1 1 Q. I'm not going to ask you specifically about what he told 2 (2.00 pm) 2 you, although it's clear from the third page of your LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes, Mr Jay. 3 statement the limit of your contact with him. Can I ask 4 4 MR JAY: The next witness is Mr Peter Burden, please. you then about your direct knowledge of other matters? 5 MR PETER HENRY BURDEN (sworn) 5 First of all, in your book you refer to the Bob and Sue Questions from MR JAY 6 6 Firth story. Have you spoken to anyone directly about 7 7 MR JAY: Mr Burden, please sit down and make yourself 8 comfortable. 8 A. Yes, I did go down and see Mr and Mrs Firth in early 9 9 A. Thank you. 2009, and discussed the whole case with them because I'd 10 10 Q. Your full name, please? only touched on it lightly in the first edition, and 11 11 A. Peter Henry Burden. indeed I had unfortunately placed them in Essex whereas 12 Q. Mr Burden, you've provided a witness statement to the 12 in fact they were in Dorset. So I had to put this right 13 Inquiry dated 13 October 2011. It runs to four pages. 13 and I went to see them and they told me in considerable 14 The version I have isn't signed, but is this your formal 14 detail the background to the events which subsequently 15 evidence to the Inquiry with one redaction I think we've 15 came out where they were exposed, as it were, in the 16 made? 16 News of the World for running a bed and breakfast A. Yes. 17 17 establishment that was of a naturist nature. A strange 18 Q. You tell us a little bit about yourself. You say that 18 place to do it, in the middle of Dorset, but that's 19 since 1987 you've been a freelance author. You've also 19 where they were doing it, and the News of the World had 20 produced several non-fiction titles, two of which are 20 gathered that there were additional facilities or 21 21 books: Fake Sheiks & Royal Trappings, and there's services, I should say, on offer there, and they sent 22 another book you've written more recently, How I Changed 2.2. down their reporter, Mr Neville Thurlbeck, to see what 23 Fleet Street: is that correct? 23 was going on. 24 A. No, that isn't correct. That is another Peter Burden. 24 Q. May I ask you this question: have you spoken to 25 He used to be the chief crime reporter on the Daily Mail 25 Mr Thurlbeck to obtain his account of events? Page 1 Page 3 and he retired quite a long time ago. A. No, he was disinclined to talk to me when I asked him. 1 1 2 Q. I was struggling a little bit with the photograph. It 2 Q. Are you aware of a Channel 4 programme which deals with 3 3 didn't bear much resemblance. these matters or not? 4 A. That isn't my book. A. As a matter of fact, I'm not, no. I don't know what it 5 O. My sincere apologies for that. I'll say nothing more 5 covered and it was never drawn to my attention, so I'm afraid I don't know what conclusions it came to. When 6 about it. Can I ask you please about Fake Sheiks & 6 7 7 Royal Trappings, which we've read and I referred to when was that put out? 8 opening this case. To be clear, in relation to the 8 Q. We're investigating when, Mr Burden. I just wanted to 9 9 phone hacking issue, if I can describe it in those ascertain the sources of your information. You've 10 10 terms, can we be precise as to the direct contacts, if kindly told us that you spoke to the Firths but you 11 didn't speak to Mr Thurlbeck, although I think the sense 11 any, you've had with people. Have you spoken to any 12 News of the World or other journalists about phone 12 of your evidence is that you tried to; is that right? 13 13 A. Yes, I tried to talk to all these people, but none of hacking, first of all? 14 A. I've tried to, but without any direct result. I've 14 them would return my calls, or simply put the phone 15 spoken to quite a lot of News of the World journalists 15 down. 16 off the record, and some on the record, but none of them Q. In relation to what you say about Mr Mazher Mahmood --16 17 17 that I spoke to was prepared to make any firm statement and I think there are two chapters of your book which 18 18 one way or the other. deal with him -- aside from reading all the publicly 19 19 Q. Right. available material, did you speak to anyone about those 20 A. And one or two denied it flatly. 20 issues? 21 Q. Right. You also make it clear in your statement -- and 21 A. Well, I spoke extensively to his brother, Waseem 22 I'm going to ask you to be careful of the answer you 22 Mahmood, who is a broadcaster -- a well-respected 23 23 give. You've had limited contact with broadcaster -- who set up radio stations and television 24 Mr Glenn Mulcaire; is that correct? 24 stations overseas in Afghanistan and places, and he is 25 25 A. That's correct, yes. not on good terms with his brother and was able to give

