1	Tuesday, 28 February 2012	1	First, to introduce you, you've been a Member of
2	(10.00 am)	2	Parliament since 1983 and president of the Liberal
3	MR JAY: Sir, I mentioned yesterday module one statements	3	Democrats from 2004 to 2008. You've twice run for the
4	which were to be read into the record. You've seen now	4	party leadership and you're currently the deputy leader
5	a list of about 30 statements and submissions. It's not	5	of the Liberal Democrats in the House of Commons; is
6	necessary, I think, for me to read them all out, unless	6	that correct?
7	you would wish me to.	7	A. Correct, sir.
8	LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: No.	8	Q. It follows, as night follows day, that you have
9	MR JAY: But these will be placed on the website as soon as	9	a significant public profile; is that right?
10	possible.	10	A. I think that's probably true.
11	LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes. It is important to understand	11	Q. Thank you very much.
12	that if one had limitless time, there are a large number	12	You explain in paragraph 4 of your statement your
13	of people who do have a contribution to make to the work	13	mobile telephone communications. Between 2002 and 2006,
14	of this Inquiry, and one could indulge oneself with the	14	your mobile phone was the main way you had of
15	luxury of time and let everybody come to the Inquiry to	15	communicating with parliamentary colleagues. So is this
16	give evidence. However, in order to keep the time	16	right: unlike Lord Prescott, who told us how he didn't
17	constraints within reasonable bounds, it's been	17	really use his voicemail yesterday, did you, Mr Hughes?
18	inevitably necessary to make some quite important and	18	A. Once I had my mobile phone, I used my voicemail, other
19	sometimes difficult decisions as to who should be	19	people left messages and things proceeded normally
20	allowed to come to court or requested to come to the	20	until, as I have said in my witness statement,
21	Inquiry and whose evidence should simply be accepted, in	21	I suddenly started to discover either messages I was
22	the sense that the statements are included within the	22	told were there I couldn't find, or on occasions
23	Inquiry record.	23	I discovered I couldn't actually access my voicemail at
24	Nobody who is not asked to come should feel that	24	all and I had to go to the provider to reset the system.
25	their contribution is any less significant. All are	25	Q. Thank you. As you explain in paragraph 6, you believe
	Page 1	-	Page 3
1	real contributions, and I'm grateful to everyone for	1	this occurred in either 2005 or 2006; is that so?
		1	this occurred in either 2005 or 2000, is that so:
2	making them, but a balance has to be struck between the	2	A. That's correct. That's the first time I had I found
2 3	making them, but a balance has to be struck between the time taken and the ability to investigate every turn.		
		2	A. That's correct. That's the first time I had I found
3	time taken and the ability to investigate every turn.	2 3	A. That's correct. That's the first time I had I found there was, as it were, a systemic failure and had to
3 4	time taken and the ability to investigate every turn. MR JAY: Yes.	2 3 4	A. That's correct. That's the first time I had I found there was, as it were, a systemic failure and had to complain. Obviously I wasn't to know, at that stage,
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- 1 president, I needed to be kept informed, so the
- 2 information coming to me was not just confidential to me
- 3 and to the party and relevant to British politics more
- 4 widely, but clearly of direct personal interest to
- 5 colleagues and the families of colleagues, and so it
- 6 was, I would say, of the most sensitive and confidential
- 7 nature for other people.

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4

- 8 Q. You in due course stood in the party leadership
 - election. You tell us you were odds-on favourite at the
- 10 bookmakers, but then you received a call from someone at
- 11 the Sun. That individual has been redacted because he
- may have been party to an offence under the Data
- 13 Protection Act, but can you tell us in your own words
- what this individual said to you?
- 15 A. Yes. Obviously I remember these matters fairly clearly.
- 16 I received phone calls -- or my office, to start with,
- 17 received phone calls -- I received phone calls from
- somebody at the Sun saying they wanted to talk to me
- about a private matter and asking to see me. By the end
- of the day in which that first call had been made, I had
- 21 agreed to see them. I had assembled my campaign manager
- 22 in the leadership campaign and my solicitor and other
- 23 people and we met that person, and he then shared with
- 24 me the fact that the Sun had come by information which
- 25 were records of telephone calls made by me.

Page 5

- consolation is that probably running political parties
- 2 in this country is an even more onerous burden and it
 - may be life has been easier without doing it. So I am
- 4 fairly philosophical, but certainly there was apparently
- 5 a direct impact between that revelation and the
- 6 consequent press coverage and my political reputation
- 7 and chance of winning the election.
- 8 Q. May we move forward to October 2006. You were informed
- 9 by Metropolitan Police officers that you'd been subject
- 10 to unlawful monitoring of your voicemails. Can you
- 11 recall now who you spoke to within the police?
- 12 A. I would need to check the names. I was phoned, sir, to
- ask if I would be willing to see police officers. It
 - was during the summer recess, as I recall. They wanted
- 15 to talk to me about, again, a confidential matter. They
- asked to come to see me. They came to see me in my
- 17 constituency office and they told me that they had
- 18 discovered that Mr Mulcaire had been acting illegally in
- relation to my phone, that it was the explanation for
- why I hadn't been able to receive messages and my
- voicemail had been interfered with, and they wished to
- prosecute him, and they asked me whether I would be
- 23 willing to give evidence. They said in their view the
- evidence that he had hacked my phone was
- 24 evidence that he had hacked my phone
- 25 incontrovertible.

Page 7

- 1 Q. Yes. Did this individual explain whether there was
- 2 a public interest in this entering the public domain?
 - A. I don't believe he did. The meeting was relatively short because although it was a hugely important and
- 5 personally difficult matter, I was in the middle of
- 6 an election campaign, I had a campaign team who were
- 7 working for me and I wanted to mitigate the harmful
- 8 effects of whatever was happening. So there was
- 9 a relatively short meeting. I didn't ask for lots of
- 10 further and better particulars. I admitted
- straightforwardly the nature of the calls that he said
- 12 he had information that I had made -- I didn't think
- 13 there was any reason not to do so -- and as a result of
- that, then gave an interview to the Sun explaining that,
- which I have to say they didn't, in their title and
- following days, entirely accurately represent the key
- 17 content of, but that's a separate issue.
- 18 Q. One possible consequence of this is that, paragraph 9 of
- 19 your statement, your poll ratings fell and we all know
- you didn't win that election; someone else did.
- 21 A. All those things are true. It's a "what if" question.
- Half of me is frustrated that I went from being odds-on
- 23 favourite and as strongly tipped to win our party
- 24 leadership as David Cameron was to win his, to not
- 25 winning. It would have been great to have won, but the
 - Page 6

- I said I would obviously be willing to collaborate.
- 2 I asked two other significant -- what I hope the Inquiry
- 3 might believe are significant things. One is whether
- 4 other political colleagues were also the subject of
- 5 interference, and I was told that they were, but I think
- 6 the phrase was other colleagues were not very willing to
- go public about it, and secondly, I asked whether there
- go public unductify and becoming a united whether the
- 8 were other people involved and they said, "No, we're
- 9 just proceeding against Mr Mulcaire."
- 10 I'm a lawyer, obviously. I understand the sort of
- sample specimen count concept.
- 12 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes.
- 13 A. And so, sir, I perfectly reasonably assumed that six
- witnesses would be sufficient, as it were, against one
- defendant. What I didn't know, because I was not shown
- 16 the evidence which was the basis of the Mulcaire
- 17 prosecution, was that that same evidence clearly
- revealed that other people who were journalists at the
- 19 News of the World were clearly involved, whether they
- were involved directly or indirectly, but their names
- featured in the same place as Mr Mulcaire's name, and
- 22 had I known that, I would have been more robust about
- continuing a line of inquiry, saying, "Excuse me, why
- 24 aren't these people being prosecuted as well?"
- 25 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I'm not seeking to judge that, and Page 8

2 (Pages 5 to 8)

1 I have to be very careful because, as you know, it would 1 married, which confirmed to them that that clearly was 2 be difficult for you not to know that there was 2 also true. They were clear there was incontrovertible 3 3 an ongoing very substantial police operation. evidence of the calls made in relation to Mulcaire and 4 4 A. Yes. my mobile phone, and for the period up to -- well, up 5 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: But what would be necessary for 5 to August 2006, which was when they did that enquiry. 6 a prosecution would, of course, be directly admissible 6 What they didn't tell me was that Mr Mulcaire not 7 evidence against anybody else, which may or may not come 7 only had that phone number but he had every other phone 8 from what Mr Mulcaire wrote in his book. I'm not 8 number, address and other things. What they didn't tell 9 9 judging it. 10 10 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: This is to do with you? A. Of course. 11 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I'm merely identifying that there are 11 A. Yes. They didn't tell me that he had, for example, the 12 12 hotline in the office, which only a few people know, my 13 13 A. Of course. private phone number at home, which is private because LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: But your point is well taken, not 14 14 four years before or something like it I'd been 15 merely as regards width but also breadth, if you 15 a witness in a murder case and had had to have police 16 understand the point I'm making. 16 protection, so I think it's perfectly reasonable to 17 17 A. Yes. Sir, in my early days at the bar, I prosecuted as think you might want additional protection. I'm not at 18 well as defended, and I understand the way the 18 all nervous about these things but there are sensible 19 relationship between the police and the CPS works, and 19 precautions you take. 20 therefore it struck me as fairly obvious, once 20 So all that panoply of information was in the same 21 21 everything was revealed, that if you had seen other place in the notebook, together with all sorts of other 22 names of journalists on the same paper on the same 22 things, which they didn't share with me. Names of 23 pieces of paper in the same notebook, the police would 23 friends, addresses of friends, phone numbers of friends, 24 24 have asked some questions and got them in for and so on and so forth. So I had fairly limited 25 questioning and investigated what their role was, on the 25 information given to me. Page 9 Page 11 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Could I just ask one question about 1 one hand, and you would also have pursued Mr Mulcaire 1 2 2 and potentially other people and asked them what the the word "friends"? 3 relationship was with other people. I mean, it was --3 A. Yes. 4 I understand a specimen count against one defendant. 4 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: It's this: by that, do you mean 5 What I am very unhappy about and it seems to me was 5 political friends who might be of interest in their own 6 6 a complete failure was to explore whether it would be right or people who actually would generate no interest 7 7 other than their relationship with you? Do you see the appropriate to bring charges against other defendants at 8 the same time as part of the same interrelated set of 8 point I'm making? 9 9 A. Absolutely, sir. I see the point. The clear answer is activities. 10 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I understand the point you're making 10 the second. Let me be straight with the Inquiry: there 11 entirely. 11 were two names and addresses given of personal friends 12 12 A. Yes. of mine who are not in public life at all. As it 13 MR JAY: You told us, Mr Hughes, that they didn't show you 13 happens, one female, one male. They clearly -- the 14 14 News of the World, Mr Mulcaire and others, were trying any evidence? 15 15 A. Yes. to stand up stories in relation to each of them. That's 16 Q. Did they tell you, though, what the essence of the case 16 obvious from words used in the notebook, which I saw 17 17 later. Absolutely no public interest in those people was in relation to Mr Mulcaire, which, as it were, 18 proved that he had been hacking into your voicemails? 18 being in the public domain. Not politicians. 19 A. Yes. They explained they'd found material, that it was 19 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: That's the question I was asking. 20 material which showed he had all my personal data -- and 20 A. In professional life, no other interest to the media at 21 21 perhaps I could come back to that in a second -- that all, one of whom certainly then was pursued serially and 22 22 he -- they were satisfied he had hacked into my phone regularly -- I'm not saying necessarily only by the 23 23 and they explained in summary how that would have been News of the World or by the News of the World, but was 24 done. That was consistent with what I had experienced, 24 pursued by the press, and it can only have been because

which I shared with them, so the two experiences

Page 10

25

25

of the relationship with me, and in a way that was very

1	deleterious to them. The other wasn't, to my knowledge,	1	was a discussion about court dates and availability, and
2	but it would have been potentially very harmful to them,	2	I think the police indicated that it looked to them
3	too, their family life and so on, all based on	3	pretty clear, if they had the six witnesses with such
4	a salacious assumption in both case. They were trying	4	strong evidence, that there might not be an effective
5	to establish relationships between me and these people,	5	trial and there would be a plea.
6	neither of which were what they would have liked them to	6	LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes.
7	have been.	7	MR JAY: Mr Hughes, the reason why I'm asking these
8	LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: For newsworthy purposes, you mean?	8	questions, apart from the fact it's very important to
9	A. Yes.	9	have this evidence it's material which I will deploy
10	LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I understand.	10	tomorrow with the relevant police witnesses.
11	A. To make a story.	11	A. Yes.
12	LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I understand, I understand.	12	Q. So I will need to be absolutely clear where we are on
13	MR JAY: Mr Hughes, can I just come back to what information	13	your evidence. But you made it clear that you were
14	they did share with you?	14	going to offer support and assistance to the police
15	A. Yes.	15	investigation, but as you've told us, there were guilty
16	Q. You've clearly explained a range of information they didn't, but I've been asked to put to you this: did they	16	pleas and that was the end of it; is that right?
17 18	share with you the fact that Mulcaire had your mobile	17	A. Yes. I was in no doubt that I would collaborate. I was
19	phone number, its associated PIN code, the Orange	18	slightly frustrated to hear that other colleagues were
20		19	being less willing to do so. I understand the
21	account number and the relevant passwords? A. Yes, they did.	20	sensitivity of going public in this area. By this stage, I had gone into the public domain, not through my
22	Q. Did they explain that that, in their view, was	21 22	own willingness, on the subject, so it wasn't any
23	sufficient to establish criminal offences under RIPA	23	problem to me to potentially be in court again on these
24	2000, or did they say they had additional evidence which	24	subjects, and of course in the intervening period, there
25	completed the circle, as it were, namely evidence of	25	had been the Information Commissioner's report in May
23	Page 13		Page 15
	- 1.61 - 12		- 1.61 - 1
1	calls which Mulcaire had made to your voicemail?	1	2006, and then in December, just after the guilty plea
2	A. They said the second.	2	in November, the follow-up report, and I was clear
3	Q. The second.	3	personally and politically that it was really important
4	A. So they said they had that first set of information, but	4	that this sort of behaviour both the hacking of
5	also that they had evidence that he'd made calls.	5	phones, which the police had come to me about and had
6	Q. Thank you.	6	clearly been happening to other people, but also the
7	A. Perhaps I should clarify. I think already at this	7	general abuse of data, purchasing, selling, blagging,
8	stage, sir there was more than one conversation, but	8	all those other things was unacceptable and I was
9	there was at some stage, clear information was	9	determined to do everything I could, personally as well
10	relayed to me that the evidence was such that there was	10	as politically, to try to deal with that, and I am
11	going to be a guilty plea because it was unarguable.	11	frustrated even now that there wasn't comprehensive
12	I think that may have come later, rather than at the	12	action taken then. That was the window of opportunity,
13	meeting when they went through the evidence.	13	it seemed to me, when a lot of pain and grief could have
14	LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Probably, because your experience may	14	been spared had the police, on the evidence that there
15	be like mine, that even cases that are unarguable don't	15	was, if it was strong enough and if it had stood up
16	always lead to guilty pleas.	16	adequately, could have prosecuted those who clearly were
17	A. Yes. My recollection is that we had the conversation no	17	in the frame, or sort of at least gone to the CPS and
18	later than October. I think the first court appearance	18	seen whether that was appropriate or encouraged the
19	was in December and the guilty plea came only then, or	19	Information Commissioner to do the same or whatever. We
20	not before then. MP IAV: It came I think on 26 November	20	lost three years, three or four years, in which illegal
21	MR JAY: It came, I think, on 26 November.	21	activity continued. I wasn't to know that, obviously,
22 23	A. November. That's correct. I beg your pardon.Q. And there was an indication shortly before that that was	22 23	at the time. LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Well, whether it did continue or did
23	A CONTROL WAS AN INCIDENTIAL DELOTE THAT THAT WAS	43	LOND JUSTICE LEVESON. Well, whether it did continue of did
24	•	24	didn't continue is an interesting issue. One
24 25	going to happen.	24	didn't continue is an interesting issue. One
24 25	•	24 25	didn't continue is an interesting issue. One consequence on the other side of the line may be that Page 16

