

GRATIS

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FREE & FEARLESS



PODCASTING A MURDER

Alastair Morgan and Peter Jukes tackle the most-investigated unsolved killing in British history

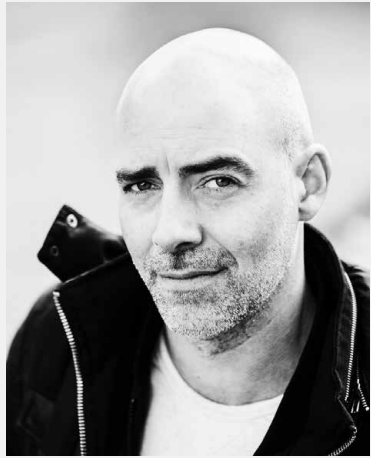
Why Britain needs Leveson Part 2

By Dan Evans, the man at the centre of the phone hacking scandal

JIMMY SAVILE COULDN'T HAVE BULLIED THE PRESS UNDER LEVESON'S PROPOSALS

Says former Sunday Times Insight team journalist, Joan Smith

Also. Jeffrey Kofman, Jacqui Hames, Steve Bell, Juha Rekola, Kerry-Anne Medoza



Dan Evans

Former Sunday Mirror and News of the World reporter Dan Evans knows better than most how sections of Fleet Street behaved above the law, appearing in the Old Bailey dock himself after pleading guilty and as a witness of truth in the Phone Hacking trials. He gives his take on the need for Leveson Part 2.

FROM DARK ARTS TO NEW DAWNS...

When I saw the brief for this article, I couldn't suppress a wry smile: "Do Press bosses still have questions to answer in the context of Leveson Part 2?"

Well, where to start? And how to limit it to press bosses while the Government looks ready to hoof that particular ball into the long grass right at the bottom of the garden, near the brambles, broken bikes and fox shit.

In so far as Leveson 2's central remit is to ask how phone hacking

so widely infected Fleet Street in the 2000s, and went so egregiously under-investigated by police in 2006, its delay is an away win for both Scotland Yard and a lot of national titles.

All the worst offenders – and I mean the nexus of editorial power players who cultured and propagated an era of industrial-scale privacy invasion – are so far evading proper public scrutiny, like so many Panamanian offshore trusts.

And yet there is a growing sense that Leveson 2 is somehow Leveson Too Far. Which invites a glaring question – why bother with any of it in the first place? For an answer, look at the motivation behind setting it up.

David Cameron, suffering the laxative effects of getting caught out with a rogue Director of Communications on the books, did what came instinctively – he protected himself. As the (utterly shameful) Milly Dowler revelations turned the smoke surrounding phone hacking into an inferno, he used a public inquiry as a firebreak to protect his career. And in the end it was about as meaningful as that, wasn't it?

Yes, victims of Press abuses had – for a moment – a platform from which to relate their less-than-edifying experiences at the hands of her Majesty's finest. Then Sir Brian Leveson used his vast judicial experience to distil these collective experiences into a central recommendation for genuinely independent self-regulation with external oversight. And then that recommendation was roundly snubbed by the industry while the Government, cravenly, looked the other way.

That was the first confirmation that Leveson was a tactical diversion – Punch and Judy to help the little people forget their PM brought a criminal into Downing Street

Now the man who brought the heat on to Fleet Street – my old boss Andy Coulson – looks unlikely to be facing questions any time soon.

Then there are the former Mirror Group editors who already

misled the inquiry with evidence later condemned as "wrong, not just disingenuous" by Mr Justice Mann in a devastating Mirror Group hacking judgement. Since those mealy-mouthed statements were given (under oath), police operations Weeting, Pinetree, Golding and Elveden, have uncovered huge amounts of evidence to contradict them. And yet there is no timetable for Leveson 2.

What does that do for public faith in the inquiry system? In the context of on-going delays around Chilcot the answer must be: rather a lot of harm.

The Establishment's prevailing mood toward Leveson 2 seems to be a collective rolling of eyes. The ground, it will be claimed, has been covered in criminal and civil trials, or else fingers will point to the cost of adequately concluding the Leveson process. But the reality is different. A public inquiry, with its inquisitorial nature, has freedom to explore newsgathering cultures of the time with a proper overview of criminal and civil actions since.

