their argument. Are you able to differentiate,  21 though, between the message and the messenger, given  22 what one witness described as the undertow of power  23 which some proprietors have been able to exercise?</p> <p>24 <b>A. I think there's no question that the press has</b>  25 <b>a significant influence on the parameters of public</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 8</p>

<p>1 debate in this country, as in any country, and I think                  2 that it would be incredibly naive or indeed dishonest                  3 not to acknowledge that. In the way they report things,                  4 they both reflect the views of their readers and --                  5 I think we should be clear that some of the things that                  6 Labour politicians or Conservative politicians might                  7 dislike about what the press says does reflect the views                  8 of their readers. Some of it shapes people's views.                  9 I think that is inevitable. And we have what I would                  10 call a partisan press in this country, more centre right                  11 than centre left, so I think that's obviously the case.                  12 So I think anybody who says that they don't have an                  13 influence on the overall terms of public debate would be                  14 wrong.                  15 I think that in your discussions you've looked for                  16 the express deal, the implied deal. I think it's much                  17 less about that, at least in my experience of the Labour                  18 government. It's much more less about that, and it's                  19 more about influencing the terms of public debate. We                  20 might come on to the question of whether politicians                  21 spoke out about some of the abuses of the press, where                  22 I think that there was an effect of politicians not                  23 speaking out because of the power of the press, but                  24 I think that's the way I seat issue.                  25 Q. Thank you. If I can go back, please, to the earlier                  Page 9</p>	<p>1 I think I say broadly in the written answer that                  2 similar standards should apply, that obviously some                  3 things like quasi-judicial role don't apply if you're in                  4 opposition, but that you should seek similar standards.                  5 Q. Yes.                  6 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Actually, we had it the other way                  7 around from Mr Blair. I think it was identified by                  8 Alastair Campbell, who said that having been in                  9 opposition for 18 years and having had to get the                  10 message across latterly following the 1992 election in                  11 a very much more proactive way, the Labour Party carried                  12 into government attitudes and approaches developed in                  13 opposition, which was a mistake. That's, I think, how                  14 he put it. You've just put it the other way around. It                  15 may be the same thing.                  16 A. I think there was probably a greater degree of                  17 informality, is the way I would put it. I'm not sure                  18 what the specific mistake that the witnesses were                  19 referring to was, but there was a greater degree of                  20 informality in opposition. Having been in government,                  21 one is more wary about what might be right and what                  22 might be wrong, and it's certainly an approach that I've                  23 tried to take as leader of the Labour Party.                  24 MR JAY: Mr Miliband, question 5, lessons to be learned from                  25 the recent history of relations between the media and                  Page 11</p>
<p>1 point in your statement, paragraph 3 now, at the top of                  2 page 06818. That's whether you detect any differences                  3 between politicians in government and politicians in                  4 opposition. Of course, you've had experience of both                  5 but I think we're particularly interested in politicians                  6 in opposition at the moment and whether there are, in                  7 fact, differences, whether the same standards should                  8 apply or whether different considerations might impinge.                  9 A. Sir, I've had experience of this in sort of three goes,                  10 if you like, because I was an adviser in opposition in                  11 the 1990s, I was obviously an adviser and a politician                  12 in government and now obviously in opposition.                  13 I think I'd make this observation, which is there's                  14 no question that having had the experience of government                  15 makes you more cautious, in my view, less informal about                  16 the way you do things. I was Secretary of State for                  17 Energy. I was making potentially big multi-billion                  18 pound decisions in relation to nuclear power, for                  19 example. You obviously have to observe the ministerial                  20 code. You're given help and support to do that by your                  21 permanent secretary, your principle private secretary,                  22 your private office. I hope that I've carried some of                  23 the habits of government into opposition. So I think                  24 experience of government, if you like, is useful in                  25 terms of then coming into opposition.                  Page 10</p>	<p>1 politicians. You pick out four points, and there's also                  2 a fifth point, which you pick up again under question 8,                  3 so I'll collect them altogether now.                  4 You say:                  5 "First of all, politicians were too slow in                  6 condemning or scrutinising the conduct of the media, in                  7 particular the phone hacking abuses. There are a number                  8 of reasons for this."                  9 The first one:                  10 "Politicians were weary, in some ways rightly, of                  11 being seen to be curtailing freedom of the press."                  12 I think the question is: in which way "rightly"?                  13 A. Mr Jay, I think there are two factors at work here.                  14 I think there is the factor that politicians were, in my                  15 view, wary of taking up the issue of press redress, the                  16 system of complaints, the way all that worked, for                  17 a variety of reasons, but all coming back, in my view,                  18 to the single one, which is that we were concerned about                  19 the impact that it would have on the particular                  20 political parties that took up the cudgels on that                  21 issue. I think Mr Blair put it as it would have                  22 distracted attention from the health service and so on.                  23 There's different ways of putting this, but I think it                  24 all amounts to quite a similar idea. You know, it would                  25 be taking on an 800 pound gorilla, and you do that                  Page 12</p>

1 advisedly, or inadvisedly.  
 2 **The second part of it, though, which is, if you**  
 3 **like, the correct motive in this, which I think is**  
 4 **equally important to bear in mind -- and it bears on the**  
 5 **opening remarks I made -- is that we are held to account**  
 6 **by the press. It is the press' job to hold us to**  
 7 **account, and that is very -- that is a very, very**  
 8 **important job that the press has, and therefore part of**  
 9 **it is a doubt or worry in the minds, I think, of**  
 10 **politicians that: are we seeking to curtail the people**  
 11 **who, if you like, regulate us by regulating them? So**  
 12 **I think you have these two, if you like, different**  
 13 **motives which I think, in candour, were both at play.**  
 14 **I think briefly there's a third motive, which may be**  
 15 **for Labour politicians which a number of your witnesses**  
 16 **have talked about, which I don't need to dwell upon,**  
 17 **which is, if you like: would it be seen as a Labour**  
 18 **vendetta for past issues, 1992 and all of that?**  
 19 Q. To what extent do you give weight to the chilling effect  
 20 argument, and coupled with that, I suppose, are the  
 21 unintended consequences of regulation, which we've heard  
 22 from one or two witnesses?  
 23 **A. I'm sorry, Mr Jay, would you just explain what you're**  
 24 **seeking from the question?**  
 25 Q. Sorry, the chilling effect. That if you are not careful

Page 13

1 with regulation, you have a --  
 2 **A. I think that is always something that whenever we are**  
 3 **scrutinising proposals, we must look very carefully at.**  
 4 **I know it bears heavily on the remarks that, sir, you**  
 5 **have made about the dilemmas you face as an Inquiry, but**  
 6 **I don't think the fear of a chilling effect should be**  
 7 **a reason for inaction. And I think, you know, it**  
 8 **mustn't be used as an excuse for inaction.**  
 9 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: We have to make sure that we preserve  
 10 what's good, and investigative journalism is a very good  
 11 example, but there's no reason why we should not chill  
 12 unjustifiable invasions of privacy that can't for one  
 13 moment be justified in the public interest.  
 14 **A. Precisely.**  
 15 MR JAY: The second point you made under this heading --  
 16 we're still on page 06819:  
 17 "The regulatory framework applying to the print  
 18 media was ineffective either in preventing or providing  
 19 remedies for abuses such as phone hacking. There was  
 20 also insufficient enforcement by the police of the  
 21 criminal law."  
 22 Can I ask you to address this point: why is not  
 23 effective enforcement of the criminal law an efficient  
 24 and effective remedy for all of these matters?  
 25 **A. This is the burden, Mr Jay, without personalising it, of**

Page 14

1 **the exchanges that were had with Mr Gove on the stand,**  
 2 **which is about the nature of -- among others, if there's**  
 3 **a crime admitted, then it should be dealt with.**  
 4 **I must say, I take a slightly different view on**  
 5 **this. You see, when I looked through the McCanns'**  
 6 **evidence, which I read -- and it's absolutely chilling**  
 7 **evidence, in my view, because I wasn't as aware of the**  
 8 **comprehensive nature of the grievances that had been**  
 9 **done to them -- and then I look at the code, I think:**  
 10 **number one, accuracy, breached; number three, privacy;**  
 11 **number four, harassment; number 5, intrusion into grief**  
 12 **or shock; number 9, reporting of crime; number 10,**  
 13 **clandestine devices and subterfuge.**  
 14 **Not all of those things are illegal and nor are they**  
 15 **a matter for the police. Indeed, we would not want the**  
 16 **police policing a number of these issues, but it in no**  
 17 **way makes up, removes, lessens the harm and grief that**  
 18 **the McCanns felt adding to the grief they felt about the**  
 19 **disappearance of their daughter, and so therefore**  
 20 **I don't think this can be just put down to "let's just**  
 21 **get the police to do their job" in the way that some**  
 22 **witnesses have suggested.**  
 23 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I'll ask you about my speeding  
 24 analogy, which sometimes finds favour and sometimes  
 25 doesn't. Can we really allow people to say that it's

Page 15

1 not the fault of the person driving the car in excess of  
 2 the speed limit that he's speeding, but rather the fault  
 3 of the police for failing to prevent it? With the best  
 4 will in the world, the police will inevitably prioritise  
 5 crime, and as the Deputy Assistant Commissioner  
 6 Mr Clarke put it to me very forcibly, hacking is  
 7 undeniably odious but it doesn't kill people, at a time  
 8 when he was looking at terrorist threats.  
 9 **A. But, sir, if I may, that is an additional point to the**  
 10 **point I was making.**  
 11 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I think it is.  
 12 **A. I think it's very important that even with the police**  
 13 **having all the resources in the world thrown at press**  
 14 **illegality, which we would not want, there remains the**  
 15 **McCanns, Margaret Watson, a whole range of people who**  
 16 **have come before you, cases which I did not myself know**  
 17 **about, the lady who was the assistant to Elle**  
 18 **Macpherson -- you know the list better than I do --**  
 19 **things which were not necessarily based in illegality.**  
 20 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes, I agree it's an additional  
 21 point, but I'm collecting them together.  
 22 MR JAY: The third point you make here, Mr Miliband, relates  
 23 to the concentration of media ownership in a small  
 24 number of hands, particularly across different forms of  
 25 media, which increase the importance of those

Page 16

<p>1 proprietors in the eyes of some politicians: 2 "It increased the conflict between the politician's 3 duty to act in the public interest and his or her 4 interest in remaining on good terms with the powerful 5 media proprietor." 6 Do you think that concentration of media ownership 7 lies at the heart of the problem you've identified here, 8 or are there other elements to it? 9 <b>A. I think it is part of the problem and part of the 10 solution, because I think that part of 11 News International's sense of power without 12 responsibility, which is what I believe it was, came 13 from the fact that they controlled 37 per cent of the 14 newspaper market before the closure of the News of the 15 World, and I don't think we can divorce these questions 16 of ownership, quasi-monopoly et cetera, from -- or at 17 least concentration of power, better put than 18 "quasi-monopoly" -- concentration of power -- I don't 19 think we can divorce those questions from the behaviour 20 of some parts of the press. 21 And add in, by the way, the Sky platform, which then 22 became -- and Sky. All that became an issue around 23 BSKyB, but I think that is a big concentration of media 24 power, and I think part of the arrogance -- and I use 25 the word advisedly; in a way, it's a mild form of the</b> Page 17</p>	<p>1 <b>A. Of course.</b> 2 Q. I was going to go on now to your answer to question 7, 3 which is at 08621, and to annex A, which is a list of 4 your meetings, interactions with proprietors and 5 editors, starting on 28 September 2010, which was, 6 I think, two or three days after you were elected to be 7 leader of the opposition; is that right? 8 <b>A. That's correct.</b> 9 Q. It's apparent from a quick scrutiny of the list that as 10 with everyone, you see a whole range of editors and 11 proprietors, not just newspapers who might be expected 12 to support you. 13 <b>A. (Nods head)</b> 14 Q. Again, it's difficult to identify clear patterns. We 15 can see, for example, that at the Labour Party 16 Conference which immediately postdated your election, 17 you saw Mr Wallace, first of all, and Mr Myler, 18 Mr Harding, Mr Mohan. 19 On the next page, page 05681, there's one phone call 20 with Rebekah Brooks on 21 December 2010. On 3 March 21 2011, there was a phone call with James Murdoch. Can 22 you remember what that was about at this distance? 23 <b>A. Sure. He rang me -- I think it was on the day that the 24 undertakings in lieu were being published by News Corp, 25 and I think he rang me to brief me on what these</b> Page 19</p>
<p>1 <b>word I might use -- came from that.</b> 2 Q. Your fourth point maybe flows on from your earlier 3 points: 4 "The revelation of the relationships between some 5 representatives of the media and some politicians has 6 further undermined trust in both the media and 7 politicians." 8 That explains in part the state of affairs where 9 we've now found ourselves; is that correct? 10 <b>A. Yes, I think that's right. I think that is right. 11 I think I tried to explain -- because it's complicated, 12 this. At the beginning, there's the nature of why 13 politicians maybe sought overly close relationships, but 14 I think what's good -- I know you're going to come onto 15 recommendations later but if I can make this point, 16 which in a way makes the point more easily: what's good 17 about the transparency that has been introduced in 18 politics is it does -- it is a sort of test, really, 19 which is: if you don't want this appearing in the 20 newspapers, don't engage in the relationship. I think 21 that's probably -- well, that's certainly in my view 22 a good thing.</b> 23 Q. Thank you. As you say, the recommendations which you 24 begin to advance in the middle of this page we'll deal 25 with at a later point, Mr Miliband, if that's all right. Page 18</p>	<p>1 <b>undertakings in lieu meant.</b> 2 Q. Were you surprised to receive his call? 3 <b>A. Not overly surprised. I mean, I hadn't had any formal 4 meetings or didn't have any formal meetings with 5 James Murdoch -- haven't had -- during my time as leader 6 of the Labour Party, but I thought it was a courtesy 7 call, really, to ring me to brief me. Our position was 8 well established on the referral to the Competition 9 Commission that we believed needed take place, and that 10 continued to be our position.</b> 11 Q. Thank you. On 7 July 2011 -- this is page 06584 -- you 12 had a phone call with Paul Dacre, editor of the 13 Daily Mail. I think I'm right in saying that there 14 hadn't been that many, if any, previous interactions 15 with him. Again, we can see from the date that the 16 phone hacking scandal had erupted, but can you remember 17 the subject matter of that call? 18 <b>A. I was phoning him, Mr Jay, because I was giving a speech 19 the next day which said that the PCC, the Press 20 Complaints Commission, was a toothless poodle that 21 needed to be put out of its misery, and clearly 22 I thought Mr Dacre had an interest in these issues, so 23 I think I rang him and, I believe, the editor of the 24 Independent, really just to give them an advance sense 25 of what I was saying about these issues.</b> Page 20</p>

5 (Pages 17 to 20)

1 Q. Can you remember what his reaction was to what you told  
2 him?  
3 **A. I think it's fair to say he didn't agree with me at that  
4 point that it was a toothless poodle that needed to be  
5 put out of its misery.**  
6 Q. Fair enough, and there are further discussions with  
7 Mr Dacre, we can see, on 1 November 2011 and 1 December  
8 2011. This is page 06586. The first appears to be  
9 a phone call. The second may well have been a meeting.  
10 **A. I'm sorry, just say those two again? 1 November and the  
11 other one was ...?**  
12 Q. 1 December last year.  
13 **A. Oh yes.**  
14 Q. It is difficult to remember what might have been  
15 discussed on a particular occasion but in the event that  
16 you were able to assist us --  
17 **A. I can. I think on 1 November, I was pitching an article  
18 for the Daily Mail following up the conference speech  
19 I gave about what I call responsible capitalism and how  
20 we change the way our economy is run, and we just had  
21 a brief chat about that. I don't think the article  
22 ended up appearing.**  
23 **The 1 December was just a more general chat about  
24 the issues and where Labour stands. That was,  
25 I believe, at his office. In fact it was at his office.**

Page 21

1 Q. Have you had discussions with editors about the issues  
2 which are concerning this Inquiry?  
3 **A. Yes.**  
4 Q. Those discussions may be private and confidential, in  
5 which case we needn't hear about them, but does  
6 a general message emerge from what that he say which you  
7 could help us with or not?  
8 **A. I think it's fair to say -- I know you're going to be  
9 hearing from Ms Harman later on -- that she has taken  
10 a whole series of conversations with editors, structured  
11 conversations, if you like, a sort of informal  
12 consultation process over the last few months. So the  
13 conversations I had would have been at the time of last  
14 summer, really, with the editors.**  
15 Q. Yes.  
16 **A. I think there's actually a lunch with Mr Dacre that you  
17 maybe omitted, where we will have no doubt discussed the  
18 toothless poodle question, to put it that way. Or have  
19 I misremembered --**  
20 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: 25 July.  
21 **A. 25 July. So we will have discussed issues of how the  
22 press was going to move forward at that event, and  
23 I would have had some other conversations.**  
24 MR JAY: Yes. I'll remember to ask Ms Harman questions on  
25 that theme.

Page 22

1 It appears, from a cursory scrutiny of that annex,  
2 that if one wanted to count up contacts with  
3 News International papers between September 2010 and  
4 14 July 2011, there are 15, including phone calls, but  
5 after that there's only one, and that's with Mr Harding,  
6 excluding one social interaction with Mr Myler, and  
7 sadly two funerals co-attended with Mr Harding. I don't  
8 know whether we draw any conclusions from that, but  
9 that's the pattern.  
10 **A. Do you want me to --**  
11 Q. Yes.  
12 **A. I think it's fair to say I didn't have particularly good  
13 relations with News International newspapers before  
14 phone hacking, in particular the Sun. I certainly don't  
15 think it improved post phone-hacking, and our contacts  
16 have been much more limited.**  
17 **I do say -- I am, in no sense, though, saying --  
18 because the Labour Party may have got itself into this  
19 position two decades back -- that somehow I'm not going  
20 to engage in relationships with the Sun newspaper. I am  
21 going to engage in relationships, as you would expect me  
22 to do, and indeed the Times.**  
23 Q. Thank you. Question 8 --  
24 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Just before you move away from this  
25 schedule, could I ask a slightly different question?

Page 23

1 I'm grateful to you for compiling this. Do you think  
2 it's a good idea that this sort of record is kept and  
3 then made public, or is it just window-dressing?  
4 **A. It is definitely a good idea, sir, because I think that  
5 it acts as a -- look, it acts as a check, in a way, on  
6 what politicians do in the engagements that they have,  
7 and transparency is a good thing in this respect, and it  
8 means that you make a judgment not just about the  
9 invitation that you receive but the wisdom of accepting  
10 it.**  
11 **Now, I hope I would make those judgments in any case  
12 but I think it's quite a good reinforcement. I think  
13 there's a question about whether -- your list, I think,  
14 includes contacts with political editors. I think the  
15 list that previously the Prime Minister and I published,  
16 and indeed the Deputy Prime Minister, didn't include  
17 contacts with political editors. I think you have to  
18 make this proportionate because if you make it every  
19 single conversation with any journalist, you're going to  
20 get into very deep bureaucratic waters.**  
21 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: And unnecessarily, because that there  
22 is a relationship between a politician and a journalist  
23 must follow because it's important for politicians to  
24 get their message across and for journalists to be able  
25 to challenge them and hold them to account.

Page 24

<p>1 <b>A. Indeed.</b>                  2 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: But the reason I ask the question is                  3 because I'm conscious of the policy and the way it's now                  4 working out, but I just wonder whether you fear there is                  5 a risk that it might just become subterranean, in the                  6 sense that it's no longer you who meet the editor but                  7 one of your staff that meets a rather more senior                  8 representative of a journal or press, and how you deal                  9 with that other than by cultural change.                  10 <b>A. I think those kinds of contacts go on, have gone on,                  11 will continue to go on, as we speak. Many, many of                  12 those contacts. I think that's inevitable and actually                  13 not a bad thing, as you imply in your question. It's                  14 a good thing, it's right, because I want people to know                  15 about our views, my views, and likewise other political                  16 parties would say the same.</b>                  17 <b>The good thing about this is if I decided to take                  18 a proprietor on a week's holiday with me, I'd have to,                  19 you know -- no, I'm not going to do that and I don't                  20 think they'd accept, but it's good backstop. It's                  21 a good backstop of transparency. I think that's the way                  22 I would put it.</b>                  23 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: That is the point that I was making,                  24 that that is in reality its limit. It's an intellectual                  25 check and therefore it requires the rigour of</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 25</p>	<p>1 <b>media policy completely, but as I say in my evidence --</b>                  2 <b>I believe it's question 5 -- there should be a higher</b>                  3 <b>bar in relation to politicians going against the</b>                  4 <b>competition authority's decision. So I suppose --</b>                  5 <b>transparency is important. In relation to media policy,</b>                  6 <b>I have some specific -- myself and Ms Harman had some</b>                  7 <b>specific ideas.</b>                  8 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Are you returning to that, Mr Jay?                  9 MR JAY: Yes.                  10 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: All right.                  11 MR JAY: Question 9, now. This is the influence the media                  12 had on the content and timing of government's                  13 decision-making on policy and operational issues                  14 directly affecting the media. You say:                  15 "The particular need to avoid either the reality or                  16 the perception of undue influence being exercised by                  17 interested parties ..."                  18 "Then moving on to the next paragraph:                  19 "I accept that Labour did at times become too close                  20 to News International. As Tony Blair has said, it was                  21 also because: 'We paid inordinate attention in the early                  22 days of New Labour to courting, assuaging, and                  23 persuading the media.'                  24 Are you saying, though, that this remains in the                  25 realm of perception of undue influence or did it ever</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 27</p>
<p>1 understanding what lies behind it. It isn't just                  2 a piece of paper which therefore is exactly the same                  3 message that your staff will understand. Of course they                  4 must have contact to get the message across.                  5 <b>A. Exactly.</b>                  6 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: But equally, being balanced, being                  7 appropriate and behaving proportionately comes into the                  8 whole message. Is that a fair reflection of what this                  9 sort of thing does?                  10 <b>A. (Nods head)</b>                  11 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: That's really what I'm asking.                  12 <b>A. Very well. Indeed, sir, precisely.</b>                  13 MR JAY: On the theme of transparency, you say in answer to                  14 question 8, towards the top of page 06822:                  15 "It's the best and perhaps the only way to minimise                  16 this risk."                  17 So transparency is both necessary and sufficient.                  18 Is that a correct understanding of where you're coming                  19 from?                  20 <b>A. Just bear with me a second, Mr Jay, to remind myself of</b>                  21 <b>this. (Pause)</b>                  22 <b>Yes, but I hope when we come on to recommendations</b>                  23 <b>for the future, I can indicate what -- that I think on</b>                  24 <b>media policy, I have a somewhat subtle position on this.</b>                  25 <b>I believe that we should not take politicians out of</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 26</p>	<p>1 pass into reality?                  2 <b>A. I've obviously read a lot of the evidence you've had and</b>                  3 <b>thought a lot about this. I think the way I very</b>                  4 <b>specifically view this -- I believe the thing I'm</b>                  5 <b>looking for is the interview I gave to Andrew Marr,</b>                  6 <b>actually, just after the phone hacking Milly Dowler</b>                  7 <b>scandal broke, because I believe I said in that</b>                  8 <b>interview that we were too close, in the sense that it</b>                  9 <b>meant that when there were abuses by the press, we</b>                  10 <b>didn't speak out. That is my version of "too close", my</b>                  11 <b>view of the consequence of "too close".</b>                  12 <b>Now, different people -- the reason I say I refer to</b>                  13 <b>your other evidence is different people have used</b>                  14 <b>different phrases for that word. Mandelson said</b>                  15 <b>"cowed", Tony Blair said "unhealthy". There's a whole</b>                  16 <b>range of other adjectives that have been used.</b>                  17 <b>I suspect they may be more accurate as ways of thinking</b>                  18 <b>about this issue, that it was a sense of fear,</b>                  19 <b>I suppose, in some sense, or unwillingness or worry,</b>                  20 <b>anxiety about speaking out on those issues, issues that</b>                  21 <b>were affecting ordinary members of the public, issues</b>                  22 <b>where I think that if it had been any other organisation</b>                  23 <b>in another walk of life that had been perpetrating some</b>                  24 <b>of what happened, action would have been taken earlier.</b>                  25 Q. Yes. It's at page 06610 in the section of your</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 28</p>