1	now what is happening is probably far broader and	1	A. Yes. Sorry, I come from a political tradition that
2	wider	2	doesn't like locking up people if you can deal with
3	A. Yes.	3	things by other routes, and I hold to that view. But
4	LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: than anything that might have been	4	I was clear that when the Information Commissioner had
5	contemplated then. Now, that may be a good thing or it	5	exposed and, sir, you will know the figures, but in
6	may be a bad thing. Different people clearly have	6	his second report, the breadth of the activity just
7	different views about that, but having started from	7	so that I don't get the figure wrong, give me two
8	a position of absolute neutrality and retaining my	8	seconds to turn up the right page. There were 305
9	intention to keep an open mind throughout, what I have	9	journalists or clients using the services in his table
10	heard tends to suggest to me that what is presently	10	in the 2006 December report, and thousands of
11	happening is a good thing.	11	transactions.
12		12	LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: That's Whittamore.
13	A. Sir, can I just make a response to that? I am really,	13	
14	really pleased that the Inquiry was set up. I supported		A. Well, that's Whittamore, and related issues. LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes.
15	very strongly that that should be done. I understand	14	
	exactly the point you've just made. I was trying not to	15	A. He, if you remember, sir, did a report in May. He then
16	make the point that now there is a very wide-ranging	16	reported again in December on Operation Motorman and
17	response to these issues, which is in the public	17	other things. There had been a couple of people
18	interest, very clearly in my view, and the police are	18	prosecuted by him, one person who had accepted
19	now seized of this issue very strongly, as the Deputy	19	a caution, but he was asked on an FOI request to explain
20	Assistant Commissioner said yesterday. That's a very	20	the detail of that, of the general assertion he made.
21	good thing, not just in relation to the	21	He did so. There was a table of 30 titles, all the
22	News of the World but more broadly. I would encourage	22	major ones, the Mail, the People, the Mirror, the Mail
23	them to, now they've opened the box, complete the task	23	on Sunday, News of the World, Sunday Mirror and so on,
24	fully.	24	going right down to some less likely ones like
25	My comment, sir, wasn't that we aren't in a very Page 17	25	Women's Own. Page 19
	rage 17		rage 19
1	good place now potentially to get a much better system,	1	LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: That's raised the argument that
2	but for the individuals concerned, both those who were	2	actually some of these enquiries may have been perfectly
3	the victims public figure victims and non-public	3	legitimate. You understand the point.
4	figure victims and those who appeared to be acting	4	A. Of course, but to answer counsel's question, I was clear
5	illegally, on what we now know, and appeared to continue	5	that only to have a financial sanction would not be
6	to act illegally, if there had been robust action in	6	enough, and I supported the Commissioner not for
7	2006, a lot of the illegal action might have been shut		
8		7	a ridiculously high prison sentence maximum, but for
	down, stopped, because it would have been dealt with,	7 8	a ridiculously high prison sentence maximum, but for a prison sentence as an option, with a fairly short
9	and a lot of people who are now known to be victims	'	• • •
9 10	, ,	8	a prison sentence as an option, with a fairly short
	and a lot of people who are now known to be victims	8 9	a prison sentence as an option, with a fairly short sentence as a maximum tariff, as being available to the
10	and a lot of people who are now known to be victims might not have been victims or might not have suffered	8 9 10	a prison sentence as an option, with a fairly short sentence as a maximum tariff, as being available to the courts, either for serial offenders or the most serious
10 11	and a lot of people who are now known to be victims might not have been victims or might not have suffered as much. That was the point I was making.	8 9 10 11	a prison sentence as an option, with a fairly short sentence as a maximum tariff, as being available to the courts, either for serial offenders or the most serious offenders or whatever, and I then was frustrated because
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- 1 as you did with Lord Prescott yesterday?
- 2 MR JAY: Yes.
- 3 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Thank you.
- 4 MR JAY: Mr Hughes, may I move forward now to July 2009, the
- 5 Guardian piece, which was 8 July, paragraph 14 of your
- 6 statement.
- 7 A. Yes.
- 8 Q. You explain that you raised the subject again in
- 9 Parliament, pressing the Labour government to
- investigate it further. May I ask whether there's
- 11 a typographical error in the penultimate line in
- paragraph 14. Do you mean 2009 there?
- 13 A. I do. I beg your pardon, sorry.
- 14 Q. So you --
- 15 A. Called a debate in Parliament.
- $16\,$ $\,$ Q. You called for a commission into broadcasting and the
- 17 media. Similar or different to this Inquiry, may I ask?
- $18\,$ $\,$ A. This Inquiry will potentially do very well to fit that
- 19 **bill.**
- 20 Q. Right. Then you explain two years later, 25 May, you
- 21 had a meeting with two officers from Operation Weeting.
- The first one was the SIO.
- 23 A. Yes.
- 24 Q. Detective Superintendent Mark Kandiah and a detective
- constable. As you've explained earlier, on this

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- sir, about other people who were friends, but also had,
- 2 as it were, other lines of enquiry, as it were,
- 3 indicated which were (a) fallacious, and (b) in one case
- 4 had a name of somebody I didn't know, was completely
- 5 a distraction and an invention. But it looked to me as
- 6 if there was a pretty general trawl to find anything
- 7 that might lead anywhere that might lead to a story.
- 8 I think that was a summary conclusion of what I saw.
- 9 MR JAY: Did you express concern or disquiet to these
- officers that you hadn't been shown this material back
- 11 in October 2006?
- 12 A. I'm not a very aggressive or angry individual. It
- wasn't their fault that I hadn't been shown. I think
- 14 I expressed disappointment and frustration that I hadn't
- been shown it earlier. I was grateful that at last they
- were doing their job and that it was being done
- properly, and it seemed my job was to encourage them and
- compliment them on doing a thorough job and wish them
- well and be grateful that they'd done that and help them
- 20 as much as I could to give them accurate information as
- 21 quickly as possible. So I didn't, I don't think, vent
- 22 much of my spleen on them. It wasn't their fault.
- 23 Q. Paragraph 19, where you refer to a name in the top
- 24 left-hand corner on one of the pages of the Mulcaire
- 25 notebook which related to you.

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- 1 occasion you saw for the first time the underlying
- 2 material itself which related to you, and that included
- 3 transcripts of messages left on your voicemail and also
- 4 the call data, which linked directly with Mr Mulcaire;
- 5 is that correct?
- 6 A. I saw all the information. Obviously the information
- 7 that wasn't relating to me was redacted in the copies
- 8 I saw, perfectly properly, but it not only showed that
- 9 they had every bit of information about my home address
- $10 \qquad \text{ and my office and phone numbers and all those things,} \\$
- but that was where also I saw -- and went through with
- 12 them, obviously -- other names and addresses and phone
- 13 numbers and professional activity and so on that
- 14 I referred to, sir, earlier of friends of mine. There
- were also other suggested lines of enquiry which meant
- nothing to me, in the terms of I didn't know the names
- of the people who were referred to.
- 18 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: This is the material that you were
- referring to a few minutes ago, where you said this was
- 20 not known shown to you, but now you've seen it?
- 21 A. Yes, and it was at this stage, when the police came to
- me last year in an office in Parliament, that they
- 23 literally opened the books and showed me the material,
- 24 all the pages of the notebooks with the information,
- which included the material I've referred to earlier,
 - Page 22

- 1 **A. Yes.**
- 2 Q. To be clear, you're not, of course, going to tell us who
- 3 that was, because that would prejudice the police
- 4 investigation, but it wasn't "Clive" for Clive Goodman,
- 5 was it?

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- 6 A. No. So there were three names. Again, obviously it
 - would be inappropriate to say here who they are, but
- 8 three names of people employed by News of the World,
- 9 which featured at different -- on different pages of the
- evidence on which my information also featured.
- 11 O. Three first names; is that right?
- 12 A. Three first names.
- 13 Q. And these are the names that --
- 14 A. Let me just be careful. I believe first names, but
- 15 I would need to check whether there was a surname
- 16 anywhere.
- Q. For the avoidance of doubt, paragraph 36, when you refer
 to "at least three other senior journalists", these are
- 19 the three?
- 20 A. Those are the three, yes.
- Q. When you say in paragraph 19, third line, that you
- 22 "infer that this relates" -- that's the corner name
- 23 relates -- "to instructions give to Mulcaire by that
- 24 person", was that an inference which you drew alone, as
- 25 it were, or was it an inference which a police officer

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shared with you and which you agreed with?

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- 2 A. As I recollect the conversation with the police -- and 3 my head of my office was with me so we'd be able to
- 4 check that, but the police showed me the pages. They
- 5 asked me to identify what I could on each of the pages.
- 6 Obviously I helped them where I could and I think they
- 7 indicated that there may be, in this book, some names of
- 8 other people with whom Mr Mulcaire was working on these
- 9 stories, and asked me if I recognised them, could
- 10 confirm that, had a view about that. So I think they
- 11 opened the issue but without leading me to the answer.
- 12 Q. Yes. Paragraph 24, now, Mr Hughes, where you really
- 13 wrap up here a number of matters which you've already
- 14 explained to the Inquiry now in your oral evidence,
- 15 about your surprise that you weren't shown this material
- 16 in 2006 and also the fact that the police investigation
- 17 did not go further than Mulcaire and Goodman. In your
- 18 own words, please, particularly on the second point now,
- 19 why are you so surprised?
- 20 A. The reason I was both surprised and disappointed was 21 that in the end two people were taken to court. One was
- 22 an employee of News of the World, as we know. He was
- 23 the royal correspondent. He was taken to court
- 24 specifically on charges that relate to the Royal Family
- 25 and their staff. The other wasn't an employee of

Page 25

- allowed to say something about that in a second -- and therefore, in the public interest, the News of the World and their employees should have been held to account, not just a freelance individual agent who was employed
- 6 That's, for me, where the significant failure 7 occurred and where the police, for a reason I don't

on a contract basis.

- 8
- understand, decided not to go. I can understand they 9
- might not have been able easily to bring charges against 10 a whole number of journalists. Some might have been
- 11 much more able to have been prosecuted because of the
- 12 evidence than others but there was no prosecution
- 13 against anybody other than Clive Goodman, and
- 14 Clive Goodman only because of his work with the Royal
- 15 Family, whereas there was a whole range of people
- 16 clearly acting in concert, either directly or
 - indirectly, illegally, and they were not touched.
- 18 I find it impossible to find a good explanation for why
- 19 that happened.
- 20 Q. The email you refer to is at tab 147 of our bundle, but
- 21 also in the exhibit to your witness statement at
- 22 page 28. It has been pored over but it is right to turn
- 23 it up again because it may provide a platform for what
- 24 can be asked of police officers. Do you have it there,
- 25 Mr Hughes?

Page 27

- 1 News of the World, but somebody working for them as an
- 2 agent. But clearly employees were engaged, and
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- therefore the whole panoply of other people who it now appears had their voicemails hacked on the instructions of people in News of the World were not in any way used as evidence against the employees.
 - Really, the more serious offence, in my mind -- I'm talking not legalistically but generally -- is that employees of national newspapers were behaving like this. You can sort of understand how a freelance individual working for themself might hold themself out to do either things that were illegal or less legal, but there are probably different standards expected of people who are self-employed individuals than people who are employed by national titles owned by nationally and internationally important companies, and I -- that was the disappointment, that those who were employed weren't pursued, and obviously, as we also know, I think confirmed yesterday in the Inquiry, from the email from the lawyer to Andy Coulson, sent in September, which is attached to my evidence -- perhaps you intend, sir, to

come back to that, but it was clear that from September

about this -- there's another very important matter that

2006, at the highest level, the News of the World knew

I deal with in my evidence, which I hope I might be

Page 26

- A. I do, sir, ves. 1
- 2 Q. Again, it's what inferences one might draw from that.
- The reference in point 2 to 100-110 victims, which 3
- 4 went, of course, further than the royal household, one
- 5 might draw an inference from that that others at
- 6 News of the World must have been involved, because this
- 7 was outside the bailiwick of Mr Goodman. In any event,
- 8 this sort of activity would need more than one person to
- 9 instigate.
- 10 A. Yes.
- 11 Q. Is that, without leading you, at least a possible
- 12 inference, to put it at its lowest?
- 13 A. Sir, I think this email is significant in lots of
- respects. One, it's from Tom Crone, the lawyer. 14
- 15 Second, it's to Andy Coulson. Thirdly, it refers
- exactly to what Rebekah Wade said, and what she said 16
- 17 which had been told to her by the police. So the whole
- 18 of the circuit was made clear by this email.
- 19 It deals quickly with the point -- they have the
- 20 words here "Clive and GM [Glenn Mulcaire] bang to rights
 - on the palace intercept". That takes that out of the
- 22 way.