As someone who knows the inside of an old Bailey witness box better than most, I can say with hand on heart that those with the most expensive lawyers usually control the narrative. It requires a cool, dispassionate eye to cut through all that adversarial legal jackanory and see the reality.

That eye belongs to Sir Brian Leveson's successor. Now, at the cost of saving public confidence, it is time to see the process through. Just don't hold your breath.



I've met several journalists now who admit they cannot cover this story for 'political reasons' or are scared to 'put their heads above the parapet'.

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Peter Jukes

Peter Jukes and Alastair Morgan have crowd-funded a ten-part podcast serial about the Daniel Morgan Murder and 30-year cover up that has followed...



PETER

I've been writing about the Daniel Morgan murder for over three years. When I first came across the story - while researching a book - I was staggered that I'd never heard of it. Then, as I dug deeper, I began to understand why. Not only is murder and three decades of cover up a very complex story to tell, it also involves shameful amounts of press and media complicity.

ALASTAIR

At the inquest in April 1988 into my brother's murder, there was huge press interest, starting with a SUN headline "COPS IN MURDER PLOT" on the second day of the proceedings. All of the national papers then reported almost daily on the case. After the inquest, this stopped and when the outside inquiry by Hampshire Police concluded the London-based media then went completely quiet on the case for years, despite our persistent concerns of a cover-up. What we didn't know at the time was that Mirror Group and News of the World had already involved themselves in a lucrative business relationship with the two suspects in the murder Sid Fillery (unbelievably, a member of the original investigating murder squad!) and my brother's business partner, Jonathan Rees. This only came to light many years later. The Welsh media did take an interest however and, over a period of 15 years, produced three TV documentaries

on the case. Duncan Campbell of the Guardian did some good reporting, but he was an exception to the rule. Laurie Flynn and Michael Gillard later tried to report on the case for the Guardian, but resigned because an attempt by the Met leadership to smear them was hidden from them by senior editorial staff at the newspaper.

PETER

I've met several journalists now who admit they cannot cover this story for 'political reasons' or are scared to 'put their heads above the parapet'. The sub heading of our podcast series might give a hint: 'If you haven't heard about this, ask yourself, why?'

ALASTAIR

When Peter came up with the idea of producing a podcast, I jumped at the chance. Most of the British press is compromised in this case and the idea of me telling our story with complete editorial freedom was extremely attractive after our experience of the mainstream British press.

PETER

As Alastair points out we have to effectively bypass the normal media outlets. At the moment there's no way in hell that News UK, the Mirror Group or even the Guardian want to cover this too extensively. So the podcast route - a new phenomenon of mass circulation that avoids the usual media controls - has turned out to be a great one. In terms of journalism I think we

will be breaking new and shocking information quite soon. And within a year the Independent Daniel Morgan Panel, chaired by Baroness O'Loan, should also report and that should cause a stir. As an aside it should be stressed that the Panel does not have the same powers to compel witnesses or evidence as a Public Inquiry. The family - and I assume the Panel itself - always understood that Leveson Part 2 would be there to follow up on what the Panel reported.

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The Daniel Morgan Murder podcast, produced by Flameflower Studios, will be available for general release in late May.





Joan Smith

Former Executive
Director of
Hacked Off

Early in my career, when I worked for the Sunday Times Insight team, the threat of a libel action was never far from our minds. The prospect of a having to pay damages and especially huge costs had a chilling effect on newspapers, especially when the potential complainant was a household name.

Jimmy Savile fended off journalists for years with threats of libel actions, but he wasn't the only celebrity who boasted about how litigious he was. At a dinner party in the 1990s, I was astonished when a well-known man reached into his jacket and pulled out a folded piece of paper, claiming that he carried a libel writ with him at all times.

When Savile was interviewed by Surrey police in 2009, he bragged about his 'policy' towards anyone who made allegations against him. Savile claimed he had sued five newspapers 'and not one of them wanted to finish up in court with me so they all settled out of court'.