7 (Pages 25 to 28)

<p>1 interview with Mr Marr which was on 10 July. You define 2 "too close". You said: 3 "... in the following respect: that we didn't speak 4 out on some of the major issues." 5 Then Mr Marr followed that up and said that it was 6 really because Mr Murdoch was too powerful. 7 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: No, actually, that's Mr Marr's 8 question, and Mr Miliband says -- actually, he says: 9 "Indeed, because you're making a judgment about how 10 you win support and also about what you can and can't 11 do." 12 But I think that's changed. 13 MR JAY: Do you feel, Mr Miliband -- you were a member, of 14 course, of Mr Brown's government -- that even at that 15 stage, Labour was too close to News International or 16 not? 17 <b>A. Well, I think the sense in which I think "too close"</b> 18 <b>is -- what I mean by "too close" is really that we</b> 19 <b>didn't speak out on these issues where there was</b> 20 <b>increasing evidence of News International's behaviour.</b> 21 <b>I think I'm right in saying that Rebekah Brooks and</b> 22 <b>Andy Coulson went to the Select Committee in 2002, 2003,</b> 23 <b>where this issue of payment to the police was raised,</b> 24 <b>and, you know, I think -- look, the whole question of</b> 25 <b>abuses by the press, by some sections of the press, was,</b> Page 29</p>	<p>1 <b>A. Let me answer that very specifically. Ed Balls, no.</b> 2 <b>Charlie Whelan left, I believe, in 1999 -- left the</b> 3 <b>government in 1999. One of the reasons he left was</b> 4 <b>because of his style of operation. I can't point you to</b> 5 <b>direct evidence but I would say that one of the things</b> 6 <b>he did was he briefed, including potentially against</b> 7 <b>people within the government.</b> 8 <b>On Damian McBride, when I was a Cabinet Minister,</b> 9 <b>I did raise a specific concern that I had with Mr Brown,</b> 10 <b>I believe in September 2008, about some of Mr McBride's</b> 11 <b>activities.</b> 12 Q. Okay. That's as far as I think I need to take that 13 point. Did you feel, looking at this period, that the 14 government, perhaps in particular Mr Brown, was obsessed 15 with the news in the press or not? 16 <b>A. I think the late Philip Gould coined a phrase "the</b> 17 <b>permanent campaign". I think it was his phrase. And</b> 18 <b>modern politics is the permanent campaign. 24/7 media</b> 19 <b>I think in a way makes the permanent campaign part of</b> 20 <b>the DNA and I don't think Mr Brown was any more obsessed</b> 21 <b>about it than Mr Blair or anybody else, really.</b> 22 Q. Moving forward then to the period when you were in 23 opposition. The piece in the New York Times, which has 24 attracted a lot of attention in this Inquiry, came out, 25 of course, on 1 September 2010, which was 24, 25 days Page 31</p>
<p>1 <b>if you like, a kind of compartmentalised, parcelled-off</b> 2 <b>part of political debate, is the way I remember it. But</b> 3 <b>it was certainly something people knew about and had</b> 4 <b>a sense of, but it was just -- neither for government or</b> 5 <b>for opposition was it a place you were going to go to.</b> 6 <b>Partly, I think it relate to what you, sir, said at</b> 7 <b>the beginning, which is that there had been a history of</b> 8 <b>looking into this area and -- you know, without success.</b> 9 Q. So even as late as 2008 to 2010, part of the thinking 10 which may have underlay what Mr Blair said and which you 11 have cited, was that carried through into the Brown 12 government, in your view? 13 <b>A. Well, I mean, the Brown government did -- Gordon talked</b> 14 <b>yesterday about some of the things he did to change the</b> 15 <b>lobby system and so on. I don't think that was really</b> 16 <b>getting at the main issue. He said yesterday he didn't</b> 17 <b>feel he had a mandate to deal with the main issue, but</b> 18 <b>that issue was around and was off the table, basically.</b> 19 Q. I've been asked to put to you a couple of questions, 20 really, in relation to the Brown period, if I can so 21 describe it, by another core participant. The first 22 question is this: were you aware of off-the-record 23 briefings against Tony Blair and other government 24 ministers by, in particular, Ed Balls, Charlie Whelan or 25 Damian McBride? Page 30</p>	<p>1 before you became leader of the opposition. 2 <b>A. Yes.</b> 3 Q. Were you aware that Mr Brown had written, I think, to 4 the Cabinet Secretary seeking an inquiry following the 5 publication of that piece? 6 <b>A. This was after he stopped being the Prime Minister?</b> 7 Q. Yes. 8 <b>A. I think -- yeah, I must have been aware of it. I must</b> 9 <b>have been aware of it. Well, now I say that --</b> 10 <b>I definitely became -- well, let me just refigure my</b> 11 <b>memory here. What I -- I knew after the election -- and</b> 12 <b>you sent me something in the bundle about this, but I'm</b> 13 <b>pretty sure it was after the election that Mr Brown had</b> 14 <b>discussed having a public inquiry before the election,</b> 15 <b>as I understand it, but I believe I found that out after</b> 16 <b>the election. I certainly can't recall having</b> 17 <b>conversations with him about it before the election.</b> 18 <b>I remember his speech in the House of Commons where</b> 19 <b>he talked about the inquiry but that was July. I could</b> 20 <b>well have known about it. I don't know whether it was</b> 21 <b>public at the time. Was it public at the time?</b> 22 Q. It wasn't public at the time. The consideration given 23 to a public inquiry before the election took place 24 in March 2010. 25 <b>A. Right.</b> Page 32</p>

8 (Pages 29 to 32)

1 Q. The Treasury Solicitor was involved and Sir Gus  
 2 O'Donnell, as he then was, was involved?  
 3 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Which election are we talking about?  
 4 Mr Miliband's election or the General Election?  
 5 MR JAY: The General Election.  
 6 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I think Mr Miliband was talking about  
 7 his election.  
 8 MR JAY: I think we were talking about that event --  
 9 **A. Similar elections.**  
 10 Q. -- Mr Miliband found out about subsequently. But then  
 11 there was a further request Mr Brown made  
 12 in September -- I think it was 7 September 2010 -- which  
 13 you may or may not have known about?  
 14 **A. I don't think I did know about it then. It's quite**  
 15 **hazy, but I don't think I did know about it.**  
 16 Q. Going back to the New York Times piece, of course, it  
 17 was in the middle of a very full-on period for you, but  
 18 did that piece sort of come across your radar at the  
 19 time or not?  
 20 **A. Yes. In fact, I have an article from the Guardian on**  
 21 **3 September, where I put -- which has words from me in**  
 22 **it about the allegations, and perhaps not surprisingly,**  
 23 **because of the nature of the allegations, my words were**  
 24 **about the Prime Minister and Andy Coulson and what the**  
 25 **implications were for him. So I don't think I read the**

Page 33

1 **piece. I think I read the Guardian follow-up.**  
 2 **I remember being in Warwick and Leamington when I found**  
 3 **out about it, so I must have been on a campaign tour,**  
 4 **and I definitely clocked the sort of Andy Coulson part**  
 5 **of this.**  
 6 Q. But it didn't cause you to ask for a public inquiry or  
 7 anything similar at that stage?  
 8 **A. No.**  
 9 Q. Moving forward to the next year, a core participant has  
 10 asked me to put to you the News Corporation summer party  
 11 on 16 June 2011 when you met Rupert Murdoch. The  
 12 question is: did you raise the issue of phone hacking  
 13 with him or any other senior News Corporation or  
 14 News International executive?  
 15 **A. I think I say in the answer to question 15, actually,**  
 16 **just for convenience -- I explain this. I say I recall**  
 17 **a relatively short conversation with Rupert Murdoch for**  
 18 **a few minutes at the summer party. I believe it was**  
 19 **about US politics and international affairs, and**  
 20 **I believe I should have raised the issue of phone**  
 21 **hacking with him. I didn't, which is something I think**  
 22 **I said last summer.**  
 23 **Why do I say I should have raised it with him?**  
 24 **Because I think in retrospect -- and it's easy to have**  
 25 **hindsight -- I'd called for an inquiry or review,**

Page 34

1 **I think the first leader to do it, in April. There**  
 2 **needed to be an inquiry separate from the police**  
 3 **inquiry, but I think it was too much acting as if it was**  
 4 **business as usual with News International at that stage.**  
 5 **Things would, of course, change very soon after.**  
 6 Q. Can you remember approximately how long you stayed at  
 7 that party?  
 8 **A. I can't remember. I really can't remember.**  
 9 Q. Okay. Those are the questions I've been asked to put to  
 10 you on that.  
 11 There's one final question from -- I think it's the  
 12 same core participant. He draws to our attention a text  
 13 message which Mr Michel sent to Mr Adam Smith on  
 14 2 February 2011. We can bring this up on the screen for  
 15 you. It's page 12761 in the MOD3 file. There we go.  
 16 It says:  
 17 "I did tell the Labour leader what the core of our  
 18 thinking was ..."  
 19 Just whether you can assist us --  
 20 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Hang on, you'd better just tell us  
 21 where we are in the chronology. This is 2 February, so  
 22 what's happening at this time?  
 23 Q. The bid has not been referred to the Competition  
 24 Commission. I think it was public knowledge at that  
 25 stage that undertakings were being considered, but

Page 35

1 the undertakings themselves were not formally announced  
 2 to Parliament until 3 March 2011, if that helps. It may  
 3 be that you have no recollection at all. It may be you  
 4 do recall --  
 5 **A. I didn't -- I don't think I met -- in fact, I am pretty**  
 6 **sure I didn't meet Fred Michel or have a phone call with**  
 7 **him. I think it would have been the case that -- he**  
 8 **definitely was having meetings with our Shadow Culture**  
 9 **Secretary, Ivan Lewis, who was meeting all, you know,**  
 10 **opponents of the bid, proponents of the bid, so I don't**  
 11 **know if that's what it refers to.**  
 12 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: One has to be a bit careful, because  
 13 sometimes Mr Michel referred to people as recipients of  
 14 information or the providers of information when  
 15 actually he means a member -- or indeed a comparatively  
 16 junior member -- of that person's staff.  
 17 **A. (Nods head)**  
 18 MR JAY: Well, we simply don't know. I've been asked to  
 19 draw that to your attention and you've addressed it,  
 20 Mr Miliband. So that deals with those items.  
 21 May I move forward in your statement, please, to  
 22 question 13. The question is about Mr Tom Baldwin. He  
 23 was recruited by you in December 2010 as one of your two  
 24 communications advisers; is that correct?  
 25 **A. Correct.**

Page 36

1 Q. Can you tell us, please, about the recruitment process  
 2 in a nutshell. Who is primarily responsible for it and  
 3 how was it undertaken?  
 4 **A. Well, it was a sort of -- as these things tend to be,**  
 5 **a word-of-mouth process. My then Chief of Staff and**  
 6 **myself, we were looking for people who could assist us**  
 7 **with the media. What were we looking for? We were**  
 8 **looking for people who had a knowledge of the political**  
 9 **lobby, because -- you've heard, I think, about the**  
 10 **political lobby and the nature of the lobby, and that's**  
 11 **very, very important, I think -- someone who understands**  
 12 **the rhythms of the lobby, somebody who could project**  
 13 **stories -- or people who could project stories, because**  
 14 **we hired two people -- and then thirdly -- and this was**  
 15 **very important -- somebody who was in line with my**  
 16 **political sympathies, because I think it's not just**  
 17 **a sort of technocratic job.**  
 18 **I became leader in September and I believe they were**  
 19 **both -- Bob Roberts, who was from the Daily Mirror, and**  
 20 **Tom Baldwin, were hired in December, so it must have**  
 21 **taken us a couple of months or so.**  
 22 Q. He, as we know, worked at The Times for 11 years between  
 23 1999 and 2010. To what extent was that history relevant  
 24 to his merits, as it were?  
 25 **A. It wasn't really particularly relevant. I mean, it was**  
 Page 37

1 relevant that he'd been a significant political  
 2 reporter. That was certainly relevant, as I say,  
 3 because I wanted somebody who knew the rhythms of the  
 4 lobby, knew how the lobby worked, had relationships in  
 5 the Westminster lobby, but he wasn't somebody who had  
 6 particularly close relationships with executives at  
 7 News International, for example, Rebekah Brooks and so  
 8 on.  
 9 Q. Lord Ashcroft, in a book called, "Dirty times, Dirty  
 10 Politics", which was published in 2005, didn't, I think,  
 11 make any specific allegations against Mr Baldwin,  
 12 although suggested that he might have been involved in  
 13 some way. Was that specific issue one which you  
 14 discussed with Mr Baldwin?  
 15 **A. Well, it's complicated, this, because when I hired**  
 16 **Mr Baldwin, Lord Ashcroft hadn't yet made the**  
 17 **allegation -- the specific allegation that he would**  
 18 **later make, that Tom Baldwin had blagged his way, if**  
 19 **that's the right term, into Lord Ashcroft's bank**  
 20 **account. That was an allegation he made the**  
 21 **following July in a blog, once the whole Milly Dowler**  
 22 **situation, the Andy Coulson -- the heat being on**  
 23 **Andy Coulson. But once that all arose, when he did make**  
 24 **that allegation, I did, of course, ask Tom Baldwin about**  
 25 **it. He denied it. My Chief of Staff spoke to the**  
 Page 38

1 **former editor of the Times, the person who had been his**  
 2 **boss, Peter Stoddart, who also said he believed the**  
 3 **allegation was untrue.**  
 4 Q. So at the time you hired Mr Baldwin in December, can you  
 5 remember specifically what questions you asked?  
 6 **A. I would have asked him: has he done anything which**  
 7 **would, if you like, bring the Labour Party into**  
 8 **disrepute, bring myself into disrepute, bring himself**  
 9 **into disrepute, in relation to the specific job that**  
 10 **I might be asking him to do.**  
 11 Q. Okay, and you've covered what happened consequently.  
 12 Can I ask you, please, on a slightly different  
 13 issue -- at tab 10 in our bundle, there's an email  
 14 which Mr Baldwin had a hand in and which was leaked.  
 15 It's dated 27 January 2011, making it clear that the  
 16 issues in relation to the BSkyB bid, which one might  
 17 call the plurality issues, and the phone tapping issue  
 18 should not be linked. Was that something which matched  
 19 your own assessment at the time?  
 20 **A. Yes. It was a position that I had agreed with our**  
 21 **relevant people on this issue. Why do I say this and**  
 22 **why did we take the position that we did? It was**  
 23 **because we felt we had two robust positions: a robust**  
 24 **position on phone hacking, which is that there should be**  
 25 **a police inquiry, and a robust position on the BSkyB**  
 Page 39

1 bid, because on 25 January, we had called for it to be  
 2 referred to the Competition Commission. At that point,  
 3 Jeremy Hunt was pursuing the undertakings in lieu.  
 4 We felt we had a robust position. We were in  
 5 a position where Labour front benchers were becoming  
 6 apparently the victims of phone hacking and lots of them  
 7 were being bombarded with questions about this. This is  
 8 essentially what we call a line to take for people,  
 9 about the fact that at that point -- although later we  
 10 would change our view after the Milly Dowler  
 11 revelations -- at that point, we didn't believe the  
 12 issues were linked.  
 13 Q. But your view changed in July 2011; is that correct?  
 14 **A. Yes, it did.**  
 15 Q. In relation to what happened in 2011, we perhaps  
 16 shouldn't start in July; we should start in April. You  
 17 collect together the key events under paragraph 14 of  
 18 your statement, but we can probably confine ourselves to  
 19 the highlights in the annexes themselves, which are  
 20 under tab 3 in this bundle.  
 21 **A. I'm sorry, Mr Jay, I'm being slower than you. It's**  
 22 **annex 3, is it?**  
 23 Q. It's tab 3. It starts with annex B1 and there are  
 24 a whole collection of annexes --  
 25 **A. Yes, I'm with you now. Thank you.**  
 Page 40

<p>1 Q. The first relevant event is 19 April 2011, when you 2 asked for a review after the police inquiries had been 3 completed and any criminal cases that flowed from it. 4 What sort of review were you thinking of at that stage? 5 <b>A. I think I wasn't entirely sure. At that stage I felt -- 6 I felt that the allegations about hacking -- I can't 7 remember what had been -- exactly had transpired in the 8 time previous to that, but the welter of allegations 9 around hacking meant that simply saying, "Let's leave it 10 to the police" felt to me to be inadequate, and 11 I thought it was right to speak out on this and, if you 12 like, up the tempo of our position, because I thought 13 that things were getting to a stage where something more 14 needed to be said about what would happen after this. 15 That's why I said what I did, and I wasn't quite sure 16 whether it would end up being a review or an inquiry but 17 I felt a marker needed to be put down that this couldn't 18 just be: "Well, let's have some people prosecuted and 19 that will be the end of it."</b> 20 Q. But they would naturally have to wait, it was your then 21 thinking at least, until the police enquiries and 22 prosecutions had been completed? 23 <b>A. Sure, sure.</b> 24 Q. Can I ask you: at the bottom of this page, 06590, you 25 said that your clear view was that self-regulation</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 41</p>	<p>1 On 05 July 2011, you did call for a public inquiry. 2 This is at page 06593, towards the end of that 3 interview, which was with Chris Gibson of ITV. It's in 4 the middle of page 06593. I hope you have the same 5 pagination? 6 <b>A. I have, thank you.</b> 7 Q. You say: 8 "Yes, there should be a public inquiry. I think it 9 probably will have to take place after the police 10 inquiries are complete." 11 So that was your first call for what, in the end, 12 has become this Inquiry. 13 There was an interview with Kirsty Wark for BBC 14 Newsnight on 7 July. That starts at 06599. I just ask 15 you to deal with one point she raised with you. At 16 06600, level with the upper hole punch, she suggests 17 that you were slow off the mark: 18 "I mean, on Monday night's Newsnight, Tom Watson 19 said that you were as guilty as Clegg and Cameron on not 20 only letting the Dowler family down but simply not 21 pushing hard enough on this whole issue. You were 22 running to catch up." 23 You obviously gave an answer then. Is your answer 24 the same now? 25 <b>A. Yes. I was too slow to speak out. I think it's worth</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 43</p>
<p>1 continues to be the right thing. But were you arguing 2 there, in effect, for a maintenance of the status quo? 3 <b>A. I think I wouldn't use that phrase now. I think that's 4 partly because my thinking as evolved, frankly, and 5 I think it's the wrong phrase. I much prefer the phrase 6 which the Prime Minister used in Parliament and I know 7 other people have used it too: independent regulation.</b> 8 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes. One has to read those two 9 sentences together: 10 "My clear view is that self-regulation continues to 11 be the right thing. We don't want the government 12 regulating the press." 13 <b>A. Exactly.</b> 14 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: So the point you're making is that 15 you're talking about a binary option. 16 <b>A. Exactly.</b> 17 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Either it's the government or itself. 18 Actually, I think you're right. I think that the 19 language has moved on, and correctly so. 20 <b>A. I think what I was worried about -- thank you, sir. 21 I think, Mr Jay, what I was worried about was looking 22 like I was saying that the outcome of this should be 23 government regulation of the press, you know, in a way 24 that could be misconstrued.</b> 25 MR JAY: Certainly.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 42</p>	<p>1 <b>saying, if I can take this opportunity, Mr Jay, that 2 that moment of -- what was significant about that 3 moment, that interview I did, was not actually calling 4 for the inquiry, important though the inquiry is to the 5 long-term future of the press in this country; it was 6 calling for Rebekah Brooks to go or consider her 7 position. I knew at the moment that I was, as I said in 8 my opening remarks, crossing a Rubicon because this 9 would be seen by News International as pretty much an 10 act of war.</b> 11 <b>So I think in retrospect, I would have preferred if 12 I'd said "more earlier". We've already talked about the 13 inquiry that I called for in April and what I did 14 in July.</b> 15 Q. She also asked you about Hayman Island trip, and you 16 said: 17 "What I say to you is this: that I learnt lessons 18 from that episode." 19 What lessons precisely are to be learned from that 20 episode, if any? 21 <b>A. I think transparency is part of the answer. I think 22 I say it's not about who you have dinner with or who you 23 meet, but it's important to speak out without fear or 24 favour, and I think that's the most important lesson. 25 There should be no interest too powerful in this</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 44</p>

11 (Pages 41 to 44)

<p>1 country, whether it's in banking or in the press or 2 anywhere, that politicians don't speak out about if they 3 think there is wrongdoing. Not to muzzle the press, but 4 because, you know, that is the job of democracy, is to 5 speak out. That is what the people elect us for and 6 that is the most important less that I learned from all 7 this.</p> <p>8 Q. Thank you. By 8 July in your speech, you were coming 9 out with some ideas for putting the PCC out of its 10 misery. This is your toothless poodle speech. You 11 still use the terminology "a form of self-regulation", 12 page 06607, but when we look at what the new body should 13 possess by way of its attributes, you're looking for far 14 greater independence, proper investigative powers -- 15 I know you deal with all this in the recommendations 16 section of your statement, but are we moving there, in 17 your evolving thinking, towards the sort of position you 18 are at now?</p> <p>19 A. Yes, and in a way, the reality is that at this moment -- 20 we are probably three or four days after the initial 21 hacking revisions about Milly Dowler, me speaking out, 22 the game having dramatically changed, in my view -- 23 I felt it was important to start to give some 24 interpretation to where this was all going to go because 25 I was worried, at that point, I must say, that there</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 45</p>	<p>1 where, you know, really our position needed to 2 significantly be strengthened and hardened up. I'd 3 actually already done the interview saying that, as it 4 turned out, so I think there was broad support for what 5 I was doing.</p> <p>6 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Mr Miliband, we have a break for the 7 shorthand writer, so we'll just take that.</p> <p>8 (3.12 pm)</p> <p>9 (A short break)</p> <p>10 (3.23 pm)</p> <p>11 MR JAY: Mr Miliband, I owe you an apology. I mentioned to 12 you beforehand that I would raise this at the start of 13 your evidence but I then omitted to. As many have 14 already correctly observed, your wife is a member of the 15 set of chambers where I am joint head. We have not, 16 however, previously met outside the circumstances of 17 this Inquiry.</p> <p>18 A. Correct.</p> <p>19 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I ought to make it clear that I've 20 known that for some time.</p> <p>21 MR JAY: Yes. There's a misunderstanding about it. We are, 22 of course, self-employed in independent practice. We 23 are not partners and people perhaps need to understand 24 that.</p> <p>25 A. She and I were partners at one point, but we're now</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 47</p>
<p>1 would be a big hullabaloo and then people would all 2 forget about it, which can happen with these things. So 3 I thought it was important to put a marker down. 4 I don't say that every dot and comma of the proposal is 5 necessarily right, but I think the broad picture is 6 similar to where I would be at the moment.</p> <p>7 Q. Thank you. There was a longer interview with Mr Andrew 8 Marr, I think on his Sunday breakfast show on 10 July. 9 It starts at 06608. It speaks for itself. There's one 10 point, though, that I would like to deal with.</p> <p>11 At the bottom of 06609, Mr Marr's question suggested 12 that you may have been warned off the line you were 13 taking by colleagues within the Labour Party. I wasn't 14 quite sure what your answer was to that question. Were 15 you being warned privately that this was something you 16 shouldn't be doing?</p> <p>17 A. No, that's not my -- that's not really my recollection. 18 I mean, certainly it's the case that what I did was 19 controversial. What I did on that Tuesday morning, 20 I believe it was, was controversial. Actually, as it so 21 happened, I gave the interview about Mrs Brooks and 22 about the inquiry and all of that, and then I went to 23 the Shadow Cabinet. There was actually pretty clear -- 24 I would say pretty much universal support at the Shadow 25 Cabinet for the idea that this had now got to a stage</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 46</p>	<p>1 married, actually.</p> <p>2 Q. Page 06830. You pick up on a number of points, most of 3 which we've already covered --</p> <p>4 A. I'm sorry, Mr Jay, would you mind --</p> <p>5 Q. Sorry, this is question 15, page 06830, where we ask you 6 to address specific meetings and interactions with the 7 two Murdochs, and you've covered those. One question, 8 though, in relation to the next page, top of the next 9 page. You say you had a conversation with 10 Mrs Rebekah Brooks on the evening that Vince Cable was 11 stripped of responsibility for the B SkyB bid. Can you 12 remember in particular what she said and then what you 13 said in reply?</p> <p>14 A. So -- I obviously don't have Rebekah Brooks' number or 15 anything, so I think through the political editor of the 16 Sun, is my recollection, Tom Newton-Dunn, she requested 17 a conversation with me, I believe that -- early that -- 18 early evening that day. I think the conversation took 19 place later on that evening. I was quite surprised to 20 be called by her, because we didn't have a particular 21 kind of relationship like that.</p> <p>22 She was obviously very annoyed about Vince Cable and 23 what he'd done. I basically said that we also believed 24 that Vince Cable should no longer have responsibility 25 for this. We'd actually called for Vince Cable to</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 48</p>