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- 23 Secondly, in answer to counsel's question, 100-110
- 24 victims clearly means there's a whole other tranche of
- 25 people. Six of us gave evidence in the case, but it

1 clearly therefore was not going to be just the activity 1 Q. You're not. The position before Mr Justice Gross on 2 2 26 January was that the £104,000, which was the last of of the royal correspondent. Not touched, not followed 3 3 up, not pursued, any of them. Completely illogical. the year-long retainers, that that was all apparently 4 4 legitimate, and the £104,000 is probably part of that And then, sir, the issue that I think is very 5 significant, and which actually raises a matter, 5 which we see at page 13. 6 I think, of profound importance in three, note three: 6 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes. 7 7 MR JAY: Because there were a series of annual retainers information given by the police to Rebekah Wade, 8 8 which no doubt went up with inflation or whatever. It Rebekah Brooks. The only payment records they found 9 9 was perhaps only later that the police had come to the were from News International, ie the News of the World 10 retainer and other invoices. They said that over the 10 view that this £104,000 was not legitimate but rather 11 11 part and parcel of the same illegitimate activity. But period they looked at, going way back -- not 12 12 there's certainly a question as to whether, in the insignificant -- there seemed to be over a million 13 13 pounds of payments. email, paragraph 3, they were assimilating all the 14 14 Sir, you'll remember that when the matter came to payments and regarding each and every one of them as 15 court, the only sum that was before the court was a sum, 15 prima facie unlawful or whether all they were doing was 16 from recollection, of £12,300 or £12,500 pounds, which 16 referring neutrally to the fact that money passed hands 17 17 to this extent. We're not sure whether it's lawful or was the subject of a compensation order. The court 18 sentenced Goodman and Mulcaire on the basis that £12,300 18 unlawful. 19 19 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes. Mr Hughes is entitled to draw was the known transaction payment. It is clear from 20 here and clear, as counsel knows, from other evidence, 20 what inferences he wants personally, but of course 21 21 that there was at least £500,000 of certain payment by I just have to be a bit careful --22 News of the World to Mulcaire. 22 A. Of course. 23 Q. Yes. If we can just interpose that, it's page 13 of 23 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Thank you. 24 24 this same bundle, isn't it, where there's a schedule of A. Sir, can I just add two last things in relation to that 25 memo, that email? 25 payments, and that which one can be wholly confident Page 29 Page 31 about is the bank transfers, £568,000. 1 Obviously the second part of the email refers to the 2 2 A. And even, sir, up to the time of the investigation which News of the World in general, rather than to 3 led to the prosecution, so November 2006 -- if you take 3 Clive Goodman and Glenn Mulcaire in particular, and 4 out even the 2007 figure and take out all of the 2006 4 gives, as it were, the police explanation as at that 5 figure, if you want to, up to the end of 2005 there was 5 date, or just before it, presumably, September 2006, as 6 over £400,000 of payment by bank transfer. Mr Mulcaire 6 to why they weren't going wider than Mulcaire and 7 was sentenced on the basis of an activity which said 7 Goodman. The bottom point: 8 he'd received £12,300. I think the fact that the court 8 "They suggested they were not widening the case to 9 did not have before it information which was clearly 9 include other News of the World people but would do so 10 known, known to the police -- because they told Rebekah 10 if they got direct evidence, say News of the World 11 Wade -- known to Rebekah Wade, known to Tom Crone, known 11 journalists directly accessing the voicemails." 12 to Andy Coulson -- that that was not in the court's 12 And then at the bottom: knowledge is a serious failure which meant that the 13 13 "They have no recordings of News of the World people 14 court was asked to do a job on the basis of incomplete 14 speaking to Glenn Mulcaire or accessing voicemails. 15 15 evidence, evidence which was in the knowledge of the They do have Glenn Mulcaire's phone records, which show 16 police and they didn't bring to the court. I think that 16 sequences of contacts with News of the World before and 17 is a -- I'd say it's an unforgivable failure, it's 17 after accesses. Obviously they don't have the content 18 a completely unacceptable failure. 18 of the calls, so this is, at best, circumstantial." LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Just help me, could you, Mr Jay. Am 19 19 This is obviously Mr Crone reporting at the time. 20 I confusing this with the evidence in relation to 20 Again, I'm trying to be a layman, not a lawyer --21 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: You can be a lawyer as well, 21 Mr Whittamore when I recollect that there was an 22 22 argument that a lot of the work being done by one or two Mr Hughes. 23 or both of these people was not necessarily linked to 23 A. Thank you. It seems to me that even non-lawyers would 24 this type of activity? I'm just trying to remember the 24 think it wouldn't be surprising if you might go to the 25 evidence. 25 CPS and say, "Is this fertile territory or Page 30 Page 32

- 1 a prosecution, and if so, what more do you think you'd
- 2 need to get us over the 50 per cent threshold?" It must
- 3 have been in the public interest to contemplate
- 4 prosecution -- I can't believe it wasn't in the public
- 5 interest -- so the only question would be the
- 6 50 per cent test, and therefore it seems to me that not
- 7 looking, not opening the doors where the doors had
- 8 obviously been identified, clearly was a positive
- 9 decision not to proceed. You'll be asking the police
- 10 about that in due course but I can't see any easy
- 11 explanation as to why they didn't go down that road much
- 12
- 13 MR JAY: Again, as you say, this is the platform for further
- 14 enquiry tomorrow, but the point at the bottom of the
- 15 page, under (e), the sequence of contacts with
- 16 News of the World, that may be generic, may not relate
- 17 to any particular journalists.
- 18 A. Of course.
- 19 Q. But then further enquiries need to be done, maybe, to --
- 20 A. It obviously points to some enquiries which could easily
- 21 be made, and nobody is suggesting that at this stage --
- 22 there wouldn't, at that stage, have been any need for
- 23 the police to contemplate that they would have an
- 24 unlimited number of people to investigate as potential
- 25 defendants. It seems to me that the number of
 - Page 33

going on, and if this is correct -- and I have no reason

- 2 to think Mr Crone, on this point, wouldn't be
- 3 accurate -- was reporting that the police were going to
- 4 contact "the boss" to see if she wished to take it
- 5 further, presumably in terms of asking them to do
- 6 something or internally taking action. But to say that
- 7 unless the police didn't follow that up -- to say that
- 8 she didn't know would be impossible, not least because
- 9 the first part of the email confirms that the
- 10 information comes from Rebekah Wade in the first place.
- 11 Q. Thank you. To go back now to your witness statement,
- 12 Mr Hughes, paragraph 25, you refer to what happened at
- 13 the sentencing hearing, and of course we have the full
- 14 transcript. Then Mr Crone's evidence to the Select
- 15 Committee on 21 July 2009, which he was asked about when
- 16 he gave evidence before us in December.
- 17 At paragraph 26, you refer to a list which was
- 18 compiled, analysed between the 10th and 12 August 2006.
- 19 It included your name and 418 others. I don't think you
- 20 have it in your witness statement as an exhibit, but we
- 21 certainly have it at tab 94, which is in the first file
- 22 of the judicial review material, which contains the 418
- 23
- 24 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Sorry, tab?
- MR JAY: Tab 94. This is the list of those potentially

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- 1 defendants on the evidence that we now know exist was
- 2 limited. It wouldn't have been an impossible task and
- 3 you wouldn't have had to interview every potential
- 4 victim to get a specimen case against the other people.
- 5 So it's not -- the argument that it would have been
- 6 unmanageable, that it would have taken a huge amount of
- 7 resources is not credible. Police take sample specimen
- 8 cases and you could have had a specimen count against
 - the other defendants on the basis of six of us giving
- 10 evidence.

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- 11 Q. Thank you. The point on the next page of the email 12
 - under item 10, maybe that speaks for itself.
- 13 A. I beg your pardon, I just put that away. Let me just 14 retrieve it. Yes, I think it does speak for itself.
- 15 Q. Although the "it", the penultimate word, one queries
- 16 whether that's a reference to any prosecution or whether
- 17 it's a reference to expanding the enquiry to incorporate
- 18 other journalists. Either way, on either
- 19 interpretation, it gives rise arguably to concern.
- 20 A. Yes, it speaks for itself, but it clearly deals with the
- 21 question which was bouncing around in the public last
- 22 year for a long time and in Parliament for a long time:
- 23 who knew what and when? And this makes it absolutely
- 24 clear, beyond doubt, it seems to me, that Rebekah Wade, 25 Brooks, was alerted in September 2006 as to what was
 - Page 34

- 1 compromised, which was prepared between those dates.
- 2 I've seen your name on that list. A lot of names have
- 3 been redacted. You don't have this in front of you now,
- 4 I think, Mr Hughes.
- A. No, I don't, sir.

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- 6 Q. Then you refer, in paragraph, 26 to another document,
 - which is the project list compiled on 23 November 2006,
- 8 which is the one we looked at yesterday, I think, with
- 9 Mr Paddick. That is tab 150-something. Yes, it's
- 10 tab 157. So those are two different lists.
- 11 A. Yes. It seems to me the significant thing about the
- 12 chronology, which I try to deal with in paragraphs 25
- 13 and 26 of my evidence, is that police seize Mulcaire's
- 14 notebooks on 8 August 2006. They're analysed also
- 15 in August, between the 10th and 12th, quite quickly and
- 16 efficiently. The list was compiled then. That list had
- 17 418 other names, and my name, 419 names altogether. So
- 18 by August, the names were known.
- 19 Then, chronologically, we have the email which we've
- 20 just been talking about, which was a September email, in
 - which Tom Crone told Andy Coulson what was going on and
- 22 Rebekah Wade was clearly reported to have been briefed.
- 23 Then, as it were, it came back when the police finished
- 24 their work on 23 November.
- 25 Mr Crone was asked about this, obviously, in the

Page 36

1 Select Committee hearing, and -- by Paul Farrelly. 1 Mr Hughes, not only my anxiety about the present 2 2 investigations, but also the focus of the terms of **Ouestion 1398:** 3 3 "Was anyone else involved with Mulcaire?" reference of the Inquiry --4 4 The answer was "no". A. Of course. 5 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: -- to look at culture, practices and "Nothing else was found?" he put as a question to 6 Mr Crone. Answer by Mr Crone: 6 ethics in order to make recommendations. 7 7 A. Of course. "No evidence was found." 8 8 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Even if I open up any new line, I can That clearly is not true, and when he wrote the 9 9 find myself very simply disappearing underneath the email in September, that is an accurate statement, it 10 10 surface, as I'm sure you'll appreciate. seems to me, of what he knew at the time, which appears 11 A. Sir, can I say -- I have no wish to sound sycophantic. 11 to be inconsistent with an argument that all this only 12 I'm really pleased that the Inquiry is here and that it 12 became evident on 29 November 2006. 13 13 Q. Yes. I'm moving on now in your statement. You've is being conducted in this way, but I'm very clear it's 14 14 covered paragraph 28, which is the payment schedule, about two things: it's about history and about 15 page 13 of the exhibit. You've probably also covered 15 actuality. It's about what might have happened but 16 paragraphs 29 and 30, because paragraph 30 deals with 16 isn't happening any more and what might still, in theory 17 or in practice, happen. You're fully aware of the need 17 the email. 18 A. There are obviously two issues. One is -- I'm sorry, 18 to address both of those. The terms of reference were 19 19 I wasn't explicit -- if there had been illegal payments specifically written. I know, sir, that that left that 20 of 500,000, whatever it was, then the court would no 20 open and I'm keen that things are not assumed to be 21 doubt have contemplated confiscation orders of that sum 21 historic when they might not have finished in August 22 rather than the smaller sum. And secondly -- and 22 or October or November or December 2006, and may have 23 23 obviously, judge, I recognise that it's not certain as continued, but I'm conscious of the sensitivities about 24 to the matching of the payments to the activity, but 24 where and when that's dealt with in the Inquiry. 25 whatever the amount of illegal activity was for which 25 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: You could always come back in part 2. Page 37 Page 39 1 1 there was payment, then there is an issue about that It's just --2 2 being the appropriate level of activity which should A. No, I understand, sorry. 3 have been in the court's mind when it sentenced. 3 Could I say, I used the phrase "much to the delight 4 Q. At paragraph 32, Mr Hughes, you set out your suspicions 4 of News Group". That may have been unfair. I think the 5 that the police had shut down this investigation, "much 5 fairer phrase might be "much to the relief of 6 to the delight of News Group, and ignored evidence of 6 News Group, things were not pursued further". It 7 longstanding and widespread criminality. I do not know 7 became -- the whole public presentation of 2006 was that 8 of any good or persuasive reason why this should be and 8 it was a rogue reporter -- that was the phrase that 9 it makes me extremely suspicious." 9 people remember most -- and somebody who was employed as 10 Your second witness statement, which we're not going 10 an agent. This was not the story of a rogue reporter 11 to introduce today but may well come back to, deals with 11 and somebody who was employed as an agent, and the 12 12 the possible ramifications of failing to investigate relevance of the police engagement is that it was 13 this properly in 2006. 13 a wholly different issue in the public interest if it 14 14 A. Yes. was a systemic, generic, frequent activity, and the 15 15 Q. If I can sort of put it in those fairly non-committal police should have seen that and dealt with that in the 16 16 terms at this stage. public interest, and that's much more serious than rogue 17 17 A. Perhaps I can make an equally non-committal one-sentence reporters or freelance one-off agents. 18 response for the judge. 18 MR JAY: May I ask you to deal with the point which arguably 19 Sir, there are obviously issues about what might 19 comes out of the contemporaneous police documents in 20 have continued beyond the time some of us gave evidence, 20 2006, that they believed, rightly or wrongly, that they 21 21 in my case in 2006, and whether or not activity -would be closing down this operation by arresting 22 22 illegal activity continued. If it's appropriate, that Goodman/Mulcaire and bringing them to justice and that 23 23 raises issues which I'd be happy to assist the Tribunal it wasn't necessary, as it were, to expand this as 24 with at a later stage in these proceedings. 24 widely as it might have been expanded because the 25 25 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes. I'm sure you understand, primary objective would be achieved, and, moreover, it Page 38 Page 40

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3 sum up their thinking. Do you have a view about that or 4 5 A. Just two simply points, sir, if I may. One is I hope 6 I indicated that I don't think it would have been the 7 resource-intensive activity that is put as the argument 8 why it wasn't pursued. I'm very conscious of police 9 resources in London in particular, as a London MP. 10 I wouldn't want them to be spending lots of time and 11 effort on things that weren't going to be useful, 12 productive, but you could, perfectly properly, have 13 found six witnesses from the evidence, across the range 14 of activity, in relation to the other prospective 15 defendants without having to go and speak to 500 16 potential victims in terms of prosecution. It would 17 have, I think -- it looks as if it would have secured 18 convictions, even on what I saw then. Obviously I'm

would swallow up very considerable resources to expand

the lines of enquiry. That, in my own words, may well

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first point.

Secondly, in relation to this Inquiry's wok, there are a whole set of relationships that clearly occurred between the police and the News of the World and other major newspaper organisations, and these issues, decisions to prosecute or not to go ahead or not need,

Page 41

aware other enquiries happened later. So that's the

as the Inquiry's properly doing, to be looked at in the context of those other relationships and whether the decisions were affected by other relationships at a higher level between editors and senior staff at the

News of the World and other titles and senior people in the Met.

My fairly simplistic impression is there was far too close a relationship on regular occasions, not just on this issue, but as the senior police officer said yesterday, in relation to a whole set of issues. This Inquiry and Parliament's -- the government's determination to set it up I hope will clear out that stable because it's an unacceptable set of practice that has gone on. Public service and police officers must be free from buying and selling and acting illegally. We need to sort it for once to restore confidence in the police, to restore confidence in journalists doing their job properly, so good journalists aren't tainted by the activities of bad journalists, and to continue allowing a free press to work within the bounds of the law set by Parliament.