After he was exposed as one of the country's most prolific paedophiles, the former editor of the Sunday Mirror, Paul Connaw, said that his paper had tried to expose Savile in 1994 but was

thwarted by 'draconian' libel laws. Two women had given 'credible' accounts of how Savile abused them in the 1970s, but Connaw had to warn them that they would face a 'gruelling' cross-examination in court. The story was never published.

In recent years there have been moves to offer some protection to journalists, including a clause in the 2013 Defamation Act which introduced a 'serious harm' threshold for libel actions. Under the Royal Charter approved by Parliament following the Leveson Report, newspapers could get immunity from the risks of exemplary damages and protection from punitively high costs by joining a recognised regulator, when one is set up. But most have chosen to join the industry's flawed self-regulator, IPSO, which has ruled out applying for recognition.

Indeed so much bile has been poured on the Leveson Report that one of its key recommendations - that press freedom should be enshrined in English law - seems to have been overlooked. Leveson argued that legislation to underpin an independent system of self-regulation should include 'an explicit duty on the Government to uphold and protect the freedom of the press', giving British journalists the kind of protection enshrined in the first amendment of the US constitution in addition to that (on source protection, for example) provided by the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR). That hasn't happened yet but at a time when British newspapers are facing existential threats, it has never been more urgently needed.

So much bile has been poured on the Leveson report that one of its key recommendations - that press freedom should be enshrined in English law - seems to have been overlooked.

Section 40

IN 40(ISH) SECONDS...



Suing a newspaper for libel or invasion of privacy is expensive. "No win, no fee agreements" have helped some of those who couldn't afford the cost, but now they themselves are under legal challenge by the press in the Courts. Equally, most publishers cannot afford to defend themselves against claims by rich individuals or companies.

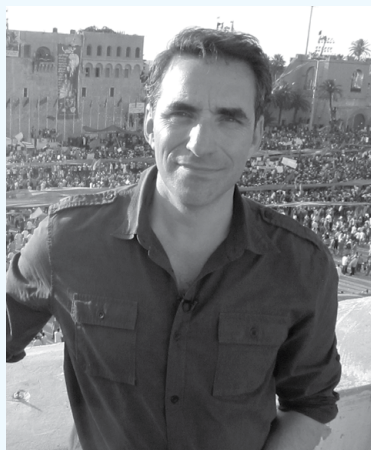
The solution is for publishers to join a recognised regulator which offers quick, low-cost arbitration for libel and privacy claims. This would be both quick and save money on legal costs for everyone whilst providing a fair and just outcome. But the big newspapers don't want those they have wronged to have quick and cheap access to justice and are refusing to play ball. That is where section 40 of the Crime and Courts Act comes in. It is designed to level the playing field, to provide access

to justice for the public whilst protecting investigative journalists from the costly legal threats of rich litigants.

It works like this: if a publisher does not join a recognised regulator then it has to pay the costs of an honest person who brings an arguable claim against it for libel or invasion of privacy - whether or not the person wins the case. In short, if a publisher refuses to make low cost arbitration available then it has to pay for the claimant's access to the courts.

Equally, if the publisher does join a recognised regulator then Section 40 provides it with costs protection. This means if they're sued by a rich person or company who attempts to bully them into silence by refusing to use the low cost arbitration on offer, the publisher is insulated from paying the claimant's costs.

Either way, those without the power are protected - which is why the big newspaper groups are fighting tooth and nail to stop Section 40 happening.



Accuracy is the cornerstone of good journalism. That's why for most reporters recording interviews is essential to their trade. If only they weren't so tedious to transcribe...

That's why Emmy award winning reporter Jeffrey Kofman developed Trint, a revolutionary program set to hand journalists back their lost transcription hours.

Jeffrey Kofman | Journalist and technology entrepreneur

TELL US ABOUT YOURSELF.

I've been a broadcast journalist for over 30 years, both in Canada, the US and UK. As a war correspondent, I have worked in Iraq, Haiti, Colombia, Honduras, Egypt and Tunisia and Libya.

SO WHAT DOES TRINT DO?