12 (Pages 45 to 48)

<p>1 resign earlier on that day because we thought it just 2 called into question his appropriateness, I think was 3 the phrase that John Denholm, Shadow Business Secretary, 4 used, but we were in favour of a fair process, 5 I basically said. 6 It was a relatively short conversation, and I think 7 I talked to her again at the News International party 8 and maybe one other event, but that was the only time 9 she phoned me. 10 Q. At that stage, we know she wasn't the editor of the Sun; 11 she was the CEO of News International. 12 A. Sure. 13 Q. It may be not possible for to you say, but could you 14 divine or discern what the intention was behind her 15 wanting to speak to you? 16 A. If I'm honest, I wasn't very clear about it. She rang, 17 very annoyed about what was happening, and I didn't -- 18 beyond that, I wasn't clear there was much greater 19 purpose to the call. The next day, by the way, I think 20 it was, we then called into question whether Jeremy Hunt 21 was an appropriate person to be in charge of the bid, 22 reflecting our view about what fair dealing meant. 23 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: In reality, she was trying to obtain 24 political muscle for the argument she wanted to develop, 25 presumably, and trying getting the opposition on side to Page 49</p>	<p>1 not your sort of individual self-employed Twitterrer or 2 something but I think there's clearly an issue. 3 Thirdly, something which is accessible. Accessible, 4 providing fast-track justice or redress for individuals. 5 I think they're the main -- I go into another -- 6 I talk about investigative powers in my evidence, but 7 they're the main -- and ability to enforce corrections, 8 which I think is important, but I think they're the main 9 things that I would be seeking from a system, a way 10 forward. 11 Q. Is it your conception of this system that it should be 12 voluntary or contractual, or would you include within 13 contemplation a statutory architecture or underpinning? 14 A. This comes to the nub of the issue, doesn't it, Mr Jay? 15 I've read Lord Hunt's, David Hunt's, evidence to you and 16 indeed thought a lot about it, as has Ms Harman, as she 17 will say. My anxiety about Lord Hunt's approach is 18 whether it can achieve comprehensiveness and 19 independence. I think it's admirable what Lord Hunt has 20 tried to do, because I think he's moved at fairly short 21 order to try and develop a better system for the future. 22 Where does that take me to? It takes me to the 23 following position: I'm not for statutory regulation of 24 content, as I indicated earlier, enforcement of balance 25 or anything like that. I think there is a pretty strong Page 51</p>
<p>1 do whatever was appropriate. 2 A. Sure. 3 MR JAY: The future now, Mr Miliband. You've seen, I hope, 4 the draft criteria for a regulatory solution, collected 5 under tab 7 of the bundle. These outline some general 6 principles of application for what should provide an 7 effective and credible system, and this, as it were, 8 underpins or informs any recommendations the Inquiry 9 might make. 10 Against that backdrop, I come to section 5 of your 11 statement on page 06819, at the point where we really 12 left off, slap in the middle of the page. I'm going to 13 invite you to elaborate each of these points as you see 14 fit, Mr Miliband. 15 A. Thank you, Mr Jay. 16 I think your draft criteria are definitely a very 17 good basis. I haven't done a sort of big textual 18 analysis of them, but it seems to me that they're in 19 completely the right direction. 20 Let me try and simplify, in my own perhaps more 21 layman's terms. I think that what we need on redress is 22 something which is independent of the press, of 23 politicians, something which is comprehensive, covering 24 all newspapers and indeed magazines -- and indeed 25 there's clearly a question about Internet organisations, Page 50</p>	<p>1 case -- in fact, I put it higher than that. I haven't 2 yet seen a way forward that can get the principles that 3 I have outlined without some kind of statutory, I would 4 say, support or -- one way of putting it is statutory 5 support for the system. 6 Now, I think it would be very important in any such 7 system to make sure that -- I mean, it's very simple, 8 really -- that you're setting up an independent body 9 whose job it is to enforce some version of the code, and 10 I think -- this has come up in your evidence -- I think 11 it would be very important to insert in any bill 12 constitutional safeguards on the freedom of the press. 13 Very, very important. 14 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: The example that I have given to 15 a number of people is the way in which the 16 Constitutional Reform Act in section 3(1), I think, 17 identifies the constitutional independence of the 18 judiciary. It's quite difficult to see how anybody 19 could judicially review a decision on the basis that it 20 didn't comply with that statutory exposition, but 21 equally, the purpose of it seems to me to be to enshrine 22 the recognition of the importance of the free press, an 23 independent press, to assuage the concern that has been 24 expressed that any statute can be very, very simply 25 amended and so suddenly become Zimbabwe, is how some Page 52</p>

13 (Pages 49 to 52)

<p>1 people have put it, perhaps not using that country as an                  2 example, although it has been used. Does that                  3 reflect --</p> <p>4 <b>A. Yes, it does. I think I want to take heed on this</b>                  5 <b>issue, because I think it is a very legitimate fear that</b>                  6 <b>Lord Hunt has expressed and that members of the press</b>                  7 <b>have expressed, which is that there's two possible</b>                  8 <b>objections to the approach I've outlined: on the merits</b>                  9 <b>objections, which we can discuss, and, if you like,</b>                  10 <b>a slippery slope argument.</b></p> <p>11 What I thought was interesting about Lord Hunt's                  12 evidence was he seemed to me -- I don't want to                  13 mischaracterise him -- to be more inclined to the                  14 slippery slope argument, ie once this gets into                  15 Parliament, goodness knows where it will end.</p> <p>16 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: He said in terms there were members                  17 of both houses who would want to use the opportunity to                  18 curtail the freedom of the press in other ways.</p> <p>19 <b>A. I think what's interesting about that, sir, is I think</b>                  20 <b>it maybe offers a chink in light in this, because as</b>                  21 <b>leader of the Labour Party I have set out my very clear</b>                  22 <b>position about the limits of what I would want to see.</b>                  23 <b>I would not countenance this becoming a licence for some</b>                  24 <b>massive bureaucratic assault on the press.</b></p> <p>25 I make this point also: that actually there's</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 53</p>	<p>1 <b>like to see the Inquiry looking at the question of</b>                  2 <b>whether we should have lower limits.</b></p> <p>3 <b>There's a question about where these limits should</b>                  4 <b>be set. I should say we should have no worries of</b>                  5 <b>someone owning up to 20 per cent of the newspaper</b>                  6 <b>market. I think there is then a question of between 20</b>                  7 <b>to 30 per cent. Where would you set a limit? That's</b>                  8 <b>where I'm coming from, because I think it's good for our</b>                  9 <b>democracy to have plurality in the market.</b></p> <p>10 I think then there's a secondary issue about what we                  11 do about cross-media ownership, and I think there -- to                  12 sort of paraphrase a well-worn phrase, I think when we                  13 look at the Communications Act of 2003, it now looks                  14 like a sort of analogue act in a digital age, and                  15 I think it will therefore need to be updated anyway, and                  16 I think there's then a question about whether you should                  17 have an overall limit about how much control one                  18 organisation has on the market.</p> <p>19 My aim in this -- I want to be very clear about                  20 this. My aim is not to stifle one particular                  21 organisation or another. My aim is plurality and                  22 a sense that there is a sort of -- that one organisation                  23 does not exercise overweening power.</p> <p>24 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Can I ask you to reflect upon your                  25 answer in this way, Mr Miliband? You are the first of</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 55</p>
<p>1 a defamation bill currently before the House of Commons.                  2 The house of Lords, I believe, it's starting in. There                  3 will be a Communications Act. These also could lend                  4 themselves to people putting forward ideas which would                  5 be problematic.</p> <p>6 But the reason I think there's a chink of light is                  7 that people like Lord Hunt, who I think are very well                  8 motivated in this, need reassurance from people like                  9 myself that we recognise and we are acutely conscious of                  10 this question of the limits of any statutory -- I think                  11 "recognition" is another word that is used and that you                  12 used, sir, and I am very conscious of it.</p> <p>13 MR JAY: Your second main theme, towards the bottom of this                  14 page, is the issue of media ownership matters, including                  15 cross-media ownership rules. May I invite you to                  16 elaborate those issues, please?</p> <p>17 <b>A. Yes. This proceeds, Mr Jay, from my very simple</b>                  18 <b>observation that part of News International's power and</b>                  19 <b>lack of accountability and arrogance came from its share</b>                  20 <b>of the newspaper market. I think just at the very</b>                  21 <b>starting point of this, I don't believe that one person</b>                  22 <b>should continue to control 37 per cent -- or it's now</b>                  23 <b>34 per cent, post the Sun on Sunday -- 34 per cent of</b>                  24 <b>the newspaper market. My strong instinct is that's too</b>                  25 <b>much, and I would like to see -- I submit that I would</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 54</p>	<p>1 a very few people who I can legitimately blame, if                  2 that's the right verb, for the breadth of the terms of                  3 reference of this Inquiry. I have to get on with it,                  4 and I am, but I am concerned about the extent to which                  5 it is appropriate for me to start to opine about                  6 percentage market shares, because that involves all                  7 sorts of competition issues which would require                  8 themselves quite detailed analysis --</p> <p>9 <b>A. Of course.</b></p> <p>10 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: -- both in fact and in law. I said                  11 earlier today that I wasn't, either in the bar or on the                  12 bench, a media lawyer, although I'm picking that up and                  13 have done some during my career. I'm certainly not                  14 a competition lawyer. I wonder what you would say --                  15 and I've not reached a view about it, but just for you                  16 to comment -- if the limit of my aspirations in this                  17 area was to set out the concerns that various witnesses                  18 have expressed, and the counterbalancing arguments, and                  19 suggest appropriate authorities examine the position.</p> <p>20 <b>A. (Nods head)</b></p> <p>21 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I'm not trying to shirk my                  22 responsibility, but neither am I trying to bite off more                  23 than I could or should legitimately take on.</p> <p>24 <b>A. Obviously it will be for you to decide the way forward,</b>                  25 <b>and I think I would totally understand your instincts on</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 56</p>

<p>1 <b>this. I don't have the terms of reference to hand.</b></p> <p>2 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Well, the terms of reference -- I can</p> <p>3 get them for you now. One moment. There is no doubt</p> <p>4 that they do include cross-media ownership. One moment.</p> <p>5 (Pause) It's to inquire into the culture, practice and</p> <p>6 ethics of the press, including contacts and</p> <p>7 relationships between national newspapers and</p> <p>8 politicians and the conduct of each of them, contacts</p> <p>9 and the relationship between the press and the police</p> <p>10 and the conduct of each, the extent to which current</p> <p>11 policy and regulatory framework has failed, including</p> <p>12 the related issue of data protection, and the extent to</p> <p>13 which there was a failure to act on previous warnings</p> <p>14 about media misconduct.</p> <p>15 So one would have to think about what one meant</p> <p>16 about policy there. But then it is certainly:</p> <p>17 "To make recommendations for a new and more</p> <p>18 effective policy and regulatory regime which supports</p> <p>19 the integrity and freedom of the press, the plurality of</p> <p>20 the media and its independence, including from</p> <p>21 government, while encouraging the highest ethical and</p> <p>22 professional standards."</p> <p>23 And here's the one that bites:</p> <p>24 "For how future concerns about press behaviour,</p> <p>25 media policy, regulation and cross-media ownership</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 57</p>	<p>1 <b>which Mr Cameron helpfully and graciously offered, and</b></p> <p>2 <b>I think it was a view of the -- I can't speak for them</b></p> <p>3 <b>but I think it was the collective view that it was</b></p> <p>4 <b>important that this limb of the terms of reference was</b></p> <p>5 <b>there.</b></p> <p>6 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes, Mr Miliband, I know, because</p> <p>7 I was on the receiving end of different versions of</p> <p>8 these terms of reference which grew rather like</p> <p>9 a mushroom cloud.</p> <p>10 <b>A. I may have been partially responsible for that, sir, so</b></p> <p>11 <b>I apologise.</b></p> <p>12 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I have no doubt you are, yes.</p> <p>13 MR JAY: The third point you make by way of general</p> <p>14 recommendation relates to whether decisions made about</p> <p>15 competition and plurality issues should be left to</p> <p>16 politicians or should go to regulators, and you have</p> <p>17 a view about that, I think.</p> <p>18 <b>A. Yes. I think this is the biggest sort of -- the</b></p> <p>19 <b>clearest dilemma. There are very difficult issues we</b></p> <p>20 <b>face, but this is a very clear dilemma between, on the</b></p> <p>21 <b>one hand -- anybody reading sort of accounts of the way</b></p> <p>22 <b>that these decisions are made and the sort of pouring</b></p> <p>23 <b>over them that takes place would say, "Well, isn't it</b></p> <p>24 <b>just easier to get politicians out of this?" If I think</b></p> <p>25 <b>of myself as aspiring to be Prime Minister, I think: do</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 59</p>
<p>1 should be dealt with by all the relevant authorities,</p> <p>2 including Parliament, government, the prosecuting</p> <p>3 authorities and the police."</p> <p>4 So on a proper construction, I'm required to make</p> <p>5 recommendations for how concerns should be addressed,</p> <p>6 rather than necessarily to say, "This is the answer",</p> <p>7 but I'm not trying to construe these terms of</p> <p>8 reference -- well, I am, actually -- like a statute,</p> <p>9 because I don't want to exceed my brief.</p> <p>10 <b>A. Of course.</b></p> <p>11 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: But I want to provide something</p> <p>12 that's meaningful and helpful, which is why I raise with</p> <p>13 you whether that approach -- and I'll have to think</p> <p>14 about it quite a lot -- would be sufficiently helpful to</p> <p>15 keep the ball in the air in relation to this issue.</p> <p>16 <b>A. Sir, I can just submit to you that I would request your</b></p> <p>17 <b>consideration of these issues and you will have to come</b></p> <p>18 <b>to your conclusions. I understand your caution about</b></p> <p>19 <b>the complexity of some of these issues and the role of</b></p> <p>20 <b>regulators.</b></p> <p>21 <b>I just add that it might be helpful for you -- and</b></p> <p>22 <b>I'm sure Mr Cameron and Mr Clegg will not mind me saying</b></p> <p>23 <b>this -- that part of this being inserted into the terms</b></p> <p>24 <b>of reference arose out of discussions that we had in the</b></p> <p>25 <b>run-up to the publication of the terms of reference,</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 58</p>	<p>1 <b>I really want this headache of these decisions being</b></p> <p>2 <b>made and then people thinking: has the right decision</b></p> <p>3 <b>been made?</b></p> <p>4 <b>But my answer to that is: the right course can be</b></p> <p>5 <b>followed and the right standards can be upheld by</b></p> <p>6 <b>politicians. I believe that significant decisions that</b></p> <p>7 <b>we made in government showed that, and I think there is</b></p> <p>8 <b>a public interest in keeping the politicians in, because</b></p> <p>9 <b>I think that politicians do need to make -- you know, in</b></p> <p>10 <b>the end, we are elected to represent the public interest</b></p> <p>11 <b>and regulators have a very important role.</b></p> <p>12 <b>My suggestion on this -- I have a concrete</b></p> <p>13 <b>suggestion on this -- is that -- I believe that there is</b></p> <p>14 <b>a case for saying that if a politician wants to depart</b></p> <p>15 <b>from the recommendations of the Competition Commission</b></p> <p>16 <b>or Ofcom, whoever it is, that decision should be</b></p> <p>17 <b>challengable by appeal. So in other words, if I'm the</b></p> <p>18 <b>minister and I get recommendations from the Competition</b></p> <p>19 <b>Commission that a bid should be blocked or should go</b></p> <p>20 <b>ahead, and I take a different view, then there should be</b></p> <p>21 <b>recourse to the Competition Appeals Tribunal to say not</b></p> <p>22 <b>simply was it a reasonable decision but on the merits.</b></p> <p>23 <b>Now, that's the best I can come up with: to give</b></p> <p>24 <b>politicians a role, because I think it is important that</b></p> <p>25 <b>role is it maintained, but provide, if you like, some</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 60</p>

<p>1 <b>sort of sense of constraint, a greater constraint or</b>                  2 <b>higher bar.</b>                  3 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: That's actually given the decision to                  4 the regulators.                  5 <b>A. Ultimately.</b>                  6 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Because you've made the Competition                  7 Appeal Tribunal. Another way of doing the same thing                  8 would be to say that if there is to be such an issue --                  9 and I'll come on, because I want to share with you some                  10 concerns about this -- if there is to be such an issue,                  11 then policy considerations and the view on policy could                  12 be set out in writing by the minister, publicly                  13 available -- "These are my policy views" -- and fed into                  14 the decision, and then it's just appealed in the normal                  15 way, which actually is broadly -- it's just a slightly                  16 different way of saying the same thing, I think, because                  17 of your right to appeal to the Competition Appeal                  18 Tribunal on the merits, not just on whether it was                  19 a reasonable decision.                  20 I don't ask you to commit yourself, and I'm not                  21 committing myself.                  22 <b>A. Mm.</b>                  23 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: But I understand the point that you                  24 have made. The concern that I have is this: I have sat                  25 on many cases of judicial review in areas where I have</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 61</p>	<p>1 outside the day-to-day views that you hold and which                  2 might impact on you because of the reaction of those                  3 that are going to be affected, in a way that isn't                  4 difficult, for example, for a nuclear power station                  5 decision when you were the Secretary of State                  6 responsible for those decisions.                  7 I have not necessarily articulated that very                  8 clearly, but I hope you've understood what I'm asking                  9 you.                  10 <b>A. I have, sir. Let me make two points, if I may, in</b>                  11 <b>response. I think the first point is that -- I think</b>                  12 <b>it's worth me saying just more clearly why I believe</b>                  13 <b>that the politicians' role -- there's a case for</b>                  14 <b>a substantial role remaining for politicians. I think</b>                  15 <b>regulators are appointed to make technocratic decisions</b>                  16 <b>but I think that there are times when regulators will</b>                  17 <b>take a particular -- I hesitate to say this, but sort of</b>                  18 <b>ideological view about what the meaning of the law is --</b>                  19 <b>I know this is a very tricky area -- take a particular</b>                  20 <b>slant. And I think therefore the minister, as the</b>                  21 <b>arbiter of the -- ultimately of the public interest</b>                  22 <b>should have a right to say, "Well, hang on a minute,</b>                  23 <b>I think this regulator's gone down the wrong road on</b>                  24 <b>this. I think they've misunderstood what actually the</b>                  25 <b>law demands."</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 63</p>
<p>1 a perfectly understandable personal reaction. It                  2 doesn't matter what it is, whether it's to do with wind                  3 farms or nuclear energy or whatever. Arms sales was                  4 another one that I was involved in sitting judicially.                  5 I am able utterly to ignore my personal views and to                  6 decide the issues that I have to decide according to the                  7 law. That's the oath I took and I've not found it                  8 difficult to do that.                  9 But I am not affected by or likely to be affected by                  10 a decision that I make, so if somebody wanted to create                  11 a wind farm in the field next to my house, where I might                  12 be personally affected, I would recuse myself.                  13 <b>A. Of course.</b>                  14 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Equally, if you were the MP for                  15 a constituency where there was some issue arose and you                  16 were the minister, then you would say, "Look, I can't                  17 deal with this, I am involved", and I understand that.                  18 We can all follow that.                  19 What concerns me is what more than one person has                  20 said about an issue such as one involving the press,                  21 that actually, you all have views. They may be pro,                  22 they main be anti, but they actually do impact on you                  23 for all the reasons we've talked about during the course                  24 of the afternoon, all the time, and therefore, for those                  25 questions, it becomes particularly difficult to step</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 62</p>	<p>1 <b>If I can give a very specific example, which is</b>                  2 <b>perhaps a very -- admittedly an unusual example. In the</b>                  3 <b>end, why did the BSKyB decision go down? Well, we put</b>                  4 <b>a motion in Parliament. Now, I'm certainly not</b>                  5 <b>recommending that as a way forward for these kind of</b>                  6 <b>decisions, but to some extent, that was motivated by</b>                  7 <b>a sense of where the public interest lay. That is the</b>                  8 <b>first point that I would make to you.</b>                  9 <b>Secondly, I do believe it is possible for</b>                  10 <b>politicians to -- of course politicians have views, but</b>                  11 <b>I do believe it's possible -- and you've heard torturous</b>                  12 <b>testimony from people like Tessa Jowell on this -- to</b>                  13 <b>really try and crunch down and execute the function in</b>                  14 <b>a way that respects the quasi-judicial nature of their</b>                  15 <b>role.</b>                  16 MR JAY: Thank you. The last point -- and this relates to                  17 resetting the relationship between politicians and the                  18 press, and it may be you've covered this already -- is                  19 that you urge more openness and transparency about                  20 dealings, and I think that probably covers what in                  21 practical terms you believe is appropriate in this                  22 domain; is that right?                  23 <b>A. I think it does, Mr Jay, and if I may, I think that --</b>                  24 <b>I reinforce what I said at the outset, which is that</b>                  25 <b>I think that there are no blank cheques here, but</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 64</p>

<p>1 <b>I think that the default position for us, as</b>  2 <b>politicians, must be to try our very, very hardest to</b>  3 <b>use the recommendations that this Inquiry eventually</b>  4 <b>makes to provide a framework for the future and not to</b>  5 <b>become an academic textbook.</b>  6 Q. Thank you. Are there any other matters you feel we  7 haven't covered? If not, that concludes what I have to  8 ask you.  9 <b>A. Thank you very much, Mr Jay.</b>  10 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Mr Miliband, thank you very much for  11 your time.  12 <b>A. Thank you, sir.</b>  13 MR JAY: The last witness today is the Right Honourable  14 Harriet Harman.  15 MS HARRIET HARMAN (affirmed)  16 Questions by MR JAY  17 MR JAY: Your full name, please?  18 <b>A. Harriet Harman.</b>  19 Q. You've kindly provided us with a statement dated 16 May  20 of this year. Are you content to tender this to our  21 Inquiry as your formal evidence?  22 <b>A. Yes.</b>  23 Q. In terms of your career, currently you're deputy leader  24 of the Labour Party, Shadow Deputy Prime Minister and  25 also Shadow Secretary of State for Culture, Media and</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 65</p>	<p>1 <b>sure that the press is strong because it comes to its</b>  2 <b>work with clean hands, but I also feel that it shouldn't</b>  3 <b>be the press versus politicians, and that we have the</b>  4 <b>opportunity of achieving a settlement which moves beyond</b>  5 <b>the immediate turbulence that has occasioned the setting</b>  6 <b>up of this Inquiry, because we're talking about things</b>  7 <b>that have probably been wrong for decades.</b>  8 <b>We now have the opportunity of this Inquiry, but we</b>  9 <b>need to end up without vanquished or victors and to</b>  10 <b>achieve a cross-party working together, and also to have</b>  11 <b>the engagement and involvement with the newspaper</b>  12 <b>industry, broadcasters, but also campaign groups, and</b>  13 <b>I think that's what this Inquiry provides us with</b>  14 <b>an opportunity which we have not had before to do. So</b>  15 <b>that's why I feel it's a great responsibility of all of</b>  16 <b>us to try and achieve that outcome, not to make smart</b>  17 <b>points or score any victories. I don't think that's</b>  18 <b>what would be in the public interest.</b>  19 Q. Thank you. I've been asked to raise with you this small  20 point in relation to the 1992 Labour Party manifesto,  21 which did include pledges, as you rightly say in  22 paragraph 7, in relation to Calcutt and also in relation  23 to concentration of media ownership.  24 You say in that paragraph:  25 "We felt that because we made these pledges and</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 67</p>
<p>1 Sport; is that right?  2 <b>A. Yes.</b>  3 Q. You've been a Member of Parliament since October 1982  4 and you held front bench positions in the previous  5 government; is that right?  6 <b>A. Yes.</b>  7 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Ms Harman, thank you very much indeed  8 for your assistance. I'm conscious that you hold the  9 brief that you do hold but I'm grateful to you for  10 adding your perspective to that of Mr Miliband.  11 MR JAY: Of course you're also Queen's Counsel.  12 We're really here to talk about the future, but in  13 terms of the past, you say in paragraph 11 of your  14 statement -- and I paraphrase -- that there shouldn't be  15 a temptation to settle old scores. Both sides should be  16 honest about the past and leave any baggage they may  17 have behind.  18 Are there any particular lessons, particularly if we  19 look at the period 1997 to 2010, which you feel are  20 relevant for our consideration?  21 <b>A. Well, I think that the -- this Inquiry provides the</b>  22 <b>opportunity for a real stepping back and for</b>  23 <b>a recognition that actually politicians of all parties</b>  24 <b>have got a great vested interest in a free press in</b>  25 <b>a democracy, and that part of that obviously is making</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 66</p>	<p>1 because we were committed to introducing a robust press  2 complaints system and tackling media monopoly, the  3 Murdoch press was determined to stop us getting into  4 government."  5 Wouldn't it be fair to say that there were other  6 reasons the Murdoch press had against the Labour Party  7 manifesto in 1992, which certainly contributed to their  8 thinking?  9 <b>A. I'm sure there were, and I'm sure there were many things</b>  10 <b>which contributed to us not getting elected in 1992 over</b>  11 <b>and above the bombardment that we'd received from the</b>  12 <b>Murdoch press, but we felt that since, I think,</b>  13 <b>Neil Kinnock first put forward those arguments in</b>  14 <b>a speech in 1998 that that's when the bombardment sort</b>  15 <b>of started, and that kind of felt part of the climate in</b>  16 <b>which we understood where things were. So that's why,</b>  17 <b>you know, I did agree with what Tony Blair said in his</b>  18 <b>evidence to you and what we understood to be at the</b>  19 <b>time.</b>  20 Q. Certainly. I think you might have said 1998.  21 <b>A. Oh, 1988.</b>  22 Q. I may have misheard you.  23 <b>A. Yes, 1988.</b>  24 Q. May I sort of turn that around and say: well, those  25 manifesto commitments which we saw in 1992 were</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 68</p>

17 (Pages 65 to 68)

1 singularly absent in 1997, and that was the reason for  
 2 their being absent, which was not to estrange or inflame  
 3 or otherwise discourage the Murdoch press. Is there  
 4 force in a that observation?