Page 2

Page 4

- 1 me quite a lot of background to Mazher Mahmood's early
- 2 background and his early life.
- 3 Q. Okay. May I ask you -- and this is on the third page of
- 4 your witness statement. You say at the bottom of the
- 5 page that while preparing a second edition of your book,
- 6 you were approached by two former News of the World
- 7 photographers, Mr Steve Grayson and Mr Ian Cutler, who
- 8 provided graphic examples of stunting, which is faking
- 9 photographs, and, in Mr Cutler's case, of simply
- inventing and casting stories for the paper in
- 11 conjunction with journalists. Is that information they
- freely gave to you?
- 13 A. Yes, yes, and indeed Steve Grayson has outlined some of
- this in a book of his own, which is listed at the back
- of my book, which you can find, which he had published
- a couple of years ago, and it's called -- Don't Ask,
- 17 Don't Get, it's called, by Steve Grayson. He has
- outlined a lot of that, but I also had several meetings
- with him in which he gave me further detail.
- 20 Q. Can we have a sense of the dates we're talking about
- 21 here when Mr Grayson and Mr Cutler were operating, as it
- were? We're talking about some time ago, are we not?
- 23 A. Yes, we are. Ian Cutler was operating in the 1970s and
- 24 1980s with a well-known journalist at the time called
- 25 Trevor Canson(?), and they certainly, according to him, Page 5

- a genuine shot", and as a result of that, they took
- 2 proceedings against him, all of which are detailed in
- 3 his own book and a matter of public record.
- 4 Q. Yes, and referred to in your book.
- 5 A. Yes.
- 6 Q. It might be said that this is all of somewhat historical
- 7 interest. If the last date is 1999 --
- 8 A. Mm.
- 9 Q. -- what bearing does that have on the culture, practices
- and ethics of the press now? What do you say about
- 11 that?
- 12 A. The reason I included it was simply because I think it
- showed the development of that culture -- and first of
- all the culture of not having outstanding regarding for
- 15 the truth -- as being something that was fairly long
- term within that particular newspaper and the idea of
- simply getting the story by any means, whether it was by
- stunting photos or entrapping people, was embedded in
- 19 the culture, the ethos of the newspaper by then, which
- would seem to set the right sort of background for
- 21 people to be prepared to take subsequent risks on things
- 22 like phone hacking, which is what my book was -- what
- originally sparked my book, was the jailing of the two
- 24 phone hackers.
- 25 Q. Thank you. May I ask you some specific matters arising Page 7
- would go out and find circumstances that they thought
- 2 might make a good headline, like dole cheats or rent
- boys at the YMCA and so on, and they'd just get a chum
- 4 and photograph him outside the YMCA and make the story
- 5 up, and as long as, you know, it was sufficiently
- 6 interesting and titillating to the readers -- or they
- 7 thought it was -- it went in, according to Ian Cutler,
- 8 who's also written a book, if you could call it that,
- 9 which is called The Camera Assassin, in which he
- 10 recounts many of these events. How truthful all the
- accounts are I wouldn't like to say, but I'm sure some
- of them are.
- 13 Q. And Mr Grayson? What period of time are we --
- 14 A. He was operating in 1990s, I think up until about the
- end of 1999, I think, that he eventually was dismissed
- and he did go to a tribunal and lost, actually. He was
- dismissed, he claims, for, he felt, obeying orders,
- producing a picture of the Beast of Bodmin when there
- wasn't a beast and he simply took a picture of a puma in
- 20 Ilfracombe zoo and took the bars out of the shot and
- submitted it, and the News of the World, then edited by
- 22 Rebekah Wade, I think -- or she might have been deputy
- at the time; she was deputy at the time, but on her
- 24 own -- was very keen to have it, and then of course he
- had to own up. He had to say, "Look, of course it's not Page 6

- out of your book, if you don't mind? We have copied
- 2 parts of it, but you and I are going to work from the
- 3 second edition, which I think was published in 2008 or
- 4 2009?
- 5 A. 2009. 2009, yes. May 2009.
- 6 Q. First of all, the quote at the front you haven't
  - attributed. It's not necessary to do so now, but you
- 8 name the former news editor in the book somewhere, don't
- 9 you?
- 10 A. Yes.