Trint automates the process of extracting recorded speech, taking interviews, news conferences etc and doing the heavy lifting of turning them into text. The depth of development complexity in getting back something accurate and usable was really challenging. We're not a transcription service, in fact, our biggest innovation is our editor where we have married together a text editor like word with an audio and video player, so instead of spinning between your recording device and computer it's all in one. You can Trint it, get it back in minutes, search for the word you want and it will take you to that place both in the text and recording.

YOU USED TRINT AS A VERB THERE...

Yes! That's one of the things that's come from my adventures in start-up land, you meet investors and they want to know whether you're the next Uber, and they'll ask you 'where is this company going to be in five years time?' Rather than make fantastical claims about being worth a billion, I just say 'we'll be in the dictionary'.

HOW DID TRINT COME ABOUT?

I met some developers at a conference who had done a transcription prototype and I was blown away. I could literally feel the lightbulb above my head. I realized they could solve the biggest pain point of every journalist's life, and that if someone was going to make this happen, then why not me?

Find out more at www.trint.com

WHAT WOULD YOU SAY TO JOURNALISTS INTERESTED IN TRYING TRINT?

This is a product created by a journalist who has lived the workflow for 30 years, I have transcribed thousands of hours and I know what we as reporters need to get out at the end – transcripts you can trust and won't burn you. The feedback from the 3,000 or so journalists involved has been amazing, life is literally before Trint and after Trint!



trint
transforming talk

Steve Bell is one of Britain's best-loved cartoonists, producing a daily strip in the Guardian for more than 30 years. Here he talks to us about free speech through pictures.



Steve Bell

Cartoonist



WHY IS BEING A CARTOONIST YOUR CHOSEN FORM OF JOURNALISM?

I never really considered anything else! Cartoons are a good way of expressing arguments about politics so I started out in that manner, doing cartoons for trade unions and then Time Out during the Thatcher years, knocking on doors to try and find outlets that would publish.

DO YOU THINK THERE ARE MORE OR LESS OUTLETS TODAY?

There's technically more with the explosion of the internet - but they don't always pay any money, which is dreadful. How can you live if you don't get paid?

IN YOUR EXPERIENCE HOW DO PRINT JOURNALISTS VIEW CARTOONISTS?

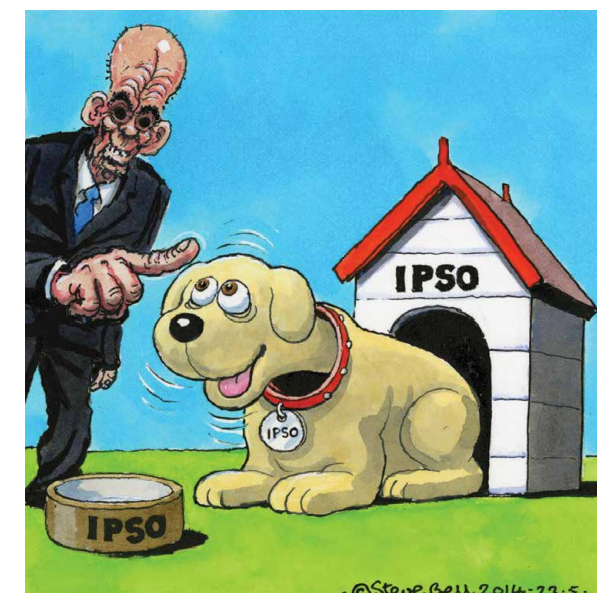
It tends to be rather patronising, particularly in political journalism. There's a terrible tendency for newspapers to make cartoonists the first contributors to get the chop. The Mirror have just got rid of a cartoon and replaced it with an internet meme, which is them being unbelievably cheap. The Evening Standard used to be home to some of the greatest cartoonists ever, but some years ago they got rid of the lot. It's very sad.

DO THE SUBJECTS OF YOUR CARTOONS COMPLAIN?

Very rarely because I usually deal with politicians and they'd look very stupid if they complained about a cartoon. I did draw a cartoon about the Danish Prime Minister that had no impact in this country at all, but in Denmark it provoked a huge response, including demands from various Danish politicians that both myself and the Guardian apologise. We didn't.