5 **A. Well, I think it goes back to what Tony Blair said in**  
 6 **what became known as his 2007 "feral beast" speech, is**  
 7 **that we, after all those years in opposition and**  
 8 **believing that we wanted to get into government to do**  
 9 **things on the health service and on unemployment and on**  
 10 **whole range of things, that it felt necessary to do more**  
 11 **assuaging, neutralising, courting. That was the**  
 12 **decision that was taken, and that did feel like it was**  
 13 **necessary.**

14 **But I think that we're in a very different situation**  
 15 **now. Because of the appalling revelations, I think that**  
 16 **that's broken open a situation where we can have**  
 17 **a discussion with editors of newspapers across parties**  
 18 **that we haven't had the opportunity to do before and I'm**  
 19 **very keen that we should not lose that opportunity, and**  
 20 **we all have to try and make sure that that happens, but**  
 21 **with the framework of this Inquiry. It wouldn't be**  
 22 **possible without the framework of this Inquiry.**

23 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Of course, there's a risk, isn't,  
 24 there, that the press will combine in the same way that  
 25 it did after Calcutt and, as it were, circle the wagons?

Page 69

1 **A. One of the reasons why I've been talking to individual**  
 2 **editors is to, in a way, encourage them to circle the**  
 3 **wagons, but around a set of principles which everybody**  
 4 **can agree on, which is that there does need to be**  
 5 **redress for people where the code is breached. I think**  
 6 **most people think the code is fine. The problem is it's**  
 7 **not effectively enforced.**

8 **But because of the constitutional sensitivities, it**  
 9 **might feel better for the press to come out and propose**  
 10 **collectively to you a solution, which then would help**  
 11 **you shape your thinking and then we could take forward,**  
 12 **if necessary.**

13 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I have no doubt about that at all,  
 14 Ms Harman, and indeed, from last September, when we  
 15 first started the seminars prior to the commencement of  
 16 the Inquiry, I made it clear to anybody who would  
 17 listen -- and I've said it publicly -- that this isn't  
 18 my problem; this is yours. But the solution that they  
 19 come up with has to work, and it has to work for me, by  
 20 which I do not mean me personally, but for me  
 21 representing the public, which has been the backstop,  
 22 background to this Inquiry.

23 Of course, we're just about to embark, after we  
 24 finish this module, on suggestions for the future, but  
 25 I think, as I made clear earlier this week, I'm not

Page 70

1 wedded to saying, "Whatever you come up with is fine by  
 2 me", because I'm not saying it necessarily will be.  
 3 I just don't know. I'm talking about the press, that  
 4 is.

5 **A. I think if they circle the wagons around the status quo,**  
 6 **then we will have heard the heart-lending testimony to**  
 7 **this Inquiry of the Dowlers, the Watson family, the**  
 8 **McCanns, and nothing will have changed, and that can't**  
 9 **be acceptable. So I've been trying to encourage them**  
 10 **that they don't need to fear Armageddon or Zimbabwe,**  
 11 **that there can be a reasonable settlement here, which is**  
 12 **not the thin end of the wedge, which absolutely defends**  
 13 **and enhances press freedom but which gives redress and**  
 14 **protects against too much concentration of media**  
 15 **ownership, and that, it seems to me, is what is really**  
 16 **important.**

17 **And as Ed Miliband said, there is an opportunity for**  
 18 **people to bring forward bits of legislation using the**  
 19 **Defamation Act or using any future defamation bill or**  
 20 **using any future communication bill. So I think that's**  
 21 **a concern that they should have anyway, but I think**  
 22 **around a set of proposals that we could all agree on.**  
 23 **That would be the way forward and that should be**  
 24 **possible.**

25 MR JAY: In your discussions with editors, is an emerging

Page 71

1 consensus apparent?

2 **A. Well, there's been, I would say, more of a sense of what**  
 3 **they don't want than what they do want, which I've**  
 4 **pointed out to them and said it would be good for them**  
 5 **to put forward what they do want, what they don't want,**  
 6 **and also that it would be good for them to agree -- and**  
 7 **they're not obviously used to working quite collectively**  
 8 **like that. But I think that in a way it's their**  
 9 **responsibility not just to say, "It's down to you, sir",**  
 10 **but to do something and we'll reserve our right not to**  
 11 **like it. I've said that's not what they should do, and**  
 12 **I have encouraged them that we would not be looking to**  
 13 **get political advantage, score points, fight the next**  
 14 **general election on this. I think people want this**  
 15 **sorted. You know, they want a strong free press and**  
 16 **they want it to act fairly.**

17 **So it's been really just trying to urge them to come**  
 18 **forward with their own solution, but not a dressed-up**  
 19 **version of the status quo. If it leaves a situation**  
 20 **where people can choose not to be part of a new redress**  
 21 **system, then it's pointless, because the individual in**  
 22 **respect of whom the code is being breached shouldn't**  
 23 **have to work out whether or not -- "Oh, well, it's been**  
 24 **breached but I can't do anything about it because the**  
 25 **newspaper's not in this" -- you know, has not decided to**

Page 72

1 enter into this contract.  
 2 Q. Has a consensus emerged then as to what they don't want?  
 3 A. They don't want a slippery slope. It's a very unusual  
 4 situation for me to be speaking on behalf of editors of  
 5 the press, but -- I don't think they want a slippery  
 6 slope, but I think that we could have a firm cross-party  
 7 consensus where actually, if the front benches agree,  
 8 then they don't need to face a slippery slope because we  
 9 can give assurances that we would back up what went  
 10 forward and stop it getting out of shape.  
 11 And I think that, yeah, there are a lot of people in  
 12 the House of Commons or the House of Lords who have very  
 13 bitter feelings and scores to settle, but actually, if  
 14 the front benches agree and we get the argument onto the  
 15 right plane and we have the constitutional safeguards  
 16 which actually say we're doing the absolute minimum and  
 17 we're doing it with constitutional hesitation, then  
 18 I think it is possible.  
 19 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: So without speaking for the press --  
 20 they'll speak for themselves -- do you want to elaborate  
 21 upon what you believe this could look like?  
 22 A. Well, I suppose it could be called a statutory  
 23 recognition. I think it's a process of elimination,  
 24 really. The contract model has the problem which is --  
 25 I think the definition of a contract is an agreement

Page 73

1 freely entered into by two parties. If it's freely  
 2 entered into, they can decide at the outset or  
 3 subsequent newspaper owners could decide they're not  
 4 going to enter into that, and I think that that is just  
 5 a show-stopping problem, and therefore you have to have  
 6 a situation where the new body, operating on the code,  
 7 which most people think is fine --  
 8 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I wouldn't want you to think that  
 9 I necessarily thought that the whole code was fine.  
 10 I just make that point. I wouldn't want it to be  
 11 assumed that I don't think there aren't areas of the  
 12 code that need to be revisited. I'm not saying there  
 13 are at this stage, but I'm just -- I didn't pick it up  
 14 the first time you said it. The second time, I thought  
 15 I'd just better add that.  
 16 A. I mean, I would throw in one thing on the code, which is  
 17 that it rightly affords protection for young people and  
 18 children, but actually there is a vulnerability for the  
 19 very elderly which probably should be added in. But  
 20 I think by and large the focus and concern has been the  
 21 lack of enforcement on it, so I think that some  
 22 statutory recognition of it, sufficient to enable this  
 23 new body to actually make their rulings enforceable  
 24 against somebody, so that people don't just have the  
 25 option of saying, "Well, you've had this compliant,

Page 74

1 you've adjudicated on this complaint, but we're going to  
 2 take no notice of what your finding is."  
 3 MR JAY: But would a statutory recognition be sufficient to  
 4 bring those who do not wish to participate in any  
 5 contract into the fold?  
 6 A. I think it would have to, and it might not even be  
 7 a sort of joining model. But I think that any model  
 8 which just requires you to join it voluntarily, and if  
 9 you don't doesn't apply to you, that's not -- that is  
 10 the status quo, basically.  
 11 The contract deals with the issue of people who join  
 12 and want to leave, but it doesn't deal with the people  
 13 who don't want to join. That's the problem, and I think  
 14 that that just does look too much like the status quo.  
 15 It's not enough of a change.  
 16 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Or join now, because they absolutely  
 17 have to, but will sump out at the first opportunity.  
 18 A. Well, I think the argument that if they do it under  
 19 seal, that they are bound at least for five years, but  
 20 then there could be what happens after that or ...  
 21 I just don't think it's good enough. It does need to  
 22 have some statutory empowerment, some statutory  
 23 recognition, but I think that it really must do the  
 24 very, very minimum, because I do think -- and I do share  
 25 the press' concern -- that government, in particular,

Page 75

1 must not be allowed the temptation to kind of interfere  
 2 with press reports and press activity which is critical  
 3 of them, because I just think they can't resist that  
 4 temptation.  
 5 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Have you considered the Irish model?  
 6 A. Well, it's ... um ... good. I think it's as yet  
 7 relatively untested but it tries to have statutory  
 8 underpinning or an independent system.  
 9 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: That's the point.  
 10 A. Yeah. I mean -- yes. I don't think that we'd have  
 11 tablets of stone, because we want to be flexible, but  
 12 there are, you know, various criteria which have to be  
 13 met. I mean, I've resisted the temptation of actually  
 14 thinking that I know what the answer is and just  
 15 promulgating it.  
 16 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Just telling me?  
 17 A. Because I think that in a way we have to leave enough  
 18 scope and flexibility for there to be an agreement about  
 19 this and we have to move away from: "Well, actually, I'm  
 20 going to take this position." We have to leave  
 21 ourselves enough scope without being wishy-washy.  
 22 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I'm very comfortable with that. It's  
 23 why I said what I said last September and have said to  
 24 every editor and proprietor who has raised the topic  
 25 with me during the course of the Inquiry that agreement

Page 76

1 on principles would be extremely important. But getting  
 2 a way forward is, to my mind, essential.  
 3 **A. I think we've got as far as agreeing the principles.**  
 4 **It's just how you put those principles into action.**  
 5 **I think that a lot of the discussion around the Inquiry,**  
 6 **I can kind of see the topography of the principles. The**  
 7 **next stage is, you know, quite how you can do it with**  
 8 **being as minimalist as possible, and also taking the**  
 9 **opportunity of putting in the constitutional safeguards**  
 10 **around the public interest.**  
 11 **I think that the new guidance issued by the**  
 12 **Director of Public Prosecutions in relation to public**  
 13 **interest reporting is incredibly helpful. We all know**  
 14 **that when it comes to sentencing, you can argue the**  
 15 **public interest and mitigate your sentence, but in terms**  
 16 **of substantive offences you have no defence except in**  
 17 **relation to data protection, even if you are**  
 18 **a journalist acting in a public interest --**  
 19 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: But that's actually why I -- it was  
 20 during the course of the Inquiry that editors said that  
 21 there ought to be a public interest defence to crime,  
 22 which obtained from me the comment that it would be  
 23 rather odd if the result of this Inquiry into  
 24 allegations of gross press misconduct was  
 25 a recommendation that the misconduct shouldn't be called

Page 77

1 misconduct but should be legitimised by the creation of  
 2 a defence. But it did cause me, as you're probably  
 3 aware, to invite the Director of Public Prosecutions to  
 4 consider whether to issue, publicly, guidance on the  
 5 second limb of the code test, with which I know you are  
 6 familiar, in relation to journalists. He has done that  
 7 and is consulting on it at the moment.  
 8 I hope that that will do much to assuage the  
 9 concerns of the press, that in some way there is  
 10 insufficient recognition of the importance of  
 11 investigative journalism.  
 12 **A. But I don't think you'd be providing a protection for**  
 13 **wrongdoing of the sort that the evidence has been in**  
 14 **front of this Inquiry -- would be --**  
 15 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Absolutely not.  
 16 **A. I certainly think that it's been made much clearer in**  
 17 **terms of the decision to prosecute, but I can -- I do**  
 18 **actually think there would be some benefit of looking at**  
 19 **further safeguards in terms of substantive defences.**  
 20 **You know, it might be that you think the press is being**  
 21 **unduly nervous about it and that they ought to be not**  
 22 **feeling: "Well, even though we really think this would**  
 23 **uncover a crime, we can't do it because we can't rely on**  
 24 **the prosecutor's discretion being exercised sensibly."**  
 25 **But I think that there would be some judicial for**

Page 78

1 **that, and I don't see that in a way as a sort of quid**  
 2 **pro quo for a proper redress system. It just means that**  
 3 **if you do have a piece of legislation, you can take the**  
 4 **opportunity of putting that in.**  
 5 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Well, I'm not so sure that that  
 6 doesn't create its own dangers because then you'll get  
 7 a whole raft of satellite litigation around arguments as  
 8 to the applicability of the defence. If you take phone  
 9 hacking as an example:  
 10 "I really believed that by hacking into this  
 11 person's telephone or his email I would be able to  
 12 uncover X. A source gave me the information, I'm not  
 13 prepared to name the source, and therefore I felt this  
 14 was all entirely legitimate, and therefore I must have  
 15 a defence. Even though I didn't get anything that  
 16 remotely proved that which I was concerned about, but  
 17 got an interesting story anyway, actually, the reason  
 18 I did it all was for this reason."  
 19 I wonder whether, first of all, you can't rely on  
 20 the discretion of the prosecutor. Secondly, you can't  
 21 rely on what juries have done forever where there have  
 22 been inappropriate --  
 23 **A. Yes.**  
 24 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: -- and oppressive prosecutions.  
 25 Thirdly, you'll forgive me if I also rely slightly

Page 79

1 on the integrity of the judge who, if the jury do  
 2 convict, can say, "Well, the jury have convicted and  
 3 I understand why, but this was near and therefore that's  
 4 entirely relevant to the question of sentence", or,  
 5 alternatively: "It wasn't a defence but I'm satisfied  
 6 that what you did was done for good motive or whatever,  
 7 and therefore I discharge you."  
 8 I wonder whether there isn't enough protection  
 9 there. That's three layers of it. I don't ask you to  
 10 commit yourself, Ms Harman.  
 11 **A. I mean, I can see the protections at the beginning and**  
 12 **the protections at the end. I think that -- you know,**  
 13 **my main concern is that we make some progress, we have**  
 14 **a redress system, we have protection against too great**  
 15 **a concentration of ownership. I think it's**  
 16 **an opportunity. I'd put it no higher than that. We've**  
 17 **already made progress because of the guidance from the**  
 18 **DPP, but I just think it's an opportunity. But my main**  
 19 **concern is that we move on the question of redress for**  
 20 **individuals and concentration of media ownership.**  
 21 MR JAY: In terms of concentration of media ownership, could  
 22 you outline, please, your proposals for the future  
 23 there?  
 24 **A. Well, really, just to -- I don't want to reiterate what**  
 25 **Ed Miliband said, but that as well as having cross-media**

Page 80

<p>1 ownership addressed, there is also the issue of  2 ownership of newspapers. The fact that things are  3 changing fast doesn't mean that you are rendered unable  4 to take any action. The fact that newspapers have  5 declining readership doesn't mean that they're not still  6 influential, so I think the question of ownership  7 discretely of newspapers, even where there's not  8 cross-media ownership, is actually an issue.</p> <p>9 If I might say, to be encouraging, that I think that  10 the issue in your terms of reference of having media  11 ownership addressed -- I think it is very important.  12 I mean, I do think it was the combination of what I call  13 the impunity, ie no redress, and invincibility, size and  14 power -- it's those two things that laid the basis for  15 the culture which we saw a very ugly face of in evidence  16 to you.</p> <p>17 So I think if you were to go into all the massive  18 detail about the issues, then I think at least it would  19 be helpful -- I mean, obviously, you know, as Ed  20 Miliband said, it's very much for you to decide, but  21 I think it would be helpful for there to be at least an  22 assertion of the problem and the role it's played in it,  23 and the necessity for there to be a solution, even if  24 then Ofcom or somebody else plays a bigger role in  25 delineating it, but I think it -- getting a good redress</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 81</p>	
<p>1 system for individual complaints doesn't take us all the  2 way we need to go.</p> <p>3 MR JAY: In terms of prescriptions for the future, is there  4 anything else that you would wish to draw to our  5 attention or do you feel we've covered the ground?</p> <p>6 <b>A. I feel we've covered the ground, and having been</b>  7 <b>a Member of Parliament for 30 years and, before that,</b>  8 <b>being involved in press issues, I really do feel that</b>  9 <b>this is a real moment of opportunity, and I think all of</b>  10 <b>us in Parliament and those in the press, we have to make</b>  11 <b>sure that we live up to that opportunity, basically.</b></p> <p>12 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: So no pressure?</p> <p>13 MR JAY: Thank you. Those are all the questions I had.</p> <p>14 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Ms Harman, thank you very much  15 indeed.</p> <p>16 <b>A. Thank you.</b></p> <p>17 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: 10 o'clock tomorrow morning. Thank  18 you very much.  19 (4.20 pm)  20 (The hearing adjourned until 10 o'clock the following day)  21  22  23  24  25</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 82</p>	