So it's a great opportunity, and sadly, as somebody who has supported the Met police for a long time, they lost their way badly and at a senior level, and clearly were -- "corrupted" may be an unfair word, but were Page 42

1 tainted and overly influenced by improper

- 2 considerations, and I hope this Inquiry will be very
 - robust about both its findings and its recommendations
- 4 on that issue.
- 5 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: You don't ask very much of me,
- 6 Mr Hughes.
- 7 A. I know. We have confidence, sir.
- 8 MR JAY: Mr Hughes, in your concluding remarks, paragraphs
 - 33 to 37, you make many of the points you've just made.
- 10 Are there any other matters there or elsewhere which you
- would wish to draw to the Inquiry's attention?
- 12 A. Just on the history, can I just summarise, sir, my
- points in paragraph 33? I'm able, having entered public
- life, and, like most of my colleagues -- you had the
- 15 former Deputy Prime Minister here yesterday -- robust
- enough to be able to defend ourselves and take the rough
- with the smooth. My concern is about people who are, as
- sir, you indicated, the unintended victims of this
- 19 activity, people who happen to be my family, my friends,
- 20 my constituents, my staff, or in those relationships
- 21 with other people. I know in relation to my case how
- harmful an effect it had certainly in one case on
- 23 somebody entirely outwith political activity, and it
- 24 could have had on others. That's the real mischief, not
- 25 those of us who stick into the public -- step into the
 - Page 43
- 1 public arena, and therefore must expect, by definition,
- 2 more interest and less protection than other people,
- 3 and must expect to be able to -- I have a platform to
- 4 deal with it. The people who are the friends and family
- of mine don't have the platform and they don't -- they
 - shouldn't have to expect to have that intrusion.
- 7 Q. You have spoken, Mr Hughes, of the overly proximate
- 8 relationship between News International and the police.
- 9 May I move on to the relationship between politicians
- and the press? Maybe I'll ask the same question I asked
- 11 Lord Prescott yesterday: in your view, was the
- 12 relationship between sections of the press and
- politicians too close at certain times or generally?
- 14 A. Sir, I've been in Parliament for 29 years as of two days
- 15 ago. I was in opposition until two years ago.
- 16 I therefore understood and expected that my party would
- be of less interest to the press than the other two
- parties who were in government in that period. I was
- 19 clear from a very early stage that there was a growing
- 20 unhealthy relationship between politics and the press,
- 21 and it was -- I sort of always assumed, from my
- 22 understanding of history from the last century, that
- 23 there would be strong links, by and large, between the
- 24 press barons and the Tory party. That was a sort of
- 25 given from my reading of political history.

1 I understood how influential tabloids in particular 2 became. I saw the desperate effort, when I was in 3 Parliament, for party leaders to gain favour with the 4 tabloids. I saw Tony Blair fly across the world to have 5 summit meetings with the Murdoch family. I regarded it 6 as increasingly unhealthy. I didn't just do that; my 7 colleagues and I said so. Matthew Taylor, when he was 8 an MP, said so. Lord McNally, when he was in 9 Parliament, said so. We sought to do things about this. 10 We sought to toughen the regulations. I'm not going to 11 bore you with the details, but there are evidence 12 records of how often we tried to restrict the influence 13 between the political parties and the press, and make 14 sure that there wasn't a dominant position held by any 15 individual paper or organisation and there wasn't an 16 abuse of a dominant position. 17 So there was for us, as liberals, a consistent 18

theme, and the answer to counsel is that it didn't show any signs of abating. As every election draw nearer, the battle to get the most popular titles on your side would grow, and it seemed to me there was a lot of compromising of principles to do that.

Can I add one thing? That's why this Inquiry is really important, because there was a consensus in Parliament last year. Everybody had been persuaded Page 45

- 1 colleagues in Parliament to decide whether, and if so,
- 2 in what way, matters should be taken forward.
- 3 A. Sir, can I be -- I absolutely agree about that. I will,
- 4 if I may, reveal a secret which is perfectly proper to
- reveal but hasn't -- sir, I have made it clear to the
 Deputy Prime Minister, my party leader and my colleague
- 7 that in my view, in this parliamentary session that will
- 8 begin next spring, May 2013, space should be reserved
- 9 now in the forward-planning of Parliament to deal with
- now in the for ward planning of furnament to dear with
- 10 anything that requires legislation, in good time before
- 11 the next General Election which is scheduled for 2015.
- 12 I'm very clear about that for just the reason you say.
- 13 I understand exactly the point about acting off the back
- 14 of the Inquiry, not waiting for prosecutions. Some
- 15 things may not need legislation -- perhaps in a moment
- 16 I could share two thoughts about that -- but for those
- which do, Parliament must absolutely not bottle it and
- we mustn't run away from it, and there will be some who
- 19 may -- and I hear little voices already -- who will say,
- 20 "Don't be nasty to the press. They're lovely. We've
- got to love them. The free press is important."
- Of course it's important, but the press must act
- 23 within a framework of proper behaviour and the police
- 24 must act and Parliament needs to be ready to act and
 - I hope there will be the space available for legislation
 - Page 47

- something must be done, in the words of the old cliche.
- 2 It may be easier to say that across the political divide
- 3 in the first year of a Parliament than it is when you're
- 4 a year before a General Election, and the temptation
- 5 grows again. For politicians I'm talking about, not for
- 6 anybody else. And therefore the really useful thing
- 7 would be if we -- following the Inquiry, any
- 8 prosecutions that happen by the police can come back to
- $9 \qquad \hbox{this matter in Parliament, because I think there are} \\$
- 10 ways in which we can --
- 11 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I would hope it wouldn't have to wait
- for the conclusion of prosecutions --
- 13 A. No, I agree.

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- 14 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: -- for Parliament to consider where
- it wanted to go, and of course it will be for
- 16 Parliament, ultimately --
- 17 A. Of course.
- 18 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: -- depending on the recommendations
- 19 that I make. But nobody should misunderstand the fact
- 20 that the reason that I have pressed -- and people around
- 21 this Inquiry room look rather invigorated after two
- weeks off, but in the months that have gone and in the
- 23 months that will come, and put myself under pressure, is
- because I am extremely conscious of the importance of
- 25 time. So it will then be for you and those of your
 - Page 46

- in the parliamentary session 2013/14, so that's all in
- 2 place well before the election.

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- 3 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes.
- 4 MR JAY: Before I ask you to develop your point about
- 5 recommendations, may I just pick up on two points? You
- 6 said that there was a compromise in principles in wooing
- 7 the press, particularly before election. Can I ask you
- 8 just to expand on the compromise in principles, please?
- 9 A. I make the point generally. It's obvious that everybody
- $10\,$ $\,$ $\,$ in a political party -- and I don't pretend to be
- innocent of this myself -- seeks to be presented well in
- 12 terms of policy and actions in local and regional and
- 13 national press. Of course we do. And we seek to give
- 14 them things that they will regard as good reasons for
- commending us. In the great public debate, they're very
- 16 important players.
- But by definition, it's not unimportant to try and
- get titles that sell 1 million, 2 million, 3 million
- 19 copies to be on your side probably even more than the
- 20 titles that sell 100,000, 200,000, 300,000. Bluntly,
- 21 we're talking about broadsheets against tabloids, and
- 22 therefore you temper your -- it is clear to me that
- 23 parties temper their policies and their presentation to
- 24 make them have maximum popular appeal. That's obviously
 - a perfectly proper thing to do, but sometimes I sense

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1 that they go in the wrong direction for populist 2 3 I'll give one example, if I may. In the last 4 Parliament, we had the Labour Party supporting 5 advocating identity cards. They'd always been 6 traditionally a party quite committed to civil liberties 7 and so on and so forth. They moved to be a party which 8 wanted to be seen to be strong on law and order and so 9 on. That was part of that package. I think, I would 10 say to my Labour Party friends, that became a compromise 11 of their principles. They went the wrong side of the 12 line to be appealing so they could appeal to the, as it 13 were, law and order press. 14 Now, that may be unfair, they may say that wasn't 15 the reason at all. I only give an example because you 16 asked me to. But the relationship -- of course we have

Now, that may be unfair, they may say that wasn't the reason at all. I only give an example because you asked me to. But the relationship -- of course we have to talk to journalists, talk to editors, be interviewed by them, engage with -- I'm not arguing for any monastic -- it would be nonsense. Of course we do and we should do and we should be subject to their scrutiny, and I'm absolutely not asking for a less robust press and less active engagement, but there shouldn't be people going in through the back door into Downing Street, bluntly, as editors. If they want to go in, they should go in through the front door, or they should Page 49

- $1 \qquad \hbox{case privately as well as publicly to be allowed to have} \\$
- $2 \qquad \text{ as little restriction on acquiring interests as it would} \\$
 - wish for its own commercial reasons. I have the strong
- 4 view that we need a strong regulator but also we need
- 5 strong controls of share of the market. That's an
 - example where I'm clear there has been both public and
- 7 private lobbying, and that's a really important issue
- 8 because it goes to the heart of the freedom and -- of
- 9 a free and diverse press and diverse media, particularly
- 10 television, which is obviously so important in this day
- 11 and age.
 - Q. Thank you. Then you were doing --
- 13 A. Sorry, PS -- and I'm not trying to be overly
- 14 controversial, but -- I'll be careful how I phrase this
- so I don't have hailstones rained down on me as I go out
- of the room, but appointments of people to serve
 - government who come from media backgrounds are, in
- principle, good things, because you need people in
- 19 government service who understand the way the media
- work. It seems to me they should, however, be carried
- out carefully, mindful of the risks and the
- 22 disadvantages, and it may be that they haven't always
- 23 been so.
- 24 MR JAY: That was very general.
- 25 A. It was a very general comment.

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- go in through the front door at Chequers or wherever it
- 2 might be, and we need to have a system where it's open
- 3 and transparent and we know the score.
- 4 Q. Are you, Mr Hughes, able to share with us any examples
- 5 of what one might describe as covert, subterranean press
- 6 influence operating on government policy or ministerial
- 7 appointments?

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- 8 A. On ministerial appointments, I can't immediately think
- 9 of an example, but if I may, I will reflect and if
- 10 I can -- I hadn't thought for that question and prepared
- 11 for it, so if I can let you know how I --
- 12 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes.
- 13 A. The first question was on policy generally. Yes.
- 14 I mean -- did you ask covertly rather than --
- 15 MR JAY: Well, a newspaper may have an active campaign, as
- indeed, to take a neutral example --
- 17 A. Sarah's Law.
- 18 Q. Or the Times with cycling. That's all above board.
- 19 A. Yes.
- 20 Q. But I'm looking at the more subterranean --
- $21\,$ $\,$ A. Well, the issue that has worried Parliament most is
- $22 \qquad \text{dominance of any particular organisation in the market.} \\$
- 23 That's been the issue, and the suspicion has been -- and

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- 24 I haven't been in government in those discussions --
- 25 that News International has been seeking to make its

- 1 Q. Yes.
- 2 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: You give an example of -- I don't
- 3 think there's been a secret about it -- the pressure not
- 4 to implement the enacted law remitting to the amendments
- 5 to the data protection legislation.
- 6 A. Yes.
- 7 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Would that be fair?
- 8 A. That would be fair, sir.
- 9 MR JAY: Recommendations, Mr Hughes. Possible ways to
- reset, recalibrate the relationship between politicians
- and the press. Might you share those with us, please,
- 12 Mr Hughes?
- 13 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: In this regard, Mr Hughes -- and I've
- said this to a number of people -- don't consider
- 15 yourself required to answer something on the hoof if you
- want more time. This particular area is not one that
- 17 I see any legislative solution to. It is very much more
- nuanced than that. But it is critical that whatever way
- 19 forward we go carries with it the confidence of
- 20 politicians of all persuasions and the public. So I say
- 21 to you, as I've said to others: by all means answer
- 22 Mr Jay's question if you're ready to now, but don't feel
- 23 thereafter that you are inhibited, or indeed any of your
- 24 colleagues are inhibited -- I would prefer it
- 25 collectively rather than individually -- from providing

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other ideas, if you follow.

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2 A. Of course. Sir, that's very helpful. I can be brief 3 now but try to be helpful now, as well as take your 4 guidance about, as it were, supplying you with 5 considered thoughts.

> The first is actually an ability to say -- I am very happy, as it were, to give my general response being the position we, as a party, took when we addressed these matters collectively, most recently last year to our conference in the light of the events of last year. We passed a resolution. I can supply a copy to counsel if the Inquiry hasn't had it.

If I can just summarise -- it will take 60 seconds -- what the key points are: to have a more independent press regulator, independent of editors and governments, particularly with four powers; an ethical and editorial code and a kite mark; to require of the media organisation to comply with the code, or their staff obviously to do so; have a procedure for investigating all breaches of the code, and then appropriate sanctions, including financial penalties large enough to act as a deterrent, and the power to ensure that apologies and retractions are given due prominence.

Can I pause there. One of the things I have felt Page 53

LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Effectively on his own admission.

- 2 A. Effectively on his own admission, and it's impossible to
- 3 put right those wrongs in the public mind, because the
- 4 public remember the allegation. They don't often
- 5 remember the outcome.
- 6 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I hope that they do in his case.
- 7 A. Yes, I hope they do in his case too, and I think the
- 8 Inquiry will be helpful in that respect and other things
- 9 have been helpful. But there are many examples. We
- 10 need to deal with that. That's a really serious issue
- 11 and I hope, sir, you'll give it due prominence.

Secondly, to strengthen the rules on fit and proper ownership and ensure corporations as a whole are held to account. That's an issue I've taken up with Ofgem, to

Yes, to introduce custodial sentences for breach of

15 make sure it's not just individuals but corporations.

17 the Data Protection Act, as we have discussed; widen the

18 strength of the powers of relevant independent

19 regulators; penultimately, reinvigorate legitimate

investigative journalism in the public interest by

21 providing affordable and effective defence, in

22 defamation cases, on matters of legitimate public

interest but based on a requirement to issue a suitably

24 prominent correction or retraction of untrue defamatory

statements made without malice or recklessness.

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1 most aggrieved about, not only on my own behalf but on

- 2 behalf of others, is the mismatch between what turns out
- 3 to be an untruth propagated on the front page, which
- 4 could damage a personal life or family life or a career,
- 5 and the publication of the correction, the admission
- 6 that it was wrong. You can never go back, you can never
- 7 undo it, the damage is done, but at the moment we have
- 8 a wholly inadequate way. And I've had conversations
 - with editors of papers and the rest about that. They
- 10 will always be nervous about something that would give
- 11 equal prominence to the "we was wrong" as the other, but
- 12 the damage by a flagrantly wrong --
- 13 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: There's a commercial dynamic is
- 14 clearly, isn't it?
- 15 A. Of course.
- LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: The story on the front page is fine. 16
- 17 A. Of course.
- 18 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Nobody will buy a newspaper if the
- 19 front-page headline is "We were wrong".
- 20 A. No, and of course I understand that. But for the
- 21 individual -- take the case -- you have a witness coming
- 22 before you who was presented in the press as being 23
- 24 end clearly was not even involved and somebody else was
- 25 found and charged and convicted and so on.

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inevitably guilty of certain serious offences and in the

- And then support of the law on privacy and 1
- 2 respecting the independence of the judiciary in getting
- 3 that right in the courts and obviously holding to the
 - **European Convention.**
- 5 Just one other thing in answer to counsel's
- 6 question. I know there has been a proposition put by
- 7 the new chairman of the Press Complaints Commission, who
- 8 is somebody I respect and is of serious experience, that
- 9 basically if I can shorthand it, there's a contract
- 10 arrangement set up. It seems to me there's a flaw --
- 11 sounds good, but it seems to me there's a flaw in the 12
- contract deal, which is that you can't make people sign
- 13 contracts, and therefore somebody could say, "No, thank
- 14 you, I'm not going to play ball." I suppose you could
- 15 require every media organisation in the country to say
- 16 everybody must sign the contract, but it seems to me
- 17 there are problems in practice on what is
- 18 a superficially attractive idea.
- LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: You're not saying to me anything that 19
- 20 I've not thought about. The trick is to find the
- 21 balance without mandating participation, which might
- 22 impact on freedoms that we all hold important.
- 23 A. Yes.
- LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: But by encouraging with advantage and 24
- 25 carrots to those who do become involved.