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- 11 Q. Can I ask you first of all, please, about page 82. You
- say, four lines down:
- "To the News of the World, anyone is fair game,
- 14 irrespective of the hugely disproportionate damage its
- victim might suffer when set against what is often an
- 16 entirely legal and completely private act where no one
- 17 else is being harmed."
  - Are you looking there at a particular point in time or are you looking more generally?
- 20 A. I'm looking for -- no, I'm looking at it generally, that
- 21 the notion that running a story that was going to do
- considerable harm to somebody, even though no illegality
- 23 had been involved, was irrelevant to them. They didn't
- 24 care how much harm they did. In fact, in many respects,
- 25 the more harm they did, the better because that made the Page 8

2 (Pages 5 to 8)

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- 1 story bigger. I think that's the point I was trying to
- 2 make there.
- 3 Q. Then you give some specific examples. There's the
- 4 Arnold Lewis story, which ended in tragedy. That was in
- 5 1978?
- 6 A. Yes.
- 7 Q. Then there's as Mazher Mahmood early sting, which you
- 8 deal with at pages 83 and following. This is a little
- 9 guest house in The Paddock LA(?), I think.
- 10 A. Yes.
- 11 Q. It's probably not necessary to go into the detail of
- 12
- 13 Mr Cutler and his photographs, that starts at
- 14 page 92. You've told us something about the faking of
- 15 photographs. Much of it is in the public domain. At
- 16 the bottom of page 103, you rightly draw attention to
- 17 the fact, as you've already told us, that the unfair
- 18 dismissal claim was rejected in the employment
- 19 tribunal --
- 20 A. Yes.
- 21 Q. -- in East London. Bob and Sue Firth is page 105.
- 22 Based in part on obviously the articles themselves and
- in discussions you've had with them. Missing out the 23
- 24 sort of reverse sting at the end on Mr Thurlbeck, which
- 25 the Inquiry isn't so much interested in, what in

## Page 9

- 1 A. Quite. I think basically it was just embellished and
  - added to in a way to make the story a bit stronger than
  - it already was, which again has turned out to be, as
- 4 I've found, fairly standard practice. You put in
- 5 anything extra that you think is going to make the thing
- 6 look ripe that you don't think is going to get you into 7 trouble.
- 8 Certainly, there's -- one statement which said "Bob
- 9 hid in a cupboard while Sue romped with guests" was
- 10 complete nonsense. He didn't hide in a cupboard at all.
- 11 They told me it was a complete fiction by Thurlbeck and
- 12 most of what he said -- most of what he listed weren't
- 13 things that were going on at all. And, of course, at
- 14 the end he said that he declined the offer of any
- 15 further services, which turned out not, in fact, to be
- 16 the case.
- 17 So according to the Firths -- and my inclination was
- 18 to believe them because my reading of them was that they
- 19 were quite happy to say that they were running a nudist
- 20 B&B and that people would wander around in the nude, and
- 21 if they wanted to engage in sexual shenanigans with one
- 22 another, that was fun, but the idea that there were sort
- 23 of organised services being offered was Thurlbeck's
- 24 fabrication.
- 25 Q. Okay.

## Page 11

- 1 a nutshell was that story about?
- 2 A. That was simply a case of people at the paper, probably
- 3 Thurlbeck himself mostly, identifying that here was
- 4 a possibility to go down and write a piece about unusual
- 5 activities or comparatively unusual activities down in
- 6 the Dorset countryside, and presumably -- he didn't have
- 7 photographs -- he didn't have a photographer with him,
- 8 so presumably he was just going to come back and write
- 9 the story up and did come back and write the story up
- 10 with photographs of the house and explain what he'd been 11 offered when he got there and what he'd done, although
- 12 subsequently he didn't in fact tell the whole story, as
- 13 subsequent events showed.
  - But it was a very run-of-the-mill smut story, as far as they were concerned. It was something that would
- 16 probably end up on page 20 or 30, not a big story, but
- 17 another story of sexual misbehaviour in a slightly
- 18 unlikely spot, which is the kind of story they like very
- 19 much. They're very keen on sort of rural smut, for some
- 20 reason.