A						C
<b>ability</b> 51:7	<b>adviser</b> 10:10,11	71:21 79:17	36:18 39:5,6	<b>based</b> 16:19	<b>blagged</b> 38:18	<b>Cabinet</b> 31:8
<b>able</b> 2:1 6:1 8:20	<b>advisers</b> 36:24	<b>apologise</b> 59:11	41:2 44:15	<b>basically</b> 30:18	<b>Blair</b> 3:22 11:7	32:4 46:23,25
8:23 21:16	<b>affairs</b> 5:9 18:8	<b>apology</b> 47:11	67:19	48:23 49:5	12:21 27:20	<b>Cable</b> 48:10,22
24:24 62:5	34:19	<b>appalling</b> 69:15	<b>asking</b> 26:11	75:10 82:11	28:15 30:10,23	48:24,25
79:11	<b>affirmed</b> 1:7	<b>apparent</b> 19:9	39:10 63:8	<b>basis</b> 3:25 8:18	31:21 68:17	<b>Calcutt</b> 67:22
<b>absent</b> 69:1,2	65:15	72:1	<b>aspirations</b>	50:17 52:19	69:5	69:25
<b>absolute</b> 73:16	<b>affords</b> 74:17	<b>apparently</b> 40:6	56:16	81:14	<b>blame</b> 56:1	<b>call</b> 9:10 19:19
<b>absolutely</b> 15:6	<b>afternoon</b> 1:4	<b>appeal</b> 60:17	<b>aspiring</b> 59:25	<b>BBC</b> 43:13	<b>blank</b> 3:10 64:25	19:21 20:2,7
71:12 75:16	62:24	61:7,17,17	<b>assault</b> 53:24	<b>bear</b> 13:4 26:20	<b>blocked</b> 60:19	20:12,17 21:9
78:15	<b>age</b> 55:14	<b>appealed</b> 61:14	<b>assertion</b> 81:22	<b>bears</b> 13:4 14:4	<b>blog</b> 38:21	21:19 36:6
<b>abuses</b> 9:21 12:7	<b>agree</b> 16:20 21:3	<b>Appeals</b> 60:21	<b>assessment</b>	<b>beast</b> 69:6	<b>blurring</b> 7:21	39:17 40:8
14:19 28:9	68:17 70:4	<b>appear</b> 7:19	39:19	<b>becoming</b> 40:5	<b>Bob</b> 37:19	43:1,11 49:19
29:25	71:22 72:6	<b>appearing</b> 18:19	<b>assist</b> 21:16	53:23	<b>body</b> 8:6 45:12	81:12
<b>academic</b> 65:5	73:7,14	21:22	35:19 37:6	<b>beginning</b> 3:21	52:8 74:6,23	<b>called</b> 34:25 38:9
<b>accept</b> 8:13	<b>agreed</b> 39:20	<b>appears</b> 21:8	<b>assistance</b> 66:8	18:12 30:7	<b>bombarded</b> 40:7	40:1 44:13
25:20 27:19	<b>agreeing</b> 77:3	23:1	<b>assistant</b> 16:5,17	80:11	<b>bombardment</b>	48:20,25 49:2
<b>acceptable</b> 71:9	<b>agreement</b> 73:25	<b>applicability</b>	<b>assuage</b> 52:23	<b>behalf</b> 73:4	68:11,14	49:20 73:22
<b>accepting</b> 24:9	76:18,25	79:8	78:8	<b>behave</b> 6:7	<b>book</b> 38:9	77:25
<b>accessible</b> 51:3,3	<b>ahead</b> 60:20	<b>application</b> 50:6	<b>assuaging</b> 27:22	<b>behaving</b> 26:7	<b>boss</b> 39:2	<b>calling</b> 44:3,6
<b>account</b> 13:5,7	<b>aim</b> 55:19,20,21	<b>apply</b> 10:8 11:2	69:11	<b>behaviour</b> 17:19	<b>bottom</b> 3:18	<b>calls</b> 23:4
24:25 38:20	<b>air</b> 58:15	11:3 75:9	<b>assumed</b> 74:11	29:20 57:24	41:24 46:11	<b>Cameron</b> 43:19
<b>accountability</b>	<b>Alastair</b> 11:8	<b>applying</b> 14:17	<b>assurance</b> 4:3	<b>believe</b> 17:12	54:13	58:22 59:1
54:19	<b>alibi</b> 6:14	<b>appointed</b> 63:15	<b>assurances</b> 73:9	20:23 21:25	<b>bound</b> 75:19	<b>campaign</b> 31:17
<b>accounts</b> 59:21	<b>allegation</b> 38:17	<b>approach</b> 8:18	<b>attempts</b> 4:9	26:25 27:2	<b>breached</b> 15:10	31:18,19 34:3
<b>accuracy</b> 15:10	38:17,20,24	11:22 51:17	<b>attention</b> 12:22	28:4,7 31:2,10	70:5 72:22,24	67:12
<b>accurate</b> 28:17	39:3	53:8 58:13	27:21 31:24	32:15 34:18,20	<b>breadth</b> 56:2	<b>Campbell</b> 11:8
<b>achieve</b> 4:18	<b>allegations</b> 33:22	<b>approaches</b>	35:12 36:19	37:18 40:11	<b>break</b> 47:6,9	<b>candour</b> 13:13
51:18 67:10,16	33:23 38:11	11:12	82:5	46:20 48:17	<b>breakfast</b> 46:8	<b>capitalism</b> 21:19
<b>achieving</b> 67:4	41:6,8 77:24	<b>appropriate</b> 26:7	<b>attitudes</b> 11:12	54:2,21 60:6	<b>brief</b> 19:25 20:7	<b>car</b> 16:1
<b>acknowledge</b>	<b>allow</b> 15:25	49:21 50:1	<b>attracted</b> 31:24	60:13 63:12	21:21 58:9	<b>career</b> 56:13
2:19 9:3	<b>allowed</b> 76:1	56:5,19 64:21	<b>attributes</b> 45:13	64:9,11,21	66:9	65:23
<b>act</b> 17:3 44:10	<b>alternatively</b>	<b>appropriateness</b>	<b>authorities</b> 56:19	73:21	<b>briefed</b> 31:6	<b>careful</b> 13:25
52:16 54:3	80:5	49:2	58:1,3	<b>believed</b> 20:9	<b>briefings</b> 30:23	36:12
55:13,14 57:13	<b>altogether</b> 12:3	<b>approximately</b>	<b>authority's</b> 27:4	39:2 48:23	<b>briefly</b> 2:3 13:14	<b>carefully</b> 14:3
71:19 72:16	<b>amended</b> 52:25	35:6	<b>available</b> 61:13	79:10	<b>bring</b> 5:2 35:14	<b>carried</b> 10:22
<b>acting</b> 35:3 77:18	<b>amount</b> 4:12	<b>April</b> 35:1 40:16	<b>avoid</b> 27:15	<b>believing</b> 69:8	39:7,8,8 71:18	11:11 30:11
<b>action</b> 28:24 77:4	<b>amounts</b> 12:24	41:1 44:13	<b>aware</b> 2:23 15:7	<b>bench</b> 4:8 56:12	75:4	<b>case</b> 9:11 22:5
81:4	<b>analogue</b> 55:14	<b>arbiter</b> 63:21	30:22 32:3,8,9	66:4	<b>broad</b> 46:5 47:4	24:11 36:7
<b>activities</b> 31:11	<b>analogy</b> 15:24	<b>architecture</b>	78:3	<b>benchers</b> 40:5	<b>broadcasters</b> 8:4	46:18 52:1
<b>activity</b> 76:2	<b>analysis</b> 50:18	51:13	<b>B</b>	<b>benches</b> 73:7,14	67:12	60:14 63:13
<b>acts</b> 24:5,5	56:8	<b>area</b> 4:6 30:8	<b>back</b> 9:25 12:17	<b>benefit</b> 78:18	<b>broadly</b> 11:1	<b>cases</b> 16:16 41:3
<b>acutely</b> 54:9	<b>Andrew</b> 28:5	56:17 63:19	23:19 33:16	<b>best</b> 5:6 16:3	61:15	61:25
<b>Adam</b> 35:13	46:7	<b>areas</b> 61:25	66:22 69:5	26:15 60:23	<b>broke</b> 68:7	<b>catch</b> 43:22
<b>add</b> 17:21 58:21	<b>Andy</b> 29:22	74:11	73:9	<b>better</b> 16:18	<b>broken</b> 29:16	<b>cause</b> 34:6 78:2
74:15	33:24 34:4	<b>argue</b> 77:14	<b>backdrop</b> 50:10	17:17 35:20	<b>Brooks</b> 19:20	<b>caution</b> 58:18
<b>added</b> 74:19	38:22,23	<b>arguing</b> 42:1	<b>background</b>	51:21 70:9	29:21 38:7	<b>cautious</b> 10:15
<b>adding</b> 15:18	<b>annex</b> 19:3 23:1	<b>arguing</b> 42:1	70:22	74:15	44:6 46:21	<b>celebrity</b> 2:17
66:10	40:22,23	<b>argument</b> 8:20	<b>backstop</b> 25:20	<b>beyond</b> 49:18	48:10,14	5:15
<b>additional</b> 16:9	<b>annexes</b> 40:19,24	13:20 49:24	25:21 70:21	67:4	<b>Brown</b> 30:11,13	<b>cent</b> 17:13 54:22
16:20	<b>announced</b> 36:1	53:10,14 73:14	<b>bad</b> 25:13	<b>bid</b> 35:23 36:10	30:20 31:9,14	54:23,23 55:5
<b>address</b> 4:10	<b>annoyed</b> 48:22	75:18	<b>badly</b> 6:7	36:10 39:16	31:20 32:3,13	55:7
14:22 48:6	49:17	<b>arguments</b> 56:18	<b>baggage</b> 66:16	40:1 48:11	33:11	<b>centre</b> 9:10,11
<b>addressed</b> 36:19	<b>annual</b> 8:9	68:13 79:7	<b>balance</b> 8:1,3	49:21 60:19	<b>Brown's</b> 29:14	<b>CEO</b> 49:11
58:5 81:1,11	<b>answer</b> 11:1 19:2	<b>Armageddon</b>	51:24	<b>big</b> 10:17 17:23	39:16,25 48:11	<b>certainly</b> 2:6
<b>adjectives</b> 28:16	26:13 31:1	71:10	<b>balanced</b> 26:6	46:1 50:17	64:3	11:22 18:21
<b>adjourned</b> 82:20	34:15 43:23,23	<b>Arms</b> 62:3	<b>Baldwin</b> 36:22	<b>bigger</b> 81:24	<b>bundle</b> 32:12	23:14 30:3
<b>adjudicated</b> 75:1	44:21 46:14	<b>arose</b> 7:10 38:23	37:20 38:11,14	<b>biggest</b> 6:19	39:13 40:20	32:16 38:2
<b>admirable</b> 51:19	55:25 58:6	58:24 62:15	38:16,18,24	59:18	50:5	42:25 46:18
<b>admitted</b> 15:3	60:4 76:14	<b>arrogance</b> 17:24	39:4,14	<b>bill</b> 52:11 54:1	<b>burden</b> 14:25	56:13 57:16
<b>admittedly</b> 64:2	<b>anti</b> 62:22	54:19	<b>ball</b> 58:15	71:19,20	<b>bureaucratic</b>	64:4 68:7,20
<b>advance</b> 18:24	<b>anxiety</b> 28:20	<b>article</b> 21:17,21	<b>Balls</b> 30:24 31:1	<b>binary</b> 42:15	24:20 53:24	78:16
20:24	51:17	33:20	<b>bank</b> 38:19	<b>bit</b> 5:21 36:12	<b>business</b> 35:4	<b>cetera</b> 17:16
<b>advantage</b> 72:13	<b>anybody</b> 9:12	<b>articulated</b> 63:7	<b>banking</b> 45:1	<b>bite</b> 56:22	49:3	<b>challengable</b>
<b>advisedly</b> 13:1	31:21 52:18	<b>Ashcroft</b> 38:9,16	<b>bar</b> 4:7 27:3	<b>bites</b> 57:23	<b>B1</b> 40:23	60:17
17:25	59:21 70:16	<b>Ashcroft's</b> 38:19	56:11 61:2	<b>bits</b> 71:18		<b>challenge</b> 24:25
	<b>anyway</b> 55:15	<b>asked</b> 30:19		<b>bitter</b> 73:13		
		34:10 35:9				

<b>chambers</b> 47:15	<b>coined</b> 31:16	<b>compiling</b> 24:1	<b>consideration</b>	36:24,25 40:13	65:23	<b>defamation</b> 54:1
<b>change</b> 1:15	<b>colleagues</b> 46:13	<b>complaint</b> 75:1	32:22 58:17	47:18	<b>cursor</b> 23:1	71:19,19
21:20 25:9	<b>collect</b> 12:3	<b>complaints</b>	66:20	<b>corrections</b> 51:7	<b>curtail</b> 13:10	<b>default</b> 65:1
30:14 35:5	40:17	12:16 20:20	<b>considerations</b>	<b>correctly</b> 42:19	53:18	<b>defence</b> 6:13
40:10 75:15	<b>collected</b> 50:4	68:2 82:1	10:8 61:11	47:14	<b>curtailing</b> 12:11	77:16,21 78:2
<b>changed</b> 29:12	<b>collecting</b> 16:21	<b>complete</b> 43:10	<b>considered</b> 35:25	<b>Coulson</b> 29:22		79:8,15 80:5
40:13 45:22	<b>collection</b> 40:24	<b>completed</b> 41:3	76:5	33:24 34:4	<b>D</b>	<b>defences</b> 78:19
71:8	<b>collective</b> 2:21	41:22	<b>constituency</b>	38:22,23	<b>Dacre</b> 20:12,22	<b>defends</b> 71:12
<b>changing</b> 81:3	59:3	<b>completely</b> 27:1	62:15	<b>Counsel</b> 66:11	21:7 22:16	<b>deference</b> 5:25
<b>charge</b> 49:21	<b>collectively</b>	50:19	<b>constitutional</b>	<b>count</b> 23:2	<b>Daily</b> 20:13	<b>define</b> 29:1
<b>charged</b> 8:6	70:10 72:7	<b>complexity</b>	52:12,16,17	<b>countenance</b>	21:18 37:19	<b>definitely</b> 24:4
<b>Charlie</b> 30:24	<b>combination</b>	58:19	70:8 73:15,17	53:23	<b>Damian</b> 30:25	32:10 34:4
31:2	81:12	<b>compliant</b> 74:25	77:9	<b>counterbalanci...</b>	31:8	36:8 50:16
<b>chat</b> 21:21,23	<b>combine</b> 69:24	<b>complicated</b>	<b>constraint</b> 61:1,1	56:18	<b>dangers</b> 79:6	<b>definition</b> 73:25
<b>check</b> 24:5 25:25	<b>come</b> 2:10 3:9	18:11 38:15	<b>construction</b>	<b>country</b> 2:5 9:1,1	<b>data</b> 57:12 77:17	<b>degree</b> 11:16,19
<b>cheque</b> 3:10	9:20 16:16	<b>comply</b> 52:20	58:4	9:10 44:5 45:1	<b>date</b> 20:15	<b>delineating</b>
<b>cheques</b> 64:25	18:14 26:22	<b>comprehensive</b>	<b>construe</b> 58:7	53:1	<b>dated</b> 1:10 39:15	81:25
<b>Chief</b> 37:5 38:25	33:18 50:10	15:8 50:23	<b>consultation</b>	<b>couple</b> 30:19	65:19	<b>demands</b> 63:25
<b>children</b> 74:18	52:10 58:17	<b>comprehensive...</b>	22:12	37:21	<b>daughter</b> 15:19	<b>democracy</b> 5:20
<b>chill</b> 14:11	60:23 61:9	51:18	<b>consulting</b> 78:7	<b>coupled</b> 13:20	<b>David</b> 51:15	6:25 45:4 55:9
<b>chilling</b> 13:19,25	70:9,19 71:1	<b>concentration</b>	<b>contact</b> 26:4	<b>course</b> 1:14 8:16	<b>day</b> 19:23 20:19	66:25
14:6 15:6	72:17	16:23 17:6,17	<b>contacts</b> 23:2,15	10:4 19:1 26:3	48:18 49:1,19	<b>Denholm</b> 49:3
<b>chink</b> 53:20 54:6	<b>comes</b> 26:7 51:14	17:18,23 67:23	24:14,17 25:10	29:14 31:25	82:20	<b>denied</b> 38:25
<b>choose</b> 72:20	67:1 77:14	71:14 80:15,20	25:12 57:6,8	33:16 35:5	<b>days</b> 19:6 27:22	<b>depart</b> 60:14
<b>Chris</b> 43:3	<b>comfortable</b>	80:21	<b>contemplation</b>	38:24 47:22	31:25 45:20	<b>deputy</b> 16:5
<b>chronology</b>	76:22	<b>conception</b> 51:11	51:13	56:9 58:10	<b>day-to-day</b> 63:1	24:16 65:23,24
35:21	<b>coming</b> 10:25	<b>concern</b> 31:9	<b>contempt</b> 6:5	60:4 62:13,23	<b>deal</b> 2:16 7:2	<b>describe</b> 6:10
<b>circle</b> 69:25 70:2	12:17 26:18	52:23 61:24	<b>content</b> 8:2	64:10 66:11	9:16,16 18:24	30:21
71:5	45:8 55:8	71:21 74:20	27:12 51:24	69:23 70:23	25:8 30:17	<b>described</b> 6:11
<b>circumstances</b>	<b>comma</b> 46:4	75:25 80:13,19	65:20	76:25 77:20	43:15 45:15	8:22
47:16	<b>commencement</b>	<b>concerned</b> 12:18	<b>context</b> 5:18 6:10	<b>courtesy</b> 20:6	46:10 62:17	<b>detail</b> 81:18
<b>cited</b> 30:11	70:15	56:4 79:16	<b>continue</b> 25:11	<b>courting</b> 27:22	75:12	<b>detailed</b> 56:8
<b>clandestine</b>	<b>comment</b> 4:19	<b>concerning</b> 22:2	54:22	69:11	<b>dealing</b> 8:7 49:22	<b>detect</b> 10:2
15:13	7:6,15,22	<b>concerns</b> 56:17	<b>continued</b> 20:10	<b>covered</b> 39:11	<b>dealings</b> 5:7	<b>determined</b> 68:3
<b>Clarke</b> 16:6	56:16 77:22	57:24 58:5	<b>continues</b> 42:1	48:3,7 64:18	64:20	<b>develop</b> 1:17 2:3
<b>clear</b> 67:2	<b>Commission</b>	61:10 62:19	42:10	65:7 82:5,6	<b>deals</b> 36:20	49:24 51:21
<b>clear</b> 8:15 9:5	20:9,20 35:24	78:9	<b>contract</b> 73:1,24	<b>covering</b> 50:23	75:11	<b>developed</b> 11:12
19:14 39:15	40:2 60:15,19	<b>concludes</b> 65:7	73:25 75:5,11	<b>covers</b> 64:20	<b>dealt</b> 15:3 58:1	<b>devices</b> 15:13
41:25 42:10	<b>Commissioner</b>	<b>conclusions</b> 23:8	<b>contractual</b>	<b>cowed</b> 28:15	<b>debate</b> 7:4 9:1,13	<b>difference</b> 4:21
46:23 47:19	16:5	58:18	51:12	<b>co-attended</b> 23:7	9:19 30:2	<b>differences</b> 10:2
49:16,18 53:21	<b>commit</b> 61:20	<b>concrete</b> 60:12	<b>contributed</b> 68:7	<b>create</b> 62:10 79:6	<b>decades</b> 23:19	10:7
55:19 59:20	80:10	<b>concur</b> 4:24	68:10	<b>creation</b> 78:1	67:7	<b>differ</b> 6:11
70:16,25	<b>commitments</b>	<b>condemning</b>	<b>control</b> 54:22	<b>credible</b> 50:7	<b>December</b> 19:20	10:8 12:23
<b>clearer</b> 78:16	68:25	12:6	55:17	<b>crime</b> 15:3,12	21:7,12,23	13:12 15:4
<b>clearest</b> 59:19	<b>committed</b> 68:1	<b>conduct</b> 12:6	<b>controlled</b> 17:13	16:5 77:21	36:23 37:20	16:24 23:25
<b>clearly</b> 2:15	<b>Committee</b>	57:8,10	<b>controversial</b>	78:23	39:4	28:12,13,14
20:21 50:25	29:22	<b>conference</b> 19:16	46:19,20	<b>criminal</b> 14:21	<b>decide</b> 56:24	39:12 59:7
51:2 63:8,12	<b>committing</b>	21:18	<b>convenience</b>	14:23 41:3	62:6,6 74:2,3	60:20 61:16
<b>Clegg</b> 43:19	61:21	<b>confidential</b> 22:4	34:16	<b>criteria</b> 50:4,16	81:20	69:14
58:22	<b>Commons</b> 32:18	<b>confine</b> 40:18	<b>conversation</b>	76:12	<b>decided</b> 25:17	<b>differentiate</b>
<b>climate</b> 1:15	54:1 73:12	<b>confirm</b> 1:11	24:19 34:17	<b>critical</b> 76:2	72:25	8:20
68:15	<b>communication</b>	<b>conflation</b> 7:5	48:9,17,18	<b>crossing</b> 3:6 44:8	<b>decision</b> 27:4	<b>difficult</b> 3:24
<b>clocked</b> 34:4	71:20	<b>conflict</b> 17:2	49:6	<b>cross-media</b>	52:19 60:2,16	7:23 19:14
<b>close</b> 18:13 27:19	<b>communications</b>	<b>conscious</b> 25:3	<b>conversations</b>	54:15 55:11	60:22 61:3,14	21:14 52:18
28:8,10,11	36:24 54:3	54:9,12 66:8	22:10,11,13,23	57:4,25 80:25	61:19 62:10	59:19 62:8,25
29:2,15,17,18	55:13	<b>consensus</b> 72:1	32:17	81:8	63:5 64:3	63:4
38:6	<b>comparatively</b>	73:2,7	<b>convict</b> 80:2	<b>cross-party</b> 3:25	69:12 78:17	<b>digital</b> 55:14
<b>closeness</b> 6:12,14	36:15	<b>consequence</b>	<b>convicted</b> 80:2	67:10 73:6	<b>decisions</b> 10:18	<b>dilemma</b> 59:19
<b>closure</b> 17:14	<b>compartmenta...</b>	28:11	<b>copy</b> 1:10	<b>crunch</b> 64:13	59:14,22 60:1	59:20
<b>cloud</b> 59:9	30:1	<b>consequences</b>	<b>core</b> 4:14 30:21	<b>cudgels</b> 12:20	60:6 63:6,15	<b>dilemmas</b> 14:5
<b>code</b> 7:10,12,13	<b>compelling</b> 2:12	13:21	34:9 35:12,17	<b>cultural</b> 25:9	64:6	<b>dinner</b> 44:22
7:20 8:7,11	<b>competition</b> 20:8	<b>consequently</b>	<b>Corp</b> 19:24	<b>culture</b> 6:5 36:8	<b>decision-making</b>	<b>direct</b> 31:5
10:20 15:9	27:4 35:23	39:11	<b>Corporation</b>	57:5 65:25	27:13	<b>direction</b> 50:19
52:9 70:5,6	40:2 56:7,14	<b>Conservative</b> 9:6	34:10,13	81:15	<b>declining</b> 81:5	<b>directly</b> 27:14
72:22 74:6,9	59:15 60:15,18	<b>consider</b> 44:6	<b>correct</b> 13:3 18:9	<b>current</b> 57:10	<b>dedication</b> 2:8	<b>Director</b> 77:12
74:12,16 78:5	60:21 61:6,17	78:4	19:8 26:18	<b>currently</b> 54:1	<b>deep</b> 24:20	78:3