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1 A. Yes.

2 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: And this is a long-running issue

3 which is not going to be solved quickly.

4 A. No.

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5 Sir, I agree with that. Can I just draw one 6

parallel? For a long time in the 1980s and 1990s as an

7 MP, I received complaints about bad practice by

8 solicitors, and I used to take them to the Law Society

and the Law Society, as you will well know, had its

10 inquisitorial inquiry processes. Bluntly, they

11 commanded no public confidence in those days -- I'm not

12 trying to be unfair to solicitors as opposed to other

13 professions -- and eventually there was pressure to make

14 it more independent and more robust and set it up

15 independently.

> It seems to me the Press Complaints Commission has, in my time in public life, not commanded the confidence

of the public. It is therefore important that we end up

in a position that is not following public opinion but

is at a place where public opinion would want it to be

21 now and in the years ahead, and therefore it's

22 important, as it were, to be ambitious about where it

23 should be.

24 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Oh, I have plenty of ambition,

Mr Hughes. The trouble is how I'm going to satisfy it,

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have been acquired illegally. There may be a public

2 interest defence. That's the area that, it seems is to

3 me, you are rightfully to address.

4 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes, but couldn't you do that by

5 enunciating a prosecutorial policy, which is the very

6 reason that I invited the DPP to give evidence a few

7 weeks ago, to consider that very issue?

8 A. Yes. The answer is you could, and obviously we've had

a fairly established DPP policy which has, in my view,

10 worked generally fairly well. More than 50 per cent

11 likelihood of prosecution and in the public interest.

12 That seems to be the right test in general terms.

13 I don't think that's the wrong starting point.

14 But the other -- if I may, because they're linked

15 together, the other issue that I think, quotes, "out

16 there" the public want to be addressed is the unequal

opportunity to correct untruths, which I've alluded to

18 a few moments ago.

19 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes, I'm with you on that entirely,

20 again, as a balance, for the commercial reasons we

21 discussed.

22 A. Of course.

23 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: But I am keen to press you on your

24 view as to the criminal law. It would indeed be

25 a rather remarkable outcome of this Inquiry -- I'm not

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saying it's not possible -- which is looking at what may

1 because the difference between lawyers or opticians or

2 doctors and journalists is that the state is entitled to

3 say, "You can't practice as a lawyer, you can't practice

4 as a doctor", whereas a journalist is exercising a right

5 of free speech -- I'm not telling you anything you're

6 not very well aware of -- and therefore it would be

7 anathema to say, "You can't do that."

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9 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: So the problem is to find a way of

10 squaring that circle.

11 A. Yes, and I'm very conscious, in the age of social media,

12 that there are far more outlets where people can say

that what he like. It seems to me the two things that

14 are crucial, if I may respectfully end with this, are: 15

firstly, that there is a public interest defence allowed

16 in the debate on behalf of journalists who --

17 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Can I just ask you to explain that

18 a bit? Do you mean a public interest defence in civil

19 law or criminal law or both?

20 A. I would say in both. Potentially -- certainly in civil

21 law. We've never gone down the road into criminal law

22 with that being a defence so far. The obvious case

23 might be MPs' expenses, as a general subject, where

24 clearly some of the information -- I don't know. It may

25 have all been acquired -- some of the information may

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be said to be criminal activity, may be, allegedly, with

3 all the caveats -- for me to be recommending that what

4 is presently criminal shouldn't be criminal. That would

5 be rather unusual.

6 A. No, I'm not expecting you to do that, and I can't think

7 of any particular things that are currently criminal

8 that you would be likely to recommend.

9 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: If you provide a public interest

10 defence to crime, then you are potentially doing that,

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12 A. Sir, just so I can be clear, it seems to me that the

13 occasion when you make the public interest argument in

14 the context of criminal law would either be in

15 mitigation or in the case -- official secrets is the

16 obvious example -- where you put the case to the jury

17 and the jury, as we know, on famous cases have

18 occasionally decided not to convict because they have

19 formed a view that the public interest is greater

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21 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes, that picks up a debate -- an

22 exchange that I had with Mr Rhodri Davies.

23 A. Yes.

LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Who was cross-examining, I think, 24

25 Mr Graham, the Information Commissioner, about the

1 horror of journalists being sent to prison for two years 1 that Mr Jay asked you about, which is what one does to 2 2 construct a way in which the influence which you've for a data protection breach and the proposition that 3 3 I put to him was that first of all, in that regard there spoken of in relation to the press and the political 4 4 is a defence, but ignoring that, the hurdles are: the class can be addressed. 5 prosecutor has to decide it's in the public interest to 5 A. Sorry, I beg your pardon, I didn't address that. 6 6 I would like to very briefly. prosecute. 7 A. Yes. 7 The answer is: this is something that should be 8 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: The jury, doubtless, would be 8 negotiated on a cross-party basis. It is clearly 9 directed -- and the history of Mr Ponting is very well 9 something, as long-term policy is always required to be, 10 10 that will stand the test of time in cross elections and known but even if the jury take the view that actually 11 11 the law is there to be observed, then you still have the changes in administration, and it needs to be done 12 12 judge available -obviously in consultation with friends in the press, but 13 13 A. Of course. at the end of the day, I would hope it's something that 14 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: -- who sometimes exercises his 14 would be secure, both in the first place because it was 15 15 seen to be agreed across the political divide, across discretion in ways that people don't object to --16 A. Yes. 16 both houses, but secondly, that that's the way you 17 17 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: -- to be able to say, "Well, review it as well. So it's taken as read that, as it 18 I understand why the prosecutor did not think it was in 18 were, this can't be the property of an individual 19 19 administration of an individual colour to change at its the public interest not to prosecute, I think that was 20 entirely appropriate", or not, whatever he thinks, "but 20 whim. 21 21 this is cusp-type material and therefore this ought to Now, the problem with us constitutionally is we 22 be reflected in the penalty." 22 don't have a threshold other than the simple majority 23 A. Sir, just to clarify that -- I don't want you to 23 safeguard for legislating. Of course I understand that, 24 24 but we could -- we manage other things in which we don't misunderstand -- in the context of the criminal law, 25 those are the three places where the public interest 25 change them without broader consensus than just simple Page 61 Page 63 1 argument can run, and it seems to me perfectly properly. 1 Parliamentary majority at the time. LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: In the same way that I told the Press 2 Absolutely proper that the DPP or the CPS says, "This is 2 3 3 a public interest question. We're not proceeding." Complaints Commission to carry on work to think about 4 Absolutely proper that the jury are addressed on the 4 what might be done, and I've told many editors, as 5 question, and then at the end, the judge has the case --5 they've given evidence with ideas, to keep thinking, 6 6 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Or it may not be, actually, I say to you -- and indeed to your colleagues -- that 7 because -- well, you'll remember the authorities on it. 7 this is a very, very important topic. 8 A. And lastly, it isn't an argument, however -- to go back 8 A. Yes. 9 9 to your conversation with Mr Graham, it isn't an LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: It is your problem, not mine --10 10 exactly what I've said to the editors -- and therefore argument for not having on the statute book the 11 11 it is important that a solution is found that works for opportunity to send to prison either because that case 12 12 merits it itself or because you do it as an example, for you, but it has to work for me as well in the sense that 13 13 I, for the purposes of this Inquiry, represent the a short period, for severe breaches of the abuse of 14 14 personal information. public. 15 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: All right. 15 A. Yes. 16 A. So there is a public interest opportunity, it should 16 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: And if a political resolution of ways 17 17 stay in that context. But no, I wouldn't want you to in which the culture of which you've spoken can be 18 recommend that will suddenly lots of existing criminal 18 changed or addressed, can be found and suggested, I will 19 law disappears because it's not in the public interest 19 be very, very interested to hear about it. 20 20 for it to be there. A. Sir, can I make one last comment which is this: politics 21 21 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Your recommendations and your and Parliament is in part waiting for the Inquiry to be 22 22 resolution, which I had not seen and which I would like complete so we can hear what is said, to you and --23 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes. 23 to see --24 A. I'll submit formally, if I may, sir. 24 A. By definition, we would be foolish, as it were, to judge 25 25 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: -- doesn't cope with the final issue how to proceed until we know the range of the answers to

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1 the questions. We do now have a much better set of 1 MS PATRY HOSKINS: Could you please state your full name to 2 2 systems in place. The Select Committee has proved the Inquiry? 3 3 itself to be one. I think we do have mechanisms A. Jacqueline Elizabeth Hames. 4 available, which are that in effect you could have 4 Q. Can you confirm that you provided a witness statement to 5 a code or regulations or whatever which would only be 5 the Inquiry and a number of exhibits thereto? 6 initiated or changed if the Select Committee had agreed, 6 7 7 Q. And that the contents of your statement are true to the just as we do with appointments in some cases now. So 8 8 best of your knowledge and belief? there are ways of doing it. 9 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I agree there's a chicken and egg 9 A. Yes, they are. 10 thing here and you could say, "Actually, we're waiting 10 Q. We're going to just touch briefly first on who you are. 11 11 If you look at paragraph 2 of your statement, that's for you to tell us." 12 summarised there. Perhaps I can summarise it in this 12 A. No, we will act. 13 13 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: That's entirely fair -- I'm not way: you are a former Metropolitan Police officer and 14 14 shirking my responsibility -- but it would be a complete Crimewatch presenter. You joined the MPS in 1977 and 15 waste of time and energy for all of us if I were to say 15 became a detective constable and you served 16 something and for you then to say, "Well, that's very 16 until January 2008, when you took early retirement. 17 17 interesting, that this Lord Justice of appeal has come A. Yes, that's correct. 18 up with this. Actually, he demonstrates he's not 18 Q. You're best known, you say in your statement --19 a politician." 19 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Very early retirement? 20 A. No. 20 A. Very early, sir, thank you. I joined at five. 21 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: You don't need to prove that to me; 21 MS PATRY HOSKINS: You're best known, you tell us, for your 22 22 role on BBC Crimewatch between 1990 and 2006, and you 23 23 A. Sir, I understand our responsibilities. I've said to explain that as a result of these roles, you have 24 24 first-hand experience of the way in which the press and you I've already put in a bid that we have time 25 25 available to legislate if we need to, and I'm clear that the police interact, gained from working on both sides. Page 65 Page 67 1 we need to be ready to respond with a system that works 1 A. That's correct, yes. 2 in collaboration, but we need to hear what everybody 2 Q. Can I just check one thing? You explain that you took 3 says to you first so we're not ignoring things before we 3 very early retirement in January 2008. Does that mean 4 do that finally. 4 that your experience, as detailed in your statement, 5 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes. But as regards this last topic, 5 covers the period from 1977 to 2008, or do you have 6 the relationship between the politicians and the press, 6 continued knowledge of the interaction between the press 7 then I would have thought you've probably got a pretty 7 and the police since you took retirement? 8 good idea, without hearing more witnesses. But I will 8 A. I certainly continued to work in the media and also for 9 carry on hearing the witnesses, and the reason you've 9 the police service. I'm involved in media training for 10 10 had this now is because you're here now, rather than senior detectives at the Metropolitan Police crime 11 coming in the next module, which will start in May. academy, so I've continued my connections in that way. 11 12 A. Of course, and some of us are really glad at least to 12 Q. We'll come on perhaps to discuss later the training that 13 have this platform because we have been making this case 13 you provide. Concentrating for the moment on 14 14 for 25 years and more. paragraph 2, you set out in a little detail the 15 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Thank you very much indeed. 15 first-hand experience that you have had. If I can 16 A. Thank you especially have. 16 summarise it in this way: you say that you worked as LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Right, we'll take a break. 17 17 a detective specialising in major crime enquiries, such 18 (11.40 am)18 as murder, rape, serial sex offences and so on, and you 19 (A short break) 19 also held various roles within incident rooms. You 20 20 (11.50 am)explain that in 1987 you worked on the implementation 21 MS PATRY HOSKINS: Sir, the next witness today will be 21 team for the country's first Crimestoppers project based 22 22 Ms Jacqui Hames. at New Scotland Yard. 23 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Thank you. 23 A. Yes. 24 MS JACQUELINE ELIZABETH HAMES (sworn) 24 Q. You explain that in 1990, you became a regular presenter 25 25 Questions by MS PATRY HOSKINS on Crimewatch, making appeals to the public live on BBC1 Page 66 Page 68

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1 every month to help solve crime on behalf of the UK 2 police service. You explain that this in particular

3 meant that you saw the media from the inside.

4 A. Yes.

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5 Q. You explain that at this time you received some personal

press attention, and you explain at the end of that

7 paragraph that it was lonely at times as there was

8 no one else to whom you could relate in the same

9 position. Is there anything you'd like to add about

10 that particular aspect?

11 A. Yes. I think it was very much a baptism of fire, as 12 a detective constable. Other than my experience with 13 Crimestoppers, I had very little interaction with the 14 press other than in the general course of perhaps 15 working on a major enquiry, but it wasn't my role to 16 speak to the press or brief them in any way. So I had 17 no real experience, at that stage, of talking to

> journalists or any sort of media interaction. So it was very much -- I say a lamb to the slaughter. It's probably slightly overstating it, but certainly it was a baptism of fire when I first started working at Crimewatch and having journalists interested in my private life as well as some of the cases I was working on, and as a result of publicising the programme

25 as well. The majority of it was absolutely fine, but it

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Then finally, another facet of your experience, regrettably, is that you've also had personal experience of being placed under surveillance by News of the World. You explain this to be a deeply unpleasant experience which you believe arose from inappropriate relationships between crime suspects and that newspaper, and we will

come back to that in more detail if we can.

I'm going to turn first to the issue of increased openness and training, which starts at paragraph 3 onwards of your statement. What you do is you firstly describe how the relationship between the press and the police has changed since the 1970s when you first joined the Metropolitan Police Service, and you go on to explain -- you start by explaining at paragraph 3 what it was like when you joined in the 1970s. You simply say it's changed now beyond all recognition.

When you're describing here the way that the interaction was in the 1970s, are you speaking from personal experience or have you collated your thoughts in discussion with others?

A. I think it's mainly from my own personal experience. I joined the police service in 1977, as I've said, and I went to work at Clapham police station in south London, and I can talk from the perspective of what it was like as a young police officer in those days, Page 71

is an area which, as a complete novice, it is fraught

with danger, particularly representing the police

service. I was very sensitive that I didn't overstep

4 the mark or say anything to perhaps embarrass the police

5 in any way or the programme, and so I was -- I did feel

6 that I walked a very thin tightrope on occasions.

7 Q. Moving through the -- it's paragraph 2 still, turning

8 back to subparagraph 4. You explain other areas where

you have worked. You explain that you worked during

10 your career break as a part-time press relations

11 officers. You explain that since leaving the police,

you have pursued your interest in women's safety,

13 you have written a book on personal safety, you've

14 undertaken security consultancy and you've also

15 continued working in the media on news and factual

16 programmes.