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- 21 Q. You point out at page 113 that there were various
- 22 inaccuracies in the story on top of that?
- A. Yes, there were, because -- yes. 23
- 24 Q. And some of the detail we don't really need to know, but
- 25 I think --

## Page 10

- May I deal with another matter, which is fully in 1
- 2 the public domain, page 122. This is the Rebecca Loos
- 3 story, which we all know about. Just two points on it,
- 4 though, Mr Burden. You say halfway down page 122:
- 5 "In 2005, the News of the World was given an award 6
  - for scoop of the year."
- 7 And Mr Thurlbeck was, as it were, the recipient on
- 8 behalf of the newspaper, is that right, and it related
- 9 to this story?
- 10 A. Yes, it was his story, yes.
- Q. Do we know what the sum was that Rebecca Loos was paid 11
- 12 by the News of the World?
- 13 A. We don't precisely, no. Several sums have been bandied
- 14 around, but I've heard -- I'd heard 300,000 and I'd
- 15 heard 800,000, so I imagine it was somewhere in between,
- 16 but as is often the case with this sort of payments,
- 17 they tend to get blown up as the story progresses,
- 18 but -- certainly Max Clifford told me she got
- 19 a substantial sum for it but he didn't say what that sum
- 20 was.
- O. You had conversations with Mr Clifford about this but he 21
- 22 was, as it were, loyal to the confidentiality of his
- 23 client --
- 24 A. Yes, I interviewed Mr Clifford very early on in my
- 25 researches for this book.

Page 12

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1 Q. Might it be said that there was a interest in this 2 story? 3 A. I think there is a public interest in the way David 4 Beckham plays football and performs as a captain of the 5 team when he was. I don't think there's any public 6 interest whatsoever in what he does in bed with anybody. 7 I think that that's not what he's employed for, it's not 8 what he's famous for, and I don't think it's anybody 9 else's business. Unfortunately, the woman who he 10 dallied with saw it, I guess, as an opportunity to make 11 some money. 12 Q. I'll come back to that issue, if I may. 13 May I ask you about the chapters in your book which 14 address Mr Mazher Mahmood, who we're hearing from next 14 15 week. Your view, I think, is that virtually all of his 16 stories are unethical. Have I correctly understood it? 17 A. I'm not saying that all of them are, no. I think 18 especially in the early days he was a fairly genuine 19 reporter, but as times went on, it seems to me, having

looked at a lot of his stories over a long period of

time, that it slowly became easier for him to take the

bare bones of a story, or the mere scintilla of a story,

and find circumstances in which he could turn it into

Page 13

a much bigger story. The most obvious case was -- there

were two obvious cases, specifically the Beckhams again.

1 He claimed that they had foiled an attempt to kidnap 2 Victoria Beckham. When it came to court, which it 3 eventually did -- and I might say that quite a lot of 4 people were in jail for quite a long time awaiting 5 trial -- it turned out that there were no such case at 6 all. These were a group of people who had discussed it 7 and they had recorded -- Mazher Mahmood's agent 8 provocateur, who was a chap called Florim Gashi, an 9 Albanian who used to bring stories to him, to whom he 10 gave 10,000 quid for this particular one, recorded them 11 in a club where they used to go and play snooker, 12 saying, "Oh yes, I know what we could do for a bit of 13 money, we could kidnap the Beckhams", in the same way 14 that you might say you might win the lottery. I mean,

there was no serious intent there at all. It was on the

16 basis of that recording alone, which was entirely 17 speculative and not at all serious and actually had 18 absolutely no basis in anybody's real plans whatsoever, 19 that the arrests were made and the case was brought. 20 I mean, there was ultimately no evidence whatsoever of 21 any kind of conspiracy to kidnap these people, which 22 must have been frightening for the Beckhams themselves, 23 because I think their children were involved, and 24 frightening for other people, thinking -- every time 25 there's a story like this comes out, they think, "Oh, Page 14

1 this could happen to me", but it was based on nothing at 2 all other than Mazher Mahmood's inventiveness. 3 Q. You were going to mention one other story. That was the 4 first of the two. 5 A. There was another story about a material called red mercury, which nobody seems to know what it is, that was 6 7 allegedly being imported by a wheeler dealer in London 8 and was going to be used for bomb-making purposes. 9 Well, the stuff was never found. There was no end-user. 10 The Mr Big that Mr Mahmood was constantly writing -- all 11 his stories seemed to feature a man called Mr Big, in 12 this case a man from Saudi Arabia, which he quoted as 13 being "a hotbed of Al-Qaeda", in order, you know, to suggest that it was a terrorist thing, and he explains 15 that Mr Big from Saudi Arabia was also sympathetic to 16 Muslim causes. Well, presumably, Mr Big, if he came 17 from Saudi Arabia -- it is a Muslim area, so it's not 18 unreasonable. But it's all these little weasel words 19 that get inserted into the stories to give a suggestion 20 of fear and possible danger, based in this case on 21 absolutely nothing at all, and once again people were 22 locked up, awaiting trial, on remand and the cases

collapsed almost instantly. And yet no redress was put

on the paper or Mazher Mahmood himself for this

Page 15

tremendous waste of public time and money.