<b>Dirty</b> 38:9,9	48:17,18	57:21 81:9	19:15 38:7	<b>farm</b> 62:11	51:23 82:20	<b>Gerry</b> 2:14
<b>disappearance</b> 15:19	<b>easier</b> 59:24	<b>ended</b> 21:22	52:14 53:2	<b>farms</b> 62:3	<b>follow-up</b> 34:1	<b>getting</b> 6:15
<b>disappointed</b> 4:11	<b>easily</b> 18:16	<b>energy</b> 1:15	63:4 64:1,2	<b>fast</b> 81:3	<b>force</b> 69:4	30:16 41:13
<b>discern</b> 49:14	<b>easy</b> 34:24	10:17 62:3	79:9	<b>fast-track</b> 51:4	<b>forcibly</b> 16:6	49:25 68:3,10
<b>discharge</b> 80:7	<b>echoed</b> 3:13	<b>enforce</b> 51:7	<b>exceed</b> 58:9	<b>fault</b> 16:1,2	<b>forever</b> 79:21	73:10 77:1
<b>discourage</b> 69:3	<b>echoing</b> 3:20	52:9	<b>excess</b> 16:1	<b>favour</b> 7:25 8:2	<b>forget</b> 46:2	81:25
<b>discourage</b> 69:3	<b>economy</b> 21:20	<b>enforceable</b> 74:23	<b>excessive</b> 6:12	15:24 44:24	<b>forgive</b> 79:25	<b>Gibson</b> 43:3
<b>discreetly</b> 81:7	<b>Ed</b> 1:5 30:24	<b>enforced</b> 70:7	<b>exchanges</b> 15:1	49:4	<b>form</b> 17:25 45:11	<b>give</b> 2:1 3:9
<b>discretion</b> 78:24	31:1 71:17	<b>enforcement</b> 14:20,23 51:24	<b>excluding</b> 23:6	<b>fear</b> 14:6 25:4	<b>formal</b> 1:11 20:3	13:19 20:24
79:20	80:25 81:19	74:21	<b>excuse</b> 14:8	28:18 44:23	20:4 65:21	45:23 60:23
<b>discuss</b> 53:9	<b>edgeways</b> 1:21	<b>engage</b> 18:20	<b>execute</b> 64:13	53:5 71:10	<b>formally</b> 36:1	64:1 73:9
<b>discussed</b> 21:15	<b>editor</b> 20:12,23	23:20,21	<b>executive</b> 34:14	<b>February</b> 35:14	<b>former</b> 39:1	<b>given</b> 4:15 8:21
22:17,21 32:14	25:6 39:1	<b>engagement</b> 67:11	<b>executives</b> 38:6	35:21	<b>forms</b> 16:24	10:20 32:22
38:14	48:15 49:10	<b>engagements</b> 24:6	<b>exercise</b> 8:23	<b>fed</b> 61:13	<b>forward</b> 22:22	52:14 61:3
<b>discussion</b> 69:17	76:24	<b>enhances</b> 71:13	55:23	<b>feel</b> 29:13 30:17	31:22 34:9	<b>gives</b> 71:13
77:5	<b>editors</b> 8:16 19:5	<b>enquiries</b> 41:21	<b>exercised</b> 27:16	31:13 65:6	36:21 51:10	<b>giving</b> 20:18
<b>discussions</b> 9:15	19:10 22:1,10	<b>enshrine</b> 52:21	78:24	66:19 67:2,15	52:2 54:4	<b>go</b> 9:25 19:2
21:6 22:1,4	22:14 24:14,17	<b>ensure</b> 3:25 8:1	<b>expect</b> 3:10	69:12 70:9	56:24 64:5	25:10,11 30:5
58:24 71:25	69:17 70:2	<b>enter</b> 73:1 74:4	23:21	82:5,6,8	68:13 70:11	35:15 44:6
<b>dishonest</b> 9:2	71:25 73:4	<b>entered</b> 74:1,2	<b>expected</b> 19:11	<b>feeling</b> 78:22	71:18,23 72:5	45:24 51:5
<b>dislike</b> 9:7	77:20	<b>entirely</b> 4:19	<b>experience</b> 9:17	<b>feelings</b> 73:13	72:18 73:10	59:16 60:19
<b>disrepute</b> 39:8,8	<b>EDWARD</b> 1:7	41:5 79:14	10:4,9,14,24	<b>felt</b> 3:5 15:18,18	77:2	64:3 81:17
39:9	<b>effect</b> 9:22 13:19	80:4	<b>explain</b> 13:23	39:23 40:4	<b>found</b> 18:9 32:15	82:2
<b>distance</b> 19:22	13:25 14:6	<b>episode</b> 44:18,20	18:11 34:16	41:5,6,10,17	33:10 34:2	<b>goes</b> 10:9 69:5
<b>distinct</b> 7:21	42:2	<b>equally</b> 13:4 26:6	<b>explains</b> 18:8	45:23 67:25	62:7	<b>going</b> 2:24 3:9,23
<b>distinction</b> 7:24	<b>effective</b> 14:23	52:21 62:14	<b>expose</b> 2:7	68:12,15 69:10	<b>founded</b> 4:11	6:8 7:17 18:14
<b>distracted</b> 12:22	14:24 50:7	<b>erupted</b> 20:16	<b>exposed</b> 3:4	79:13	<b>four</b> 12:1 15:11	19:2 22:8,22
<b>disturbed</b> 4:8	57:18	<b>essential</b> 77:2	<b>exposition</b> 52:20	<b>feral</b> 69:6	45:20	23:19,21 24:19
<b>diversity</b> 7:4	<b>effectively</b> 70:7	<b>essentially</b> 40:8	<b>express</b> 8:17	<b>field</b> 62:11	<b>fourth</b> 18:2	25:19 27:3
<b>divine</b> 49:14	<b>efficient</b> 14:23	<b>established</b> 20:8	9:16	<b>fifth</b> 12:2	<b>Fourthly</b> 2:25	30:5 33:16
<b>divorce</b> 17:15,19	<b>effort</b> 1:22 4:12	<b>establishment</b> 2:21	<b>expressed</b> 52:24	<b>fight</b> 72:13	<b>framework</b> 4:1	45:24 50:12
<b>DNA</b> 31:20	4:13,17,22	<b>et</b> 17:16	53:6,7 56:18	<b>file</b> 35:15	14:17 57:11	63:3 74:4 75:1
<b>doing</b> 8:17 46:16	<b>either</b> 4:7 14:18	<b>ethical</b> 57:21	<b>extent</b> 13:19	<b>final</b> 3:8 35:11	65:4 69:21,22	76:20
47:5 61:7	27:15 42:17	<b>ethics</b> 57:6	37:23 56:4	<b>finally</b> 8:10	<b>frankly</b> 6:25	<b>good</b> 6:15,25
73:16,17	56:11	<b>evening</b> 48:10,18	57:10,12 64:6	<b>finding</b> 75:2	42:4	14:10,10 17:4
<b>domain</b> 64:22	<b>elaborate</b> 50:13	48:19	<b>extremely</b> 77:1	<b>finds</b> 15:24	<b>Fred</b> 36:6	18:14,16,22
<b>dot</b> 46:4	54:16 73:20	<b>et</b> 17:16	<b>eyes</b> 17:1	<b>fine</b> 70:6 71:1	<b>free</b> 5:22 52:22	23:12 24:2,4,7
<b>doubt</b> 13:9 22:17	<b>elderly</b> 74:19	<b>ethical</b> 57:21	<b>F</b>	74:7,9	66:24 72:15	24:12 25:14,17
57:3 59:12	<b>elect</b> 45:5	<b>ethics</b> 57:6	<b>face</b> 14:5 59:20	<b>finish</b> 70:24	<b>freedom</b> 2:11 5:3	25:20,21 50:17
70:13	<b>elected</b> 19:6	<b>evening</b> 48:10,18	73:8 81:15	<b>firm</b> 73:6	12:11 52:12	55:8 72:4,6
<b>Dowler</b> 28:6	60:10 68:10	48:19	<b>fact</b> 4:20 7:14,22	<b>first</b> 1:4,18,19	53:18 57:19	75:21 76:6
38:21 40:10	<b>election</b> 11:10	<b>event</b> 21:15	10:7 17:13	2:4 5:2 7:6,10	71:13	80:6 81:25
43:20 45:21	19:16 32:11,13	22:22 33:8	21:25 33:20	12:5,9 19:17	<b>freely</b> 74:1,1	<b>goodness</b> 53:15
<b>Dowlers</b> 71:7	32:14,16,17,23	41:1 49:8	36:5 40:9 52:1	21:8 30:21	<b>front</b> 40:5 66:4	<b>Gordon</b> 30:13
<b>DPP</b> 80:18	33:3,4,4,5,7	<b>events</b> 40:17	56:10 81:2,4	35:1 41:1	73:7,14 78:14	<b>gorilla</b> 12:25
<b>draft</b> 50:4,16	72:14	<b>eventually</b> 65:3	<b>factor</b> 12:14	43:11 55:25	<b>full</b> 65:17	<b>Gould</b> 31:16
<b>dramatically</b> 45:22	<b>elections</b> 33:9	<b>everybody</b> 4:15	<b>factors</b> 12:13	63:11 64:8	<b>full-on</b> 33:17	<b>Gove</b> 15:1
<b>draw</b> 23:8 36:19	<b>elements</b> 2:5	70:3	<b>fact/comment</b> 7:24	68:13 70:15	<b>function</b> 64:13	<b>government</b> 9:18
82:4	17:8	<b>evidence</b> 1:11,23	<b>failed</b> 57:11	74:14 75:17	<b>funerals</b> 23:7	10:3,12,14,23
<b>draws</b> 35:12	<b>elimination</b> 73:23	2:1,12,14 3:11	<b>failing</b> 16:3	79:19	<b>further</b> 18:6 21:6	10:24 11:12,20
<b>dressed-up</b> 72:18	73:23	4:15 5:3,12	<b>failure</b> 2:20,21	<b>fit</b> 50:14	33:11 78:19	29:14 30:4,12
<b>driving</b> 16:1	<b>Elle</b> 16:17	15:6,7 27:1	57:13	<b>five</b> 75:19	<b>fusion</b> 7:5	30:13,23 31:3
<b>dusty</b> 3:15	<b>email</b> 39:13	28:2,13 29:20	<b>fair</b> 5:7,22,25 6:8	<b>flavour</b> 6:16	<b>future</b> 4:2 26:23	31:7,14 42:11
<b>duty</b> 17:3	79:11	31:5 47:13	21:3,6 22:8	<b>flexibility</b> 76:18	44:5 50:3	42:17,23 57:21
<b>dwell</b> 13:16	<b>embark</b> 70:23	51:6,15 52:10	23:12 26:8	<b>flexible</b> 76:11	51:21 57:24	58:2 60:7 66:5
<b>E</b>	<b>emerge</b> 22:6	53:12 65:21	49:4,22 68:5	<b>flowed</b> 41:3	65:4 66:12	68:4 69:8
<b>earlier</b> 2:20 9:25	<b>emerged</b> 73:2	68:18 78:13	<b>fairly</b> 51:20	<b>flows</b> 18:2	70:24 71:19,20	75:25
18:2 28:24	<b>emerging</b> 71:25	81:15	72:16	<b>focus</b> 74:20	80:22 82:3	<b>government's</b> 27:12
44:12 49:1	<b>empowerment</b> 75:22	<b>evolved</b> 42:4	<b>familiar</b> 4:7 78:6	<b>fold</b> 75:5	<b>game</b> 45:22	<b>graciously</b> 59:1
51:24 56:11	<b>enable</b> 74:22	<b>evolving</b> 45:17	<b>family</b> 43:20	<b>follow</b> 24:23	<b>gather</b> 3:13	<b>grateful</b> 1:23 4:3
70:25	<b>encourage</b> 70:2	<b>exactly</b> 26:2,5	71:7	62:18	<b>general</b> 21:23	24:1 66:9
<b>early</b> 27:21	71:9	41:7 42:13,16	<b>fantastic</b> 2:6	<b>followed</b> 29:5	22:6 33:4,5	<b>great</b> 2:11 6:22
<b>encouraged</b> 72:12	<b>encouraged</b> 72:12	<b>examine</b> 56:19	<b>far</b> 31:12 45:13	60:5	50:5 59:13	66:24 67:15
<b>encouraging</b> 75:22	<b>encouraging</b> 75:22	10:19 14:11	77:3	<b>following</b> 11:10	72:14	80:14
				21:18 29:3		<b>greater</b> 4:22 8:19
				32:4 38:21		

11:16,19 45:14 49:18 61:1 <b>grew</b> 59:8 <b>grief</b> 15:11,17,18 <b>grievances</b> 15:8 <b>grips</b> 2:20 <b>gross</b> 77:24 <b>ground</b> 82:5,6 <b>groups</b> 67:12 <b>Guardian</b> 33:20 34:1 <b>guidance</b> 77:11 78:4 80:17 <b>guilty</b> 43:19 <b>Gus</b> 33:1	71:6 <b>hearing</b> 6:8,15 22:9 82:20 <b>heart</b> 17:7 <b>heart-lending</b> 71:6 <b>heat</b> 38:22 <b>heavily</b> 14:4 <b>heed</b> 53:4 <b>held</b> 13:5 66:4 <b>help</b> 6:24 10:20 22:7 70:10 <b>helpful</b> 58:12,14 58:21 77:13 81:19,21 <b>helpfully</b> 59:1 <b>helps</b> 36:2 <b>hesitate</b> 63:17 <b>hesitation</b> 73:17 <b>higher</b> 27:2 52:1 61:2 80:16 <b>highest</b> 57:21 <b>highlights</b> 40:19 <b>hindsight</b> 34:25 <b>hired</b> 37:14,20 38:15 39:4 <b>history</b> 11:25 30:7 37:23 <b>hold</b> 13:6 24:25 63:1 66:8,9 <b>hole</b> 43:16 <b>holiday</b> 25:18 <b>honest</b> 5:11 7:16 49:16 66:16 <b>Honourable</b> 1:5 65:13 <b>hope</b> 2:17 8:5 10:22 24:11 26:22 43:4 50:3 63:8 78:8 <b>house</b> 32:18 54:1 54:2 62:11 73:12,12 <b>houses</b> 53:17 <b>huge</b> 3:2,11,19 <b>hullabaloo</b> 46:1 <b>Hunt</b> 40:3 49:20 51:19 53:6 54:7 <b>Hunt's</b> 51:15,15 51:17 53:11	16:19 <b>immediate</b> 67:5 <b>immediately</b> 19:16 <b>impact</b> 7:3 12:19 62:22 63:2 <b>impinge</b> 10:8 <b>implications</b> 33:25 <b>implied</b> 9:16 <b>imply</b> 25:13 <b>importance</b> 16:25 52:22 78:10 <b>important</b> 2:9 5:10,17,23 6:9 13:4,8 16:12 24:23 27:5 37:11,15 44:4 44:23,24 45:6 45:23 46:3 51:8 52:6,11 52:13 59:4 60:11,24 71:16 77:1 81:11 <b>impossible</b> 3:5 <b>improve</b> 6:24 <b>improved</b> 23:15 <b>impunity</b> 81:13 <b>inaccuracies</b> 8:12 <b>inaccuracy</b> 7:20 8:10 <b>inaction</b> 14:7,8 <b>inadequate</b> 41:10 <b>inadvisedly</b> 13:1 <b>inappropriate</b> 79:22 <b>inclined</b> 53:13 <b>include</b> 3:4 24:16 51:12 57:4 67:21 <b>includes</b> 24:14 <b>including</b> 23:4 31:6 54:14 57:6,11,20 58:2 <b>increase</b> 16:25 <b>increased</b> 17:2 <b>increasing</b> 29:20 <b>incredibly</b> 9:2 77:13 <b>independence</b> 45:14 51:19 52:17 57:20 <b>independent</b> 20:24 42:7 47:22 50:22 52:8,23 76:8 <b>indicate</b> 26:23 <b>indicated</b> 51:24 <b>individual</b> 5:24 51:1 70:1 72:21 82:1 <b>individuals</b> 2:16	2:16 51:4 80:20 <b>industry</b> 67:12 <b>ineffective</b> 14:18 <b>inevitable</b> 9:9 25:12 <b>inevitably</b> 16:4 <b>inflare</b> 69:2 <b>influence</b> 8:17,19 8:25 9:13 27:11,16,25 <b>influencing</b> 9:19 <b>influential</b> 81:6 <b>informal</b> 10:15 22:11 <b>informality</b> 11:17,20 <b>information</b> 36:14,14 79:12 <b>informs</b> 50:8 <b>initial</b> 45:20 <b>injustice</b> 6:20 <b>innocent</b> 5:14 <b>inordinate</b> 27:21 <b>inquire</b> 57:5 <b>inquiries</b> 41:2 43:10 <b>inquiry</b> 1:12 2:2 2:10,13,18 4:20 5:14 6:21 6:23 14:5 22:2 31:24 32:4,14 32:19,23 34:6 34:25 35:2,3 39:25 41:16 43:1,8,12 44:4 44:4,13 46:22 47:17 50:8 55:1 56:3 65:3 65:21 66:21 67:6,8,13 69:21,22 70:16 70:22 71:7 76:25 77:5,20 77:23 78:14 <b>insert</b> 52:11 <b>inserted</b> 58:23 <b>instinct</b> 54:24 <b>instincts</b> 56:25 <b>insufficient</b> 14:20 78:10 <b>integrity</b> 57:19 80:1 <b>intellectual</b> 4:13 25:24 <b>intention</b> 49:14 <b>interaction</b> 23:6 <b>interactions</b> 19:4 20:14 48:6 <b>interest</b> 5:6,13 8:16 14:13 17:3,4 20:22 44:25 60:8,10 63:21 64:7 66:24 67:18 77:10,13,15,18	77:21 <b>interested</b> 10:5 27:17 <b>interesting</b> 53:11 53:19 79:17 <b>interfere</b> 76:1 <b>interleave</b> 7:1 <b>international</b> 3:1 23:3,13 27:20 29:15 34:14,19 35:4 38:7 44:9 49:7,11 <b>International's</b> 17:11 29:20 54:18 <b>Internet</b> 50:25 <b>interpretation</b> 45:24 <b>interview</b> 28:5,8 29:1 43:3,13 44:3 46:7,21 47:3 <b>introduced</b> 18:17 <b>introducing</b> 68:1 <b>intrusion</b> 15:11 <b>invasions</b> 14:12 <b>investigate</b> 2:22 <b>investigative</b> 14:10 45:14 51:6 78:11 <b>invincibility</b> 81:13 <b>invitation</b> 24:9 <b>invite</b> 50:13 54:15 78:3 <b>involved</b> 33:1,2 38:12 62:4,17 82:8 <b>involvement</b> 67:11 <b>involves</b> 56:6 <b>involving</b> 62:20 <b>Irish</b> 76:5 <b>Island</b> 44:15 <b>issue</b> 4:10 7:3 9:24 12:15,21 17:22 28:18 29:23 30:16,17 30:18 34:12,20 38:13 39:13,17 39:21 43:21 51:2,14 53:5 54:14 55:10 57:12 58:15 61:8,10 62:15 62:20 75:11 78:4 81:1,8,10 <b>issued</b> 77:11 <b>issues</b> 2:20 4:17 7:9,19 8:6,9 13:18 15:16 20:22,25 21:24 22:1,21 27:13 28:20,20,21 29:4,19 39:16	39:17 40:12 54:16 56:7 58:17,19 59:15 59:19 62:6 81:18 82:8 <b>items</b> 36:20 <b>ITV</b> 43:3 <b>Ivan</b> 36:9	<b>J</b> <b>James</b> 19:21 20:5 <b>January</b> 39:15 40:1 <b>Jay</b> 1:3,4,8,9,25 4:25 5:10 11:24 12:13 13:23 14:15,25 16:22 20:18 22:24 26:13,20 27:8,9,11 29:13 33:5,8 36:18 40:21 42:21,25 44:1 47:11,21 48:4 50:3,15 51:14 54:13,17 59:13 64:16,23 65:9 65:13,16,17 66:11 71:25 75:3 80:21 82:3,13 <b>Jeremy</b> 40:3 49:20 <b>job</b> 13:6,8 15:21 37:17 39:9 45:4 52:9 <b>John</b> 3:13 49:3 <b>join</b> 75:8,11,13 75:16 <b>joining</b> 75:7 <b>joint</b> 47:15 <b>journal</b> 25:8 <b>journalism</b> 14:10 78:11 <b>journalist</b> 24:19 24:22 77:18 <b>journalists</b> 8:15 24:24 78:6 <b>Jowell</b> 64:12 <b>judge</b> 80:1 <b>judgment</b> 24:8 29:9 <b>judgments</b> 24:11 <b>judicial</b> 61:25 78:25 <b>judicially</b> 52:19 62:4 <b>judiciary</b> 52:18 <b>July</b> 20:11 22:20 22:21 23:4 29:1 32:19 38:21 40:13,16 43:1,14 44:14 45:8 46:8 <b>June</b> 34:11	<b>junior</b> 36:16 <b>juries</b> 79:21 <b>jury</b> 80:1,2 <b>justice</b> 1:3,6,20 3:17 4:3 11:6 14:9 15:23 16:11,20 22:20 23:24 24:21 25:2,23 26:6 26:11 27:8,10 29:7 33:3,6 35:20 36:12 42:8,14,17 47:6,19 49:23 51:4 52:14 53:16 55:24 56:10,21 57:2 58:11 59:6,12 61:3,6,23 62:14 65:10 66:7 69:23 70:13 73:19 74:8 75:16 76:5,9,16,22 77:19 78:15 79:5,24 82:12 82:14,17 <b>justified</b> 14:13	<b>K</b> <b>Kate</b> 2:14 <b>keen</b> 69:19 <b>keep</b> 58:15 <b>keeping</b> 60:8 <b>kept</b> 24:2 <b>key</b> 40:17 <b>kill</b> 16:7 <b>kind</b> 30:1 48:21 52:3 64:5 68:15 76:1 77:6 <b>kindly</b> 1:9 65:19 <b>kinds</b> 25:10 <b>Kinnock</b> 68:13 <b>Kirsty</b> 43:13 <b>knew</b> 3:5 30:3 32:11 38:3,4 44:7 <b>know</b> 3:10 8:11 12:24 14:4,7 16:16,18 18:14 22:8 23:8 25:14,19 29:24 30:8 32:20 33:14,15 36:9 36:11,18 37:22 42:6,23 45:4 45:15 47:1 49:10 59:6 60:9 63:19 68:17 71:3 72:15,25 76:12 76:14 77:7,13 78:5,20 80:12 81:19 <b>knowledge</b> 35:24
--	---	--	--	--	--	--	---	--

