1 Wednesday, 23 May 2012 1 Q. Is it fair to say that from a very early stage indeed 2 2 (10.00 am)the government's response to the proposal for statutory 3 3 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes, Mr Barr. regulation was to the effect that it could be a step of 4 MR BARR: Good morning, sir. Our first witness is the Right 4 some constitutional significance and something which the 5 Honourable Stephen Dorrell. 5 government would be extremely reluctant to do? LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Thank you. 6 A. That's correct, yes. 7 MR STEPHEN JAMES DORRELL (sworn) 7 Q. And so that we can deal with that aspect of things very 8 8 Questions by MR BARR shortly, that effectively remained the position 9 MR BARR: Could you confirm your full name, please? 9 throughout the history of the response to Calcutt 2? 10 10 A. I'm Stephen James Dorrell. A. It's been the position -- it certainly was the position 11 11 Q. And are the contents of your witness statement true and throughout the time that I was responsible as 12 correct to the best of your knowledge and belief? 12 a minister, and for a long time since. If you're asking 13 A. To the best of my knowledge and belief they are, yes. 13 me the question about the period that I was a minister, 14 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Mr Dorrell, as I've said to many 14 it's absolutely right that the government had a strong 15 others, I'm equally as grateful to you for the obvious 15 preference to avoid any form of statutory regulation. 16 work that you've put into the statement and for the 16 Q. And perhaps you could briefly explain the thinking assistance that you're providing. Thank you very much. 17 17 behind that position? 18 A. Thank you. 18 A. I think it starts as an issue of principle, that there MR BARR: You've been a Member of Parliament since 1979. 19 19 is -- it was described by Peter Brooke in his original 20 Between 1987 and 1997, you held various ministerial 20 statement in reaction to Calcutt 2 that it would be 21 offices and you are now the Chair of the Health 21 a step of considerable constitutional significance. 22 Committee of the House of Commons; is that right? 22 I think there are all kinds of issues of principle that 23 23 are raised by the suggestion of statutory regulation of A. That's correct, yes. 24 24 Q. You were the Secretary of State for National Heritage the press that I personally would be uncomfortable with, 25 25 from July 1994 to July 1995, and in that capacity you and I think that was a view reflected within the Page 1 Page 3 were responsible for the ongoing coordination of the 1 government at the time. 1 2 2 government's response to the Calcutt reports? There also, because this was a real political world 3 3 and a real political set of decisions, there was the A. The second Calcutt report, yes. 4 Q. We'll deal with the background very quickly. 4 reality that if you were going to even contemplate going 5 David Calcutt had produced two reports, the first one 5 down that road, you would encounter huge opposition from 6 6 expressing concern about media behaviour but effectively the press themselves, based both on principle and it's 7 7 often argued on self-interest, but it would be powerful, recommending that the press be given a chance to put its 8 8 own house in order, and the second report in 1993 vigorous opposition, and that would, as a practical 9 9 matter, have made it I think impossible for such expressing the view that the press had not done enough 10 10 a proposal to have been carried through the House of and the time had come for statutory regulation, amongst 11 11 other things. He also recommended, didn't he, that 12 12 there ought to be criminal offences enacted to deal with So whether you address it as an issue of principle 13 13 or reality, it wasn't an option that merited very physical intrusions, that there should be consideration 14 14 of a privacy tort and various other provisions affecting serious consideration. 15 15 Q. You inherited a draft White Paper in the summer of 1994 the Data Protection Act, the non-identification of 16 16 minors and the victims in criminal proceedings, and when you took over the portfolio. The thinking at that 17 17 improving existing legislation in relation to the time -- and I'll deal with it briefly -- you thought 18 interception of communication? 18 that there were signs of self-restraint on the part of 19 19 the press? A. That's a fair summary. 20 A. I think there's -- yes, that's true. I think there was 20 Q. Your predecessor was Peter Brooke, and in the period of 21 21 time between the Calcutt report and your taking over the a recognition within the press industry that things 22 22 portfolio, it's fair to say, isn't it, that he embarked weren't as they should be, from the point of view of the 23 23 on quite a lengthy process of consultation as to the majority of the press community, and their decision as 24 24 appropriate response to Mr Calcutt's recommendations? an industry to appoint John Wakeham as chairman of the 25 25 PCC later that year I think reflected a willingness to A. (Nods head).

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- take seriously the need to do something more effective through the PCC.
- $3\,$ $\,$ Q. And you thought in picking that up that there had been
- 4 some improvement to the way the PCC was operating?
- A. I think there was a willingness to improve and that that
 was developed through the 12 months that I was engaged
- 7 in these issues, yes.
- 8 Q. But nevertheless the message from the draft White Paper
- 9 was that further improvement was needed and that if it
- 10 wasn't forthcoming then the government would be inclined
- 11 to introduce either intrusion offences or a privacy tort
- or even both?

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- 13 A. Well, at the time of the draft White Paper that
 - I inherited, the -- that was built, of course, on
- a position where the government had a longstanding
- 16 commitment to legislate intrusion offences. That was
- a matter of public record. So a move in the
- government's position merely to consider intrusion
- 19 offences would have been a step backwards from previous
- 20 commitments. There had been a commitment given to
- 21 legislate the intrusion offences as recommended, in
- 22 fact, by Calcutt 1 and repeated by Calcutt 2.
- 23 The question of a privacy tort was something that
 - had been recommended for serious consideration by
- 25 Calcutt 2, and the government was -- had engaged in
 - Page 5

- it was carried on at that time, between the intrusion
- 2 offences, where there was a commitment, and a tort,
 - where there was a willingness to consider.
- 4 Q. You set out in the following paragraph, paragraph 13,
- 5 some of the matters which the draft White Paper
 - considered were areas for improvement for the PCC.
- 7 Dealing with these briefly, they included a desire for
- 8 an independent appointments commission, a concern that
- 9 the privacy commissioner lacked powers and that there
- was a need for a hotline to enable the PCC to intercede
- directly with editors with a view to proactively
- preventing breaches of the code. There was a desire for
- a compensation fund, and it was thought desirable that
- the scope of the code of practice should be expanded so
- it was comparable with the thinking around a draft tort
- 16 for the invasion of privacy. Does that fairly summarise
- 17 the position?
- 18 A. Yes.
- 19 Q. When you considered the draft White Paper, you tell us
- at paragraph 15 of your witness statement that you're
- 21 personally hostile to any proposal for official
- 22 regulation of the freedom of expression, so I take it
- that you were fully on board with the effective decision
- 24 not to introduce statutory regulation?
- 25 A. Correct.

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- a process of serious consideration, including publishing
- 2 some consultation documents in the period before
- 3 I became Secretary of State.
- 4 Q. I was looking at page 5 of your witness statement,
- 5 paragraph 12(b), where you tell us that the draft White
- 6 Paper was stating in paragraphs 1.19 and 1.20 that the
- 7 government's key conclusions were as follows, and you
- 8 set them out. At the bottom of 12(b):
 - "Failure to implement these changes, particularly if
 - any such failure coincided with further press abuse,
- 11 will incline the Government to introduce, or give
- support to any Private Members' Bills introducing
- intrusion offences, a privacy tort, or both."
- So certainly the draft White Paper was talking about an inclination to legislate.
- 16 A. No, that's correct, and I saw that in the quote that
- 17 I included in my witness statement, and I don't remember
- why the draft White Paper was couched in those terms,
- 19 but if you read the government's reaction to Calcutt 2,
- when it was originally published, it was clear that
- 21 there was an existing commitment and the government felt
- 22 there to be an existing political commitment to the
- 23 **intrusion offences.**
- 24 Q. I see.
- $\,\,$ 25 $\,\,$ A. There's therefore a distinction in this discussion, as

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- 1 Q. You talk about the political risks you've already
- 2 mentioned, but you say that you were reluctant to
- publish the draft White Paper because it combined
 a theoretical willingness to legislate with a practical
- 5 unwillingness to do it. Could you explain that
- 6 a little, please?
- 7 A. Well, there was a phrase that was in the culture at the
- 8 time that this was the press in the last chance saloon,
- 9 it was a phrase that David Mellor had used I think in
- 10 1989, four years previously, and I think it was time in
- my mind for the government to stop talking in terms of
- 12 threats, which it had no willingness to carry out, and
- indeed no ability to carry out, and everybody knew both
- of those things were true. So to be implying threats
- 15 that were unrealistic seemed to me merely to advertise
- 16 the government's weakness, and that was a broader
- political issue for the government at the time. So
- 18 I was in favour of the government seeking to conclude
- 19 **public discussion on this subject by setting out a clear**
- 20 set of positions rather than leaving things open with
- the kind of sword of Damocles hanging over people.
 Q. Did that unwillingness extend beyond statutory
- regulation to the privacy tort as well?
- 24 A. Yes. Yes.
- 25 Q. Notwithstanding the fact there had already been a very Page 8

2 (Pages 5 to 8)

1 substantial period of debate to get to the draft White 1 the recommendations is certainly not underpinned by any 2 Paper, you decided that you wanted time to reassess the 2 complacency about the performance of the PCC? 3 options. Given the background and the time already 3 A. That's true. 4 spent debating this matter within government, that was 4 Q. Looking at the bottom of the page, paragraph 5, we see 5 quite a significant step, wasn't it? 5 some suggested improvements, some of which we've already 6 A. Well, I was a new minister being appointed to a brief 6 touched upon. They are "more independence for the 7 7 that had obvious sensitivity in this subject, and of privacy commissioner", procedural improvements including 8 8 course a wide range of other subjects involved in the the hotline, third-party complaints, general enquiries, 9 9 department at that time as well, and although the oral hearings and more thorough investigations. 10 10 government had had a very protracted internal discussion "Content of the code. 11 11 to get itself to the point of the draft White Paper, it "(vii) amendments to give better protection for the 12 12 didn't achieve the clarity that I had an instinctive individual ..." and I'm summarising, "incorporation of 13 preference for, and so I felt that although it wasn't 13 elements of tort into Code." 14 the highest priority on my plate to bring it to 14 And sanctions, incorporation of Code into 15 a conclusion, since it was going to be a field of policy 15 newspapermen's contracts, compensation; and on 16 that I was responsible for in the public mind, I wanted 16 publicity, any steps which bring the PCC to a wider 17 to be clear that it was a set -- it reflected the best 17 18 policy mix that I could achieve as an incoming Secretary 18 So it's also fair to say, isn't it, there was no 19 19 of State. shortage of ideas about how the PCC might be improved? 20 Q. Now you receive a submission and you develop a position 20 A. Correct. 21 21 which is essentially to try and encourage the PCC to Q. All of this is reported to the Prime Minister, isn't it? 22 improve itself, to proceed with criminal legislation, 22 We see at tab 4 that there's a document which goes from 23 but to expressly abandon the idea of a privacy tort? 23 you to the Prime Minister setting out the state of play. 24 24 A. Correct. It refers in its first paragraph to your discussions on 25 Q. The paper, which we'll touch on very briefly, is at 25 this topic. I appreciate that I'm asking you to cast Page 9 Page 11 tab 3 of your bundle. I'd just like to pause to look at 1 your mind back a very long time indeed, but can you help 1 2 2 that to consider what your department felt were the us with the then Prime Minister's thinking at this 3 3 abiding weaknesses -- and I'm quoting -- of the PCC. stage? 4 The phrase "abiding weaknesses" appears at the bottom of 4 A. I think the honest answer to that is no, I'm afraid. 5 the first page, and that introduces a list at the top of 5 I would certainly, before sending him a minute of this 6 the second page of five perceived weaknesses. 6 nature, have sought to have an informal conversation 7 7 "(i) the fact that many people do not complain to it with him about where his thinking was and what --8 (because they do not know of its existence, because they 8 whether he had any sort of personal input in order to 9 9 think it is ineffective or, in privacy cases, because understand what I was aiming at as a minister, so 10 10 they fear the further publicity which PCC involvement I would have had a preliminary discussion, but I don't 11 11 would bring); remember what it was. I suspect it would have led me to 12 "(ii) its lack of perceived independence from the 12 some form of comfort level that this was a minute that 13 13 wouldn't at least be rejected out of hand when he read industry; 14 14 "(iii) its rather vague and weak Code; 15 "(iv) its somewhat perfunctory procedures; 15 Q. I see. What your minute did provoke, though, was 16 "(v) its lack of real sanctions." 16 a number of diverse responses from other ministers with 17 17 Allowing for the traditional understatement of Civil an interest in the issue, and we can deal with these 18 Service drafting, that amounts to a scathing attack on 18 quite briefly. First of all, the Lord Chancellor. 19 19 I think would it be fair to say that he was keen on the the state of play, doesn't it? 20 20 A. It clearly reflects a view that the PCC hadn't tort but not so concerned about the criminal offence? 21 discharged its responsibilities to general satisfaction, 21 A. That's correct, yes. I mean, these -- the responses 22 22 which was, of course, the view of Calcutt himself as that were elicited by my minute to the Prime Minister 23 23 I think can be summarised as simply being a rerun of the 24 Q. And we can take it from that that the approach the 24 discussion that had gone on within the government to 25 25 government is developing in holding back from some of prepare the draft White Paper that I'd inherited from

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Peter Brooke.

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- 2 O. The Home Secretary -- I'm looking now at tab 6 -- first
- 3 of all expressed some concern about the proposals which
- 4 he says depart significantly from those previously 5
- agreed by colleagues after lengthy deliberation. He
- 6 expressed actual scepticism about the criminal offence
- 7 and had a clear view that he thought the privacy tort
- 8 was a way forward.
 - And the Attorney General thought -- and I'm reading:
- 10 "I regret [and then he's referring to the criminal 11 offences] that that would, in my view, be a most 12
- unsatisfactory course. First, it does not recognise the 13 limitations on what can be achieved through the criminal
- 14 process."
- 15 And then he goes on to set out a number of practical 16 problems that he thinks would ensue if criminal offences 17 were enacted, including defendants exploiting privilege 18 to make allegations in public they wouldn't dare print 19 and so on.
- 20 Did that opposition remain a constant from the
- 21 Attorney General?
- 22 A. Yes. I think it's fair to say these were in the form of
- 23 the Lord Chancellor and the Attorney General, the two
- 24 senior lawyers in the government and the Home Secretary
- 25 at the time was Michael Howard who himself is a QC, so

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- Page 15
- three senior lawyers within the government were broadly
- 2 in favour of the tort and against the criminal charges.
- 3 We've already said, however, that the criminal offences
- 4 were an existing government commitment, and the tort was
- 5 in my mind a proposal of much greater significance, both
- 6 constitutionally and politically, and so what was going
- 7 on in this correspondence was a rerun of the discussion,
- 8 as I said, that had led to the draft White Paper in
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- The Lord Chancellor, of course, had been the sponsor of the public consultation on the proposed tort that had been published 12 months previously.
- 13 Q. I'm again looking at the Attorney General's response, 14 the second page of it, just to gauge the strength with 15 which some of these differing views were held. In the 16 penultimate paragraph he writes:
- 17 "I recognise that this is a difficult issue but
- 18 I have to say that I am deeply unhappy with your
- 19 proposal and would wish there to be a collective
- 20 discussion."
- 21 So it seems --
- 22 A. That was the Attorney General?
- 23 Q. The Attorney General, yes, or Mr Weaver on his behalf.
- 24 A. Mm.
- 25 Q. So there was a degree of entrenchment in the positions?