1 And what is more, if I may add, at the same time, 2 talking of that kind of thing, on many instances he's 3 used people buying cocaine or being prepared to procure 4 cocaine for him and he has produced funds, presumably 5 from petty cash -- he's been asked about this in 6 court -- to buy cocaine in order to propagate a sting so 7 that he can then go back and write a stories about how 8 Johnny Walker, for instance, or the Earl of Hardwicke, 9 or several other individuals were prepared to buy him 10 cocaine, usually under quite a lot of duress from the 11 fake character that he was playing at the time. And 12 curiously, he's never been charged with the illegal 13 purchase of cocaine, although there are no legal grounds 14 on which he can do this to perpetrate a sting. 15 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: What's the most recent of these 16 stories, Mr Burden? A. Jodie Kidd, I think probably about three or four years 17 18 ago, he persuaded to go and buy cocaine for him and that

will find that there is a case where Jodie Kidd was set
up to go and provide him with some cocaine.
MR JAY: It's page 210 of your book.
A. Oh, it is there? It must have happened just before
I published this edition then. I apologise. So that
Page 16

was put up as a video online. I think it might have

happened since this book was last published. But you

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- 1 was in 2009, I think. I can't recall if there have been 1 MR JAY: You weren't approached by the defence to assist 2 2 more since then. them in that case, were you, Mr Burden? 3 Q. I think it's right to say, Mr Burden, that you remain 3 A. Sorry? Q. You weren't approached by the defence to assist them in 4 4 sceptical about the Pakistani cricketers issue, which of 5 course led to a conviction recently? 5 that case, were you, for obvious reasons? 6 A. Yes, it did. I'm puzzled by that. I took the view 6 A. No. No, I wasn't. I did speak to one of the defence 7 7 lawyers and I did speak -- take opinion elsewhere and almost the minute I saw that video on their website that 8 8 there was a feeling that possibly I could have a case, there was something odd about it, because I knew that 9 9 but without being able to get hold of the material, it the John Higgins story, the story of the snooker player 10 10 was impossible to push it any further. apparently taking a bribe, had fallen down because the LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: The problem might be that you're 11 video evidence had been changed by Mazher Mahmood and 11 12 his operatives, and that was acknowledged. 12 obviously entitled to your opinion about any of these 13 13 What was odd about the video that was put up on the matters, but your opinion would not be evidence in 14 14 News of the World website was there were instances where court. you simply couldn't see the mouth of the man who was 15 15 A. I understand. 16 supposed to be doing the speaking. It was a fellow 16 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Unless you're deriving it from some 17 expertise, for example, in the examination of video 17 called Mazher Majeed, who was the agent between 18 Mazher Mahmood and the cricketers, allegedly, and 18 film, which you're not suggesting you have -- I'm merely 19 19 I opined that this video could easily have been made explaining it --20 retroactively, and that's what it seemed to me. 20 A. I accept that entirely and I did have two experts lined 21 21 up to look at the material if I had been able to get Having said that, Mohammad Amir, the youngest of the 22 bowlers, has -- did plead guilty and I find that 22 hold of it, but I wasn't able to, not surprisingly. 23 23 puzzling, but I dare say there's reasons for that. MR JAY: I've been asked to put to you this proposition, 24 24 Nevertheless, the point is there was no actual crime that the evidence you've just given might betray 25 25 a certain lack of objectivity on your part because here there. There was nobody going to go and have a bet on Page 17 Page 19 those no-balls. There was nobody going to benefit from 1 1 you're adhering to a thesis -- no one's saying that 2 it. It was simply Mazher Mahmood setting these people 2 you're not entitled to adhere to it but you are -- in 3 up, putting pressure on them, through Mazher Majeed, to 3 the face of convictions reached after a fair trial by 4 do these no-balls, if they did indeed do them --4 a judge and jury, and you're still not changing your 5 I suppose I must accept that they've been found guilty 5 mind, which might show that you're betraying a hostile 6 and perhaps they did, but there was nevertheless no 6 animus towards the News of the World and certainly 7 clear evidence that anybody was going to benefit from 7 Mr Mazher Mahmood. 8 that particular activity, from that particular crime, so 8 9 it was, in a sense, a non-crime. It was a non-story. 9 10 The whole event was set up by Mazher Mahmood to get 10 11 these people, or to show that these people were prepared 11 12 to bowl a no ball when asked and they seem to have 12 13 satisfied the jury that that was the case. I have to 13 14 say that that didn't satisfy me.
  - A. Well, I wouldn't say that was entirely the case. I did say I accept that since they pleaded guilty, then perhaps that was the case. I am saying that from past experience of the way that particular reporter operates, it would have come as no surprise to me if it had been manufactured, but of course I have no evidence that it 14 was. I'm, as it were, extrapolating from past LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Do you have any expertise in the area 15 experience and past knowledge of stories that he has 16 produced, and indeed an instance where he quite 17 specifically did alter some video evidence that went up 18 online, which is clearly documented. So it was not an 19 unreasonable supposition, but I completely accept that 20 it is a supposition. 21 Q. Thank you. Can I ask you, please, about some of your 22 conclusions at page 282 and following. Chapter 9. 23 A. Mm-hm. 24 Q. Four lines into this chapter you say: 25 "There's a growing sense in Britain that newspapers