WHAT'S YOUR ADVICE TO YOUNG CARTOONISTS STARTING OUT?

Keep at it – dogged persistence always pays off. Enjoy it. Have a laugh drawing and taking the piss. Despite the advent of memes made by idiots with a Macbook, paid employment is out there for cartoonists – nothing can beat a cartoon and they're needed now more than ever.



- @Steve Bell 2014-23-5 -

The Canary is a new media outlet shaking up journalism in a radical way.

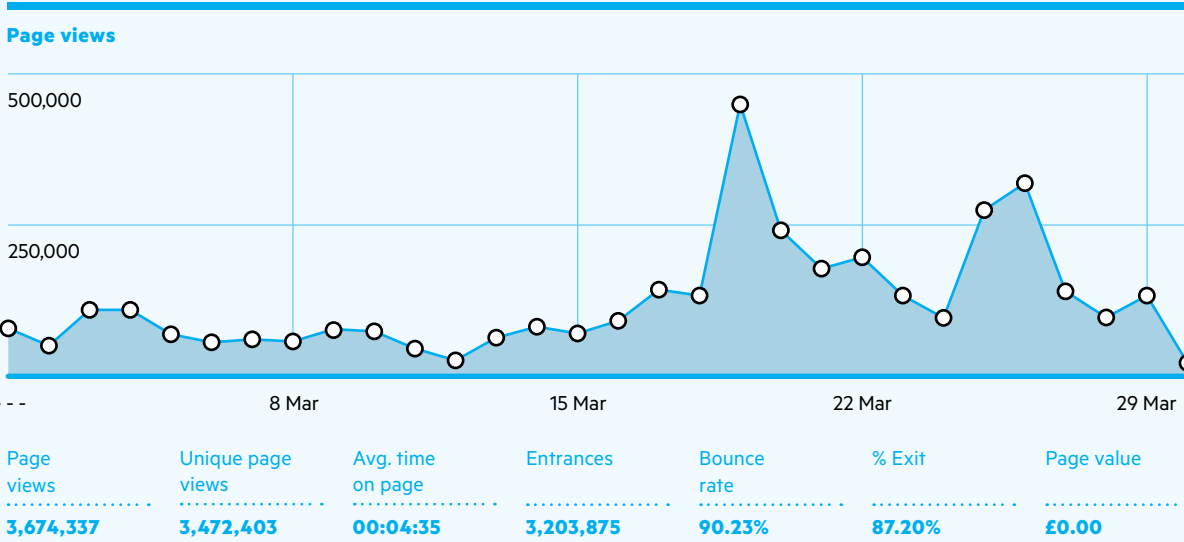
Editor-in-chief **Kerry-Anne Mendoza** tells us how.

The Canary is here to disrupt the status quo of UK and International journalism, by creating content that compels audiences to view the world differently, and a business model that rewards people for their work in a fair and sustainable way.



The Canary launched just six months ago, with a radical mission. We wanted to create a space where complex ideas and news stories were broken down in simple and elegant prose. A space where people who think they don't do politics, do politics. We also established a revenue and equity share business model with our writers and editors that turns the classic pay structure of a newsroom on its head.

Six months later, we are attracting an audience of 3.5 million unique users per month. On top of this: every two hours, 24 hours a day, seven days a week – someone becomes a paid subscriber of The Canary. Not for a T-shirt, a mug, or for ad-free content – but simply to be a part of building something extraordinary. People are choosing to pay for something they can get for free – we have no paywall



on principle – because they believe in the values that we share openly.

Our growing traffic is attracting advertisers who are now offering us a floor RPM (payment per 1,000 hits) of £3 and a ceiling of £9. This makes us not only commercially viable, but with a stable team, an online newsroom, and near zero costs – it makes us a commercial winner. This is a win that is shared.

Around twenty freelance writers are contributing daily articles to the site, in return for 50% of profit as a proportion of the traffic they generate. This means a writer who delivered 1 million hits, could earn a monthly pay of between £1,500 and £4,500 for as little as three articles per week.