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- 1 A. Correct.
 - O. You produce a further minute to the Prime Minister. I'm
- 3 looking now at tab 8. It's clear, isn't it, that there
- 4 needs now to be a move towards a collective discussion,
- 5 so a position can be agreed. I'd like to pick up on
- 6 some of the things that you bring to the
- 7 Prime Minister's attention. In relation to the proposed
- 8 tort on the first page, just below the bottom hole
- 9 punch, it's quite difficult to read because it's
- 10 photocopied highlighting, but the document says:
- 11 "The tort would be the wrong thing at the wrong 12 time. Most importantly, it would mean a major row with
- 13
- the press (the Daily Mail editorial of 16 March, annex
- 14 B, is a good indication of the strength of feeling). By 15
- contrast, the press has never been in serious doubt that 16 the criminal offences would be enacted."
- 17 And if we turn to -- there are several sets of
- 18 pagination, but if you follow the internal pagination,
- 19 top right, and go to page 5 of 5, we see the Daily Mail
- 20 editorial you're referring to. It's entitled "Who are
- 21 they to cry foul?" And, in somewhat unrestrained
- 22 language --

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- 23 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Somewhat unrestrained? You've
- 24 already commented to the understatement of civil
- 25 servants, Mr Barr.

A. This is the opposite extreme.

- MR BARR: I certainly can detect a contrast in the style.
- 3 It refers to a number of the scandals in public life
- 4 which had been exposed by the tabloids. It talks about
- 5 a tort being a suppressive weapon to keep the press
- 6 quiet, and concludes, referring to the Prime Minister:
- 7 "He must know, therefore, that in the current
- 8 climate of sleaze and corruption any concerted political
- 9 clamour for privacy legislation is liable to be
- 10 dismissed as little better than a self-protection
- 11 racket "
- 12 How concerned were you about press coverage of this 13 nature?
- 14 A. Well, as I've already referred to the fact that
- 15 a government is a political organisation and it has
- 16 to -- I was told early in my political life: any fool
- 17 can have friends, it takes a wise man to have the right 18
 - enemies. You have to pick your -- pick which battles you're going to fight.
- 20 I'm not in favour of having government policy
- 21 determined by press editorial, but nor am I in favour,
- 22 in the real world, of government policy being determined
- 23 blind to press editorial. You have to choose which
- 24 arguments you're going to have. 25 One of the elements of that choice is that there's
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1 not much point in the government committing itself to 1 another round of comment, doesn't it? If we look at 2 2 a course of action which, because of press hostility, it those very briefly --3 is profoundly unlikely to get through the House of 3 A. It came off the word processor, I think. 4 4 Commons. That was in my judgment the position that we Q. At tab 9 we have Downing Street and Downing Street 5 would have been in if we'd contemplated going down the 5 raises a concern that a criminal offence might lead to 6 route of introducing legislation around privacy. 6 the martyrdom of a journalist, and suggests that one way 7 7 Q. I do not begin to suggest that the Daily Mail were of defusing the temperature or lowering the temperature 8 controlling the government, and please don't take this 8 would be to explore an offence which wasn't just 9 9 as suggesting anything like that, but it seems that targeted at journalists but also at private detectives, 10 10 editorials from the more influential papers like the a generally wider ambit. He asks also about what 11 Daily Mail were certainly having an effect on your 11 evidence you have that the press would be prepared to 12 thinking? 12 countenance the criminal offences. 13 A. Of course. That's part of the public discussion, and 13 A. Can I just comment on the point about for publication. 14 I think it would be -- for a politician to deny that the 14 The minute reads: 15 views of newspaper editorials are taken into account in 15 "In addition, it may be unavoidable we should employ 16 policy making would be both implausible and actually 16 a for publication test." 17 17 wrong in principle. I had actually, as the earlier correspondence 18 Q. Over the page you express the view that the government 18 I think suggests, sought to exclude the for publication 19 19 should not exhaust all its armoury at once, and I think test, because it did seem to me that the Calcutt 20 the point you're making in a nutshell is that if the 20 offences, the criminal offences, were more easily 21 21 government enacted the tort, it would be left with defensible in principle and in political terms if they 22 nothing but the nuclear sanction of statutory regulation 22 didn't apply just to the press but they applied to 23 in the event of another breakdown in press discipline. 23 anybody engaging in that course of action, but I had 24 24 Does that fairly summarise the point? been persuaded out of that primarily by discussion -- by 25 A. Yes. Reflecting on what I said earlier about my desire 25 representation from the Home Office, that that would Page 17 Page 19 1 to try to create a clear government position rather than 1 2 continuation of rhetoric around the last chance saloon, 2 and that therefore it was necessary that if these

- 3 this paragraph includes -- doesn't fully comply with
- 4 that test. I would acknowledge that. But you're
- 5 correct in your summary of why that was written, what it
- 6 was intended to mean.

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- 7 Q. That's a somewhat controversial position because it
- 8 might be said that the alternative is simply to do the
 - utmost to make them regulate themselves effectively and
- to ensure that regulation with a statutory tort in the 10
- 11 background is the way to go in the light of the events
- 12 which had led to the Calcutt recommendations?
- 13 A. That had in reality been the government's position for 14 some years, hadn't it? But the press was encouraged to 15 go down the self-regulatory route because, quotes, it 16 was in the last-chance saloon, and the government had 17 a willingness to take more radical action if the press 18 didn't act in a way that satisfied the government --
- 19 satisfied the government.
 - I've already said I felt that was an increasingly
- 21 implausible threat, which was why I was actually in
- 22 favour of taking it off the table, although this
- 23 paragraph of this minute effectively at least in private
- 24 leaves it on the table.
- 25 Q. Your document, and we see a pattern here, it provokes Page 18

- undermine various activities of the Security Services,
- 3 tests -- if these offences were going to be introduced,
- 4 they were narrowly defined and only applied to
- 5 activities that led to material for publication.
- 6 Q. We can deal with the responses of the Lord Chancellor 7 and the -- well, deal with the Lord Chancellor and then 8 move on to deal with Michael Howard.
- 9 The position seems to have been, as you say, much 10 the same. Michael Howard makes a point that he doesn't
- 11 think the legal aid argument is a good argument against
- 12 a tort, because he says it's available to almost
- 13 50 per cent of households. He makes a reference to the
- 14 potential availability in the future of conditional fee 15
 - arrangements.
 - Over the page at tab 11 -- sorry, this is
- 17 Michael Howard's --
- 18 A. I think it's worth just repeating the point, the
- 19 fundamental reason why I'm not in favour -- wasn't in
 - favour then and I'm not really in favour now of the
- 21 introduction of a tort of privacy is that I think it
- 22 doesn't deal with the issue of the protection of the
- 23 little guy, and that was -- the worst malpractices of
- 24 the press, it seems to me, are not the ones that cause
- 25 concern among the prominent people in the community,

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1 they're the people whose private lives are paraded for 1 would simply have been a two-line letter. 2 public entertainment, and those are precisely the people 2 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Oh, I see. 3 who are not protected by a privacy tort. 3 A. Saying, "Could you look at a 'do nothing' option?" 4 Q. The Lord Chancellor's position, which I've just drawn to 4 MR BARR: The strategy, and I'm looking at page 2 of this 5 your attention, was different, wasn't it? He thought 5 document, the strategic choices that you put before the 6 that legal aid in fact covered quite a lot of people, 6 Prime Minister are: 7 7 there was a prospect in the future of a CFA, and in "(a) legislating the criminal offences in 1995-6, or 8 8 effect the fact that not everybody might have access to "(b) doing nothing." 9 the law is no reason for not enacting it. That was his 9 You stake your colours very much to the first 10 10 position? option, don't you? 11 A. That was his position; correct. 11 A. I do. 12 Q. And then, coming on to the Home Secretary, 12 Q. But in response to the Prime Minister's request, you 13 Michael Howard, he was very much against holding 13 explore the "do nothing" option. You describe it as 14 anything in reserve. He didn't think there would be the 14 creating its own political risks, which include 15 political will to come back for a second bite of the 15 criticism from Calcutt, the Select Committee, MPs, peers 16 cherry, and --16 and the judiciary, and then you move on to consider how 17 A. Well, he had good reason for saying that because there 17 the government might present a "do nothing" option, and 18 was demonstrated political will in this correspondence 18 you give three approaches potentially to that. The 19 19 for not taking the first bite of the cherry. first is -- and I'm looking at page 3 of 4: 20 Q. And he was in view of taking as much action as possible 20 "Make no statement at all. This has worked 21 21 at that stage? surprisingly well so far." 22 A. Yes. 22 But then you go on effectively to say, well, that 23 Q. And so again it goes back to the Prime Minister, and you 23 position cannot last. 24 24 at tab 12 produce another minute for him. This one's A. Precisely. 25 dated 24 April 1995. There seems to have been 25 Q. "(ii) announce that we shall do nothing." Page 21 Page 23 a development here, which I'd like to ask you about. 1 1 You say you are not attracted at all to that 2 2 It's evident from the first page, from the fourth indent prospect, because it would be extremely difficult to 3 3 find a justification for ruling out in principle the to the first paragraph, it says: "This minute responds to various pieces of 4 4 criminal offences to which the government is already 5 outstanding correspondence on this issue." 5 publicly committed? 6 And the fourth indent reads: 6 A. And which had been recommended twice by Sir David 7 "You have asked (Rachael Reynolds' letter of 7 Calcutt. Well, first by the Privacy Committee and 8 18 April) how we might present a 'do nothing' option." 8 secondly by his personal inquiry. 9 So can I take it from that that the Prime Minister 9 Q. You say: 10 was beginning to think in terms of a "do nothing" 10 "The White Paper would either have to argue that 11 11 government action is unnecessary because self-regulation 12 A. I think it's relatively hard to draw any other 12 is already effective [which you describe as 'wholly 13 conclusion from this correspondence. The government was 13 unconvincing'] or it would have to accept that 14 14 self-regulation remains ineffective but that there is arguing itself to a standstill, and therefore there had 15 15 to be -- it was a reasonable question for him to ask. nothing we can in practice do about it." 16 16 We had an obligation to reply to Calcutt. We also had Which you say is worse, because it sends all the 17 17 an obligation to reply to a Select Committee report, wrong signals. 18 which this response was by then two years behind 18 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes. 19 19 A. I tried to avoid the Civil Service trap of schedule, so we had to bring the matter to a conclusion 20 20 somehow. understatement. 21 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: We don't have that letter, do we? 21 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes. Why do I see all this coming 22 22 MR BARR: I don't think so back to hit me? LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I couldn't find it. 23 23 A. I hope that's a rhetorical question. 24 A. I think -- I think that it's a letter -- no, I don't 24 MR BARR: And then number (iii): 25 25 remember whether I've seen the letter, but I suspect it "Make a statement which (a) confirms our intention Page 22 Page 24

- Day 76 AM Leveson Inquiry 1 to legislate the intrusion offences when Parliamentary 1 I think you eventually got a reply to that just as you 2 2 were handing over to Virginia Bottomley and she replied time permits [that's in italics], and (b) reasserts our 3 3 preference for self-regulation in the wider field of to Lord Wakeham, so there is an exchange of letters with 4 Lord Wakeham that certainly expresses a commitment in 4 privacy law but underlines that continued public 5 5 confidence in this approach depends upon the plain terms to make progress. 6 effectiveness of the PCC." 6 A. And it was part of the specific -- this wasn't an 7 7 exchange of letters that was independent of the And of course the reason why the words "when 8 8 government's process. Clearly it was -- part of the Parliamentary time permits" were in italics is because, 9 9 intention in preparing the government's response, as it's a "do nothing" option, the real intention would 10 10 be in fact simply not to enact? whatever it ultimately said, would be that there would 11 11 be an exchange of letters between the Secretary of State A. Correct. 12 12 Q. It might be said that that would be a rather cynical and the Chairman of the PCC that set out what was being 13 13 done to make the PCC more effective. That was part of approach. 14 14 A. Realistic, might be a word I prefer. the plan. 15 Q. You say about that: 15 Q. And perhaps again we can deal with that in a nutshell. 16 "The latter would take a good deal of brazening out 16 The actual practical effect of that process was that 17 17 some progress was made but the results were rather mixed given the history, but I nonetheless think it is the 18 least bad choice. It cannot be criticised as 18 because there were many recommendations which the PCC 19 19 a substantive retreat, it avoids a head-on collision 20 with the press and it gets the Select Committee off our 20 21 21 backs." 22 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: This is true politics. 22 23 A. I tried, when I was writing minutes within the 23 24 government -- and this is perhaps an example of it -- to 24 25 25 write them in English that didn't require decoding. Page 25 1 MR BARR: Can I suggest that this political debate and the 1 2 consideration of the announcing "do nothing" and the 2 3
- never adopted? A. True. Clearly it was -- it didn't get us to the final result of what we might now in retrospect have regarded as the best possible outcome, but I certainly would defend the proposition that we made progress as a result of those exchanges. LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Did you see the PCC as a regulator? Page 27 A. I saw it as an organisation with a responsibility to promote standards -- higher -- define standards within 3 third option of saying that you're going to legislate the press and an organisation that gave people who were 4 when Parliamentary time permits, is that an example of 4 injured by failure to meet those standards some form of 5 a phenomenon which has been referred to by Tony Blair of 5 redress. If that's what's meant by a regulator, then 6 not being able to be entirely frank for fear of how 6 yes, but I think -- I thought then and still think now 7 matters will be perceived? 7 that it's important that it's something that is done --8 A. I think that is a reasonable way of putting it, and 8 has its roots within the press. It's part of the press 9 9 recognition of their own responsibility. It's not I think it's pretty explicit in the minute. I was asked to dress up a "do nothing" option. One way of doing 10 10 something that is defined for them from outside. 11 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Do you think it's possible for that 11 nothing is to announce that you're going to do nothing, 12 and I made it clear in the minute why, as a member of 12 body to consider itself also the champion of the press? 13 13 the government, that didn't seem to me to be an A. I think it's possible --14 14 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: And all that goes with it, the attractive way of announcing it, but clearly the option 15 15 (c) amounts to the same thing. freedom of expression, all that goes with it? 16 Q. Indeed it wasn't your preferred way forward, but 16 A. That was the point I was going to make. I think it 17 17 a variation of the "do nothing" option was in fact what absolutely is possible for a PCC seen in that light to 18 happened, wasn't it? 18 be a champion of freedom of the press, yes, I do think 19 19 A. Substantively, yes. it's possible for it to be a champion of the principle 20 20 Q. To look at what action there was, you wrote to of a free press as a key part of a free society and 21 Lord Wakeham, and I'm looking now at tab 13, on 2 June 21 indeed arguably it's in a stronger position to define 22 22 1995, and the thrust of your letter is to suggest to him what good standards are for a free press and to 23 23 improvements which you thought could be made to the PCC. recognise circumstances when those standards aren't met, 24 It's quite a long letter and we've already been over the 24 if it is explicitly itself a champion of the principle 25 25 of the free press. So it's in favour of the principle, territory to some extent so I won't go into the detail. Page 26 Page 28