Page 20

beyond having looked at the material?

a coincidence or not, I can't say.

A. I wasn't able to look at the raw material because

obviously they weren't going to let me have it and

Messrs Farrer to take it down, which I did, because

But I would say that after the first time I made

more doubtful-looking material. Whether that was

reference to it, some of the material did come down, the

Page 18

I couldn't get my hands on the original material.

indeed I did put up this opinion online and was asked by

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1 like the News of the World -- by no means the only 1 a public interest exception? 2 culprit -- are out of control and unaccountable because 2 A. Frankly, I don't, but I would hope that it retains here 3 various bodies and laws in place which define the public 3 in the UK -- I'm a full believer of the right of 4 interest and protect the privacy of both public and 4 investigative journalists to investigate criminality and 5 private individuals are manifestly too weak." 5 corruption, and if that means that they must sometimes 6 So here is you writing about two or three years ago, 6 break these laws in order to achieve that result, 7 7 and presumably your opinion hasn't changed much since, I accept that that must be a defence for that kind of has it, Mr Burden? 8 8 genuine investigative journalism in the case of, say, 9 A. No, but I do detect that the general impetus is towards 9 the Guardian and Jonathan Aitken, where they did break 10 redressing this now, and presumably this is what this 10 the law in order to get that evidence out, and papers 11 11 Inquiry is very much about and I have to say I'm very like the Guardian do run serious investigations but they 12 glad that that's the case, but certainly at the time, 12 don't fall foul of these kind of libel and privacy 13 there were very fee people who wanted to see the PCC go 13 actions that the News of the World and the similar 14 14 then. A lot of people said, "Oh, we must keep the PCC, newspapers do now. 15 and we don't want a privacy law and we don't want 15 Q. In terms of the PCC, what are your proposals in relation 16 statutory law." I sense that that has changed 16 to that? 17 considerably in the last three years. 17 A. In relation to which? Q. The PCC. 18 Q. Can I ask you then about your ideas for the future? 18 19 First of all, in relation to a privacy law, would you 19 A. Oh, the PCC? I think that what the Colcutt committee 20 propose one? 20 concluded back in 1991 or 1992 that there should be --21 21 A. I think what it requires, if not a law about a statutory body should be put in place. I think the 22 22 (inaudible), a definition of what -- first of all we politicians who were responsible for not accepting 23 23 start with the definition of what privacy is, which they Colcutt's representation recommendations were 24 24 have in France, and it's quite clear that it affects politicians who were, frankly, frightened of the press. 25 25 those aspects of a person's life which don't have I think what's happened in recent months has shown that Page 21 Page 23 politicians need not be frightened of the press, and the 1 anything to do with their public persona, and that seems 1 2 to be perfectly reasonable and perfectly sensible. If fact that Parliament has been able to pull in the 3 3 Murdochs and question them shows that these people are that -- insofar as the Human Rights Act gives an 4 4 not invincible, and therefore I think there's a much individual a right to privacy under section 8, it seems 5 5 stronger appetite for putting some kind of statutory very clear to me that we must understand quite what 6 6 privacy is, which we don't here, we don't have body in control of the press, but at the time, of 7 7 course, the press were all throwing their hands up a statutory definition of it, and it could be that that 8 could be encapsulated in a statutory act that did 8 9 9 time nobody was suggesting that the defence of public protect people's privacy in the same way that other 10 10 jurisdictions have. interest should be removed, and as long as that defence 11 Q. Have you researched the French Civil Code? This is 11 is there, I don't see that there's any problem in saying 12 page 300 of your book. It looks to the uninitiated as 12 to the press, "You cannot transgress this far into 13 13 a person's private life unless you are uncovering that the French Civil Code merely reiterates what's in 14 Article 8 of the Convention. 14 a crime or deep corruption", and I think that's A. They do go on to have a clear definition. I say the 15 15 16