The rest of the profit is split between 10% shares for three Section Editors, and a Marketing budget to continue to grow The Canary. The Editor-in-Chief and CEO have agreed to donate their 10% shares into the

Marketing budget until The Canary exits the Start Up phase.

The company is wholly owned by the leadership team of five people – all of whom have direct, hands-on roles in the business. The Editor-in-Chief, the Advertising Manager, and the editors of each of The Canary's three sections. There are no external investors or shareholders with any influence or expectation of financial return from The Canary – so every penny we earn is ploughed back into the business, either in paying those who make it, or in costs and growth.

We also channel revenue into an Investigative Journalism Fund. This will enable the kind of long form, original, investigative journalism that has become a rarity in the cash-strapped mainstream.

That is also the reason we've joined the Independent Monitor of the Press – otherwise known as the 'alternative' press regulator IMPRESS: it offers protections from free speech

chilling legal threats that have for too long protected the likes of dodgy donors and wealthy child predators in the supine mainstream media. For us, IMPRESS makes business sense.

We're really excited about our mission to create fresh, fair and fearless independent journalism, and all of the early wins we have achieved.

We have already created a number of stunning pieces of original journalism, and we have only just begun.



Scan me to visit: www.thecanary.co

**Juha Rekola**

Ombudsman
for the Union
of Journalists
in Finland

FINLAND, WHERE THE ONLY THING NOT CHILLED IS THE FREE SPEECH...

“The shame punishment is still a powerful deterrent here – having to publish your wrongdoings is a big deal.”

Juha Rekola



Finland has topped the World Press Freedom Index more than any other country in the 21st century. We spoke to Juha Rekola, the Ombudsman for the Union of Journalists in Finland, to find out what we can learn in Britain from their lauded journalistic culture.

WHAT IS THE VIEW OF BRITISH JOURNALISM IN FINLAND?

You have an incredibly good quality press that is upholding some of the great traditions of journalism, but then you also have a tabloid press that is absolutely irresponsible, publishing bullshit without any professional pride.

SO YOU DON'T HAVE A TABLOID NEWSPAPER CULTURE IN FINLAND?

We do have a couple of tabloid afternoon papers and magazines, which are the only ones selling on the street. We have a subscription model for our morning papers, both physically and digital.

IT'S INTERESTING THAT THE SUBSCRIPTION MODEL HAS WORKED IN FINLAND BECAUSE IT HAS HAD MIXED RESULTS IN BRITAIN.

Yes, we have a high newspaper readership in Finland and that is definitely linked to the subscription culture. That gives publishers a little bit more predictability one week to the next and also means there's less need for sensationalism – papers don't have to go out and hard sell

themselves every morning. That is perhaps the problem with some of your tabloids, they have to make up something that sells above all else.

WHAT IS YOUR VIEW ON THE BEST WAY TO REGULATE PRESS BEHAVIOUR?

Having a well functioning self-regulatory system is the best way to keep the government away from interference. Finnish publishers have recognised that our self-regulatory Mass Media Council is a brand which can be used to their advantage because here if people don't trust you they don't buy you.

That is not to say we haven't had tabloid stories appear which have calculated that if they print a story they will sell X number of extra copies and that will make them more money than the fine or a defamation court case, but it is rare.

AND WHAT IF THE SELF-REGULATOR DOESN'T DO ITS JOB?

Perhaps it is because we are a small country but the shame punishment is still a powerful deterrent here – having to publish your wrongdoings is a big deal, and the shame of that

seems to work. We also have a very strong union of journalists who feel a true responsibility to uphold the ethics of their profession. We feel the code of conduct is for every journalist, it's not something your boss can tell you, or can change.

AS A JOURNALIST WHY DO YOU THINK FINLAND IS FREQUENTLY VOTED AS HAVING THE MOST PRESS FREEDOM IN THE WORLD?

I wonder that myself sometimes! No, the laws protecting journalism – such as right to information laws – are good here, except perhaps defamation where you can still be imprisoned, but as a journalist it would have to be a very hard breach indeed.





Jacqui Hames

Consultant and
media presenter

The British press has a proud history of exposing police corruption. But in 2002 when two serving officers came under surveillance by the News of the World we saw a deplorable attempt to bury the truth, not uncover it - raising questions that can only be finally answered by Part 2 of the Leveson Inquiry.