- 1 it has a proper understanding of what that means in 2 practice and it recognises circumstances where those 3 principles aren't met.
- 4 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: And do you think that generates
- 5 sufficient public confidence in a complaints mechanism
- 6 if it is thought that actually the only person to whom
- 7 I can complain is the champion of the press itself?
- 8 A. Well, my hesitation in answer to your first question
- 9 was: can it be a champion of the press? Certainly the
- 10 PCC cannot be a champion of every individual organ of
- 11 the press, whatever it does. It can be a champion of
- 12 the principle of press freedom, but it has to be willing
- 13 to be critical of its own when the standards that it
- 14 espouses as an organisation aren't met.
- 15 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Do you think that's entirely
- 16 straightforward if it comprises not wholly but even
- 17 largely of editors who are themselves in the business
- 18 and in competition with other editors?
- 19 A. One of the tensions I think in this -- the press has
- 20 to -- I would hope that might be explored by your
- 21 Inquiry, sir, is the extent to which the press is
- 22 willing to be critical of the press when standards
- 23 espoused by the press body are not met, because the
- 24 whole point of press freedom as a principle is supposed

- 25 to be that in a free society this is one of the most
- effective ways of calling power to account. 2 Now, if that applies to politics, and I think it
- 3 should, or the law, and I think it should, it ought also
- 4 to apply to the press, but too often when individuals
- 5 within the press are challenged, the tendency is to say,
- 6 well, the press won't apply those principles to itself,
- 7 the same principles that it applies to other parts of
- 8 public life.

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- LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: That's the problem. 9
- 10 A. And that's -- but it doesn't make it right for that
- 11 responsibility, which I think is intrinsic to the claims
- 12 that are made about the importance of press freedom, it
- 13 doesn't make it right to remove -- to walk away from
- 14 that principle.
- 15 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Well --
- 16 A. I think the principle is right. It's the application of
- 17 that principle in practice which is why we're here.
- 18 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Of course, and why we've been here
- 19 several times since the last war, again and again and
- 20 again, and that's what troubles me. I mean, I said --
- 21 I made light of it, but actually the debate -- we might
- 22 not be talking about the criminal law, we might not be
- 23 talking quite in the same language of your
- 24 correspondence that is now 16 years old, because things
- 25 have moved on with the human rights legislation, with
 - Page 30

- 1 freedom of information, features that are mentioned.
- 2 hinted at in the correspondence, but in reality the
- 3 points that are being made are absolutely the same.
- 4
- LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Because whatever one does, it works 5
- 6 for a bit and then collapses.
- 7 A. But this is part of a much bigger issue in my view. I'm
- 8 not sure how far down this road you want to go, but if
- 9 we take the opposite road and say we're going to take
- 10 away from the press the responsibility of recognising
- 11 what's right, what's proper, what's good, and
- 12 criticising that which falls short, then we pass that
- 13 responsibility to somebody else. Then what should be
- 14 internalised as a commitment to a set of principles
- 15 within the press industry profession becomes simply,
- 16 "Well, we'll do it because it passes the test that
- 17 somebody else says is good enough".
- 18 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: But you might say the same for
- 19 lawyers or anybody.
- 20 A. It's an argument that in a quite different world I am
- 21 developing within the health professions, that actually
- 22 the only people who really know what's good in the
- 23 consulting room whether between a doctor and a patient
- 24 is the doctor, and any attempt to define what's good
- 25 through a regulator other than the professional
 - Page 31
 - ownership of standards is second best.
- 2 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Well, it may be, but the GMC, for
- 3 example, isn't simply comprised of doctors; it has a --
- 4 A. It has a lay majority.

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- 5 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: -- a lay majority, it has a statutory
- 6 framework that doesn't seem to stand in the way of
- 7 proper exercise of professional judgments, and doctors
- 8 being judged by the standards of acceptable medical
- 9 practice. One goes to the law or whatever, Bolam test,
- 10 with which I'm sure you're extremely familiar.
- 11 A. Indeed, and the -- I accept that if you use the GMC
 - standard or the Law Society -- is it the Law Society?
- 13 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: The Legal Services Board, which then
- 14 operates the Law Society and the bar and the legal
- 15 executives.
- 16 A. They have a statutory basis, but it's a statutory basis
- 17 that has grown out of very long practice, and what they
- 18 have critically is an understanding or a set of
- 19 professional commitments. In order to be a doctor or in
- 20 order to be a lawyer, you have to be engaged -- you have
- 21 to personally be responsible for a set of professional
- 22 standards. Now, none of that exists within the press
- 23 industry. There are no -- there isn't an ownership of 24 professional standards between editors and journalists,
- 25 or a definition of press professional standards. For

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8 (Pages 29 to 32)

Day	76 - AM Leveson	1 Inq	uiry 23 May 201
1	me, that's something that the press the world of	1	which was why it went to a Cabinet Committee, at which
2	journalism and the press needs to own and develop, and	2	he was not present, and at which his view, so far as
3	I know that you've been discussing with David Hunt the	3	I remember, was not expressed.
4	possibility that this could be based on the law of	4	Q. There's then a hiatus within the Conservative Party: the
5	contract between the PCC and the press industry.	5	Prime Minister resigned as leader and then was
6	LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: David Hunt has been discussing with	6	re-elected. The consequence of that was that you
7	me rather than me discussing with him. That's quite an	7	transferred to the health portfolio?
8	important distinction. I don't want to take Mr Barr out	8	A. A simple matter.
9	of order. We'll doubtless come to this. Yes?	9	Q. Virginia Bottomley took over as your successor at the
10	MR BARR: To return to the government's consideration of	10	Department of National Heritage and a White Paper was
11	Calcutt 2, and we are nearing the end of the journey,	11	actually published on 17 July 1995. There was no clear
12	you produce a further draft White Paper, and that goes	12	view at the Cabinet meeting, but yet a White Paper does
13	to a Cabinet Committee meeting which was held on 15 June	13	get published. Can I ask can you help us with what
14	1995; is that right?	14	happened between the Cabinet meeting and the publication
15	A. That's correct.	15	of the eventual White Paper to conclude
16	Q. We can deal, I think, with the White Paper quite	16	A. Well, the government was in a position where it had to
17	succinctly. It essentially set out your preferred	17	draw the process to a close. It had been going on by
18	option, namely to legislate on the criminal but not the	18	this time for two and a half years. We've already
19	tort, and to encourage the PCC to raise its game but not	19	referred to the fact that the Select Committee was owed
20	to pursue statutory regulation.	20	a response. The government there was no point, it
21	That then goes to the Cabinet Committee meeting on	21	seemed to me, and clearly Virginia came to the same
22	15 June, which we can deal with similarly briefly.	22	conclusion, in further drawing this out. The government
23	Incidentally, Mr Hunt attended that Cabinet meeting,	23	hadn't reached a collective agreement to do anything,
24	I see, along with yourself and many others. The upshot	24	and we therefore had as you were saying earlier, we
25	of that meeting was that no clear view was reached; is	25	had to present our conclusion that we were going to do
	Page 33		Page 35
1	that right?	1	nothing in the least bad way.
2	A. Correct.	2	Q. We can see what that was at paragraph 28 of your witness
3	Q. Could you help us, as best you can remember, as to why	3	statement, where you say the key points were:
4	that was the ultimate position?	4	"(a) The government does not find the case for
5	A. I think that this was a group of ministers that clearly	5	statutory measures in this area compelling. It believes

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- A. I think that this was a group of ministers that clearly included those who had been party to the correspondence;
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- 7 the business managers, in other words the whips and the
- 8 people who are responsible for actually delivering
- 9 government business through the House of Commons, and
- 10 the Lords, and other interested ministers. The people
- 11 who had been party to the correspondence made the points
- 12 that they'd made in the correspondence. I think that
- 13 the first independent -- I don't remember, but I'm
- 14 guessing the first point made in discussion was,
- 15 I suspect, made by the business managers who I think
- 16 were concerned that any proposal that required 17
- legislation was unlikely -- was likely to be difficult.
- 18 Q. Can you recall what the Prime Minister's view at this 19 time was on the draft White Paper?
- 20 A. I think by this time the -- by engaging -- by going
- 21 through the correspondence that we've talked about, what
- 22 I was seeking to do was to engage the Prime Minister in
- 23 resolving this deadlock within the government. I think
- 24 he'd recognised by this time that there were different
- 25 views and they were unlikely to be resolved, and --
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- statutory measures in this area compelling. It believes that, in principle, industry self-regulation is much to be preferred.
 - "(b) The government has long recognised that there is, in principle, a case for the introduction of [new physical intrusion] offences ... The government has however so far been unable to construct legislation which in practice would be sufficiently workable to be responsibly brought to the statute book.
 - "(c) In considering the results of the consultation [on the feasibility of introducing a new tort of the infringement of privacy] the government draws two conclusions. First it does not believe there is a sufficient public consensus on which to base statutory intervention in this area. Secondly it strongly prefers the principle of self-regulation ... it therefore has no present intention to legislate a new civil remedy."
 - So essentially on the question of the criminal matter it's the Attorney General's practical objections which become the public face of the decision not to proceed, and in relation to the tort, what is said is

- 1 the public don't want it. Insufficient public
- 2
- 3 A. Insufficient public consensus.
- 4 Q. Looking back now, do you think that the government's
- 5 consideration of Calcutt 2 and its response amount to
- 6 a missed opportunity to do more to improve behaviour in
- 7 the press?
- 8 A. My basic response to that is no I don't. First of all,
- 9 at a purely mechanistic level, the ability to do
- 10 anything fundamental in legislative terms I don't think
- 11 was there because, as I've already said, I don't think
- 12 in reality we'd have been able to carry legislation, so
- 13 there was no opportunity, if that's what you wanted to
- 14 do. But as we were beginning to develop in the earlier
- 15
- exchange with Lord Leveson, even given what's happened
- 16 in the intervening period, I am not persuaded that if we
- 17 go down the legislative route here we don't create
- 18 a problem that's -- a cure that's worse than the
- 19
- 20 Q. We can pick up now some of the thinking behind how to
- 21 deal with the problems that we now have, and to take
- 22 them forward. I'm looking at the concluding section of
- 23 your witness statement, and you point out, as many
- 24 others have, that much of the recent acknowledged
- 25 wrongdoing is already against the law. That in itself,
- 1 though, isn't a reason not to try and improve regulation

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- 2 of the press, is it?
- 3 A. It's not an argument against it, but I would argue
- 4 strongly that we already have a set of legal standards
- 5 that are not being met, we should ask ourselves why that
- 6 is and address the cause of the problem rather than the
- 7 symptom of the problem. As I say in my witness
- 8 statement, I believe that the issue that's come to light
- 9 in recent times is an issue of -- that has much more to
- 10 do with management, culture and responsibility within an
- 11 organisation for what goes on within that organisation
- 12 than it has to the legal framework, whether it's
- 13 voluntary through the PCC or statutory through
- 14 Parliamentary or other processes.
- 15 Q. If we start with that then, if there's a need to improve
- 16 culture, how can that be done?
- 17 A. Well, it's -- the answer is the only people who can do
- 18 it are the people who hold -- who are the managers, the
- 19 editors, the people with that responsibility in the
- 20 press world, and it's part of the -- my preferred -- my
- 21 instinctive response -- I'd be the first to say this
- 22 isn't based on elaborate consideration of all of the
- 23 alternatives in the way that you do when you're
- 24 a minister, but my instinctive response is the
- 25 principles on which the PCC has been built can be
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- 1 reinforced along the lines that Lord Hunt has been
- 2 developing, and that the principle that a free press is
- 3 part of the accountability checks and balances in a free
- 4 society, the lacuna in that argument is the proposition
- 5 I already made to Lord Leveson, that that applies to the
 - world of politics, of the law and other parts of public
- 7 life, and quite rightly, but it hasn't applied with the
- 8 same force in the world of the press. And that seems to
- 9 me to be part of the challenge that I would throw back
- 10 to the world of the press.
- 11 Q. There must be room for concern, though, that looking at
- 12 the very long history of repeated difficulties with
- 13 press standards and press behaviour, that the industry
- 14 will not reform itself sufficiently to prevent a repeat
- 15 of this behaviour. Would you agree?
- 16 A. Well, I would, but the question, it seems to me, is more
- 17 precise than that. It isn't: will the industry as
- 18 a group of people reform its behaviour? It is: why --
- 19 it's a question that can be put to an individual editor
- 20 or to an individual press proprietor: why, if you
- 21 embrace the standards set out in the Editors' Code, do
- 22 you not accept a responsibility to conduct investigative
- 23 journalism and to apply those principles to other organs
- 24
- of the press? To call to account other organs of the
- 25 press? That is the case for press freedom, which I am

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- in favour of.
- 2 Q. But isn't the difficulty that in practice there are
- 3 occasions when the press doesn't hold itself to account?
- 4 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Well, when are the occasions that it
- 5 has?