notion of private life has been developed through 17 caselaw by the French courts which have held that:

> "A person's private life includes his or her love life, friendships, family circumstances, leisure activities, political opinions, trade union or religious affiliation and state of health."

So in other words, they have developed a fairly clear understanding of what privacy is through caselaw,

24 which we don't appear to have done in this legislature. Q. Do you happen to know whether the Civil Code has Page 22

saying, "You cannot possibly gag us", but at the same

a perfectly sensible position to take, and -- but the

16 press always complain very, very strongly at anything

17 that suggests that they might be in any way hampered in

18 doing what they consider their job, or in the case of

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the tabloid press, putting out stories that are of no

20 public interest whatsoever but do regrettably sell

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22 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: It may be that although the public

23 interest isn't necessarily defined by what the public

24 are interested in, what the public are interested in is

25 relevant to decisions being made by the press as to what Page 24

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- 1 they should or shouldn't publish.
- 2 A. If you completely disregard any individual's right to
- 3 any kind of privacy, yes.
- 4 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I'm not suggesting you disregard it
- 5 at all, but it's part of the equation, isn't it?
- 6 A. I accept that, but all I'm saying is that this kind of
- 7 privacy should only be breached where there's a very
- 8 good reason for doing it.
- 9 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: And do you consider that the
- suggestions you've been putting forward, and indeed you
- identified in your evidence, I think, to Parliament,
- would itself have a chilling effect upon the press and
- would limit what they need to be able to do that is in
- fact in the public interest? Or not?
- 15 A. I don't see why it should, because if they're pursuing
- a story which is clearly in the public interest, and any
- serious grown-up journalist knows what is or isn't in
- the public interest, they can take that risk on the
- 19 basis that they will have that defence. So I don't see
- 20 why it should be a problem and I only think that the --
- 21 all the press object to any kind of regulation because
- they don't want any kind of regulation if they -- if it
- 23 can be avoided, which is understandable from their
- 24 perspective, but we need protection as well.
- 25 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I understand the point, but I'm not Page 25
- sure that to say that anybody can decide what's in the
- 2 public interest and knows what's in the public interest
- 3 will actually necessarily work because different people
- 4 will have different views about what's in the public
- 5 interest.
- 6 A. I understand that, but I think we should have a clear
- 7 definition of what is the public interest as well, and
- 8 I've suggested that in this book, that we define what
- 9 the public interest is so that we all know what we're
- 10 talking about.
- 11 MR JAY: I think you said a minute ago every serious
- journalist knows what it is --
- 13 A. Quite so, but sometimes they need reminding and I think 13
- if it was codified, it would make it easier.
- 15 MR JAY: Mr Burden, you've given us a mass of helpful
- material in your book, which will be put to other
- 17 witnesses. I'm not going to ask you to rehearse it now.
- You've given us the benefit of your views for the
- 19 future, you've identified your source material. We're
- very grateful. I have no further questions for you.
- 21 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Do you still maintain your
- suggestion, I think it was in your evidence, that -- in
- the memorandum you submitted to the Commons Select
- 24 Committee on Culture, Media and Sport, that one of the
- potential sanctions for an independent press watchdog Page 26