It started with small things – garden objects moved, strange vans on the street, mail arriving opened. But the strange quickly became the uncanny, and the uncanny became the undeniable: we were targets of an intimidation campaign. But even with that shuddering realisation my husband and I had no idea just how wide the tentacles of power and corruption spread – all the way to the top of Britain's biggest newspaper group, News International.

It was 2002 and my then husband, Detective Superintendent David Cook, was leading the fourth enquiry into the brutal murder of private investigator Daniel Morgan back in 1987. We had initially assumed that those responsible for the dirty tricks against us were associates of the main suspect in the case, Daniel Morgan's business partner Jonathan Rees. But when a van tailing us was stopped those inside were identified as employees of the News of the World. It simply didn't add up, or, more accurately, what it added up to was too shocking to countenance.

Why would a newspaper be trying to help a murder suspect? The answers have been torn from the shadows piece-by-piece, but the jigsaw is not yet complete. Here is what we do know – Jonathan Rees had been working for

NoTW executive Alex Marunchak, and acting as a middle man for bent cops willing to sell confidential information to the newspaper. When challenged, the best explanation that the red top's editor Rebekah Wade (now Brooks) could offer for this troubling triangle was that her paper was investigating rumours my husband and I were "having an affair with each other". Yes, you read that correctly. And this strikes at the heart of the issue. The then Met Commissioner was prepared to accept this farcical explanation at face value, such was the overly cosy relationship between elements of the media and the police in the post millennium years. Once the door was opened to collusion it simply couldn't be closed. Instead of public servants being held to account, they were being held to ransom.

Leveson Part 1 was unable to properly examine the events that led to this calamitous situation due to the need not to prejudice ongoing criminal trials. But at these very trials the journalists blamed their management and, in turn, management blamed their journalists. Somewhere inside that circle lies the truth.

We need Leveson Part 2 to break it open.

Lord Justice Leveson found sections of the British press guilty of 'wreaking havoc in the lives of innocent people'. Now, three and a half years since his moderate proposals, victims of press abuse – past, present and future – still have no access to justice; instead they have a stitch-up.

The Leveson Report clearly stated that editors should be free to print whatever they choose and that the privilege of self-regulation should continue. But he also said that any self-regulator should be subject to an "M.O.T." by a totally independent press recognition body every couple of years to ensure they were independent from both press and politicians, and effective in offering redress when found to have breached the code of practice or the rights of individuals.

But the big news corporations have struck two fingers up to this system. Instead, they've simply re-branded the disgraced and discredited Press Complaints Commission. Rebekah Brooks – whose successful defence at her trial was that she was unaware of industrial-scale criminality under her nose and then, once made aware,

was too incompetent to tackle it – is back in charge at The Sun. And the Prime Minister is once again drinking Murdoch's wine at NewsCorp parties.

Unsurprisingly, the Murdoch newspapers and some of the other big titles are claiming that the end of the criminal trials will be the 'end of the story'. Their claims couldn't be further from the truth.

The Prime Minister has made various promises. He promised to implement the recommendations of Leveson Part 1, he promised to commence Leveson Part 2, he promised to put the interests of victims and the reading public before those of the press proprietors and he promised legislation to secure vital access to justice and free speech protections. So far he has broken these promises.

Never before has so much progress been made in holding the British press to the same account they rightly demand of others.

Please join with us, with Parliament, with the public, and with the thousands of victims of press bullying, distortion, harassment and intrusion, to demand a system where press bosses can be held to account, where victims have redress and where journalists can expose wrong-doing free from the threat of chilling.

Please join our clarion calls to all those who want a British press that is free and fearless.

Scan me to visit: www.hackinginquiry.org/declaration



HACKEDOFF
THE CAMPAIGN FOR A FREE + ACCOUNTABLE PRESS



Report by. HackedOff, April 2016

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Naughty Step Creative

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Sponsored by.

atkinsthomson

*We are proud to say that
all journalists contributing
to this publication have
been paid.*



Illustration by Mr Gresty