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- 6 A. When one organisation within the press calls another
- 7 organisation within the press to account.
- 8 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes.
- 9 A. That's a proper question, it seems to me, to put to
- 10 organs of the press.
- 11 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: But we know, don't we, we know about
- 12 the Guardian article in July 2009 and we know about the
- 13 New York Times article in 2010. We know what the
- 14 reaction was to the Guardian article in July 2009, which
- 15 was to lead to criticism by the self-regulator about the
- 16 Guardian.
- 17 A. Which is clearly a completely perverse outcome.
- 18 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Well, yes. So that being the case,
- 19 one first has to go back and say whether what the PCC
- 20 does is truly a regulator at all, which is one of the
- 21 questions that we started to discuss before, and it is
- 22 interesting that I think it is only Sir Christopher 23
- Meyer who has come along and said, "Oh yes, it was 24 a regulator" -- no, maybe he didn't. Maybe he said, "It
- 25 never was a regulator", although the language of his

1 letters suggests it was. But the general line has been 1 a phrase of yours, with which I entirely empathise, and 2 2 that it never was a regulator. So one's talking about has actually -- is responsible for some of my thinking 3 3 improved self-regulation when actually it's not doing for ways to achieve just that end, and I'm not sure that 4 4 a contractual remedy, which is only contractual between that at all. A. But then the question -- I'm not here to defend the 5 5 the press itself, it doesn't bind a third person and has 6 record of the PCC. 6 all sorts of enforcement problems, would necessarily 7 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: No, no, no. Mr Dorrell, I'm not 7 help the little guy. 8 inviting you to, although I welcome any contribution you 8 A. What the little guy most wants, if there is a threat of 9 9 want to make across the board. I am actually seeking their private life being paraded for public 10 10 the help of somebody who has clearly, at least in the entertainment, is the ability to stop it. It's not 11 11 past, focused very closely on the issues and is aware of about recompense, it's not about reaction post the 12 12 the wider picture, of which I am equally aware, as one event. It's about the ability to prevent the wrong 13 tries to grapple to find a solution that works. But 13 arising in the first place. 14 14 a solution that has to work, not merely for the press, LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I understand that, but one has to be 15 but it has to work for the public as well, because 15 very careful -- here I'm going to sound like an 16 I think you'll find that one of your conclusions in 16 apologist for the press, but I'm comfortable about that 17 17 1995, namely there was no public appetite for something because if one requires all form of -- if one requires 18 very different, is no longer the position. 18 the opportunity to obtain prior restraint, then you run 19 the very risk that you express yourself concerned about, 19 A. I'm not certain that there would be public appetite 20 following public discussion for a regime that was 20 namely that the rich and powerful and the famous will 21 21 use that to gag legitimate public interest stories, seen -- that was represented as protecting the rich and 22 the powerful. 22 which itself would not be in the public interest. 23 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I agree with that entirely. I'm not 23 A. Mm. 24 24 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: So I entirely agree with the seeking to protect the rich and the powerful. I happen 25 to agree with you, with what you said somewhat earlier, 25 proposition that the little guy, and indeed the rich Page 41 Page 43 1 that the important people for you were the protection of 1 guy, it doesn't really matter, would want to prevent 2 the "little guy". 2 a story emerging, but there has to be some mechanism 3 3 A. Mm. whereby the press decides -- this is the ultimate 4 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: And one of the ideas that I have been 4 exercise of press freedom -- that we're prepared to take 5 postulating -- and you may be aware -- is some sort of 5 the risk because the evidence will be destroyed, because 6 6 swifter mechanism for the resolution of privacy or other we'll be tied up in 18 months of litigation. There have 7 complaints, which doesn't require litigation, which is 7 been lots of examples spoken about during the course of 8 expensive, it's time-consuming, and all the 8 the Inquiry, and therefore one has to hold the press to 9 disadvantages of which you are aware. 9 account for that decision, and the only way we can do 10 A. It is exactly what the PCC, the privacy commissioner 10 that is to say: we encourage you to warn in advance, to 11 concept was originally designed to address, precisely 11 pre-notify. If you choose not to and you're wrong, then 12 that issue. 12 there has to be some mechanism for there to be a real 13 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: But if you're going to have a way for 13 remedy for the person who is affected. 14 the small -- for the little guy to get a remedy that is 14 Now, that again is likely to require in some way, 15 15 enforceable, aren't you going to have to have somewhere somewhere in the distance, a framework that permits the 16 in the background some framework against which you 16 law to provide that remedy, and if you don't -- you 17 attach it? I'm not suggesting that it should be -- I'm 17 can't do it just consensually. That's what concerns me. 18 absolutely not suggesting government regulation. I've 18 A. There has to be a definition of what the -- of what's 19 never said that. But I am concerned about ensuring 19 acceptable and what the consequences are when behaviour 20 20 there is a mechanism that can be seen to work, is unacceptable. A straightforward principle of legal 21 particularly for the little guy. 21 certainty. I agree with that. The more that that is 22 22 A. Well, I agree with the objective. I don't personally owned by the press and the editors in particular, senior 23 23 think that's the whole -- I'm sure you're not suggesting journalists as well, own that definition of what's good 24 that that's the whole issue. 24 and own the determination of what's unacceptable, the 25 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: No, it's merely -- I mean, I pick up 25 more comfortable I feel that that is, first of all, Page 42 Page 44

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formulation.

- 1 consistent with the principles of press freedom, but 2 also likely to be consistent with good journalism, good 3 accountability and so forth. Those issues need to be 4 internalised within the press, not taken away from them. 5 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: But when the story becomes so big, 6 all the rules go out of the window. That's precisely 7 what people have said time and time again. They've not 8 articulated it in quite that way, but if the story is 9 big enough -- actually, I'm not sure Piers Morgan didn't 10 say something like that, in terms. But if it's big 11 enough, then the story takes control, so one gets -- and 12 if I take some examples of little people, Christopher Jefferies is a very, very good one. The story was so 13 14 big, so important, of such public interest over that new 15 year period that all restraint is lost. 16 He wasn't in a position to seek to obtain prior 17 restraint. There are stories where that might be 18
 - possible, and one might want to encourage editors to say: well, let's go to somebody independent, whether you call it an ombudsman or whatever, and if you have a story, you say: I have this story and I don't want to show it because I think the evidence will be destroyed, or whatever, and I'd like a view, and the ombudsman can say: yes, I think that's reasonable. And then the editor takes his view and moves on. And he can then Page 45

prove, in I would hope a swifter type of dispute resolution mechanism than the court necessarily is able to provide, that he took a responsible decision, that he sought the views of the ombudsman, and that's all relevant to the ultimate deciding question of whether it was appropriate to invade privacy in that way without prior notification.

He can choose not to go to the ombudsman or he can choose to ignore the ombudsman who says he should use restraint in these circumstances, in which event that would emerge and then whoever decides the ultimate issue can say -- he can disagree with the ombudsman and say no, I think that's a perfectly reasonable decision, but if he decides actually the ombudsman was absolutely right, then there is possibly the risk of exemplary damages -- I'm just throwing out ideas, but this is obviously, as I say, something you've thought about, so I would welcome your view -- to represent in the editor's mind the need for caution. The need, if you like, to hold himself or herself to account for the standards of journalism to which they wish to aspire.

Now, all that doesn't interfere with the freedom of the press to publish what they wish, but it does require a mechanism which surrounds it which cannot simply be consensual.

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- 1 A. Going through the stages of that, you don't need 2 a statutory framework to set up an ombudsman who can 3 provide that sort of independent advice. It's only when 4 you get to the end of the road that you need to go 5 beyond the consensual approach, as I hear that
- 7 So what we're dealing with is a set of circumstances 8 where an editor made a decision, may have sought 9 external advice from a figure who is able to give 10 a third-party view of the judgment that the editor is 11 being asked to make. All of that can happen. The 12 question is: what happens in the circumstance like 13 Christopher Jefferies where a judgment is made and 14

In those circumstances, you either give people the right to a remedy and recovery in civil law or you ask the press -- or you throw it back to the editor and the proprietor and require them to -- require the industry as a whole to think about what are the consequences that should flow in that particular set of circumstances. It's a completely fair question to put to the press industry, given that's a story that's now passed: what should have happened? Do they think that what happened to Christopher Jefferies is right and proper? And we ended up with a set of circumstances which are

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defensible in a free society.

a major injustice is done?

- 2 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: They may say no.
- 3 Christopher Jefferies actually it occurred to me isn't
- 4 a very good example because libel to some extent solves
- 5 his position but one of the issues about privacy of
- 6 course is that it's true. So it's not libellous, it
- 7 just goes beyond that which is fair, appropriate, legal,
- whatever word you want to use. 8

But to throw it to the press requires them to be a judge in their own cause and they've not shown a remarkable appetite to do that. And indeed, even if you did you'd then have to find some mechanism to enforce it, because the press as a whole may say: well, we think this is appropriate, but the relevant journal may say: well, thank you very much. And indeed, one of the reasons that Northern & Shell left the PCC was because they had no confidence in their competitors judging their behaviour. That's how Mr Desmond has explained it. At a quite different level, Mr Hislop has made it abundantly clear that he spends a very great deal of his publication criticising what the press are doing and the press are the last people that he wants to

There is something systemic here that I struggle to see how it could be done simply by the proprietors and Page 48

judge the standards that are appropriate.

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1	the editors getting together to think: well, we can	1	having not merely set out a piece of work that sets out
2	agree.	2	some important standards, but then to have evolved it,
3	I'm not suggesting for one moment that there isn't	3	and part of the preparation for coming here this morning
4	enormous room for engagement with the press, because the	4	was looking and was quite impressed actually by the
5	trick is going to be to try to get a mechanism that	5	development that had gone on in the Editors' Code over
6	works for everybody, that does represent a proper	6	recent years.
7	reflection of a free press and freedom of expression in	7	LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Although each step and every time
8	its highest forms, but which does cope not merely with	8	something happens and there are suggestions of this
9	the very rich who can then indulge in enormously	9	amendment to the code or that amendment to the code, the
10	expensive proceedings, but for everybody, and I struggle	10	editors are there and the editors are only there
11	to see how that's possible on a model that doesn't have	11	controlling the code, I think there is it's a long
12	something somewhere, and even if you say, well, of	12	time I say a long time, it's some months since I was
13	course the ombudsman could be set up, there does have to	13	actually focusing precisely on the detail and a lot has
14	be some principles which the state would recognise as	14	happened since, but ultimately the editors can control
15	being sufficient to trigger off whatever type of	15	what goes in the code. There isn't they're important
16	additional remedy the state was going to provide,	16	advisers. Whether they should be determinative is
17	because damages would be a remedy provided by the state.	17	another question.
18	A. When I said the ombudsman can be as in the set of	18	A. I don't dissent from I don't disagree with that, but
19	circumstances you describe, the ombudsman exists as	19	as an observed as an observation about what's
20	somebody to whom the editor goes to seek an external	20	happened in this field, area, during a period of time
21	view. That doesn't require statutory framework.	21	when I haven't really been watching it closely, it seems
22	LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: No, of course it doesn't. But what	22	to me that the development of principles set out in the
23	does is the recognition of the significance of his view.	23	Editors' Code of Standards which should be met by good
24	In other words, for his view to be relevant in civil	24	and responsible journalism, there's clearly been
25	proceedings, however one mediates it and whether it's	25	a commitment to trying to follow that process through,
	Page 49		Page 51
1	some fast-track system or whether it's through the	1	which I think should be welcomed
1	some fast-track system or whether it's through the	1 2	which I think should be welcomed.
2	court, the law has to say: that's a relevant view.	2	LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Oh, and needs to be pursued. But
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1 this isn't a problem for the press, this is all 1 of it are true to the best of your knowledge and belief? 2 a question of the failure to enforce the law" --2 A. Yes, they are. 3 3 Q. And that it forms your formal evidence to this Inquiry? A. No, that's not what I'm saying. 4 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I know it's not what you're saying, 4 A. It does indeed. 5 but it is the next step along from what you have said. 5 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Mr Marr, thank you very much for 6 A. No, I don't agree with that. I think that the -- the 6 responding. I'm very conscious that you're entitled to 7 7 conclusion I draw from recent events is that of course say that at least in the recent past you work in 8 8 a different medium responsible for different people, to we should -- we're always looking for more effective 9 9 different people. That's absolutely right and it's enforcement, but actually, what's wrong, the breaking of 10 10 actually why you're here. Thank you. the law is the symptom of what is wrong in a culture and 11 11 in an organisation which tolerates criminality. A. Thank you, sir. 12 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Well, I agree with that. 12 MS PATRY HOSKINS: I'd like to draw the Inquiry's attention 13 13 A. And that's a challenge that has to be thrown back to to paragraph C of your introduction to the witness 14 14 those responsible, and no amount of rewriting the statement, where you make it clear that the views 15 Editors' Code or introduction of new forms of regulation 15 expressed in this statement are entirely your own and 16 is going to deliver the outcome that's wanted if the 16 not those of the BBC. 17 17 core problem remains: a willingness to tolerate A. That is absolutely right. 18 criminality within the organisations themselves. 18 Q. I'm going to start with a brief summary of your career 19 19 history. If we look at your response to question 1, you Extending the concept of criminality doesn't help us. 20 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I understand that point entirely. 20 explain that you do currently work for the BBC. You 21 21 MR BARR: Sir, I think you have thoroughly explored all the have spent the bulk of the last 25 years reporting or 22 areas that I was going to go into, and so I don't have 22 commentating on politics. You explain that you've been 23 23 any further questions. a political correspondent or editor at Westminster for 24 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Well, I'm sorry, Mr Barr, and I'm 24 the Scotsman, the Independent, the Economist, 25 sure you'd have done it much more effectively. 25 a political commentator for the Observer and the Page 53 Page 55 1 MR BARR: I'm certain I wouldn't, sir. Is this a convenient 1 Express, political editor of the BBC from 2000 to 2005, 2 2 point to take our morning break? and you host the Sunday morning Andrew Marr Show, which 3 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes, it is. Mr Dorrell, is there 3 generally features prominent politicians being 4 anything you feel that you've not had the opportunity to 4 interviewed on current topics. 5 5 develop which you would like to? You explain therefore that most of your contact with 6 6 A. I think I've had more opportunity than I deserve. Thank politicians has therefore been of a straightforward 7 7 reporting nature rather than from any proprietorial or you very much. 8 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Thank you very much indeed. We'll 8 commercial angle? 9 take a few minutes. 9 A. That's right. 10 (11.27 am) 10 Q. Can I add this to your career history: you're the author 11 (A short break) 11 of a book called "My Trade: A Short History of British 12 12 (11.38 am) Journalism" published in 2004. 13 MS PATRY HOSKINS: Good morning, sir. 13 Have you seen a copy of that, sir? 14 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Good morning. 14 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I've seen it. I don't have it here. 15 15 MS PATRY HOSKINS: I will refer to some sections, but I'll MS PATRY HOSKINS: The next witness is Mr Marr. LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Thank you. 16 read them aloud and make sure you're provided with 16 17 MR ANDREW WILLIAM STEVENSON MARR (affirmed) 17 a copy. 18 Questions by MS PATRY HOSKINS 18 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Thank you. 19 MS PATRY HOSKINS: Please sit down. First of all, could you 19 MS PATRY HOSKINS: In your book and in your witness 20 20 state -- you already have, but could you state again statement, Mr Marr, you advance various arguments and 21 21 your full name to the Inquiry, please? express certain views which are of interest to this 22 A. Andrew William Stevenson Marr. 22 Inquiry. I'd like to start with an analysis of some of 23 23 Q. You should find behind tab 1 of the bundle in front of those articles. I'm going to start, please, with "My 24 you your witness statement. My version is unsigned and 24 Trade", which includes a chapter within it entitled "The 25 25 undated. Could you, please, confirm that the contents dirty art of political journalism", and it's at pages Page 54 Page 56