37:8	15:23 16:11,20	<b>Lord</b> 1:3,6,20	55:9,18 56:6	61:18	75:7 76:5	<b>necessity</b> 81:23
<b>known</b> 32:20	22:20 23:24	3:17 4:3 11:6	<b>Marr</b> 28:5 29:1,5	<b>message</b> 8:21	<b>modern</b> 31:18	<b>need</b> 13:16 27:15
33:13 47:20	24:21 25:2,23	14:9 15:23	46:8	11:10 22:6	<b>module</b> 70:24	31:12 47:23
69:6	26:6,11 27:8	16:11,20 22:20	<b>married</b> 48:1	24:24 26:3,4,8	<b>MOD3</b> 35:15	50:21 54:8
<b>knows</b> 53:15	27:10 29:7	23:24 24:21	<b>Marr's</b> 29:7	35:13	<b>Mohan</b> 19:18	55:15 60:9
<hr/>	33:3,6 35:20	25:2,23 26:6	46:11	<b>messenger</b> 8:21	<b>moment</b> 3:4,6	67:9 70:4
<b>L</b>	36:12 42:8,14	26:11 27:8,10	<b>massive</b> 53:24	<b>met</b> 34:11 36:5	6:4 10:6 14:13	71:10 73:8
<b>Labour</b> 9:6,17	42:17 47:6,19	29:7 33:3,6	81:17	47:16 76:13	44:2,3,7 45:19	74:12 75:21
11:11,23 13:15	49:23 52:14	35:20 36:12	<b>matched</b> 39:18	<b>Michel</b> 35:13	46:6 57:3,4	82:2
13:17 19:15	53:16 55:24	38:9,16,19	<b>matter</b> 15:15	<b>Middle</b> 18:24	78:7 82:9	<b>needed</b> 20:9,21
20:6 21:24	56:10,21 57:2	42:8,14,17	20:17 62:2	33:17 43:4	<b>Monday</b> 43:18	21:4 35:2
23:18 27:19,22	58:11 59:6,12	47:6,19 49:23	<b>matters</b> 1:10	50:12	<b>money</b> 4:12,12	41:14,17 47:1
29:15 35:17	61:3,6,23	51:15,17,19	14:24 54:14	<b>mild</b> 17:25	<b>monopoly</b> 68:2	<b>needn't</b> 22:5
39:7 40:5	62:14 65:10	52:14 53:6,11	65:6	<b>Miliband</b> 1:5,7	<b>month</b> 4:21	<b>needs</b> 6:20
46:13 53:21	66:7 69:23	53:16 54:7	<b>McBride</b> 30:25	1:21 5:8 7:6	<b>months</b> 22:12	<b>Neil</b> 68:13
65:24 67:20	70:13 73:19	55:24 56:10,21	31:8	11:24 16:22	<b>morning</b> 3:14	<b>neither</b> 30:4
68:6	74:8 75:16	57:2 58:11	<b>McBride's</b> 31:10	18:25 29:8,13	46:19 82:17	56:22
<b>lack</b> 54:19 74:21	76:5,9,16,22	59:6,12 61:3,6	<b>McCann</b> 2:14	33:6,10 36:20	<b>motion</b> 64:4	<b>nervous</b> 78:21
<b>lady</b> 16:17	77:19 78:15	61:23 62:14	<b>McCanns</b> 15:5	47:6,11 50:3	<b>motivated</b> 54:8	<b>neutralising</b>
<b>laid</b> 81:14	79:5,24 82:12	65:10 66:7	15:18 16:15	50:14 55:25	64:6	69:11
<b>language</b> 42:19	82:14,17	69:23 70:13	71:8	59:6 65:10	<b>motive</b> 13:3,14	<b>new</b> 8:6 27:22
<b>large</b> 74:20	<b>Lewis</b> 36:9	73:19 74:8	<b>mean</b> 5:21 20:3	66:10 71:17	80:6	31:23 33:16
<b>late</b> 1:3 30:9	<b>licence</b> 53:23	75:16 76:5,9	29:18 30:13	80:25 81:20	<b>motives</b> 13:13	45:12 57:17
31:16	<b>lies</b> 17:7 26:1	76:16,22 77:19	37:25 43:18	<b>Miliband's</b> 33:4	<b>move</b> 4:25 7:1	72:20 74:6,23
<b>law</b> 4:6 14:21,23	<b>lieu</b> 19:24 20:1	78:15 79:5,24	46:18 52:7	<b>Milly</b> 28:6 38:21	22:22 23:24	77:11
56:10 62:7	40:3	82:12,14,17	70:20 74:16	40:10 45:21	36:21 76:19	<b>news</b> 3:1 7:5
63:18,25	<b>life</b> 28:23	<b>Lords</b> 54:2 73:12	76:10,13 80:11	<b>mind</b> 13:4 48:4	80:19	17:11,14 19:24
<b>lawyer</b> 56:12,14	<b>light</b> 53:20 54:6	<b>lose</b> 69:19	81:3,5,12,19	58:22 77:2	<b>moved</b> 42:19	23:3,13 27:20
<b>lay</b> 64:7	<b>lightly</b> 4:4	<b>lot</b> 5:12 28:2,3	<b>meaning</b> 63:18	<b>mindful</b> 13:9	51:20	29:15,20 31:15
<b>layers</b> 80:9	<b>likewise</b> 25:15	31:24 51:16	<b>meaningful</b>	<b>minimalist</b> 77:8	<b>moves</b> 67:4	34:10,13,14
<b>layman's</b> 50:21	<b>limb</b> 59:4 78:5	58:14 73:11	58:12	<b>minimise</b> 26:15	<b>moving</b> 27:18	35:4 38:7 44:9
<b>leader</b> 1:16	<b>limit</b> 16:2 25:24	77:5	<b>means</b> 24:8	<b>minimum</b> 73:16	31:22 34:9	49:7,11 54:18
11:23 19:7	55:7,17 56:16	<b>lots</b> 40:6	36:15 79:2	75:24	45:16	<b>Newsnight</b> 43:14
20:5 32:1 35:1	<b>limited</b> 23:16	<b>lower</b> 55:2	<b>meant</b> 20:1 28:9	<b>minister</b> 3:23	<b>MP</b> 62:14	43:18
35:17 37:18	<b>limits</b> 53:22	<b>lunch</b> 22:16	41:9 49:22	24:15,16 31:8	<b>multi-billion</b>	<b>newspaper</b> 17:14
53:21 65:23	54:10 55:2,3	<hr/>	57:15	32:6 33:24	10:17	23:20 54:20,24
<b>leaked</b> 39:14	<b>line</b> 37:15 40:8	<b>M</b>	<b>media</b> 11:25 12:6	42:6 59:25	<b>Murdoch</b> 19:21	55:5 67:11
<b>Leamington</b>	46:12	<b>Macpherson</b>	14:18 16:23,25	60:18 61:12	20:5 29:6	74:3
34:2	<b>linked</b> 39:18	16:18	17:5,6,23 18:5	62:16 63:20	34:11,17 68:3	<b>newspapers</b> 8:13
<b>learned</b> 11:24	40:12	<b>magazines</b> 50:24	18:6 26:24	65:24	68:6,12 69:3	18:20 19:11
44:19 45:6	<b>list</b> 16:18 19:3,9	<b>Mail</b> 20:13 21:18	27:1,5,11,14	<b>ministerial</b> 10:19	<b>Murdochs</b> 48:7	23:13 50:24
<b>learnt</b> 44:17	24:13,15	<b>main</b> 30:16,17	27:23 31:18	<b>ministers</b> 30:24	<b>muscle</b> 49:24	57:7 69:17
<b>leave</b> 41:9 66:16	<b>listen</b> 70:17	51:5,7,8 54:13	37:7 54:14	<b>minute</b> 63:22	<b>mushroom</b> 59:9	81:2,4,7
75:12 76:17,20	<b>litigation</b> 79:7	62:22 80:13,18	56:12 57:14,20	<b>minutes</b> 34:18	<b>mustn't</b> 14:8	<b>newspaper's</b>
<b>leaves</b> 72:19	<b>little</b> 5:21	<b>maintained</b>	57:25 65:25	<b>Mirror</b> 37:19	<b>mutual</b> 5:20 6:5	72:25
<b>left</b> 9:11 31:2,2,3	<b>live</b> 82:11	60:25	67:23 68:2	<b>mischaracterise</b>	<b>muzzle</b> 45:3	<b>Newton-Dunn</b>
50:12 59:15	<b>lobby</b> 30:15 37:9	<b>maintenance</b>	71:14 80:20,21	53:13	<b>Myler</b> 19:17	48:16
<b>legislation</b> 71:18	37:10,10,12	42:2	81:10	<b>misconduct</b>	23:6	<b>night's</b> 43:18
79:3	38:4,4,5	<b>major</b> 3:13 29:4	<b>media's</b> 7:3	57:14 77:24,25	<hr/>	<b>Nods</b> 19:13
<b>legitimate</b> 53:5	<b>long</b> 6:3,18 35:6	<b>making</b> 10:17	<b>meet</b> 25:6 36:6	78:1	<b>N</b>	26:10 36:17
79:14	<b>longer</b> 25:6 46:7	16:10 25:23	44:23	<b>misconstrued</b>	<b>naive</b> 9:2	56:20
<b>legitimately</b> 56:1	48:24	29:9 39:15	<b>meeting</b> 21:9	42:24	<b>name</b> 65:17	<b>normal</b> 61:14
56:23	<b>long-term</b> 44:5	42:14 66:25	36:9	<b>misery</b> 20:21	79:13	<b>notice</b> 75:2
<b>legitimised</b> 78:1	<b>look</b> 14:3 15:9	<b>mandate</b> 30:17	<b>meetings</b> 19:4	21:5 45:10	<b>national</b> 57:7	<b>November</b> 21:7
<b>lend</b> 7:17 54:3	24:5 29:24	<b>Mandelson</b> 7:11	20:4,4 36:8	<b>misheard</b> 68:22	<b>naturally</b> 41:20	21:10,17
<b>lessens</b> 15:17	45:12 55:13	7:13 28:14	48:6	<b>misremembered</b>	<b>nature</b> 15:2,8	<b>nub</b> 51:14
<b>lesson</b> 44:24	62:16 66:19	<b>manifesto</b> 67:20	<b>meets</b> 25:7	22:19	18:12 33:23	<b>nuclear</b> 10:18
<b>lessons</b> 11:24	73:21 75:14	68:7,25	<b>member</b> 29:13	<b>mistake</b> 11:13,18	37:10 64:14	62:3 63:4
44:17,19 66:18	<b>looked</b> 9:15 15:5	<b>March</b> 19:20	36:15,16 47:14	<b>misunderstand...</b>	<b>near</b> 80:3	<b>number</b> 7:4 12:7
<b>letting</b> 43:20	<b>looking</b> 8:6 16:8	32:24 36:2	66:3 82:7	47:21	<b>necessarily</b> 7:17	13:15 15:10,10
<b>let's</b> 15:20 41:9	28:5 30:8	<b>Margaret</b> 16:15	<b>members</b> 28:21	<b>misunderstood</b>	16:19 46:5	15:11,11,12,12
41:18	31:13 37:6,7,8	42:21 45:13	53:6,16	63:24	58:6 63:7 71:2	15:16 16:24
<b>level</b> 43:16	42:21 45:13	55:1 72:12	<b>memory</b> 32:11	<b>mitigate</b> 77:15	74:9	48:2,14 52:15
<b>LEVESON</b> 1:3,6	78:18	<b>looks</b> 55:13	<b>mentioned</b> 47:11	<b>Mm</b> 61:22	<b>necessary</b> 26:17	<b>nutshell</b> 37:2
1:20 3:17 4:3	<b>market</b> 17:14	<hr/>	<b>merits</b> 37:24	<b>model</b> 73:24 75:7	69:10,13 70:12	<hr/>
11:6 14:9	54:20,24 55:6	<b>O</b>	53:8 60:22			

oath 62:7	19:7 30:5	27:18 40:17	36:13 37:6,8	48:19 59:23	24:6,23 26:25	22:22 25:8
objections 53:8,9	31:23 32:1	66:13 67:22,24	37:13,14 39:21	plane 73:15	27:3 45:2	28:9 29:25,25
observation	49:25 69:7	parameters 8:25	40:8 41:18	platform 17:21	50:23 57:8	31:15 42:12,23
10:13 54:18	oppressive 79:24	paraphrase	42:7 45:5 46:1	play 5:7,25 13:13	59:16,24 60:6	44:5 45:1,3
69:4	option 42:15	55:12 66:14	47:23 52:15	played 81:22	60:8,9,24	50:22 52:12,22
observe 10:19	74:25	parcelled-off	53:1 54:4,7,8	plays 81:24	63:13,14 64:10	52:23 53:6,18
observed 47:14	order 51:21	30:1	56:1 60:2	please 1:5,17	64:10,17 65:2	53:24 57:6,9
obsessed 31:14	ordinary 6:21	Parliament 36:2	64:12 70:5,6	9:25 36:21	66:23 67:3	57:19,24 62:20
31:20	28:21	42:6 53:15	71:18 72:14,20	37:1 39:12	politician's 17:2	64:18 66:24
obtain 49:23	organisation 3:1	58:2 64:4 66:3	73:11 74:7,17	54:16 65:17	politics 18:18	67:1,3 68:1,3,6
obtained 77:22	28:22 55:18,21	82:7,10	74:24 75:11,12	80:22	31:18 34:19	68:12 69:3,24
obvious 1:22	55:22	part 6:10 13:2,8	people's 9:8	pledges 67:21,25	38:10	70:9 71:3,13
obviously 4:16	organisations	17:9,9,10,24	percentage 56:6	plurality 39:17	poodle 20:20	72:15 73:5,19
9:11 10:11,12	50:25	18:8 30:2,9	perception 27:16	55:9,21 57:19	21:4 22:18	75:25 76:2,2
10:19 11:2	ought 3:18 47:19	31:19 34:4	27:25	59:15	45:10	77:24 78:9,20
28:2 43:23	77:21 78:21	44:21 54:18	perfectly 62:1	pm 1:2 47:8,10	position 20:7,10	82:8,10
48:14,22 56:24	outcome 8:5	58:23 66:25	period 30:20	82:19	23:19 26:24	pressure 82:12
66:25 72:7	42:22 67:16	68:15 72:20	31:13,22 33:17	point 2:4 4:5	39:20,22,24,25	presumably
81:19	outline 50:5	68:15 72:20	66:19	6:19 7:13 10:1	40:4,5 41:12	49:25
occasion 21:15	80:22	partially 59:10	permanent	12:2 14:15,22	44:7 45:17	pretty 32:13 36:5
occasioned 67:5	outlined 52:3	participant	10:21 31:17,18	16:9,10,21,22	47:1 51:23	44:9 46:23,24
October 1:15	53:8	30:21 34:9	31:19	18:2,15,16,25	53:22 56:19	51:25
66:3	outset 3:1 5:13	35:12	perpetrating	21:4 25:23	65:1 76:20	prevent 16:3
odd 77:23	7:25 64:24	participants	28:23	31:4,13 40:2,9	positions 39:23	preventing 14:18
odious 16:7	74:2	4:14 6:16	person 16:1 39:1	40:11 42:14	66:4	previous 20:14
Ofcom 60:16	outside 47:16	participate 75:4	49:21 54:21	43:15 45:25	possess 45:13	41:8 57:13
81:24	63:1	particular 12:7	62:19	46:10 47:25	possible 49:13	66:4
offences 77:16	outstanding 2:5	12:19 21:15	personal 62:1,5	50:11 53:25	53:7 64:9,11	previously 24:15
offered 59:1	overall 9:13	23:14 27:15	personalising	54:21 59:13	69:22 71:24	47:16
offers 53:20	55:17	30:24 31:14	14:25	61:23 63:11	73:18 77:8	primarily 37:2
office 10:22	overly 18:13	48:12,20 55:20	personally 62:12	64:8,16 67:20	post 23:15 54:23	primary 5:13
21:25,25	20:3	63:17,19 66:18	70:20	74:10 76:9	postdated 19:16	Prime 3:23 24:15
off-the-record	overweening	75:25	person's 36:16	pointed 72:4	potentially 10:17	24:16 32:6
30:22	55:23	particularly 2:13	79:11	pointless 72:21	31:6	33:24 42:6
Oh 21:13 68:21	over-arching	4:6 10:5 16:24	perspective	points 2:3 12:1	pound 10:18	59:25 65:24
72:23	1:18	23:12 37:25	66:10	18:3 48:2	12:25	principle 10:21
Okay 31:12 35:9	owe 47:11	38:6 62:25	persuading	50:13 63:10	pouring 59:22	principles 50:6
39:11	owners 74:3	66:18	27:23	67:17 72:13	power 3:2 8:22	52:2 70:3 77:1
old 66:15	ownership 16:23	parties 12:20	Peter 7:11,12	police 2:22 14:20	9:23 10:18	77:3,4,6
omitted 22:17	17:6,16 54:14	25:16 27:17	39:2	15:15,16,21	17:11,17,18,24	print 14:17
47:13	54:15 55:11	66:23 69:17	Philip 31:16	16:3,4,12	54:18 55:23	prior 70:15
once 38:21,23	57:4,25 67:23	74:1	phone 2:7 12:7	29:23 35:2	63:4 81:14	prioritise 16:4
53:14	71:15 80:15,20	partisan 9:10	14:19 19:19,21	39:25 41:2,10	powerful 17:4	privacy 7:20
one's 6:1	80:21 81:1,2,6	partly 30:6 42:4	20:12,16 21:9	41:21 43:9	29:6 44:25	14:12 15:10
open 69:16	81:8,11	partners 47:23	23:4,14 28:6	57:9 58:3	powers 45:14	private 10:21,22
opening 2:2 13:5	owning 55:5	47:25	34:12,20 36:6	policing 15:16	51:6	22:4
44:8	o'clock 82:17,20	parts 2:8 17:20	39:17,24 40:6	policy 25:3 26:24	practical 64:21	privately 46:15
openness 64:19	O'Donnell 33:2	party 11:11,23	79:8	27:1,5,13	practice 4:7	privilege 2:1
operating 74:6		19:15 20:6	phoned 49:9	57:11,16,18,25	47:22 57:5	pro 62:21 79:2
operation 31:4	<b>P</b>	23:18 34:10,18	phone-hacking	61:11,11,13	practices 3:3	proactive 11:11
operational	page 1:18 5:1 7:2	35:7 39:7	23:15	political 7:3	precisely 14:14	probably 11:16
27:13	8:15 10:2	46:13 49:7	phoning 20:18	12:20 24:14,17	26:12 44:19	18:21 40:18
opine 56:5	14:16 18:24	53:21 65:24	phrase 31:16,17	25:15 30:2	prefer 42:5	43:9 45:20
opinion 7:4	19:19,19 20:11	67:20 68:6	42:3,5,5 49:3	37:8,10,16	preferred 44:11	64:20 67:7
opponents 36:10	21:8 26:14	pass 28:1	55:12	38:1 48:15	prepared 4:16	74:19 78:2
opportunity 44:1	28:25 35:15	pattern 23:9	phrases 28:14	49:24 72:13	79:13	problem 7:7 8:10
53:17 66:22	41:24 43:2,4	patterns 19:14	pick 12:1,2 48:2	politician 3:9	prescriptions	17:7,9 70:6,18
67:4,8,14	45:12 48:2,5,8	Paul 20:12	74:13	10:11 24:22	82:3	73:24 74:5
69:18,19 71:17	48:9 50:11,12	Pause 26:21 57:5	picking 56:12	60:14	preserve 14:9	75:13 81:22
75:17 77:9	54:14	Paxman 3:18	picture 46:5	politicians 2:23	press 2:5,6,9,11	problematic
79:4 80:16,18	pagination 43:5	payment 29:23	piece 26:2 31:23	3:2,12 5:22,24	2:16,21 5:2,23	54:5
82:9,11	paid 27:21	PCC 20:19 45:9	32:5 33:16,18	6:6,7,13 9:6,6	5:24 6:6 8:24	proceeds 54:17
opposition 1:17	paper 26:2	people 4:13 5:15	34:1 79:3	9:20,22 10:3,3	9:7,10,21,23	process 22:12
10:4,6,10,12	papers 23:3	6:21 13:10	pitching 21:17	10:5 12:1,5,10	12:11,15 13:6	37:1,5 49:4
10:23,25 11:4	paragraph 5:1,5	15:25 16:7,15	place 20:9 30:5	12:14 13:10,15	13:6,8 16:13	73:23
11:9,13,20	8:14 10:1	25:14 28:12,13	32:23 43:9	17:1 18:5,7,13	17:20 20:19	professional

57:22	<b>publicly</b> 61:12	<b>quo</b> 42:2 71:5	34:16 36:4	57:11,18	<b>reports</b> 76:2	<b>rigour</b> 2:8 25:25
<b>progress</b> 80:13	70:17 78:4	72:19 75:10,14	<b>receive</b> 20:2 24:9	<b>regulator's</b>	<b>represent</b> 60:10	<b>ring</b> 20:7
80:17	<b>published</b> 19:24	79:2	<b>received</b> 68:11	63:23	<b>representative</b>	<b>risk</b> 25:5 26:16
<b>project</b> 37:12,13	24:15 38:10		<b>receiving</b> 59:7	<b>reinforce</b> 64:24	25:8	69:23
<b>promote</b> 5:8	<b>punch</b> 43:16	<b>R</b>	<b>recipients</b> 36:13	<b>reinforcement</b>	<b>representatives</b>	<b>road</b> 63:23
<b>promulgating</b>	<b>purpose</b> 49:19	<b>radar</b> 33:18	<b>recognise</b> 54:9	24:12	18:5	<b>Roberts</b> 37:19
76:15	52:21	<b>radical</b> 7:13	<b>recognition</b>	<b>reiterate</b> 80:24	<b>representing</b>	<b>robust</b> 39:23,23
<b>proper</b> 45:14	<b>pursuing</b> 40:3	<b>raft</b> 79:7	52:22 54:11	<b>relate</b> 30:6	70:21	39:25 40:4
58:4 79:2	<b>pushing</b> 43:21	<b>raise</b> 8:8 31:9	66:23 73:23	<b>related</b> 57:12	<b>request</b> 33:11	68:1
<b>properly</b> 2:22	<b>put</b> 1:22 2:13,17	34:12 47:12	74:22 75:3,23	<b>relates</b> 16:22	58:16	<b>role</b> 11:3 58:19
<b>proponents</b>	6:20 11:14,14	58:12 67:19	78:10	59:14 64:16	<b>requested</b> 48:16	60:11,24,25
36:10	11:17 12:21	<b>raised</b> 29:23	<b>recollection</b> 36:3	<b>relation</b> 6:21 8:3	<b>require</b> 56:7	63:13,14 64:15
<b>proportionate</b>	15:20 16:6	34:20,23 43:15	46:17 48:16	10:18 27:3,5	<b>required</b> 58:4	81:22,24
24:18	17:17 20:21	76:24	<b>recommendati...</b>	30:20 39:9,16	<b>requires</b> 4:22	<b>Rubicon</b> 3:6 44:8
<b>proportionately</b>	21:5 22:18	<b>rang</b> 19:23,25	59:14 77:25	40:15 48:8	25:25 75:8	<b>rules</b> 54:15
26:7	25:22 30:19	20:23 49:16	<b>recommendati...</b>	58:15 67:20,22	<b>reserve</b> 72:10	<b>rulings</b> 74:23
<b>proposal</b> 46:4	33:21 34:10	<b>range</b> 16:15	2:10,18 3:14	67:22 77:12,17	<b>resetting</b> 64:17	<b>run</b> 21:20
<b>proposals</b> 14:3	35:9 41:17	19:10 28:16	4:1 6:23 18:15	78:6	<b>resign</b> 49:1	<b>running</b> 43:22
71:22 80:22	46:3 52:1 53:1	69:10	18:23 26:22	<b>relations</b> 11:25	<b>resist</b> 76:3	<b>run-up</b> 58:25
<b>propose</b> 70:9	64:3 68:13	<b>reached</b> 56:15	45:15 50:8	23:13	<b>resisted</b> 76:13	<b>Rupert</b> 34:11,17
<b>proprietor</b> 17:5	72:5 77:4	<b>reaction</b> 21:1	57:17 58:5	<b>relationship</b> 5:16	<b>resources</b> 16:13	
25:18 76:24	80:16	62:1 63:2	60:15,18 65:3	5:20 6:24	<b>respect</b> 5:6,20,22	<b>S</b>
<b>proprietors</b> 8:23	<b>putting</b> 12:23	<b>read</b> 4:8 15:6	<b>recommending</b>	18:20 24:22	5:23 24:7 29:3	<b>sadly</b> 23:7
17:1 19:4,11	45:9 52:4 54:4	28:2 33:25	64:5	48:21 57:9	72:22	<b>safeguards</b> 52:12
<b>prosecute</b> 78:17	77:9 79:4	34:1 42:8	<b>record</b> 24:2	64:17	<b>respects</b> 64:14	73:15 77:9
<b>prosecuted</b>		51:15	<b>recourse</b> 60:21	<b>relationships</b>	<b>response</b> 63:11	78:19
41:18	<b>Q</b>	<b>readers</b> 9:4,8	<b>recruited</b> 36:23	18:4,13 23:20	<b>responsibility</b>	<b>sales</b> 62:3
<b>prosecuting</b> 58:2	<b>quality</b> 8:19	<b>readership</b> 81:5	<b>recruitment</b> 37:1	23:21 38:4,6	3:12,20 5:3	<b>SAMUEL</b> 1:7
<b>prosecutions</b>	<b>quasi-judicial</b>	<b>reading</b> 2:12	<b>recuse</b> 62:12	57:7	17:12 48:11,24	<b>sat</b> 61:24
41:22 77:12	11:3 64:14	3:11,19 59:21	<b>redress</b> 7:18	<b>relatively</b> 34:17	56:22 67:15	<b>satellite</b> 79:7
78:3 79:24	<b>quasi-monopoly</b>	<b>reaffirm</b> 5:16	12:15 50:21	49:6 76:7	72:9	<b>satisfied</b> 80:5
<b>prosecutor</b> 79:20	17:16,18	<b>real</b> 66:22 82:9	51:4 70:5	<b>relevant</b> 37:23	<b>responsible</b>	<b>saw</b> 19:17 68:25
<b>prosecutor's</b>	<b>Queen's</b> 66:11	<b>realised</b> 7:11	71:13 72:20	37:25 38:1,2	21:19 37:2	81:15
78:24	<b>question</b> 4:25 5:8	<b>reality</b> 25:24	79:2 80:14,19	39:21 41:1	59:10 63:6	<b>saying</b> 1:25 7:14
<b>protect</b> 5:14	5:10 7:2 8:14	27:15 28:1	81:13,25	58:1 66:20	<b>result</b> 77:23	20:13,25 23:17
<b>protection</b> 57:12	8:24 9:20	45:19 49:23	<b>refer</b> 28:12	80:4	<b>reticent</b> 3:2	27:24 29:21
74:17 77:17	10:14 11:24	<b>really</b> 3:20 15:25	<b>reference</b> 56:3	<b>rely</b> 78:23 79:19	<b>retrospect</b> 34:24	41:9 42:22
78:12 80:8,14	12:2,12 13:24	18:18 20:7,24	57:1,2 58:8,24	79:21,25	44:11	44:1 47:3
<b>protections</b>	19:2 22:18	22:14 26:11	58:25 59:4,8	<b>remaining</b> 17:4	<b>returning</b> 27:8	58:22 60:14
80:11,12	23:23,25 24:13	29:6,18 30:15	81:10	63:14	<b>revelation</b> 18:4	61:16 63:12
<b>protects</b> 71:14	25:2,13 26:14	30:20 31:21	<b>referral</b> 20:8	<b>remains</b> 16:14	<b>revelations</b>	71:1,2 74:12
<b>proved</b> 79:16	27:2,11 29:8	35:8 37:25	<b>referred</b> 35:23	27:24	40:11 69:15	74:25
<b>provide</b> 2:2 4:1	29:24 30:22	46:17 47:1	36:13 40:2	<b>remarked</b> 3:16	<b>review</b> 34:25	<b>says</b> 9:7,12 29:8
50:6 58:11	34:12,15 35:11	50:11 52:8	<b>referring</b> 11:19	<b>remarks</b> 4:24	41:2,4,16	29:8 35:16
60:25 65:4	36:22,22 46:11	60:1 64:13	<b>refers</b> 36:11	13:5 14:4 44:8	52:19 61:25	<b>scandal</b> 20:16
<b>provided</b> 1:9,23	46:14 48:5,7	66:12 71:15	<b>refigure</b> 32:10	<b>remedies</b> 14:19	<b>revisions</b> 45:21	28:7
65:19	49:2,20 50:25	72:17 73:24	<b>reflect</b> 9:4,7 53:3	<b>remedy</b> 8:12	<b>revisited</b> 74:12	<b>schedule</b> 23:25
<b>providers</b> 36:14	54:10 55:1,3,6	75:23 78:22	55:24	14:24	<b>rhythms</b> 37:12	<b>scope</b> 76:18,21
<b>provides</b> 66:21	55:16 80:4,19	79:10 80:24	<b>reflecting</b> 49:22	<b>remember</b> 3:19	38:3	<b>score</b> 67:17
67:13	81:6	82:8	<b>reflection</b> 26:8	19:22 20:16	<b>right</b> 1:4 2:17,19	72:13
<b>providing</b> 14:18	<b>questioning</b> 7:10	<b>realm</b> 27:25	<b>reflects</b> 5:3	21:1,14 22:24	2:25,25 3:7	<b>scores</b> 66:15
51:4 78:12	7:12	<b>reason</b> 6:9 14:7	<b>Reform</b> 52:16	30:2 32:18	6:20 7:25 9:10	73:13
<b>public</b> 4:12,12	<b>questions</b> 1:8	14:11 25:2	<b>regime</b> 57:18	34:2 35:6,8,8	11:21 18:10,10	<b>screen</b> 35:14
5:5 8:16,25	17:15,19 22:24	28:12 54:6	<b>regulate</b> 7:23	39:5 41:7	18:25 19:7	<b>scrutinising</b> 12:6
9:13,19 14:13	30:19 35:9	69:1 79:17,18	13:11	48:12	20:13 25:14	14:3
17:3 24:3	39:5 40:7	<b>reasonable</b> 60:22	<b>regulating</b> 13:11	<b>remind</b> 26:20	27:10 29:21	<b>scrutiny</b> 19:9
28:21 32:14,21	62:25 65:16	61:19 71:11	42:12	<b>remotely</b> 79:16	32:25 38:19	23:1
32:21,22,23	82:13	<b>reasons</b> 12:8,17	<b>regulation</b> 8:1,2	<b>removes</b> 15:17	41:11 42:1,11	<b>seal</b> 75:19
34:6 35:24	<b>quick</b> 19:9	31:3 62:23	13:21 14:1	<b>rendered</b> 81:3	42:18 46:5	<b>seat</b> 9:24
43:1,8 60:8,10	<b>quid</b> 79:1	68:6 70:1	42:7,23 51:23	<b>repayment</b> 4:23	50:19 56:2	<b>second</b> 3:17 4:4
63:21 64:7	<b>quite</b> 7:18 12:24	<b>reassurance</b> 54:8	57:25	<b>repeated</b> 4:9,19	60:2,4,5 61:17	4:25 13:2
67:18 70:21	24:12 33:14	<b>reassured</b> 4:19	<b>regulators</b> 58:20	<b>reply</b> 48:13	63:22 64:22	14:15 21:9
77:10,12,12,15	41:15 46:14	<b>Rebekah</b> 19:20	59:16 60:11	<b>report</b> 8:9 9:3	65:13 66:1,5	26:20 54:13
77:18,21 78:3	48:19 52:18	29:21 38:7	61:4 63:15,16	<b>reporter</b> 38:2	72:10 73:15	74:14 78:5
<b>publication</b> 32:5	56:8 58:14	44:6 48:10,14	<b>regulatory</b> 7:18	<b>reporting</b> 15:12	<b>rightly</b> 12:10,12	<b>secondary</b> 55:10
58:25	72:7 77:7	<b>recall</b> 32:16	14:17 50:4	77:13	67:21 74:17	<b>secondly</b> 2:12