- should be the loss of one or more days' publication?
- 2 A. (Nods head).
- 3 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I wonder whether that doesn't
- 4 interfere rather too extensively with the freedom of the
- 5 press?
- 6 A. Well, that's been put to me and my answer to that is
- 7 always that if they had a serious story to tell, they
- 8 could always tell it the next day. If it's a question
- 9 of finding a sanction that would actually have teeth and
- 10 hurt them --
- 11 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I understand that. But I just wonder
- whether that doesn't risk crossing the line between what
- is an appropriate way to go and what then does interfere
- 14 with the essential freedom that we all have to speak our
- 15 minds.
- 16 A. I think if they have a genuine opinion to give about
- anything along those lines, or, indeed, fact, they can
- always put it in the next day's paper. These things are
- 19 not usually a matter of hot news, are they? And to lose
- 20 a day's publication would cost them money at several
- 21 different levels, and it would make them look very
- 22 obviously guilty for their transgressions, so it had two
- effects, as far as I was concerned: it would, A, punish
- them financially, and B, it would draw the public's
- attention to the fact that they had transgressed badly.

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- 1 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: How would that cope with what is the
- 2 other enormous area that we've touched upon but not
- 3 really investigated as yet, which is the Internet, which
- 4 is very difficult, based in this country, to regulate if
- 5 the server and ISP is abroad?
- 6 A. That's a whole other colossal dimension, which no doubt
- 7 in due course we're going to have to deal with. But
- 8 that's not something I was addressing here.
- 9 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: No, I understand. I just -- I mean,
- 10 you've --
- 11 A. Well, if it's possible, in due course, I suppose similar
- 12 laws will have to be put into place as regards material
- put up on the Internet, but of course that's going to be
- 14 a great deal more difficult, but again it wouldn't be
- a bad thing to establish even in the print press that
- people will have to pay for transgressions, so that when
- we start looking at it for online news, we're in
- a better position to start applying it there as well, if
- 19 that becomes possible or is possible, which
- 20 theoretically, I suppose, it will be in time.
- 21 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes, the risk, of course, is that the
- risky stories won't be published in the print press but
- 23 will simply go offshore and still cause all the harm
- that you speak of.
- 25 A. In answer to that, sir, of course it doesn't to the same

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			1
1	extent because in the end material in the print press is	1	
2	much more widely available and more widely read. It's	2	INDEX
3	not a question of everybody looking for one particular	3	
4	blog. There is the instance of the footballer where		MR ALEXANDER OWENS (on former oath)2
5	a lot of people did know, through the Internet, the name	4	
6	of the footballer who was, as it were, playing away from	_	Questions from MR JAY2
7	home, but actually I didn't, because I didn't look it	5	MD ED ANCIC GEODGE DODEN ALDIQUEE 25
8	up, as a matter of fact, I didn't particularly care, but	6	MR FRANCIS GEORGE BODEN ALDHOUSE35 (sworn)
9	an awful lot of people didn't know, whereas if it had	7	Questions from MR JAY35
10	been published on the front page of the Sun, an awful	8	MR PETER HENRY BURDEN (sworn)67
11	lot of people would have known. I think it will be a	9	Questions from MR JAY67
12	while before that kind of information will become quite	10	`
	- 1	11	
13	so freely available, but I accept that, yes, of course,	12	
14	that happens, and I don't doubt that if stories are	13	
15	bumped off the front page through stricter legislation,	14	
16	they may well appear online, but they still won't have	15	
17	quite the same currency.	16	
18	And also it means that the legitimate broadcast	17 18	
19	media can't refer to them either until they're, as it	19	
20	were, public domain as they've been printed by a British	20	
21	newspaper. So the BBC and the terrestrial broadcasters,	21	
22	indeed, all broadcasters, can't pick up stories from the	22	
23	Internet and pass them on in the way they can with	23	
24	newspaper stories, so I don't think it's quite such	24	
25	a risk, but I accept that of course that will happen,	25	
	Page 29		Page 31
1	but no doubt in due course some kind of restraint will		
2	be put on that.		
3	LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes, well, thank you very much.		
4	A. Yes.		
5	LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Thank you.		
6	MR JAY: Sir, that concludes the evidence for		
7	LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes. We've had to put off our other		
	substantial witness until later in the week; is that		
8			
9	right?		
10	MR JAY: Until tomorrow. Tomorrow the running order, the		
11	four witnesses are Mr Atkins, Mr Nott, Mr Leigh and		
12	Ms Harris. The precise order is to be determined and		
13	will be organised in the next 15 minutes.		
14	LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Right. Thank you very much indeed		
15	(2.45 pm)		
16	(The hearing adjourned until 10.00 am the following day)		
17			
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