- 1 117 onwards. Do you have a copy of it with you?
- 2 A. I have a copy of the relevant chapter.
- 3 Q. Fine.
- 4 A. I've given all my copies away.
- 5 Q. That's very helpful.
- LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: But I'm sure it's still available,
- 7 Mr Marr.
- 8 A. In all good second-hand book shops, sir.
- 9 MR WHITE: We have a copy of the relevant extracts.
- 10 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I'd be very grateful, thank you.
- 11 It's not depriving you?
- 12 MR WHITE: No, we have one to share.
- 13 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Thank you. Forgive the breach of
- 14 copyright, Mr Marr.
- 15 A. I certainly will.
- 16 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Right.
- 17 MS PATRY HOSKINS: The first issue I'd like to touch on is
- 18 the issue of separation between news and comment. At
- pages 143 onwards of "My Trade", you appear to endorse 19
- 20 Mr Alastair Campbell's view that to a large extent news
- 21 and comment has now become fused. If we look under the
- 22 heading "Bent and twisted journalism" on page 143, do
- 23 you have that?
- 24 A. I do.
- 25 Q. There's a sentence which starts:

- 1 "Alastair Campbell, Tony Blair's former spin doctor,
- 2 argued in 2001 that because London was one of the
- 3 world's most competitive media marketplaces in which
- 4 there's frankly not that much news around most days, the
- 5 commentators were taking over. The separation of news
- 6 and comment has effectively gone in most newspapers.
- 7 News is now largely comment and agenda in the press, and
- 8 on TV and radio far more time is now given to mediated
 - commentary by experts and far less to politicians."
 - You point out that many journalists may be reluctant to listen to any analysis from Mr Campbell, but you
- 12 agree nevertheless this is only a mild exaggeration of
- 13 the situation.

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- You go on to say that news and comment are separated, but loaded descriptions and aggressive
- 16 campaigning style prose infects many news stories, and
- 17 when Mr Campbell argues that the opinionating of news
- 18 began in the tabloids and then migrated to the
- 19 broadsheets, you take the view that he is absolutely
- 20 right about that as well.
- 21 You also say that this is something that's simply
- 22 nothing new. If we look at your statement, I'm going to
- 23 refer to the page numbers in the bottom right-hand side
- 24 of each -- do you have those? The number should say
- 25 1299.

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- 1 A. On the statement, no. Mine is unnumbered, I'm afraid.
- 2 Q. All right. It will then be the response to question 2f.
- 3 A. 2f, right.
- 4 Q. For everyone who has a number, it's MOD and then 1299.
- 5 A. Yes, I have that.
- Q. At the bottom of that page you explain that there's been 6
- 7 a move away from strict news reporting to more
- 8 campaigning or politically-edged reporting and you
- 9 explain further down that paragraph:
- 10 "... there has been a blurring between reporting and 11 commentary, led by papers which like the Daily Mail have
- 12 been the most successfully commercially."
- 13 But it's not just limited to the Daily Mail. You
- 14 explain that "papers on the centre-left like the
- 15 Guardian and Independent try to rouse their readers
- 16 too". Overall anyway you say that you would argue that
- "the plain-vanilla, straight-news model was a historical 17
- 18 anomaly"?
- 19 A. Yes.
- 20 Q. And you simply say we may be reverting to type --
- 21 A. Yes.
- 22 Q. -- over the page.
- 23 A. Absolutely.
- 24 Q. Is this view that you expressed in 2004 in "My Trade"
- 25 that news and comment have now become fused a view that

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- you still hold? You wrote that book some eight years
- 2

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- 3 A. Yes, a lot has changed since I wrote the book, but
- 4 I think this part hasn't changed, if I can put it that
- 5 way. If you look back at early newspapers, right up to
- 6 sort of mid-Victorian times, you will find extremely
- 7 aggressive, scabrous, sometimes insulting commentary and
- 8 journalism all the way through them, and that is clearly
 - partly what sold them.
- 10 We then went through a long period where there was
- 11 more and more emphasis on journalism becoming some kind 12
- of quasi profession, where the job was to give people 13 what I've called plain-vanilla news and fact. When
- 14 I came into the trade, that was still very clear.
- 15
- I started as a Parliamentary correspondent, literally
- 16 taking down in shorthand what politicians were saying in
- 17 the House of Commons and that would then be almost
- 18 without any further comment put into a full page on the 19 Scotsman newspaper every day. And every Scottish MP
- 20 expected, if they said anything in the House of Commons
- 21 of any significance, that they would read it the next
- 22 day in the Scotsman.
- 23 That world has gone. That was a particular kind of 24 reporting, but I think if you look at newspapers in the
 - late 1970, early 1980s, broadsheet newspapers, you will

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- 1 find page after page after page of completely dry
- 2 factual reporting of what people have said and what has
- 3 happened, and I think if you looked at the Telegraph's
- 4 report of an event and the Guardian's report, you would
- 5 find them remarkably similar, and I don't think that
- 6 would happen -- that's quite the case now.
- 7 Q. And now?
- 8 A. Now I think what's happened is the newspapers are
- 9 selling themselves more and more on political -- their
- 10 political views and rousing the emotion of the reader.
- 11 Why would you pick up a newspaper when you can get all
- 12 the facts, you can get what happened in Parliament, you
- 13 can read official documents and so on online if you
- 14 choose to? What is the so-called USP of the newspaper?
- 15 What makes it different? It gets you somehow
- 16 emotionally engaged and interested in the news, and the
- 17 temptation therefore to salt and pepper the news more
- 18 and more strongly has been irresistible.
- 19 Q. Is it a good or a bad thing in your view?
- 20 A. I mourn for the old clear distinction between news and
- 21 comment, but I'm very old fashioned in that, I'm sure,
- 22 and I certainly think it's a lost cause and there's no
- 23 going back.
- 24 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: What about paragraph 1(iii) of the
- 25 Editors' Code of Practice? I appreciate that doesn't

- 1 there anything that could be done to achieve that? 2
- A. I fear this is a lost cause. I don't think much can be 3
 - done. I, as a reader, as a consumer, I want to know
- 4 what is factual, old-fashioned straight reporting.
- 5 I want that, I like it, I value it. It's very
- 6 expensive, a lot of it, particularly if you're talking
- 7 about investigative journalism, but -- and it's much
- 8 easier these days to pay a column to fill the space
- 9 sometimes than to have teams of unruly reporters who may
- 10 be spending beyond their budgets and so on, but I do
- 11 regret that and I much enjoyed the days when you would
- 12 turn to certain newspapers and get an absolutely
- 13 plain-vanilla account with no whiff of political
- 14 influence on it.
- 15 Q. Some witnesses giving evidence to this Inquiry have
- 16 actually come and said that there should be an
 - absolutely clear distinction between the two. You're
- 18 not one of those, from what you said?
- 19 A. I would recoil from seeing any outside body order
 - newspaper editors about how to arrange their pages or
- 21 staff their papers. I think that would be oppressive.
- 22 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Don't worry about that, Mr Marr.
- 23 A. Good.

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- 24 MS PATRY HOSKINS: Moving on in "My Trade" to page 161,
- 25 please, I want to ask you -- this is where you discuss

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- 1 bite upon you any more.
- 2
- 3 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: "The press, while free to be
- 4 partisan, must distinguish clearly between comment,
- 5 conjecture and fact."
- 6 A. An interesting but relatively easily evadable
- 7 aspiration. For instance, I can report, if I was
- 8 a reporter working for almost any newspaper, I can
- 9 report on a court event or a Parliamentary event. The
- 10 words I use, the words I report, will be accurate. The
- 11 account of where it happened and what was said may be
- 12 accurate. But the choice -- the way I balance that
- 13
- 14 an idea in my head about what these viewers -- these
- 15 readers, rather, are going to want. The Independent and

story and push that story will almost certainly be with

- 16 the Daily Express going to the same event may produce
- 17 stories which are factually correct and well reported,
- 18 but have very, very different emotional or political
- 19 implications.
- MS PATRY HOSKINS: Do you think there should be a clearer 20
- 21 distinction? I appreciate you say you think you're
- 22 old-fashioned.
- 23 A. Yes.
- 24 Q. You think the position is now irreversible, but should
- 25 there be a clearer distinction between the two? Is

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- 1 whether or not certain political journalists were
- 2 favoured because they work for a particular news
- 3 organisation.
- 4 A. Yes.
- 5 Q. You are discussing here New Labour. If you look at the
- 6 second substantive paragraph on that page, it starts "As
- 7 trust crumbled ...", 161.
- 8 A. Yes.
- 9 Q. You're here discussing New Labour and in the beginning
- 10 of that paragraph you discuss bullying of junior
- 11 reporters, which isn't relevant, but about two-thirds of
- 12 the way down the page you explain:
- 13 "Political correspondents have a certain esprit de
- 14 corps alongside their professional rivalry and the
- 15 cynical way in which some were favoured because they
- 16 worked for Rupert Murdoch while others were sneered at
- 17 because they worked for Conrad Black disgusted many who
- 18 worked for neither."
- 19 A. That's right.
- 20 Q. Is it your evidence to this Inquiry that New Labour may
- 21 have favoured some political journalists because they
- 22 worked for Rupert Murdoch or his newspapers?
- 23 A. Yes, absolutely. Absolutely. I think that a decision
- 24 was taken that it was very important to keep the Murdoch
- 25 papers, so far as was possible -- it wasn't always

1 possible -- on side and to have a close relationship 1 that from time to time the political editors of some of 2 2 with their leading journalists and their leading those papers were getting exciting exclusives, were 3 3 reporters. They were inside of the tent, if you like, being told what was really going on ahead of other 4 4 as were some Labour friendly newspapers too, while papers -- a price well worth paying. 5 papers like the Daily Telegraph were indeed kept at 5 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Do you think it's because 6 arm's length, made to feel unwelcome. From time to time 6 News International were prepared to change allegiance, 7 7 their correspondents like George Owens would be mocked whereas the Mirror was never going to change allegiance and the Telegraph was never going to change allegiance? 8 during lobby briefings. There was very much an attempt, 8 9 I felt, to divide this core -- this group of journalists 9 A. I certainly think the fact that they had come across was 10 10 into the favoured ones, the ones who were sort of part absolutely crucial. There would have been no point in 11 of the project, almost, and the ones who were off in the 11 New Labour being helpful if News International were 12 12 wilderness. hostile. I have no evidence that there was a sort of 13 Q. You pick up on this in your statement. It's in response 13 darker or dirtier deal being done than the fact --14 to question 2b(iv). 14 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Let's not get into deals, implied or 15 A. Right. 15 express. That becomes difficult. But just an 16 Q. And for those who have numbers in the bottom right-hand 16 understanding in the sense that -- an appreciation of 17 17 corner, it's 1298. Under the heading "Selectivity and what's going on rather than anything else. 18 discrimination -- as between titles on the one hand, and 18 A. Yes, absolutely. I mean, I felt that -- from the 19 19 as between political parties on the other", do you see outside, it felt quite cold and chilly sometimes not to 20 that? 20 be part of that group, and I feel that what happened is 21 21 A. Yes. that Rupert Murdoch decided he was going to support 22 O. You explain: 22 Tony Blair when Tony Blair looked like being a winner, 23 23 "There is always a hierarchy of media contacts. For and he has a propensity to support winners, and from the 24 24 a Conservative minister, contacts at the Daily government's point of view, having that great swathe, as 25 Telegraph, Daily Mail, the Spectator ..." et cetera, are 25 I say, of media influence onside was extremely helpful. Page 65 Page 67 MS PATRY HOSKINS: You also say in your statement in the 1 particularly valuable, and you explain it's valuable to 1 2 2 the Liberal Democrats and Labour. Then you say this: bottom paragraph on that page that this was also maybe 3 3 "Throughout the Thatcher, Major and Blair because Mr Murdoch was ready to use papers such as the 4 governments, the Murdoch stable was always perceived by 4 Sun to "intervene aggressively". What do you mean by 5 its rivals to have a privileged position." 5 that? 6 A. Yes. 6 A. If we take a specific issue, because it's what -- we 7 Q. I think you have explained what the privileged position 7 often talk in generalities. I vividly remember when 8 was. Why do you think this was? 8 I was editing the Independent, a pro-European newspaper, 9 9 A. I think it was because News International at its height and Mr Blair would be constantly saying how pro-European 10 10 he was, he had a problem with the Sun because the Sun had a very, very powerful position in the television 11 11 was vehemently sceptic, generally on Europe but world as well as the newspaper world. They had not only 12 12 the traditionally most respected broadsheet newspaper -particularly on the subject of the euro. One might say 13 13 it's not a broadsheet any more -- the Times; they had they were thoroughly vindicated in that. Nonetheless, 14 14 what happened was that there was clearly a lot of work the huge-selling Sun and then they were doing the same 15 15 thing in the Sunday market as well with the News of the going on about how to reconcile a pro-European 16 World and the Sunday Times. That was an enormously 16 Prime Minister with a Eurosceptical newspaper, and so 17 17 powerful position to hold. Tony Blair wrote an article saying -- I think it was on 18 Therefore, particularly for a Labour government or 18 St George's Day in the Sun saying that he was determined 19 19 to slay the dragon of Eurofederalism and so on. I can a New Labour government who felt that they would sort of 20 20 automatically get the Mirror, the Guardian and some of remember phoning up in an irate state Alastair Campbell 21 21 the time the Independent, to have all of those papers as and saying what's going on and being laughed at: for 22 22 well didn't give you quite the royal flush but it gave goodness sake, you know exactly what's going on. 23 23 you a very, very large segment of the media, and so The fact that these papers did hold strong views,