17 A. Yes, that's right. Since leaving the police service,

I was very interested in women's safety issues and I've undertaken to try and use my experiences as a police

officer and on Crimewatch to heighten the issues around

21 that, in general safety terms but also in the area

22 particularly of stalking and harassment.

23 Q. In subparagraph(6), you explain that you were asked to

24 write and deliver regular presentations to the advanced

25 CID course at the Metropolitan Police Crime Academy.

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1 particularly as a woman and one of the few at the time.

2 It was a particularly difficult era. We, in 1981,

3 had the riots in Brixton, the first sort of major

4 disturbances on the streets of south London, and as

5 a result there was a report by Lord Scarman criticising

6 the police and the way that they policed, and I think

7 there was a -- it was a whole era, having not long come

8 after the Times enquiry into corruption in police --

9 there was a whole era where I think the force had

10 a sense of being slightly in a bunker and being very

11 protective and defensive of their actions, and it was --

12 perhaps the first -- also an era of the first steps of

13 the media to sort of perhaps get inside the police to

14 find out what's going on, what was causing these

problems.

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16 I think I've highlighted several aspects. The World 17 in Action series was constantly exposing wrongdoing and

18 sort of doing stings on various departments within the

19 police service. The News of the World, bless them, were 20

doing some fantastic investigative work on exposing

21 problems within the police service, and I think for me

22 personally, the series -- the TV series that was

produced called Police, which followed Thames Valley

24 police officers in the way they conducted enquiries,

particularly the one on rape, really exposed a lot of

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- 1 problems in how that crime was investigated. Whilst it 2 was not pleasant to see the work of genuinely good, 3 well-meaning and hard-working officers being put to 4 scrutiny in that way, a huge amount of good came out of 5 that, and I think it was a real wake-up call and 6 a feeling that the police were under scrutiny like 7 they'd never been before, and I think that that was 8
- 9 that police interacted with the media, and I think
- 10 Sir Peter Imbert was the Commissioner at the time in
- 11 Thames Valley when that Police series was commissioned

actually a real force for good and change in the way

- 12 and he took over in the Met and took the initial steps
- 13 into trying to be more open with the media after that.
- 14 Q. You tell us in paragraph 3 that essentially, at that 15 time -- this is the 70s and 80s -- all media enquiries 16 were then dealt with by what was called the Press Bureau 17 and only officers at the most senior level were 18 authorised to speak to the media?
- 19 A. Yeah, you just didn't do it. In my little station in 20 south London, we had a south London press used to turn 21 up every week and they would be supplied with the nature 22 and type of crimes that had been committed during the 23 week, but the idea that individual officers would supply 24 information to journalists just wasn't occurred to.
- 25 I mean, I worked -- I remember arresting three little Page 73

- 1 it came about.
- 2 A. Yes. This was going back to 2006. I was actually
 - working on an intelligence unit, working in the area of
- 4 organised crime in and around Heathrow airport, and we'd
- 5 put together an operation or intelligence that there was
- 6 going to be a raid on a secure establishment in the
- 7 cargo area of Heathrow, and the Flying Squad were
- actually going to cover this potential raid to see if 8
- 9 they could apprehend the people doing the raiding, if
- 10 I can put it like that.
 - Quite late on in the day, it was decided that Jeff Edwards from the Daily Mirror would be attending with the Flying Squad with a photographer to cover that raid in the morning --
- 15 Q. Can I just ask you to pause there. How was that 16 decided?
- 17 A. From my understanding, and that's all -- obviously, 18 I wasn't privy to any conversation about it. My
- 19 understanding was that he had a close relationship to
- 20 the person in charge, at that time, of the Flying Squad,
- 21 and he'd been invited along as a personal invitation to
- 22 come and witness this raid.
 - As a result, obviously the raid, as you can see from the picture, was successful in that -- as much as they detained certain suspects at a gold bullion secure

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- burglars at a very high profile rock star's house and he 1
- 2 and his wife lost a huge amount of property which we
- 4 there was a conviction and it was all done and dusted.

managed to restore and nothing was in the media until

- 5 We wouldn't dream of picking up the phone or popping
- 6 down to the pub and telling the local press about it. 7
 - It just wasn't done.

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Obviously, I'm only talking from my own experience, but that's the way I remember it then.

Q. You tell us at paragraph 5 that this all changed when Sir John Stevens became Commissioner in 2000 and introduced the open-door policy by which officers are positively encouraged and sometimes, you say, even ordered to allow the media access to operations and to explain aspects of their work.

You go on to tell us that in the early days this created something of a free-for-all for the press, which jumped at the opportunity to have access to newsworthy and exciting incidents, and then you tell us a bit about one particular incident that you recall. This is the robbery squad covering an armed raid on a warehouse at Heathrow airport.

Can we turn to page 1 of your exhibit, which has a front page from the Daily Mirror. Perhaps you can tell us a bit about this particular front page and how Page 74

- 1 establishment. This photograph was taken and an article
- 2 was written which appeared almost immediately
- 3 afterwards.
- 4 Q. Can you confirm whether this photograph is of a person
- 5 who was arrested on that occasion?
- 6 A. Yes.
- Q. It's not set up in any way? 7
- 8 A. No, that's a genuine photograph, yes.
- 9 Q. You go on to say that you consider this tag-along to be
- 10 inappropriate and also lends an almost comic book
- 11 quality to serious criminal behaviour. Why is it
- 12 inappropriate? Do you mean inappropriate in all cases
- 13 or inappropriate in this case?
- 14 A. I think that certainly on this occasion, whilst it's
- 15 sometimes irresistible to try and to get people to like
- 16 what you do and to congratulate you when you have
- 17 success -- and we all need a pat on the back sometimes
- 18 when things go well, and I'm the first one to say that
- 19 unfortunately the police don't always get credit for
 - a huge amount of good work that goes on and successful
- 21 operations -- I think it has to be appropriate, and
- 22 I didn't feel that -- and many of my colleagues, I have
- 23 to say, felt the same way. They felt that photographing
- 24 a man who had just been arrested and putting it on the 25
 - front page of a paper was inappropriate. He hadn't been Page 76

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- 1 charged but he -- he was in the process of going into
- 2 the criminal justice process, of being spoken to about
- 3 his involvement, and we all live by the rule that people
- 4 are innocent until they're proven guilty and this, by
- 5 any stretch of the imagination, puts him firmly in the
- 6 latter category. He was -- yes, he was there, but I've
- 7 always believed in fairness and I think people should
- 8 have an opportunity to give their side of the story
- 9 before judgment is passed, and judgment by a national
- 10 newspaper is just not appropriate.
- 11 Q. Is your view, therefore, that tag-alongs like this, in
- 12 general terms, are inappropriate or was it the context
- 13 of this particular story that concerned you?
- 14 A. I think that more thought should have gone into it.
- 15 I think it's not necessarily inappropriate that the
- 16 press are invited along on these sorts of events, and
- 17 I think the workings of the police should be open and
- 18 transparent, within reason, but the effect of this was
- 19 in fact that many other newspaper outlets were -- noses
- 20 were out of joint, put it like that, that Jeff Edwards
- 21 had been given this special access. They didn't cover
- 22 the story particularly well, if at all, so it didn't
- 23 actually receive the widespread publicity that perhaps
- 24 it could have done if they'd perhaps, I don't know,
- 25 selected one or two people who could have covered it on
 - Page 77
- 1 behalf of a group, for instance, and given the
- 2 photographs and copy to a group to use in their
- 3 publications and in their broadcasts. I think that
- 4 would have been a fairer, more transparent way of
- 5 covering the incident, and I think it leaves the police
- 6 service open to criticism of favouritism and
- 7 unfortunately questions about what happened and why that
- 8 particular journalist was invited and nobody else was.
- 9 Q. In your experience, was there favouritism for certain 10 newspapers or certain journalists?
- 11 A. I think it -- and again, I can only talk from my
 - experience, but it was well not only that certain police
- 13 officers had a predilection for certain journalists and
- 14 publications. It was pretty much about press rather
- 15 than broadcast journalism and the Crime Reporters
- 16 Association was very much a select club which had
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- a select group of police officers that it mixed with.
- 18 Q. You discuss from paragraph 8 onwards the most recent
- 19 version of the open-door policy in the MPS. You say
- 20 it's dated June 2011. If we look at the front page of
- 21 it -- it's page 2 onwards of your exhibits, just after
- 22 the headline we've been looking at. You should find it
- 23 there. Can we agree that at the bottom of that page it
- 24 suggests that in fact the policy was created
- 25 in June 2008 and reviewed in June 2011?

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- A. Yes, that's actually a mistake. We've just got a new
- 2 copy of it in 2011, but in fact, yes, it was created
 - this 2008.
- 4 Q. Instead of going through the policy, if we just look at
- 5 the bits that you've summarised at paragraph 8 of your
 - statement, we can see that this is a policy reflecting
- 7 the Met's continuing commitment to be open and it makes
- 8 a number of points. The ones that you've set out on
- 9 page 5 are that they seek to gain maximum positive media 10 coverage:
- 11 "It's the Met's policy to be open and honest in
- 12 dealing with media, and we will tell the media things
- 13 which are in the public interest to know about to show
- 14 the public the way in which the police go about their 15 work."
- 16 It then sets out, you say, the importance for the
- 17 appropriate limits for the release of information. 18
- That's the general policy. Do you have any quarrel 19 with what it says?
 - A. Actually, I totally support it. I think the police
 - service does need to be much more open and honest in its
- 22 dealings and transparent in its dealings. I just think
- 23 that they need to accord the general police staff the
- 24 opportunity to understand and to be trained in it, and
 - to be confident and on the front foot when they're

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- 1 dealing with the media, because there's a huge number of
- 2 officers who aren't, and if you're not confident, if you
- 3 are nervous and you are worried about saying something
- 4 wrong, the nature of that discourse is going to be
- 5 skewed.
- 6 Q. We'll come back to whether people know about the
- 7 relevant policies and whether anything can be done about
- 8 that, but just before we move on to that, the second
- 9 policy that you refer us to is the more detailed
- 10 guidance in a document entitled "MPS media relations
- 11 standard operation procedure". It's just after the one
- 12 we've just been looking at, also in your exhibits,
- 13 page 8 internally.
- 14 You tell us about it and then you say further in
- 15 your statement you consider this policy to be
- 16 wide-ranging and helpful. Before we discuss how widely
- 17 publicised it is, is there anything at all that you
- 18 would add to this document or anything that you would
- 19 criticise in this document?
- 20 A. I think in general principle I think the document is
- 21 quite wide-ranging. I think it's a bit too superficial
- 22 and doesn't go into enough detail. Unfortunately I feel 23
- 24 I think is a huge hole. There's no policy about the
- 25 fact that the stories that those police officers will be

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that the word "victim" doesn't appear at all, which

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talking about involve victims of crime, and it's their stories, not the police officers' stories that they're telling, and I think that's a huge omission from that document.

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I think it also lacks in more specific guidance in terms of what constitutes a fact or a piece of information. I think the officers could do with a lot more guidance and an opportunity to challenge what it means so that they are more confident in taking it on.

- Q. You explain to us -- move along to paragraph 10 of your statement -- that very few officers attending your courses have even heard of this specific media relations policy, let alone read it. Do you hand it out as a matter of course?
- 15 A. No, I don't hand it out. I do indicate where it's 16 available on the police intranet, but generally, by the 17 time they come to me, they're detective inspector level, 18 and it is surprising the number that probably haven't 19 read it or haven't found the need to read it or don't 20 know of its existence.
- 21 Q. I'm going to ask you about training, but before we do, 22 just tell us in a nutshell -- tell us the training input 23 that you provide.
- 24 A. Yeah, I -- I'll give you a bit of a background to it. 25 In 2006, I was approached by the detective training Page 81

- 1 that I've been delivering this, I've always tried to
- 2 create an atmosphere where -- I'm sorry, is there
- 3 something I could ...?
- 4 Q. No, apologies.
- 5 A. I've always tried to create an atmosphere where they can
 - talk open and frankly. As an ex-detective myself, I've
- 7 always tried to encourage them to exchange frankly their
- 8 views a honestly as possible and to learn from each
- 9 other's experiences, and within that environment, and
- 10 I've always believed that by the time we finish our
- 11 session, is that everybody has been given the
- 12 opportunity and they do, quite frankly, to be honest,
- 13 express and quite robustly express those views, and I'm
 - pretty sure that they're being very honest about it.
- 15 Q. I don't think we need to go into detail about all the 16
 - views that they express. They're set out in your
- 17 statement. But can I just touch on one thing? At the
- 18 end of your statement, you suggest that enhanced 19 training in media and communications skills for officers
- 20 at all levels of the police service is something that
- 21 you would recommend. In a nutshell, what would that
- 22 involve and how would it help?
- 23 A. Since 2006, when I started giving this input, there was
- 24 such a positive feedback, not necessarily because I was 25
 - doing it but because they had at last had an opportunity Page 83
- 1 school, the crime academy, who were writing a course for
- 2 newly promoted detective inspectors. There hadn't been
- 3 one in existence prior to then. They were endeavouring
- 4 to get a media input. The directorate of public affairs
- 5 hadn't been able to supply anybody or any information,
- 6 and they were really struggling to provide something
- 7 which would assist officers with the media, so he
- 8 approached me and said, "Could you come up with
- 9 something which would cover certain areas to provide
- 10 a media input on this course?" So I wrote a presentation
- 11 and started delivering it.
- 12 Q. How many officers would you see or train, therefore,
- 13 during the course of, say, a year?
- 14 A. The number of courses varies. It can be as little as 15 three, sometimes five, and probably between 15 and 18
- 16 detective inspectors on each one.
- 17 Q. You've given us in your statement some of their views.
- 18 You tell us, for example, that they're not always
- 19 familiar with the relevant media relations policies.
- 20 We'll come on to discuss some of what they say, but you
- 21 tell us, for example, that they don't feel entirely
- 22 confident dealing with the media. How confident are you
- 23 that the views that they express to you are
- 24 representative?
- 25 A. I think over -- what are we talking about? -- six years Page 82

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1 to get some media training and to discuss the issues.

2 It became very apparent from their feedback and comments

that they felt they could have -- should have had

something sooner than this.

5 There is now an hour, I think, on the junior

6 detective trainees course for detective constables.