<b>secretary</b> 1:14 10:16,21,21 32:4 36:9 49:3 63:5 65:25	71:11 <b>Shadow</b> 36:8 46:23,24 49:3 65:24,25	<b>slower</b> 40:21 <b>small</b> 16:23 67:19 <b>smart</b> 67:16 <b>Smith</b> 35:13 <b>social</b> 23:6 <b>Solicitor</b> 33:1 <b>solution</b> 7:18,18 17:10 50:4 70:10,18 72:18 81:23 <b>somebody</b> 37:12 37:15 38:3,5 62:10 74:24 81:24 <b>somewhat</b> 26:24 <b>soon</b> 35:5 <b>sorry</b> 1:3 13:23 13:25 21:10 40:21 48:4,5 <b>sort</b> 6:5 7:23 10:9 18:18 22:11 24:2 26:9 33:18 34:4 37:4,17 41:4 45:17 50:17 51:1 55:12,14,22 59:18,21,22 61:1 63:17 68:14,24 75:7 78:13 79:1 <b>sorted</b> 72:15 <b>sorts</b> 56:7 <b>sought</b> 18:13 <b>source</b> 79:12,13 <b>speak</b> 2:24 3:5 25:11 28:10 29:3,19 41:11 43:25 44:23 45:2,5 49:15 59:2 73:20 <b>speaking</b> 3:3 9:23 28:20 45:21 73:4,19 <b>speaks</b> 46:9 <b>specific</b> 11:18 27:6,7 31:9 38:11,13,17 39:9 48:6 64:1 <b>specifically</b> 28:4 31:1 39:5 <b>speech</b> 20:18 21:18 32:18 45:8,10 68:14 69:6 <b>speed</b> 16:2 <b>speeding</b> 15:23 16:2 <b>spoke</b> 9:21 38:25 <b>spoken</b> 4:4 7:5 <b>Spoken</b> 66:1 <b>staff</b> 25:7 26:3 36:16 37:5 38:25 <b>stage</b> 29:15 34:7	35:4,25 41:4,5 41:13 46:25 49:10 74:13 77:7 <b>stand</b> 15:1 <b>standards</b> 8:8 10:7 11:2,4 57:22 60:5 <b>stands</b> 21:24 <b>start</b> 1:25 40:16 40:16 45:23 47:12 56:5 <b>started</b> 68:15 70:15 <b>starting</b> 19:5 54:2,21 <b>starts</b> 40:23 43:14 46:9 <b>state</b> 1:15 5:9 10:16 18:8 63:5 65:25 <b>statement</b> 1:9,19 2:2 4:16 5:1 6:11 10:1 36:21 40:18 45:16 50:11 65:19 66:14 <b>station</b> 63:4 <b>status</b> 42:2 71:5 72:19 75:10,14 <b>statute</b> 52:24 58:8 <b>statutory</b> 8:1,2 51:13,23 52:3 52:4,20 54:10 73:22 74:22 75:3,22,22 76:7 <b>stayed</b> 35:6 <b>step</b> 62:25 <b>stepping</b> 66:22 <b>stifle</b> 55:20 <b>Stoddart</b> 39:2 <b>stone</b> 76:11 <b>stop</b> 68:3 73:10 <b>stopped</b> 32:6 <b>stories</b> 37:13,13 <b>story</b> 79:17 <b>straight</b> 6:6 <b>strengthened</b> 47:2 <b>stripped</b> 48:11 <b>strong</b> 5:22 51:25 54:24 67:1 72:15 <b>structured</b> 22:10 <b>style</b> 31:4 <b>subject</b> 20:17 <b>submit</b> 54:25 58:16 <b>subsequent</b> 74:3 <b>subsequently</b> 33:10 <b>substantial</b> 63:14 <b>substantive</b>	77:16 78:19 <b>subterfuge</b> 15:13 <b>subterranean</b> 25:5 <b>subtle</b> 26:24 <b>success</b> 30:8 <b>suddenly</b> 52:25 <b>sufficient</b> 26:17 74:22 75:3 58:14 <b>suggest</b> 56:19 <b>suggested</b> 8:8 15:22 38:12 46:11 <b>suggestion</b> 60:12 60:13 <b>suggestions</b> 70:24 <b>suggests</b> 43:16 <b>summer</b> 22:14 34:10,18,22 <b>sump</b> 75:17 <b>Sun</b> 23:14,20 48:16 49:10 54:23 <b>Sunday</b> 46:8 54:23 <b>support</b> 10:20 19:12 29:10 46:24 47:4 52:4,5 <b>supports</b> 57:18 <b>suppose</b> 13:20 27:4 28:19 73:22 <b>sure</b> 1:10 3:12 11:17 14:9 19:23 32:13 36:6 41:5,15 41:23,23 46:14 49:12 50:2 52:7 58:22 67:1 68:9,9 69:20 79:5 82:11 <b>surprised</b> 20:2,3 48:19 <b>surprisingly</b> 33:22 <b>suspect</b> 8:12 28:17 <b>sympathies</b> 37:16 <b>system</b> 12:16 30:15 50:7 51:9,11,21 52:5,7 68:2 72:21 76:8 79:2 80:14 82:1	<b>tablets</b> 76:11 <b>tackling</b> 68:2 <b>take</b> 11:23 15:4 20:9 25:17 26:25 31:12 39:22 40:8 43:9 44:1 47:7 51:22 53:4 56:23 60:20 63:17,19 70:11 75:2 76:20 79:3,8 81:4 82:1 <b>taken</b> 22:9 28:24 37:21 69:12 <b>takes</b> 51:22 59:23 <b>talk</b> 5:16 51:6 66:12 <b>talked</b> 13:16 30:13 32:19 44:12 49:7 62:23 <b>talking</b> 33:3,6,8 42:15 67:6 70:1 71:3 <b>Tapping</b> 39:17 <b>technocratic</b> 37:17 63:15 <b>telephone</b> 79:11 <b>tell</b> 35:17,20 37:1 <b>telling</b> 76:16 <b>tempo</b> 41:12 <b>temptation</b> 66:15 76:1,4 76:13 <b>tend</b> 37:4 <b>tender</b> 65:20 <b>term</b> 38:19 <b>terminology</b> 45:11 <b>terms</b> 6:11 9:13 9:19 10:25 17:4 50:21 53:16 56:2 57:1,2 58:7,23 58:25 59:4,8 64:21 65:23 66:13 77:15 78:17,19 80:21 81:10 82:3 <b>terrorist</b> 16:8 <b>Tessa</b> 64:12 <b>test</b> 18:18 78:5 <b>testimony</b> 3:22 64:12 71:6 <b>text</b> 35:12 <b>textbook</b> 65:5 <b>textual</b> 50:17 <b>thank</b> 1:6,14,21 1:24,25 4:25 7:1 8:14 9:25 18:23 20:11 23:23 40:25 42:20 43:6 45:8 46:7	50:15 64:16 65:6,9,10,12 66:7 67:19 82:13,14,16,17 <b>thanked</b> 4:15 <b>theme</b> 5:2 22:25 26:13 54:13 <b>they'd</b> 25:20 <b>thin</b> 71:12 <b>thing</b> 3:7,8 6:22 11:15 18:22 24:7 25:13,14 25:17 26:9 28:4 42:1,11 61:7,16 74:16 <b>things</b> 7:19 9:3,5 10:16 11:3 15:14 16:19 30:14 31:5 35:5 37:4 41:13 46:2 51:9 67:6 68:9 68:16 69:9,10 81:2,14 <b>think</b> 2:4,9,12,13 2:19,25 3:2,7 3:11,15,19 4:22 5:5,10,11 5:17,19,23 6:1 6:3,4,6,8,9,15 6:17,17,19,22 6:24 7:6,10,16 7:21,22 8:10 8:11,24 9:1,5,9 9:11,12,15,16 9:22,24 10:5 10:13,23 11:1 11:7,13,16 12:12,13,14,21 12:23 13:3,9 13:12,13,14 14:2,6,7 15:9 15:20 16:11,12 17:6,9,10,15 17:19,23,24 18:10,10,11,14 18:20 19:6,23 19:25 20:13,23 21:3,17,21 22:8,16 23:12 23:15 24:1,4 24:12,12,13,14 24:17 25:10,12 25:20,21 26:23 28:3,22 29:12 29:17,19,21,24 30:6,15 31:12 31:16,17,19,20 32:3,8 33:6,8 33:12,14,15,25 34:1,15,21,24 35:1,3,11,24 36:5,7 37:9,11 37:16 38:10 41:5 42:3,3,5 42:18,18,20,21
--	--	---	---	--	--	---

43:8,25 44:11	32:22 33:19	48:7 53:7	<b>usual</b> 35:4	<b>warned</b> 46:12,15	<b>wife</b> 47:14	82:7
44:21,21,24	35:22 39:4,19	63:10 74:1	<b>utterly</b> 62:5	<b>warnings</b> 57:13	<b>win</b> 29:10	<b>yesterday</b> 30:14
45:3 46:5,8	41:8 47:20	81:14		<b>Warwick</b> 34:2	<b>wind</b> 62:2,11	30:16
47:4 48:15,18	49:8 62:24		<b>V</b>	<b>wary</b> 11:21	<b>window-dressi...</b>	<b>York</b> 31:23
49:2,6,19	65:11 68:19		<b>vanquished</b> 67:9	12:15	24:3	33:16
50:16,21 51:2	74:14,14	<b>U</b>	<b>variety</b> 12:17	<b>wasn't</b> 15:7	<b>wisdom</b> 24:9	<b>young</b> 74:17
51:5,8,8,19,20	<b>times</b> 23:22	<b>ugly</b> 81:15	<b>various</b> 56:17	32:22 37:25	<b>wish</b> 75:4 82:4	
51:25 52:6,10	27:19 31:23	<b>ultimately</b> 61:5	76:12	38:5 41:5,15	<b>wishy-washy</b>	<b>Z</b>
52:10,16 53:4	33:16 37:22	63:21	<b>vendetta</b> 13:18	46:13 49:10,16	76:21	<b>Zimbabwe</b> 52:25
53:5,19,19	38:9 39:1	<b>um</b> 76:6	<b>verb</b> 56:2	49:18 56:11	<b>witness</b> 1:4 8:22	71:10
54:6,7,10,20	63:16	<b>unable</b> 81:3	<b>version</b> 28:10	80:5	65:13	<b>0</b>
55:6,8,10,11	<b>timing</b> 27:12	<b>uncover</b> 78:23	52:9 72:19	<b>wasted</b> 4:17	<b>witnesses</b> 7:4 8:8	<b>05</b> 43:1
55:12,15,16	<b>today</b> 56:11	79:12	<b>versions</b> 59:7	<b>waters</b> 24:20	11:18 13:15,22	<b>05681</b> 19:19
56:25 57:15	65:13	<b>undeniably</b> 16:7	<b>versus</b> 67:3	<b>Watson</b> 16:15	15:22 56:17	<b>06584</b> 20:11
58:13 59:2,3	<b>told</b> 21:1	<b>underlay</b> 30:10	<b>vested</b> 66:24	43:18 71:7	<b>wonder</b> 25:4	<b>06586</b> 21:8
59:17,18,24,25	<b>Tom</b> 36:22 37:20	<b>undermined</b>	<b>victims</b> 5:14 40:6	<b>way</b> 2:15 6:3,15	56:14 79:19	<b>06590</b> 41:24
60:7,9,24	38:18,24 43:18	18:6	<b>victories</b> 67:17	6:18 7:19 9:3	80:8	<b>06593</b> 43:2,4
61:16 63:11,11	48:16	<b>underpinning</b>	<b>victors</b> 67:9	9:24 10:16	<b>word</b> 1:20 17:25	<b>06599</b> 43:14
63:14,16,20,23	<b>tomorrow</b> 82:17	51:13 76:8	<b>view</b> 7:16 10:15	11:6,11,14,17	18:1 28:14	<b>06600</b> 43:16
63:24 64:20,23	<b>Tony</b> 3:22 27:20	<b>underpins</b> 50:8	12:15,17 15:4	12:12,16 15:17	54:11	<b>06607</b> 45:12
64:23,25 65:1	28:15 30:23	<b>understand</b> 26:3	15:7 18:21	15:21 17:21,25	<b>words</b> 33:21,23	<b>06608</b> 46:9
66:21 67:13,17	68:17 69:5	32:15 47:23	28:4,11 30:12	18:16 21:20	60:17	<b>06609</b> 46:11
68:12,20 69:5	<b>toothless</b> 20:20	56:25 58:18	40:10,13 41:25	22:18 24:5	<b>word-of-mouth</b>	<b>06610</b> 28:25
69:14,15 70:5	21:4 22:18	61:23 62:17	42:10 45:22	25:3,21 26:15	37:5	<b>06616</b> 1:19
70:6,25 71:5	45:10	80:3	49:22 56:15	28:3 30:2	<b>work</b> 3:25 5:14	<b>06816</b> 5:1
71:20,21 72:8	<b>top</b> 10:1 26:14	<b>understandable</b>	59:2,3,17	31:19 38:13,18	6:22 12:13	<b>06817</b> 10:2
72:14 73:5,6	48:8	62:1	60:20 61:11	42:23 45:13,19	67:2 70:19,19	<b>06818</b> 14:16
73:11,18,23,25	<b>topic</b> 76:24	26:1,18	63:18	49:19 51:9	72:23	50:11
74:4,7,8,11,20	<b>topography</b> 77:6	<b>understanding</b>	<b>views</b> 6:1 8:17	52:2,4,15	<b>worked</b> 12:16	<b>06822</b> 26:14
74:21 75:6,7	<b>torturous</b> 64:11	26:1,18	9:4,7,8 25:15	55:25 56:24	37:22 38:4	<b>06823</b> 7:2
75:13,18,21,23	<b>totally</b> 56:25	<b>understands</b>	25:15 61:13	59:13,21 61:7	<b>working</b> 25:4	<b>06830</b> 48:2,5
75:24 76:3,6	<b>tour</b> 34:3	37:11	62:5,21 63:1	61:15,16 63:3	67:10 72:7	<b>08621</b> 19:3
76:10,17 77:3	<b>traditions</b> 2:6,11	<b>understood</b> 63:8	64:10	64:5,14 69:24	<b>world</b> 16:4,13	
77:5,11 78:12	<b>traditions</b> 2:6,11	68:16,18	<b>Vince</b> 48:10,22	70:2 71:23	17:15	<b>I</b>
78:16,18,20,22	<b>transparency</b>	<b>undertaken</b> 37:3	48:24,25	72:8 76:17	<b>worried</b> 42:20	1 21:7,7,10,12,17
78:25 80:12,15	18:17 24:7	<b>undertakings</b>	<b>voluntarily</b> 75:8	77:2 78:9 79:1	42:21 45:25	21:23 31:25
80:18 81:6,9	25:21 26:13,17	19:24 20:1	<b>voluntary</b> 51:12	82:2	<b>worries</b> 55:4	10 15:12 29:1
81:11,12,17,18	27:5 44:21	35:25 36:1	<b>vulnerability</b>	<b>ways</b> 12:10,23	<b>worry</b> 13:9	39:13 46:8
81:21,25 82:9	64:19	40:3	74:18	28:17 53:18	28:19	82:17,20
<b>thinking</b> 5:12	<b>transpired</b> 41:7	<b>undertow</b> 8:22		<b>weary</b> 12:10	<b>worst</b> 6:4	11 7:2 8:14 37:22
8:18 28:17	<b>Treasury</b> 33:1	<b>undue</b> 27:16,25		<b>wedded</b> 71:1	<b>worth</b> 43:25	66:13
30:9 35:18	<b>treated</b> 7:22	<b>unduly</b> 78:21		<b>wedge</b> 71:12	63:12	<b>12761</b> 35:15
41:4,21 42:4	<b>Tribunal</b> 60:21	<b>unemployment</b>		<b>week</b> 3:21 70:25	<b>wouldn't</b> 3:10	13 36:22
45:17 60:2	61:7,18	69:9	<b>wagons</b> 69:25	<b>week's</b> 25:18	42:3 68:5	14 23:4 40:17
68:8 70:11	<b>trickier</b> 7:9	<b>unhealthy</b> 28:15	70:3 71:5	<b>weight</b> 13:19	69:21 74:8,10	15 23:4 34:15
76:14	<b>tricky</b> 63:19	<b>unintended</b>	<b>wait</b> 41:20	<b>well-worn</b> 55:12	<b>wrestled</b> 5:11	48:5
<b>third</b> 5:1 13:14	<b>tried</b> 11:23 18:11	13:21	<b>walk</b> 28:23	<b>welter</b> 41:8	<b>writer</b> 47:7	<b>16</b> 34:11 65:19
16:22 59:13	51:20	<b>universal</b> 46:24	<b>Wallace</b> 19:17	<b>went</b> 29:22 46:22	<b>writing</b> 61:12	<b>18</b> 11:9
<b>thirdly</b> 2:19	<b>tries</b> 76:7	<b>unjustifiable</b>	<b>want</b> 2:2 3:8,20	73:9	<b>written</b> 11:1	<b>19</b> 41:1
37:14 51:3	<b>trip</b> 44:15	14:12	3:24 5:15	<b>Westminster</b>	32:3	<b>1982</b> 66:3
79:25	<b>trust</b> 18:6	24:21	15:15 16:14	38:5	<b>wrong</b> 2:15 9:14	<b>1988</b> 68:21,23
<b>thought</b> 1:22	<b>try</b> 50:20 51:21	<b>untested</b> 76:7	18:19 23:10	<b>we'll</b> 18:24 47:7	11:22 42:5	<b>1990s</b> 10:11
3:18 4:16 20:6	64:13 65:2	28:19	25:14 42:11	72:10	63:23 67:7	<b>1992</b> 11:10 13:18
20:22 28:3	67:16 69:20	<b>untrue</b> 39:3	53:4,12,17,22	<b>we're</b> 6:3,8,18	<b>wrongdoing</b> 45:3	67:20 68:7,10
41:11,12 46:3	<b>trying</b> 49:23,25	<b>unusual</b> 64:2	55:19 58:9,11	10:5 14:16	78:13	68:25
49:1 51:16	56:21,22 58:7	73:3	60:1 61:9 72:3	47:25 66:12	<b>X</b>	<b>1997</b> 66:19 69:1
53:11 74:9,14	71:9 72:17	<b>unwillingness</b>	72:3,5,5,14,15	67:6 69:14	<b>X</b> 79:12	<b>1998</b> 68:14,20
<b>thoughts</b> 1:18	<b>Tuesday</b> 46:19	28:19	73:20 74:8,10	70:23 73:16,17		<b>1999</b> 31:2,3
<b>threats</b> 16:8	<b>turbulence</b> 67:5	<b>updated</b> 55:15	75:12,13 76:11	75:1	<b>Y</b>	37:23
<b>three</b> 10:9 15:10	<b>turn</b> 68:24	<b>upheld</b> 60:5	80:24	<b>we've</b> 5:4 13:21	<b>yeah</b> 32:8 73:11	<b>2</b>
19:6 45:20	<b>turned</b> 47:4	<b>uphold</b> 2:10	<b>wanted</b> 23:2 38:3	18:9 44:12	76:10	2 4:25 35:14,21
80:9	<b>Twitterer</b> 51:1	<b>upholding</b> 8:7	49:24 62:10	48:3 62:23	<b>year</b> 4:22 21:12	<b>2.00</b> 1:2
<b>throw</b> 74:16	<b>two</b> 12:13 13:12	<b>upper</b> 43:16	69:8	77:3 80:16	34:9 65:20	<b>20</b> 55:5,6
<b>thrown</b> 16:13	13:22 19:6	<b>urge</b> 64:19 72:17	<b>useful</b> 10:24	82:5,6	<b>years</b> 11:9 37:22	<b>2002</b> 29:22
<b>time</b> 16:7 20:5	21:10 23:7,19	<b>use</b> 17:24 18:1		<b>Whelan</b> 30:24	69:7 75:19	
22:13 32:21,21	36:23 37:14	42:3 45:11	<b>wanting</b> 49:15	31:2		
	39:23 42:8	53:17 65:3	<b>wants</b> 60:14			
		<b>useful</b> 10:24	<b>war</b> 4:9 44:10			
			<b>Wark</b> 43:13			

**2003** 29:22 55:13  
**2005** 38:10  
**2007** 69:6  
**2008** 1:15 30:9  
31:10  
**2010** 1:16,16  
19:5,20 23:3  
30:9 31:25  
32:24 33:12  
36:23 37:23  
66:19  
**2011** 19:21 20:11  
21:7,8 23:4  
34:11 35:14  
36:2 39:15  
40:13,15 41:1  
43:1  
**21** 19:20  
**24** 31:25  
**24/7** 31:18  
**25** 22:20,21  
31:25 40:1  
**27** 39:15  
**28** 19:5

---

**3**

**3** 10:1 19:20  
33:21 36:2  
40:20,22,23  
**3(1)** 52:16  
**3.12** 47:8  
**3.23** 47:10  
**30** 55:7 82:7  
**34** 54:23,23  
**37** 17:13 54:22

---

**4**

**4.20** 82:19

---

**5**

**5** 11:24 15:11  
27:2 50:10

---

**7**

**7** 19:2 20:11  
33:12 43:14  
50:5 67:22

---

**8**

**8** 12:2 23:23  
26:14 45:8  
**800** 12:25

---

**9**

**9** 15:12 27:11