that, I'm sure, from the Labour point of view was

something well worth doing, and if that meant ensuring

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every right to, meant that New Labour had to be

constantly looking at what they were saying and finding

1 1 ways to adjust. One of the few examples actually, I know he's 2 2 Q. You say this was throughout the Thatcher, Major and a discredited figure in many ways these days, but 3 3 Blair governments, the Murdoch stable was always Conrad Black, when he was editing the Daily Telegraph, 4 4 perceived by its rivals to have a privileged position. rather than sort of arm-twisting his editors behind the 5 5 Does that mean that since the end of the Blair era the scenes or shouting at them on the phone, wrote long 6 position has changed, or would you say that that has 6 letters to his own newspapers expressing his contempt 7 7 continued? and anger about the way that they'd reported something. 8 8 A. I think the country has been looking agog at some of the That seemed to me to be a much healthier way of doing 9 evidence to this Inquiry. If that's an answer, I don't 9 10 10 know. Clearly, if parties and meetings and so on are Q. I think you wanted to say a word or two about the 11 11 difference between journalists and their relationships evidence of a continued close relationship, if the 12 12 position of people like Mr Coulson is evidence of with politicians and proprietors and their relationships 13 a continued relationship, then that evidence is out 13 with politicians. 14 there in the public domain. 14 A. Well, I have noticed that of course the Inquiry is very 15 Q. I think the question was really whether they continued 15 interested in the social web of relationships between 16 to have a privileged position? 16 journalists, some of whom, not all of them, but some of 17 A. A privileged position? Difficult, in fact impossible 17 whom have quite a lot of influence, and politicians, and 18 for me to say. I'm now out of the lobby and 18 how that has developed. I just wanted to say that 19 19 Parliamentary reporting game, so I don't know quite I feel there is an absolutely crucial distinction 20 what's been going on. 20 between proprietors, with or without editors at the 21 21 Q. Still on "My Trade", you consider the relationship time, getting together with politicians, where there is 22 between proprietors and journalists at pages 240 onwards 22 some sort of suspicion that there is regulatory or other 23 and you say this, I'll just quote you one line. You 23 discussions to be had on the one hand, and the 24 24 say: day-to-day job of story-getting political journalists 25 25 "Editors are creatures of the proprietors and that having contacts with politicians on the other hand. Page 69 Page 71 1 1 defines the relationship before anything else." If you come into -- and I'm sure it's the same now 2 2 A. I think that's true. I think that's true of all as it was when I went there -- if you come into the 3 House of Commons or the Parliamentary reporting gallery 3 editors. Q. Do you continue to hold that view? 4 4 and you're told that your job is to get stories that 5 A. Editors can stand against proprietors and can be 5 nobody else has got, one of the things you absolutely 6 independent-minded, but I think no editor is unaware of 6 have to have is decent contacts with politicians. I had 7 7 to be able to phone up at least two people who would the proprietor's view, and no editor who irritates and 8 disappoints a proprietor for very long will carry on 8 take my phone call and tell me what had happened in 9 9 being an editor for very long. I'm not making a point 10 10 about the Murdoch empire so-called in particular, 11 11 I think this is a general thing. 12 12 I had in my brief time in -- brief and inglorious 13 13 time as an editor an enormously forgiving, relaxed and 14 14 arm's length proprietor in Tony O'Reilly, but even then 15 15 I was aware of what he thought. 16 16 Q. Did that affect your decisions or the stories that you ministers. 17 17 put in the paper?

we thought alike so it didn't -- and I think to be fair of course proprietors are going to choose editors whose opinions are likely to chime with their own. Very few proprietors, who are losing, many of them, a great deal of money, in addition to the loss of money are going to want to see a paper coming out with issues they disagree

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A. I think luckily, except for the matter of Irish rugby,

24 25 with day by day.

Cabinet when I was a senior political reporter. Many of the stories that I got I couldn't possibly have had if I didn't have a sort of certain element of a trusting relationship with politicians who were prepared to talk to me, and therefore I hope it's understood that those kind of relationships may be different in kind from some of the sort of partying between proprietors and LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I understand the point you're making 18 entirely, Mr Marr. And I wouldn't want the interest in 19 the social web, as you describe it, of relationships to 20 be misunderstood. There's nothing prurient about my 21 concern. 22 A. No. 23 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: And I'm very keen to make that clear. 24 What I am interested in, because the terms of reference 25 require me to consider it, is the contact and conduct of

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18 (Pages 69 to 72)

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1 each in relation to the other --1 that interestingly, partly as a result of the great 2 2 flushing out and the crisis caused by the expenses 3 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: -- because of the way in which it 3 scandal, political authority in the House of Commons is 4 4 might impact on the conduct -- culture, practice and higher than it was when I wrote this book, and I think 5 5 ethics of the press. that for all the commercial reasons and the arrival of 6 A. Yes, sir. 6 the Internet and many other factors, I think the status 7 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: It's really only that that I am 7 of even the leading journalists is a bit lower. So this 8 concerned with, but in the same way that I would not 8 is an area where I think there has been a sort of 9 9 want to discourage journalists from speaking to natural correction of the system, as it were. 10 10 neighbourhood police officers about what's going on in Q. "On paper we mock them more than ever before and report 11 their locality and learning about crime, so nothing that 11 them less than ever before." 12 I am doing is intended to prevent the very important 12 Is there still an element of that? 13 discourse that is essential between those in politics 13 A. There is an element of truth on that still, that's 14 and those in journalism, the former to get their message 14 absolutely right. We don't have those pages and pages 15 across and the latter to challenge them and then to put 15 of Parliamentary report and we do jump very, very fast 16 it across. I wouldn't want that to be misunderstood at 16 to analysis and comment, almost before we've laid out 17 all. I hope it isn't. 17 the facts of the case, sometimes. 18 MS PATRY HOSKINS: That leads us neatly on to the power of 18 Q. On the issue of whether political journalists do go too 19 19 political journalists, of course. far, that leads me on to the questions that you famously 20 A. Yes. 20 put to Gordon Brown when he was Prime Minister in 2009. 21 21 Q. At page 186 onwards of your book, you explicitly address If you look behind tab 4, you'll find all the relevant 22 the question of whether political journalists have in 22 articles about that. 23 fact now acquired too much power and you conclude that 23 A. Oh yes. 24 they have. Let me find the section. 24 Q. In a nutshell, for those who don't remember that 25 A. Yes. 25 particular occasion, in September 2009, in a live TV Page 73 Page 75 O. You note that there's now been a shift and that it used 1 1 interview broadcast from the Labour Party Conference in 2 to be that journalists would call up politicians and try 2 Brighton, you asked Gordon Brown a number of questions 3 and court them, but now you say the politicians call 3 about his medical history. The exact exchange is 4 them up and invite them to lunch or to parties and not 4 reported on the second and third pages of the Guardian 5 the other way around. Do you still -- actually, before 5 news article there. Do you see that? 6 I ask the question, if you turn over to page 188, you 6 A. Yes, I do. 7 conclude this: 7 Q. First of all, you preface it by referring to the fact 8 "We have become too powerful, too much the 8 that an American President would need to disclose his 9 9 full medical history and then you say this: interpreters, using our talents as communicators to 10 10 crowd them out. On paper we mock them more than ever "Let me ask you something else everybody has been 11 before and report them less than ever before. On talking about, a lot of people. A lot of people use 11 12 television and radio, we commentators are edging them 12 prescription pain killers and pills to help them get 13 out ever more carelessly." 13 through. Are you one of those?" 14 Do you still hold that view now? 14 He says: 15 15 A. I think --"No. I think this is the sort of questioning that is --" 16 Q. I ask you simply because the book was written some time 16 17 17 Then he's interrupted. You say: 18 A. It was written nine years ago and that certainly felt to 18 "It's a fair question, I think." 19 be the case then. There was -- it was not just in this 19 And then he says -- he finishes his sentence: 20 country. There was an American commentator at that time 20 "-- is all to often entering the lexicon of British 21 who said, "We used to hang around outside politicians' 21 22 houses while they dined, and then we dined with them and 22 He then discusses the fact that he's had serious 23 now we dine on them". I think you could see something 23 problems with his eyesight. You refer back to the first 24 of the same happening here, but I do think this is one 24 question about prescription painkillers and pills by 25 25 of the areas perhaps where there is good news. I think saying, "What about my other question?" and he says

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- 1 "I've answered your other question" and then goes on to 2 discuss again the problems with his eyesight.
- 3 This line of questioning drew some serious criticism 4 at the time.
- 5 A. It did.
- 6 Q. I should make absolutely clear that both during the
- 7 interview, as I've read out, and thereafter, Mr Brown
- 8 denied that he did take prescription drugs or pills in
- 9 this way.
- 10 The comments about this at the time were essentially 11 that this was a form of mockery, as you have described
- 12 in your book, that it was repeating claims that had been
- 13 made initially on a sort of right wing blog and that it
- 14 tested the limits of legitimate inquiry. Is this,
- 15 Mr Marr, in your view an example of political
- 16 journalists going too far, having too much power, being
- 17 able to ask questions which simply go too far?
- 18 A. It's not a moment in my career that I look back on with 19 enormous enthusiasm or pride. However, I would like to
 - say a little bit about the context in which this
- 21 question was asked.
- 22 O. Of course.

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- 23 A. First of all, I hadn't read any blogs about it or seen
- 24 anything on the Internet about it, and was barely on the
- 25 Internet in those days. I had seen references to this

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1 cheerful.

- 2 So I hadn't -- I didn't come away from that
 - interview feeling that I had sort of broken a terrible
- 4 taboo. It was only an hour or two later that it
- 5 appeared that I had.
- 6 Q. I think my question was: was it going too far?
- 7 I appreciate you've set out the context, but with the
- 8 benefit of hindsight, having looked back it at now --
- 9 A. With the benefit of hindsight would I ask the question 10 again? No, I wouldn't.
- 11 Q. Why not?
- 12 A. Mainly because I felt we had got some very, very good,
- 13 important, useful mainstream political information or
- 14 stories out of that interview. Mr Brown had made some
- 15 big concessions on his handling of the economy and he'd
- 16 made some very serious-sounding threats about bankers'
- 17 bonuses and I had thought and assumed that those were
- 18 the headlines that were going on come out of the
- 19 interview, and I greatly regret the fact that it was all
- 20 about the pills question, so I felt I'd lost an
- 21 opportunity. It wasn't worth it, if I can put it that
- 22
- 23 Q. So when you say that you wouldn't have asked the
- 24 question it's not because it was inappropriate?

too far. You would say in this context --

the circumstances.

25 A. Correct.

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Q. My initial question was whether this was an example of

political journalists having too much power and going

read it in various newspapers. While on the issue of

blogs, can we look at the articles behind tab 3 of the

The first article is an article from the Guardian,

11 October 2010. And it reports you as dismissing

bloggers as "inadequate, pimpled and single" and citizen

journalism as "the spewings and rantings of very drunk

bundle, and your comments made about bloggers.

A. Pushing at the edges but I think it was legitimate under

- 1 in, I think, two newspapers. One of them was the
- 2 Independent, and I suspect another one was the
- 3 Telegraph. And in the party conference bubble, people
 - were talking about it quite a lot, so I discussed it
- 5 with my editor, Barney Jones.

had things wrong with them.

There were two other parts to this which I think are relevant. I mentioned the American presidency questions because I'd just interviewed David Owen, Lord Owen, who produced a book arguing very eloquently that we had a right to know much more about the medical history of our leading political figures than we do at the moment and he gave lots of examples ranging right from the sort of post-war years to very recent ones where people had

But the third and probably most important factor was that there were a huge number of stories coming out of Number 10, Number 11 at the time, about intemperate behaviour, if I can put it like that, things being smashed, enormous arguments and so on, and in the context of all of that, I thought a single question, without a follow-up, was reasonable. Plenty of other people took another view. Gordon Brown himself said in the course of that exchange, "You might be right to ask them", that's these sort of questions, and after the

interview he seemed perfectly relaxed and relatively

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5 6 Q. You say that information didn't come from a blog, you'd 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

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people late at night". There are also a number of quotes in that article from Nick Robinson, who previously had criticised the tone and quality of online debate.