7 I think there's an hour and a half for

- 8 detective sergeants on their newly-promoted course, but
 - I feel that it really needs to be a much more intrinsic
- 10 part, rather than an isolated hour of their training,
- 11 because it's something which is -- flies through the
- 12 hole of their training. It impacts on so many other
- 13 things that they do these days, particularly with new
- 14 media and the access for the public to instantly send
- 15 off messages and video officers on their phones while
- 16 they're undertaking their duties. I think it's
- 17 important for their skillset to be able to handle that
- 18 and to understand the issues that that raises, and to be
- 19 able to be on the front foot when they're dealing with
- 20 it and not to be scared of it, as so many of them are.
- Q. Let me ask you a number of small questions, again, on 22 this aspect of your statement.
- 23 Paragraph 21, please, on off-the-record briefings.
- 24 You say that off the record briefings to established and
- 25 well-known journalists are an effective way of managing

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1	the process and can help to build trust on both sides.	1	I approach it is by way of debate, in posing the
2	Again, a general question on that: I understand what	2	question: is it possible to have a perfectly normal
3	you say but isn't there an argument that off-the-record	3	professional relationship with a journalist and retain
4	briefings are always going to be open to abuse in the	4	your professional integrity? And that provokes a really
5	wrong circumstances?	5	interesting debate which allows officers to question
6	A. I think we've and certainly in the police service, we	6	perhaps what they've done in the past and also how they
7	have always suffered from a reaction to the bad	7	will approach their relationships with journalists in
8	behaviour of a few impacting on the normal daily process	8	the future.
9	of the many. To constantly bring up and write new rules	9	LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: But don't you need some rules in that
10	and regulations for the one or two that abuse their	10	regard?
11	position I feel is perhaps too detrimental to the	11	A. Of course you do. Absolutely you do, and I think you
12	workings of the whole force in particular, you know,	12	can focus in on rules, but as you can see from the rules
13	with off-the-record briefings which affect criminal	13	that are currently in place, they are open to
14	investigations which are complex, and the damage that	14	interpretation, and I think there's a lot to be learnt
15	can be done by misinformation being written is huge.	15	from experience, and what happens in the time that
16	So I think that in this case, the benefits outweigh	16	I have with officers is that I don't admit to having all
17	the problems, and I think that if you do you can have	17	the answers because there are so many grey areas in
18	a relationship with journalists and retain your	18	criminal investigations with fast-moving, changing
19	professional integrity, and there's no reason why if	19	operations, where you may believe somebody
20	you're open and honest about that discourse, it	20	absolutely in your mind that somebody's responsible at
21	shouldn't be of benefit to everybody.	21	9 o'clock in the morning, but by midday, new information
22	LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I suppose it depends what's going on,	22	has come in.
23	doesn't it?	23	So you can't necessarily set down absolute rules as
24	A. Yes.	24	to how you manage that information, but you can give
25	LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: "Police sources say that"	25	people the opportunity to debate: how would I deal with
	Page 85		Page 87
1	potentially give rise to real problems, don't they?	1	that? What would I say? What would I do? Is that
1 2	potentially give rise to real problems, don't they? A. Mm.	1 2	that? What would I say? What would I do? Is that right?
2	A. Mm.	1 2 3	right?
	A. Mm. LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: So is your training course to provide	2	right? LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: But you can set down some rules,
2	A. Mm. LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: So is your training course to provide officers with the ability to feel confident in what they	2 3	right? LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: But you can set down some rules, can't you?
2 3 4	A. Mm. LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: So is your training course to provide	2 3 4	right? LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: But you can set down some rules, can't you? A. You can have some, yes.
2 3 4 5	A. Mm. LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: So is your training course to provide officers with the ability to feel confident in what they say to the press or does it also touch upon the risks of inappropriate contact and the development of	2 3 4 5	right? LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: But you can set down some rules, can't you? A. You can have some, yes. LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: We've had many examples, I'm sure
2 3 4 5 6	A. Mm. LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: So is your training course to provide officers with the ability to feel confident in what they say to the press or does it also touch upon the risks of inappropriate contact and the development of relationships which might ultimately cause problems for	2 3 4 5	right? LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: But you can set down some rules, can't you? A. You can have some, yes. LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: We've had many examples, I'm sure you'll appreciate, of potentially very, very damaging
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2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	A. Mm. LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: So is your training course to provide officers with the ability to feel confident in what they say to the press or does it also touch upon the risks of inappropriate contact and the development of relationships which might ultimately cause problems for the police? You've already mentioned one: the fact that somebody was allowed to come on this very substantial	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	right? LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: But you can set down some rules, can't you? A. You can have some, yes. LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: We've had many examples, I'm sure you'll appreciate, of potentially very, very damaging press releases, police suspicions reported, which then dramatically affect the nature of the investigation.
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2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13	A. Mm. LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: So is your training course to provide officers with the ability to feel confident in what they say to the press or does it also touch upon the risks of inappropriate contact and the development of relationships which might ultimately cause problems for the police? You've already mentioned one: the fact that somebody was allowed to come on this very substantial operation, not merely potentially damaging or influencing the case against him but also demeaning or undermining the gravity of the investigation and finally creating all sorts of problems with every other media	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13	right? LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: But you can set down some rules, can't you? A. You can have some, yes. LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: We've had many examples, I'm sure you'll appreciate, of potentially very, very damaging press releases, police suspicions reported, which then dramatically affect the nature of the investigation. You give one later on in your statement about the Soham murders. I've heard in relation to the Bristol murder too. This shouldn't be a matter of complexity. It seems to me that here there can be some quite bright
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1 that you don't discuss people who have come into the 1 many years. I don't know if that's the case now, 2 2 enquiry on that basis because you don't know enough to because I'm detached from it, but certainly for many, 3 make a judgment as to what their involvement is. 3 many years, it was known as a sort of -- a very 4 4 And that's very clear, but it's where you get close-knit group of people who would have access to 5 further down the line and you're closer, perhaps, to 5 information that some police officers don't have. 6 gathering sufficient evidence to take it to the next 6 Q. Okay. Can we turn to paragraph 24, please. This is 7 7 stage that officers find it difficult to say, "Well, am a recommendation that you make or something that you say 8 8 works well. You say: I now under an obligation, because I have seen this 9 9 "The press/police relationship works well during witness statement or that piece of identification or 10 that piece of forensic evidence -- am I now in 10 high-profile cases where an experienced officer is 11 a position where I do have to tell the media?" 11 essentially detailed to do nothing but handle media 12 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: That's a problem as well, because 12 enquiries." 13 you'll presumably have somebody who's been arrested and 13 You give us two examples, really, where you think 14 therefore proceedings are active for contempt of court 14 this has worked or hasn't worked so well. The first is 15 purposes. That sort of black letter stuff ought all to 15 the experience of the Soham murders and you explain 16 be available. 16 here, I'm paraphrasing, that for a number of weeks there 17 17 A. Yes, but there is a huge demand by the media and they was no such person appointed to handle media 18 quite often will find out things for themselves that the 18 enquiries --19 police officers haven't given to them, and will be 19 A. I think it was the first ten days, yeah. 20 following and investigating the case almost in parallel, 20 Q. The first ten days, and you catalogue what went wrong as 21 and that can be very tricky, and they will report on 21 a result, and then on day ten, Mr Tapp was brought in by 22 matters that they found out about which haven't come 22 the police and took control of the media strategy and at 23 from an investigation. 23 that point everything went rather better, if I can put 24 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes, I understand that. 24 it in that way. So you give us that example and an 25 A. And that's very difficult for an officer to deal with. 25 example of a murder in Feltham, which I'll come back to. Page 89 Page 91 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I'm sure. I've had the experience of 1 1 In what circumstances do you think that someone 2 2 should be appointed exclusively to handle media 3 MS PATRY HOSKINS: Finally on paragraph 21, you say that the 3 enquiries in this way? In every high-profile case? In 4 power --4 every murder case? Where would you draw that line? 5 A. Sorry, what paragraph? 5 A. Not in every murder case by any means. There are many 6 Q. 21. 6 that go on which receive no press interest whatever, 7 A. 21, yes. 7 there's no doubt about that, and you're actually 8 Q. In recent years, you say, the power wielded by the Crime 8 knocking on the door of broadcasters and print 9 Reporters Association has given the impression of 9 journalists and asking them to help solve cases and to 10 a closed club of people given special treatment by the 10 publicise them. 11 police. Can you assist us with in your view what's the 11 So certainly not in every case, but clearly some are 12 power wielded by the Crime Reporters Association? What 12 much more in the public's -- "public interest" is an 13 13 is that? expression in this environment that probably means 14 A. Again, it's sort of a cultural thing, almost, within the 14 weightier things, but, you know, the public are really 15 15 police service, and certainly within a high level of passionate and interested about, particularly when it 16 investigators, you know, who are at the top of the major 16 involves missing children, where there's potentially the 17 17 criminal investigation sections -- you know, specialist beginning or a series of offences, which can raise the 18 crime directorate and anti-terrorist function and things 18 fear of crime in a particular area to very high levels, 19 like that -- who have spent many years developing their 19 and sadly to say, when the certain type of victim is

skills and contacts as police officers and establish

relationships with journalists over many, many years,

sometimes even close friendships, and if a new person

get established because it becomes, by human nature,

a gentlemen's drinking club and that's what it was for

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coming into that -- it's not an easy place for them to

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involved.

I know that Lord Blair brought up the subject some

perhaps broadcast journalism -- not paying attention to

which the public would have necessarily sympathy with,

certain murders because the type of victim wasn't one

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years ago of newspapers in particular only -- and

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- 1 and therefore the sort of demarcation lines between what 2 they covered and what they didn't cover was influenced 3 by their interest in the victim. But some murders 4 obviously create a lot of interest in the press, in the 5 public, and you can be flooded with calls, and being in 6 an incident room under an avalanche of calls after an 7 appeal by the public is -- you can be swamped with 8 messages and it can take a lot of dealing and handling 9
- 10 Q. Can I paraphrase what you say in your statement like 11 this: appointing someone like this to deal exclusively 12 with media questions or issues has the dual application 13 of being able to cope with the deluge of interest, but 14 it also, you say at paragraph 24, means that someone 15 dedicated can keep everyone -- by that, I think you mean 16 the press -- interested during times when nothing much 17 is happening. So, for example, by providing background 18 information about the victims, photographs, videos, 19 interviews with the family and so on.

I'm interested in this because, of course, in the evidence that this Inquiry has heard, victims and journalists themselves have said that when there wasn't much going on, it was really necessary to fill a gap. In your view, would a dedicated and experienced officer dealing with media enquiries be able to fill that gap in Page 93

1 experience in paragraph 28 and your last sentence of 2 that paragraph says this:

3 "Whilst the PCC code is designed to prevent certain 4 behaviour, such as intrusion into grief or shock, in my

5 experience, if there is good enough story, the press

6 will tend to disregard the code."

7 I'm not going to go into details or ask for specific 8 examples, but can you give me some idea of how many

9 times that's happened?

code or not.

A. I think certainly -- my experience of dealing with major crime, which tends to sort of involve that sort of activity, when you have a victim particularly who is of interest, or they think is of interest to their readers, or even a suspect, as we'll hear later, the idea that to get that person's reaction, to get inside information into their lives, tends to give them free reign to sort of get that information, whether it's part of the PCC

19 Certainly I give that example because it took the 20 decision out of the hands of the police in trying to 21 inform the family about certain aspects of the case 22 which were going to be particularly distressing and they 23 were forced to actually have to divulge them before the 24

25 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I understand that. What I was trying Page 95

1 such a high-profile case?

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- 2 A. They'll generally know what can be disclosed without
- 3 a problem and to help -- use the expression "feed the
- 4 beast", if you like. Because if there is a gap, they
- 5 will want to fill it with something. We live in a world
- 6 of 24-hour news coverage, of the Internet, and the
- 7 demands of newspapers to provide copy on something which
- 8 is of such interest to the public. They want to know
 - what's going on and police aren't always going to be
- 10 able to tell them, so giving them background
- 11 information, perhaps using the opportunity -- and it is
- 12 an opportunity -- to pursue lines of appeal which the
- 13 public can help with -- because ultimately this is about
- 14 a conversation between the police and the public. It's
- 15 not about the police and the journalists. They're just
- 16 a conduit for the police to be able to provide
- 17 information and seek the help of the public, and it's
- 18 very easy to get so messed up with the journalists in
- 19 the middle that you forget why you're talking in the
- 20 first place.
- 21 Q. I'm going to turn on now, please, to your personal
- 22 experience of media surveillance. It's paragraph 29
- 23 onwards of your statement.
- 24 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Just before you do, there's one

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25 question. You give the example of the Feltham

- 1 to ask about was: did this happen once? Once a year?
- 2 Or was it a regular sort of occurrence in your

family were ready to listen.

- 3 experience?
- 4 A. Mainly on sort of the more emotive high-profile cases
- 5 I think it becomes more of a free for all. I think in
- 6 lesser cases or perhaps in terms of size of the enquiry,
- 7 it tends not to happen so much.
- 8 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I understand, but we are talking
- 9 about a number of such cases each year?
- 10 A. I couldn't make that judgment now, because I've been
- 11 away for a few years now, so it be would unfair of me to
 - make that judgement, sir.
- 13 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I wondered if you'd picked it up also
- 14 through your experience with Crimewatch.
- 15 A. Yes, certainly with Crimewatch. Don't get me wrong;
- 16 I think a lot of families of victims and victims
- 17 themselves of serious crimes like to be involved in
- 18 publicising their cases. It gives them a feeling that
- 19 they are doing something positive to solve their own
- 20 cases, and I would never dissuade anyone if they wanted 21
- to talk to the media and talk about what happened to 22
- them. That's their decision, and certainly Crimewatch 23 does that in a very managed and effective way in helping
- 24 solve the case. It's not for me to make a judgment of
- 25 any victim or family member who wants to talk to the

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1 press. But if they don't, then they should have the 2 opportunity to stay silent. 3 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: All right, thank you. 4 MS PATRY HOSKINS: Personal experience of surveillance. 5 This is paragraph 30 onwards of your witness statement. 6 I'm going to paraphrase what you say about the 7 murder of Daniel Morgan, if I can. I think it's 8 sufficient for us to note that in 1987, a man called 9 Daniel Morgan was murdered and found dead in the carpark 10 of a pub in Sydenham, south London. You then tell us 11 a bit about the initial murder investigation, and it's 12 safe to say that various things happened, but no one was 13 charged --14 A. No. 15 Q. -- with his murder, such that in 2002, many years later, 16 the police decided to issue a fresh appeal for 17 information in connection with his murder. 18 If you turn to paragraph 34 of your statement 19 onwards, this is where you deal with this. You explain 20 that your then husband, David Cook, who was then 21 a detective chief superintendent, was tasked with being

> had been discussing your husband's involvement in the enquiry and intended to make life difficult for him.

Crimewatch. He duly made the appeal in June 2002 and

the public face of the Inquiry by appearing on

you say that after the appeal was transmitted, the

police received intelligence that one of the suspects

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You explain that at this time, a police panic alarm was installed in your house, along with additional security, and you were placed under the umbrella of the witness protection unit. Again, paraphrasing, you also say, paragraph 35, that during this same period an email was received at the Crimewatch production office suggesting that you were having an affair with a senior police detective. I make it clear that was completely untrue, but it obviously caused you some concern, you say, because someone was trying to stir up trouble and damage your reputation.

Just going through the course of events chronologically, you explain at paragraphs 36 and 37 that two vans were spotted outside your home. It looked as if the vans were following your husband, and it became clear to you that your husband was being placed under surveillance.

I'm trying to paraphrase quite a long story, but you essentially find out, paragraph 37 -- the police make enquiries and it becomes clear that the vehicles were leased to News International and that you and your husband had been placed under surveillance by News International.