18 Let me ask you this. Is that comment about bloggers 19 being "inadequate, pimpled and single" and the comments 20 about citizen journalism, is this a comment about the

- 21 tone and quality of some of the online debate, or is it 22 a more fundamental criticism of bloggers as being
- 23 detrimental to the good name of journalism?
- 24 A. I should say first of all it's partly a symptom of my 25 deadly weakness for a vivid phrase. It was a comment

- 1 really aimed at the enormous amount of anger and
- 2 vituperation that seemed to me to be swilling around
- 3 parts of the Internet, most of it anonymous. I was
- 4 probably a bit out of date even if I was saying that.
- 5 Now, you know, you look around and a lot of the most
- 6 influential highly respected political commentators
- 7 aren't newspaper journalists, actually, they are
- 8 bloggers. I'm thinking of people like Tim Montgomery on
- 9 Conservativehome or Mr Pack on the Liberal website or
- 10 there's plenty more on the Labour side, and they have
- 11 become a very, very important, very influential part of
- 12 the process.
- 13 So I wouldn't want to say -- I don't know how many
- 14 of them are pimpled or inadequate or single, but
- 15 I wouldn't really want to go for them in that way. I'm
- 16 more, I think in today's terms, talking about people who
- 17 are posting, that is anonymously posting comments
- 18 outside politics. It's often called trolling, I'm not
- 19 sure what the phrase is, but I think the world has moved
- 20 on since I said that.
- 21 Q. You mean the people who post comments on other
- 22 people's --
- 23 A. Exactly.
- 24 Q. -- web page entries?
- 25 A. Yes. I think, if I may say, the crucial thing is

- 1 decision and any discussion.
- 2 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: You probably heard Mr Straw -- you
- 3 may not have done -- explain that actually that's
- 4 precisely what they in reality did when they passed the
- 5 Human Rights Act. They were conscious of the
- 6 consequences and, as it were, to try and define the
- 7 boundaries felt, for good reason or bad, and it's
- 8 absolutely not for me to say which that is, that the
- 9 judges would be the best place to fill in the gaps.
- 10 A. I think -- I do understand that, sir, and I think many
- 11 people would say that given what has happened and given
- 12 how controversial this whole area of privacy law has
- 13 been, nonetheless -- and despite the fact that there was
- 14 a discussion during the legislation, the human rights
- 15 legislation -- it would be a good thing for Parliament
- 16 to go back and look at it again, and of course there has
- 17 been a Parliamentary inquiry of both houses on this
- 18 subject as well.
- 19 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes.
- MS PATRY HOSKINS: One of the most controversial areas has 20
- 21 been the issue of superinjunctions.
- 22 A. Sure.
- 23 Q. It's a matter of public record that you in 2008 secured
- 24 a superinjunction. That was revealed by you in April
- 25 2011, as I understand it. We have no interest in the

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- 1 anonymity. You know, in newspapers, if you write an
- 2 angry letter to a newspaper, you have to give your name
- 3 and address, and rightly so, and I think the fact that
- 4 so much of the web is anonymous has encouraged an
- 5 extreme form of vituperative comment which I deprecate.
- 6 Q. Let me ask you now to turn back to your statement and
- 7 your response to question 9, please. For those of us
- 8 who have page numbers it's page 1303 in the bottom
- 9 right-hand corner. You're being asked here about what
- 10 influence the media have on the content or timing of the 11 formulation of a party's or a government's media
- 12 policies and if we look at the bottom of the paragraph
- 13 which contains your answer, you say this:
- 14 "I have always believed privacy law is something for
- 15 Parliament to take a clear stand on."
- 16 First of all, let me just ask you: does this simply
- 17 mean that you consider it better for Parliament to
- 18 legislate or not legislate on such a topic than for the 19
- courts and judges to develop the law themselves; is that 20
 - essentially what you're saying?
- 21 A. Yes. A Parliamentary decision, whatever it might be,
- 22 I'm a sort of Parliamentary extremist in that sense.
- 23 I think it's -- you know, on a matter which is so
- 24 difficult and there's so much that is sensitive and
- 25 argued about, Parliament is the proper place for a

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- 1 facts of that. Just in case there's anyone who isn't
- 2 entirely familiar with what a superinjunction is,
- 3 someone who may have not read a newspaper in the last
- 4 few years, it's obviously an injunction which not only
- 5 prohibits the media from reporting the facts of a story
- 6 or the people involved, but also prohibits any reporting
- 7 of the very fact that the injunction has been obtained.
- 8
- 9 Q. And that's the type of injunction you obtained in 2008?
- 10 A. Exactly.
- 11 Q. You've spoken publicly about your reasons for wanting to
- 12 obtain the injunction and that's fine. As I say, we
- 13 don't want to know about the facts of that. But what
- 14 I want to understand is, as someone who felt the need to
- 15 resort to the courts in this way, and one of the facts
- 16 that's in the public domain is that a child was
- 17 involved, why did you take the decision to go to the
- 18 courts? The PCC has a code, which in theory at least
- 19 should protect you and any minor child from publishing
- 20 stories of this nature. Why did you take the decision
- 21
- 22 A. I think, putting to one side whether it was the right
- 23 decision to take or not, I think very few journalists in
- 24 any position would go themselves to the PCC if they were
- 25 looking for swift redress or help, frankly. I think

1 there is a perception with a great deal of legitimacy 1 the route of the PCC? 2 2 A. No. Private Eve came to this much later, and I had that the PCC simply isn't strong enough, isn't fast 3 3 enough, isn't powerful enough and isn't going to give felt, clearly wrongly, that I had been as helpful as 4 4 the kind of redress or protection that you'd want. I possibly could to them, but not helpful enough. 5 Q. Why did you take that view? 5 Q. I turn back to your response to question 9, witness A. Because I'd looked at the operation of the PCC over many 6 statement page 1303. You say this at the end of the 7 7 years, as an editor, as a journalist and all the rest of paragraph: 8 it. Though it's had no doubt many, many fine chairmen, 8 "Public funding of defamation and privacy cases 9 it's not exactly the Waffen-SS. It's not something that 9 should be limited to a very few particularly serious 10 most newspapers are much frightened of. 10 examples where claimants are effectively penniless." 11 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: We're getting back into your phrases 11 Why do you take that view, Mr Marr? 12 12 again, Mr Marr. A. Because I think that if it was -- if defamation and 13 A. Sorry, sorry, no more phrases. 13 indeed privacy cases became a way of -- an easy way of LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I don't mind them, but because you're 14 14 redress for very large numbers of people, you would get 15 making a very serious point, and it's a very important 15 large, large numbers of people piling in, you would get 16 point, I wouldn't want it to be lost in the language. 16 legals piling in and all the rest it, and it just seems 17 That's not a criticism, but you understand the point I'm 17 to me in a time of relative austerity that the public 18 making. 18 would not want that to be a large drain on public 19 A. I do indeed. 19 20 MS PATRY HOSKINS: As I say, you may be someone who holds 20 Q. Doesn't it just mean that it becomes the premise of the 21 21 strong views about whether or not the courts should be very rich? 22 developing the law of privacy, you may or may not hold 22 A. Well, it depends what happens to these laws and how 23 23 views about whether superinjunctions are a good or bad they're changed. 24 thing, but necessarily you still made the decision to go 24 Q. Yes. 25 to the courts in this way. 25 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: So you agree with the concept that Page 85 Page 87 A. Yes, I did. 1 there should be some mechanism that is fast, reliable, 2 2 Q. Did you feel that you had any alternative to doing it? 3 A. I could have not gone to the courts and let the story 3 A. Yes. 4 come out. That was the obvious alternative. For 4 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: To resolve --5 various reasons at the time I thought it was worth going 5 A. Absolutely. 6 the other way. As I understand it, and I may be wrong 6 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: -- these issues? 7 about this, the super bit of the superinjunction was 7 A. Absolutely. 8 a reaction entirely to so-called jigsaw identification 8 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Do you have any ideas in that? 9 where X has got the injunction and here's a picture of X 9 A. Sir, I think it's unfortunately my job at the BBC to 10 and Y and Z and the reader can put two and two together 10 criticise the Inquiry for whatever ideas it comes up 11 instantly and in those circumstances it was felt in the 11 with rather than offer my own. 12 12 Family Division that there was no effective right of LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes. I think I'll note that answer, 13 13 privacy or it was crumbling almost immediately and that thank you. 14 was why it was created, but certainly this was intended 14 MS PATRY HOSKINS: Two final subject matters I want to ask 15 15 you about, Mr Marr. The first is contacts again. We to damp things down, and it felt more like flaring them 16 16 up, which was why in the end it was right to get rid of touched on this briefly. If you look at your response 17 17 it. to question 2(b) in your statement, you touched on this 18 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: You might have read -- Mr Flitcroft 18 earlier. You were saying that developing a relationship 19 gave evidence to me last year on the same general 19 with politicians is important as a journalist, it 20 20 subject. requires some social interaction. Previously, you say 21 A. Yes, indeed. 21 that a lot of socialising went on. 22 A. Mm. MS PATRY HOSKINS: One of the publications which challenged 22 23 the injunction was Private Eye, of course, who don't 23 Q. It's page 1297, for those who have the page, and it's 24 sign up to the PCC. Was that a factor that influenced 24 the first paragraph in response to question 2b. You see 25 25 your decision in going to court rather than going down that? Page 86 Page 88

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- 1 A. Yes, I do.
- O. Has it come up?
- 3 A. Yes.
- 4 Q. Okay, good. You say getting stories requires journalist
- 5 to foster a personal relationship and you say that
- 6 traditionally the relationship develops through private
- 7 lunches, drinks and occasion weekend visits. In the
- 8 next paragraph you say that that was less so by the
- 9 1980s but still happened. Then go on to say that in the
- 10 1990s you visited politicians' homes on only perhaps
- 11 eight or nine occasions and now you're not a personal
- 12 friend of any of them.
- 13 A. Mm.
- 14 Q. Is that a personal, a conscious decision that you have
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- 16 A. No, and I mean I'm friendly with politicians, and many
- 17 politicians I like and some I admire, but for me,
- 18 contacts with politicians were really something that was
- 19 part of my professional life. It was never easy because
- 20 the time would often come when you had to in effect
- 21 betray that relationship because you wrote something
- 22 that was disobliging about the politicians that you'd
 - had many, many lunches with and whose children's names
- 24 you knew and all the rest of it and that would be
- 25 difficult, but it seemed to me to be an essential moment

when both sides understood that their professional

It's more that, you know, things have drifted on.

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- 1 over a weekend at those great and favoured houses.
- duties were different.
- 4 I now interview politicians, hopefully asking them
- 5 questions that the public would want to ask, and
- 6 therefore there's no need to be, in my view, lunching or
- 7 wining or dining as well.
- 8 Q. You explain over the page that more socialising goes on
- 9 than once did but now of course there's greater
- 10 transparency. Mr Cameron, you say, is expected to
- 11 reveal guest lists for meetings and so on.
- 12 A. Yes.

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- 13 Q. And you say:
 - "Although it makes it harder for the political recorders to get deep insights, I think this change is to be welcomed. If the public wants to know about subterranean business contacts with politicians or lobby
- 18 groups they ought to know about journalistic meetings 19 too."
- 20 Now, is that the answer, greater transparency? Is
- 21 there anything else that you would suggest?
- 22 A. I don't think there is -- I should emphasise that
- 23 I perhaps didn't put that as well as I might have done.
- 24 I'm really talking here about meetings between
- 25 journalists and, for instance, the Prime Minister or the
 - Page 90

- 2 I think the guest lists for dinners at Number 10, Number

Chancellor of the Exchequer. I think to try and create

journalists and politicians would be excessive, wouldn't

As I say, if you try and get them to write down all

their lunches, then journalists would just have coffee

park together. These kind of contacts will always be

another great list of every journalist who's having

coffee or sharing a chocolate bar or a glass of wine

99 per cent of the time the journalists and the

relationship and their own role in it, and most of the

contacts because of the stories that would come out,

Q. Where do you draw the line, Mr Marr? What should be

official residence of the Prime Minister, probably the

Secretary, that would be reasonable. I think the public

has the right to know who is being entertained perhaps

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Chancellor of the Exchequer, Dorneywood and the Foreign

A. Well, I think -- I would have thought visits to the

time I think the public is served by these kind of

politicians both understand the nature of the

that wouldn't otherwise come out.

logged, what should be recorded?

made. I just think it would be impractical to have yet

with them and eventually they'll end up walking in the

a sort of general record of all contacts between

- 3 11, I think that's reasonable. I wouldn't push it
- 4 a great deal further than that.

with every politician.

- 5 Q. Not further than that?
- 6 A. No.
- 7 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: And not for other of the major
- 8 offices of state?
- 9 A. It's not a terribly logical answer, I agree, sir, but
- 10 I think once you start to push it down -- we see this in
- 11 other areas too -- it quite quickly becomes a sort of
- 12 general rule. If the minister -- if the Secretary of
- 13 State has to have a lunch logged with him, what about
- 14 the Minister of State? Will the Secretary of State
- 15 simply send his political adviser? Should the political
- 16 adviser's lunch be logged?
- 17 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: It depends whether somebody wants to
- 18 see the spirit of what is intended and follow it, or
- 19 simply find a way of getting around it, doesn't it?
- 20 A. Yes, it does, but I think in both cases, once you start
- 21 a general assumption that leading politicians must have
- 22 every contact with a journalist logged, recorded and
- 23 published, then very swiftly it won't be leading
- 24 politicians, it will be the next layer down and the
- 25 layer down after that.

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journalists.

- LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I see the problem, and of course it's
- 2 not really necessarily every contact. I've said to
- 3 a number of people, people are entitled to be friendly
- 4 with whomsoever they wish. It's a question of the
- 5 opportunity to exert influence which is not transparent
- 6 to the world at large, I think.
- 7 A. I think that's right, but I think in the end, and I'm
- 8 talking about the world of newspapers, which is in
- 9 retreat at the moment, and things will feel very
- 10 different, I think, in the online world that's coming,
- 11 but in the world of newspapers, in the end the
- 12 journalist very often wrote the column, wrote the
- 13 commentary, wrote the news story. If the news story is
- 14
- untrue or inaccurate, they'd be found out, and if the 15 commentary is biased and felt to be tilted towards one
- 16 politician again and again, they'll certainly
- 17 be found out.

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- Certainly when I was a working journalist I knew pretty much or had a strong guess, reading what colleagues were writing in other newspapers, who they'd
- 21 been wining and dining with, and I didn't feel -- people
- 22 didn't get away with it, put it that way. People didn't 23
- sort of produce wonderful propaganda on behalf of
- 24 a minister for very long before they were mocked and
- 25 laughed at.

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19 A. Indeed, sir. In the end, one can't legislate for

A. Yes. If I can give an example, without individual

contacts, and probably a bit of wining and dining and

drinking and so on, between political journalists and

politicians, I don't think the public would have known

about the difficulties in the Blair/Brown relationship

for years and years, and I think that would

have been a significant absence in the public debate.

LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I understand, but of course in the

proprietors and editors on the one hand and journalists

on the other, of course one has to then guard against

That was a really important story and it came out

because politicians were talking privately to

same way that I agree with your distinction with

the editor saying, "Well, I can't go and push this

policy, therefore you, who as it were fall under the

radar, do", but there has to be an understanding on

- 20 a perfect world in this and the sense of sort of
- 21 self-respect of politicians on the one hand and quite

every side about what's appropriate, I suppose.

- 22 strong internal cultures in newspapers on the other
- 23 hand, where they -- you know, they really care about
- 24 their relationship of trust with their readers and so
- 25 on, that is the best protection.