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1 Paragraph 38, you explain that this series of 2 incidents caused you great anxiety. You set out there 3 some of the steps that you had to take and how you felt about being placed under surveillance at this time. 4 5 Before we turn back to the impact on you, please, 6 I just want to complete the story. You tell us at 7 paragraph 39 that Dick Fedorcio, who was the head of the 8 MPS directorate of public affairs at the time, spoke to 9 Rebekah Brooks, who was then the editor of the 10 News of the World -- so prima facie the person 11 responsible for placing you and your husband under 12 surveillance -- and as I understand it, she didn't deny 13 that you had been placed update the surveillance but she 14 said that the explanation was that you and your husband 15 were under surveillance because they were investigating 16 suspicions that you were having an affair with each 17 other. 18 A. That's right, yes. 19 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: There's two questions. In your view, 20 could that possibly have been the reason why 21

News of the World placed you and your husband under

22 surveillance?

23 A. Having been a police officer for 30 years, I'm always

24 willing to try and see the other side of things, and to

25 be fair. But scratching my head and being as kind as Page 99

1 I possibly can, I cannot think of one reason why that 2 would be in any way, shape or form a valid reason for 3 putting us under surveillance. It just doesn't add up 4 and is absolutely pathetic, to be honest.

5 Q. Can you tell us a bit more why you say that?

6 A. Well, we'd been together for 11 years. He was 7 a detective chief superintendent in the Metropolitan

8 Police, who had investigated quite a number of

9 high-profile murders himself. We were well-known as

10 a couple within the police service. We'd appeared --

11 I'd done some publicity, I think it was a year or so

12 before, where I'd been in Hello! magazine talking about

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Crimewatch and various other things, and we'd appeared

14 together. There was a picture of us with the family.

15 It wouldn't have taken much to have completely refuted

16 that allegation, if that's what had happened, and it 17 obviously wasn't.

Q. In your view, what was the reason for the surveillance?

19 A. Well, David took on this initially public face of the

20 enquiry in order to make this appeal. Up until that

moment, not one word of this -- one event had happened

22 that would support that. He made that appeal on

23 Crimewatch, and I was actually on the same programme,

24 and the following day we were informed that officers

25 investigating the murder of Daniel Morgan had received Page 100

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2 interest in terms of trying to discredit him in some way 3 in order to derail that investigation. 4 The fact that within a few days we were being put 5 under surveillance -- our mail was being tampered with. 6 A phone call was being put into a previous place of work 7 for David at Surrey Police, trying to get financial 8 information. There were various things that happened, 9 and you can't -- I think any reasonable person would 10 find it very difficult not to put them together and feel

intelligence that he would become the subject of their

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11 that there was in some way -- there was some collusion 12 between people at the News of the World and the people

13 who were suspected of committing the murder of Daniel

14 Morgan. I can't put it any clearer than that.

15 Q. Have you ever got to the bottom of why you were placed 16 under surveillance or been provided with any evidence 17 which would indicate to you the reason why you were 18 placed under surveillance?

A. No. As you can imagine, various thoughts went through my head as to what we could do about it, but we were serving police officers and it was important that -- and perhaps more important that the murder enquiry was allowed to continue without any interference. I know that David made -- or approached Dick Fedorcio to try and figure out a reason why, and that's when the initial

1 You -- excuse me.

2 Q. Would you rather I didn't ask you about this?

3 A. No, it's fine. You ...

LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Just stop. Just pause a moment. 4

5 A. Sorry.

6 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: You've described this in your

7 statement. It was clearly extremely distressing and

8 even now to think about it, I can see it. So I don't

9 want you to talk about it any more. You are not the

10 first person who has given evidence, speaking about

11 this, who has reacted in this way.

12 A. I do apologise. I'm sorry.

13 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: You mustn't. That's what I'm saying

14 to you. There's nothing to apologise for at all. You

15 were concerned about the lack of investigation into all

16 this by the police, and that's another matter. I am

interested to know what the impact of knowing about what

18 was in the Mulcaire notebooks has had on you, but again

19 you've set it out in your statement, and I'm content to

20 leave it at that, unless there's something you want to

21 develop or talk about. But the purpose of this Inquiry

22 is not to aggravate the distress that you've previously

23 suffered. It really isn't.

24 A. I think -- and I'm grateful for your kind thoughts. It

25 is very difficult, because in some ways, by coming here,

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response came back from Rebekah Wade or Rebekah Brooks, 2 as she is now, that this line about the affair.

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Unfortunately, nothing else was heard after that. It went very quiet from that angle. He, to put it mildly, was not happy that we were being placed in that position and that our sense of personal safety and security had been undermined in such a large way, and continued to make noises and to try and see if somebody could get to the bottom of this. He really forced it and finally a meeting was agreed at the Yard, as far as I'm aware, between Dick Fedorcio -- I think commander Andy Baker was there, who was David's immediate boss, and Rebekah Wade, in order to try and elicit what on earth was going on and what she was doing about it.

14 15 I understand that she just continued along the line that 16

they were investigating the potential that we were having some sort of an affair, and nothing else was

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Q. My second question on this was whether you felt able to 20 tell us about the impact of this period on you and your

22 A. This is obviously a very difficult area because --

23 I mean, as a police officer you learn to

compartmentalise. You put your private and your public

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and your business life into two different places.

1 you stick your head above the parapet because you're

2 angry and distressed about what has happened, and the

3 impact on us, I think, is important because I think it's 4 very easy to compartmentalise people, inasmuch as

5 celebrities have clearly suffered in this whole process,

6 as have many others, and I think sometimes it's easier

7 to dismiss certain people because they should be able to

8 put up with it. But I don't think anybody, from any

9 walk of life, should have to put up with it, which is

10 why I've come here today and stuck my head above the

11 parapet.

12 So it's important to me to come here and do that to 13 show that the impact of something like that, which can 14 be easily dismissed, because people -- you know, I would 15 hate to think of any other person in the future having

16 to go through what we've had ten years of.

17 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I understand, and I ought to have

18 said -- because you started on the professional training 19

material, I didn't say what I've said to all those who

20 came during the first part of this Inquiry, that I am

21 extremely conscious that matters which you'd prefer to

22 move on from and are private and personal to you are not

23 matters which you should be asked to talk about 24 publicly, and therefore I've been very conscious of the

25 enormous effort that not just you, but everybody else

Day	42 - AIVI Leveson	ımqı	airy 28 February 20
1	who's been in your position, has made expose the reality	1	just writing notes as and when.
2	and the impact on their lives.	2	LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: You saw his original documents?
3	So you don't need to be concerned about it at all.	3	A. Yes. So, I mean, if, for instance, I was making some
4	I really do understand, and I'm absolutely content to	4	enquiries and somebody was giving me information,
5	take your statement for what it says. You've obviously	5	I would write little notes on a piece of paper. It
6	put a lot of work into it, and I'm grateful. It is	6	didn't appear to me to be written at different times or
7	important, for reasons which I'm sure you understand.	7	over a course of a period of time or from different
8	A. Certainly, sir, and I'm more than happy to discuss my	8	people. It was in the same pen and same handwriting as
9	findings in response to the Mulcaire notes.	9	if it had all been written down at the same time.
10	LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Let's deal with that. Right.	10	MS PATRY HOSKINS: The reason I ask you that question is
11	MS PATRY HOSKINS: Yes. The Glenn Mulcaire notebooks. You	11	probably apparent to you. You say at the first line of
12	explain at paragraph 41 onwards that in May 2011, police	12	paragraph 42 that the information that you saw could
13	officers from Operation Weeting contacted you and	13	only have come from one place: your MPS file. You
14	conformed you that your details had been found in	14	explain that you were horrified by the realisation that
15	Glenn Mulcaire's notebooks. You explain that you were	15	someone within the MPS had supplied information from
16	shown details of investigations undertaken by	16	your file to Mr Mulcaire, and probably for money.
17	News of the World into David and yourself back in 2002,	17	The question I've been asked to put to you is: isn't
18	which of course you had no idea were going on at the	18	it right that all the information that you detail as
19	time.	19	being in the Glenn Mulcaire notebook could have been
20	Then you go on to detail the information that you	20	obtained by old-fashioned investigation and digging
21	were shown in the notebooks, and it included and I'm	21	around, asking friends, asking colleagues for
22	going to read this out, it's important your payroll	22	information about you? In your view, is that right?
23	number, your warrant number, the name of the police	23	A. Oh, crikey, they'd have to do an awful lot of digging
24	section house that you'd lived in when you first joined	24	around, an awful lot of talking. Things like your
25	the police in 1977, the name, location and telephone	25	payroll number, it's an extension of your warrant
	Page 105		Page 107
1	number of your place of work in 2002, you and David's	1	number. As a woman when Licined we had concrete
1	number of your place of work in 2002, you and David's		number. As a woman, when I joined, we had separate,
2	full home address, your mobile number, notes about your	2	different types of warrant numbers, and mine was only
3	previous husband and his work details. It also	3 4	four figures, so if anybody said to me, "What's your
4	contained notes about David, including his name,	5	warrant number?", I would have said "4481", but my payroll number was 19/00004481, and it wasn't somethin
5	telephone number, rank, the word "appeal", which you presume to be a reference to his appeal for information	6	that you used for any other purpose, really, other than
6	*	7	your payroll number, because it was too unwieldy and
7	on Crimewatch, and you explain that the date at the top	′	your payron number, because it was too unwieldy and

8 of the notes was 3 July 2002, a week or so before the

9 News of the World vans began to appear outside your 10 home.

You say this in the final sentence:

"This demonstrates to me that the News of the World knew full well that I was married to David at the time of the surveillance, and thus gives the lie to their explanation for it."

We obviously don't have the relevant page or pages from Glenn Mulcaire's notebooks that contains these entries, but from memory, can you tell us whether all this information was in the same place, ie on a single page or number of pages together, or whether it was bits of notes from different parts of the notebook that seemed to have been collated in one place to show to you?

A. No, it was very much contained within a page or so of the notebook, as if somebody was on the telephone and Page 106

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- 8 unnecessary. And things like the section house that
- 9 I lived in when I first left, I'm not sure many people
- 10 would know that. It's not something I regularly talked
- 11 about. I only lived there a few months.
- 12 Q. In 1977?
- A. In 197 -- January 1978 I moved in there, and I was there 13
- 14 a few months. It wasn't something that was a topic of
- 15 conversation amongst -- even my friends wouldn't have
- 16 known that, necessarily.
- 17 Q. All right. How did you feel when you were contacted by
 - Operation Weeting and shown all the details found in
- 19 Glenn Mulcaire's notebooks?
- 20 A. Well, all sorts of things went through my head, some
- 21 which I probably shouldn't go into, but certainly I was
- 22 very -- I think initially I was shocked, and very angry.
- 23 It's very difficult. I spent 30 years in the police
- 24 service, and do you know what? I loved it. I loved
 - being a police officer. And I was extremely -- excuse Page 108

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27 (Pages 105 to 108)

- 1 me -- extremely proud to be in the Metropolitan Police, 1 We've already touched on the enhanced training. You 2 2 also suggest there should be a clear complaints and I think although I was aware of corruption, aware of 3 3 malpractice, I'm certainly not that naive to think it procedure for police officers wishing to correct 4 4 inaccuracies in a story or who were unhappy with the doesn't go on. But, hey, when it's you and you know 5 that somebody in your family, the police service, has 5 conduct of a journalist; a review of the role of the 6 sold you down the line, it's very hurtful, very painful. 6 Crime Reporters Association to ensure transparency in 7 7 Q. I don't think I need to ask you any further questions terms of access to information; and that news editors 8 about the Glenn Mulcaire notebooks. 8 should be required to complete decision logs where 9 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: There is one other feature. First of 9 invasion of an individual's privacy and/or use of 10 10 all, that's how it looked, but secondly, for five years a private investigator is contemplated. 11 11 you didn't know about it. Is there anything that you would like --12 12 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I think on this last one, you've A. Exactly. 13 I mean, there are two issues, actually, probably 13 probably heard that over the course of the last few 14 I should mention. Firstly, the date on the notes, which 14 months one of the issues that I have discussed with 15 gives rise to the suggestion that this was the date the 15 editors is audit trails of decisions, and that's really 16 information was received. It was some week or so before 16 what you're talking about. 17 the surveillance on us started. They would have known 17 A. Absolutely. I don't necessarily feel that there need to 18 in that case that we were married, from reading my file. 18 be additional constraints, but I just think there should 19 19 So it certainly, if it didn't -- if it needed saying at be a process by which they can show some transparency in 20 all, gave further weight to the lie that we were 20 how that decision -- and justify it in some way, because 21 21 supposed to be having an affair. the huge effect that it has on people's lives needs to 22 Secondly, I mean in 2006, when this information came 22 be justified, and it may well be in the public interest, 23 23 to be known, I was -- I mentioned earlier, talking about and if it is, they have nothing to hide. 24 24 the bullion raid, I was on a rather sensitive inquiry, MS PATRY HOSKINS: Is there anything that you would like to 25 not that, involving security and some sensitive 25 add to the other recommendations that you made? Page 109 Page 111 1 witnesses under protection, and if I'd known that my 1 A. I think with regard to the training for police officers, 2 phone number was known to members of the media or to 2 I've sort of gone into that briefly in terms of 3 3 complaints. I think there's a lot of frustration people perhaps with more scurrilous intentions, I would 4 have immediately changed it, if only as a matter of 4 around, "What do I do if I've given an interview to 5 prevention. It would have caused me huge problems to 5 a journalist and they completely change what I've said 6 or put inaccuracies in?" And it goes back to the know that that was in the public domain, because it 6 7 wasn't at that time something which I widely publicised. 7 confidence issue, I suppose, is to challenge them on 8 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Okay. 8 that and to correct those inaccuracies, but I don't 9 MS PATRY HOSKINS: Yes. The final question really is about 9 think a lot of sort of coalface detectives know where to 10 recommendations for the future. Two paragraphs in your 10 start in that, and they feel that there isn't an ability 11 statement deal with this. First of all, paragraph 45, 11 for them to complain or --12 12 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Well, there is, actually, but people
- where you say that you don't necessarily believe the 13 answer is to bring in more legislation when there's already so much in place, and you recommend more widespread use of the Protection from Harassment Act 1997. I'll move on from that, unless there's something
- 14 15 16 17 you particularly want to say about that. 18 A. No. I think there are only a number of bits of 19 legislation, and it may be if there's more controls 20 brought into police interaction with journalists, maybe 21 the Freedom of Information Act needs to be looked at 22 again, but I'm not a lawyer by any stretch of the 23 imagination, so in terms of legislation, I'm probably 24 completely the wrong person to comment on that.

Q. And paragraph 48 contains your recommendations as well.

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15 police officers as to everybody else. A. But I think that there is a general feeling that 16 17 unfortunately the directorate of public affairs really 18 was so close to many journalists and media organisations 19 that their voices wouldn't be heard anyway, so what was 20 the point? 21 MS PATRY HOSKINS: Is there anything that you would like to 22 add?

have spoken about the PCC at some length, and what

you're saying is actually that applies just as much to

- 23 A. No, I don't think so.
- 24 MS PATRY HOSKINS: Thank you very much. Those are my 25 questions.

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1	LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Thank you. I just want to write down
2	what you've just said. (Pause)
3	Ms Hames, thank you very much indeed. Thank you.
4	Right. 2 o'clock.
5	(12.59 pm)
6	(The luncheon adjournment)
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