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- LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: It's not so much producing propaganda
- 2 for the minister. It's proprietors or editors seeking
- 3 to or potentially seeking to identify causes without
- 4 there being any Faustian pact, if I use the expression
- 5 that's been much deployed.
- 6 A. Yes.
- 7 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Without there necessarily being
- 8 anything explicit at all, but the sort of awareness of
- 9 which you spoke when you were talking about what had
- 10 obviously been a subterranean arrangement for the
- 11 publication of an article on Europe in the Sun, that
- 12 sort of point. I'm sure it will carry on, because
- 13 politicians want to get their message across.
- 14 A. Yes.
- 15 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: It's a question of what should be
- 16 open and what should be transparent about that sort of
- 17 thing
- 18 A. Yes, yes. I think I come back to my original argument
- 19 that in my view there ought to be a clear distinction
- 20 made between proprietors and editors on the one hand and
- 21 working day-to-day journalists who I'd be more concerned
- 22 with on the other hand who ought to be allowed to make
- 23 the contacts they need to get the stories.
- 24 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I think I've said I understand that
- 25 and agree with it.

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- I knew many, many very eminent political journalists
- 2 who spent a great deal of time not just having a meal
- 3 with a politician but endless games of golf or going on
- 4 skiing trips and all the rest of it, and I am absolutely
- 5 sure, in the case that I'm thinking about, that these
- 6 people didn't hold back at all when it came to the story
- 7 that was going to be unpleasant for the reputation of
- 8 the person they'd been swinging the golf club with. You
- 9 know, propinquity, if that's the word, and corruption,
- 10 I think, don't always go side by side.
- 11 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Of course, I'm thinking of rather
- 12 less than corruption.
- 13 A. Mm.

15

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- 14 MS PATRY HOSKINS: The final area I'd like to touch on is
 - the influence of the media on political appointments.
- 16 Question 11, you were asked what influence the media had
- 17 on public and political appointments, including the
- 18 tenure and termination of those appointments, and you
- 19 were asked to give examples. You say this:
 - "As to political and public appointments, newspapers
- 21 certainly campaign against individuals, either
- 22 because -- as with the recent Metropolitan Police
- 23 battles -- they have taken one side against another in
- 24 a factional fight, or because they have taken against an
- 25 individual. A minister might have offended the editor,

- 1 or ridiculed the paper, or rubbished a policy it
- favours ... or simply look a little vulnerable. Much of
- 3 the campaigning against individuals is in the nature of
- 4 a speculative hunting trip, when it is not clear whether
- 5 someone is politically badly wounded or not, and papers
- 6 compete to see who can bring him or her down. Once the
- 7 pack groups and attacks day after day, the sheer
- 8 pressure can destroy careers which would otherwise
- 9 survive. This is perhaps unedifying and is certainly
- cruel, but greatly entertains the public ... or
- 11 I suspect it does. Parliamentary performances no longer
- destroy careers and the party machines are slickly
- efficient so it might be argued that some aggressive
- system of testing is needed."
- 15 Strong words.

16 A. Yes.

- 17 Q. First of all, in your view, is this negative coverage
- that someone, an individual might face actually more
- damaging or more important than, say, positive
- 20 coverage -- I mean, as a minister, imagine you're
- a minister who is facing negative coverage, is that more
- damaging than, say -- I'm phrasing this badly. I'll
- start again. We've heard a lot of evidence at this
- 24 Inquiry of the impact of positive coverage.
- 25 A. Yes.

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- $1 \qquad \text{been cases of ministers who perhaps have been unfairly} \\$
- 2 hounded out of a particular job simply because the media
- 3 noise was too much and it just became -- they became
- 4 exhausted, the Prime Minister became exhausted. On the
- 5 other hand, there are some equally interesting cases
- 6 where a minister has clung on and fought on and it's
- 7 been a long campaign against them and it turns out that
- 8 the minister has done something wrong and should have
- 9 gone.
- 10 My point there is the testing, certainly at the time
- 11 I was writing -- I'm less well-informed now -- wasn't so
- 12 great in the House of Commons chamber as it might have
- been and perhaps this was a way of compensating for
- 14 that.
- 15 MS PATRY HOSKINS: Mr Marr, those are my questions. I don't
- 16 know if the judge has some.
- 17 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I have a slightly different topic to
- raise with you. It's one of the reasons that I was
- 19 particularly interested to hear your view. Most of your
- 20 professional life you've worked in print journalism, and
- 21 the last years for the BBC, which is regulated very
- differently to the way in which print journalism is
- regulated. You've offered your views about the PCC, and
- 24 all your views I recognise and underline are personal,
- 25 not BBC's views.

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- 1 Q. Support by a particular newspaper.
- 2 A. Sure
- 3 Q. And we've heard a bit about negative coverage which
- 4 particular individuals may have or a particular party
- 5 may have in a particular newspaper. What would a party
- 6 rather have?

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- 7 A. That's -- that is hard for me to answer. I think
- 8 probably the absence of the negative coverage. It is
 - a brutal thing when a minister is being assailed by the
 - pack, and it goes on day after day and it's relentless.
- 11 I do think there is a case -- that is when ministers
- are really tested. That's when their stamina is tested,
- what they're made of is tested. You could argue that
- part of the consequence of that is the obsessive
- 15 interest in headlines, media management, PR and all the
- rest of it that has characterised politics over the last
- 17 **20** years. In other words, the fire storms have been so
- 18 hot that ministers have been pushed away from thinking
- long-term or more deeply about policy and too much into
- $20 \qquad \hbox{thinking about what's going to happen on the front} \\$
- 21 page of X or Y newspaper tomorrow.
- 22 Q. So is it a healthy thing? Despite being unedifying and
- cruel, is it something which --
- 24 A. It's purging. It's purging. Well, it's difficult to
- 25 tell. Every case it different, isn't it? There have

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1 A. Indeed.

- 2 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: But Ofcom provides a very different
- 3 regime of regulation, and I appreciate that it requires
- 4 impartiality for historical reasons to do with broadband
- 5 width, I understand all that.
- 6 A. Yes.
- 7 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: But you will have heard a number of
- 8 people during the course of this Inquiry speak about the
- 9 vista of regulation that is not entirely controlled by
- the press with absolutely horror, as if it will lead to
- some state intervention of a kind which is not
- 12 appropriate for our society or indeed any society.
- 13 **A. Yes.**

15

- 14 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I would like you to share with me
 - your experience of the two regimes in this sense. What
- I want to know, and please expound to such extent as you
- feel able to, is whether you have felt unable or less
- able to hold the powerful to account because you are
- working under an Ofcom or a BBC regime than you did feel
- able when you were responsible to the PCC, either as
- 21 a journalist or later as an editor. I hope you don't
- feel that's an unfair question.
- 23 A. I think it's a devastatingly good question, if I may say
- so, and I'm going to struggle to answer it, but let me
- 25 **try.**

1 First of all, when it comes to my experience as 1 very short of money, they're losing large amounts of 2 2 a BBC journalist, I have to say that it's the BBC code money, and none of them yet has found a plausible answer 3 of conduct and editorial code that weighs on me far more 3 to the challenges, revenue brought by the Internet. 4 4 than anything else. And I've barely been aware of A new system of regulation placed on top of that, you 5 Ofcom, Ofcom is somewhere out there, because the BBC 5 know, might be like taking away the feeding tube right 6 code is, for someone from a newspaper background, so 6 at the end, or the oxygen mask. 7 7 stringent and so carefully monitored. If I do or say So those would be my worries. 8 something inappropriate or whatever, it's the BBC that 8 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I wasn't thinking of putting a new 9 come down on me fast and heavily, not Ofcom. We don't 9 regime on top. I would simply be contemplating 10 10 get to the Ofcom stage, by and large. a structure whereby independent regulation could 11 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Because it's not necessary, the BBC 11 flourish and allow, for example, the sort of speedy, 12 12 easy, fair, cheap access to a remedy which is no 13 13 A. The BBC have done it. I actually suspect the same is longer -- or is not available, as you yourself have 14 true of the other broadcasters as well, I don't know. 14 15 Coming from a newspaper background into this BBC 15 A. Indeed, indeed. It seems to me that the question there 16 world felt very strange to start with, because, really, 16 is twofold. The buy-in from the editors and the 17 every phrase that you use, every sentence, exactly how 17 journalists who are going to be part of it, and their 18 long you talk to people for, all of that is being 18 understanding of that, of the new regime. In other 19 19 watched -words, I think every newspaper culture is different, and 20 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: That's the impartiality bit. 20 these tend to be quite hierarchical organisations and 21 21 A. It is, yes, the impartiality bit. And of course, you that's how they work, and you need them to be plugged 22 know, other requirements such as you must have more than 22 into any system, and enthusiastically and willingly so. 23 one absolutely key source before you break a story, 23 But the bigger problem, it seems to me, is what is 24 24 which I had difficulty with, because as a newspaper a newspaper or what is a media organisation? Because, 25 journalist, if I had a really good source, if I had the 25 as I said earlier on, some of the blogging sites, Page 101 Page 103 1 1

Home Secretary talking off the record, I would go with 2 that, and the sense of having to go around and find 3 another source wouldn't have -- so it was an odd 4 transition into the world of broadcasting.

In terms of holding the powerful to account, the worlds are so different. The only way that I could claim to do that either as political editor -- well, as political editor the way of doing that was by breaking stories, and I didn't feel that I was -- it was harder for me to break stories on the BBC, maybe because I got more access, actually, because vou're slightly higher up the food chain as a political editor, you meet more people, you do get the chance to break stories. And now holding power to account just means asking people questions.

What I would say is I think that the two ecologies are so different. If one took a Ofcom-style regulatory system and put it on top of the press at this stage, you would be introducing something that they'd never experienced before and would feel, I suspect, more oppressive and difficult than -- broadcasters have grown up in a different world.

The other thing I'd say is that it seems to me that newspapers are in a very, very parlous state in this country now. Most of them are hollowed out, they are Page 102

Conservativehome is an obvious example, are now as

2 influential as any newspaper and that's going to become

3 more and more so. I would have thought that any system

4 of redress would have to include those alongside

5 newspapers or it simply -- you know, it would be out of

6 time.

7 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I think you are absolutely right.

8 Let me deal with your two points in turn and just

9 investigate them for another couple of moments with you

10 if you're happy to do so.

11 A. Of course.

12 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: In relation to buy-in, of course, if

I'm going to recommend any system, it has to be a system 13

14 that everybody has to buy into.

15 A. Yes.

16 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: It will only have a chance of working

17 if it works for the press, it works for the public as

well. 18

19 A. Mm.

20 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: And it's very difficult to say, well,

21 the press can have a trump card: we don't like this,

22 that's the end. It requires the press to be prepared to

engage in the process. Now, of course they are, in the

24 course of the Inquiry, and indeed some editors have come

25 along and said, "We have to have things different", but

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1	then of course what they're prepared to accept should be	1	members. They know their part of the system well. They
$\begin{bmatrix} 1 \\ 2 \end{bmatrix}$	different is itself debatable. But there can't be	2	have particularly strong contacts with their side. And
3		3	
4	a trump, otherwise A. Sure.	4	therefore you can't treat them as old-fashioned journalists under old-fashioned journalistic codes, nor
5	LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: that just won't work.	5	are they they're a new thing, and they're an
	Could you visualise, using your experience,	-	
6	admittedly from years ago, but at the time of	6 7	influential new thing. I mean, even a lot of the papers
8	Princess Diana and all the other calamities that befell	8	are picking people up and using them as commentators
9	the press, and you lived through Calcutt	9	now. I think the old distinction between a political
10	A. Indeed.	10	player and would-be professional journalist is breaking
11	LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: and all those attempts that put in	11	down, and any system which is built upon the old system
12	a structure as not impacting adversely on the freedom of	12	will quickly look out of date as well.
13	the press, if it did no more than that?	13	Of course, the successful blogs survive by
14	A. If it did no more than that, I would say that, as I say,	14	advertising, by and large, just like many newspapers, so
15	I think newspapers are in a very, very weak state at the	15	there is they're not so far away as they might at
16	moment, most of them, and the thing that most editors	16	first appear, and they're becoming closer.
17	fear above all is having to put a timely and	17	LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: That's why I talked about trade or
18	proportionate apology into a newspaper. I think for	18	business. I can see an enormous spectrum. On the one
19	many newspapers that is the form of sanction that is	19	hand there is the text that you might send a friend,
20	most painful to contemplate, rather than money or	20	making some comment. The next layer up might be
21	anything like that.	21	a social conversation or then you can move up to
22	I mean I am, perhaps like the Inquiry, struggling to	22	Twitter, and you have Facebook and all the various
23	understand exactly what such a system might actually	23	mechanisms for the dissemination of information, which
24	look like and how it might work, and I accept that there	24	then lead into blogging. Initially those who are merely
25	is a gap between state control of the press on the one	25	commenting on affairs not for money, but they are part
23	Page 105		Page 107
	<u> </u>		Ü
1	hand and free-for-all or the current system on the	1	of the system and they're putting their views out.
2	other, and	2	A. Absolutely.
2 3	other, and LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I'm pleased you put those two phrases	2 3	A. Absolutely. LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: And of course for politicians it's an
2 3 4	other, and LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I'm pleased you put those two phrases together.	2 3 4	A. Absolutely. LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: And of course for politicians it's an opportunity to put their views out in a way that is
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1 Trade Descriptions Act legislation doesn't impact on me. 2 If I'm in the course of a business of selling motorcars, 3 then it does. And Trading Standards in the days when 4 I was a young barrister would find the same telephone 5 numbers advertising three or four different cars every 6 week, and so would conclude that that particular trader 7 was in the course of a trade or business. 8 Now, I'm using that analogy to try to find 9 a mechanism to distinguish between those who are --10 A. Simply commenting. LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: -- simply commenting and those who 11 12 are doing more and getting towards the business end of 13 journalism. Now, does it work? 14 A. It is a nightmarishly difficult problem, it seems to me, 15 but there's no doubt that once there's money to be made, 16 then people are going to be much more, if I can put it 17 this way, vulnerable to a system of outside scrutiny or 18 monitoring, though albeit many of these businesses are 19 based offshore, of course. 20 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I understand that too, which adds yet 21 further complications. 22 A. Yes. 23 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Well, Mr Marr, thank you very much. 24 All I can do is ask you to remember, when you're 25 required to criticise whatever I produce, your word Page 109 "nightmarish". That's all I ask you to remember. 1 2 A. Thank you. LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Thank you very much indeed. 2 o'clock. (12.54 pm) 6 (The luncheon adjournment)

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