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2 A. Iam. 3 (2.24 pm) 4 IORD RISTICE LEVESON: Good afternoon again, Sir Harold. 5 I understand that there has been some technical improvement—I'll wait until verybody has catmed down around you. 5 ISR HAROLD EVANS: Okay. 9 IORD RISTICE LEVESON: What is very important is that you followed by the share of statement and if you are not, then we will simply have to 13 reschedule; you for when you're in this country. 14 and if you are not, then we will simply have to 14 reschedule; you for when you're in this country. 15 ISR HAROLD EVANS: That yery considerate. 1 appreciate that, I am at case at the moment, but it will probably diminish as we proceed. 16 rechnical intervention, and indeed you are now synchronised, so your mouth is speaking with your voice. 17 that, I am a take at the moment, but it will probably diminish as we proceed. 18 Navembers agapantus. The earthones. 29 SIR HAROLD EVANS: It want to apologise for the triful at Nurembers agapantus. The earthones. 20 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I don't think your'e receiving a translation, unless my English is particularly bod. 21 Page 1 22 Right. All right, we'll carry on and see how we get oun; if that sall right with you. 23 RIGHAROLD EVANS: From my purposes, you're in this country inther than America, Sir Harry, and I don't think we add those last works, but never mind. 24 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: From purposes, you're in this country rather than America, Sir Harry, and I don't think we add those last works, but never mind. 30 Q. You vee doing to the Times when the Times was taken over by Lord Thomson, 107 Host Than 107 Host Thomson, 107 Host Than 107 Hos	1		1	content to attest to the truth of their contents?
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1 "Journalists' relations with politicians". If you look 1 activity was always that you must openly declare how you at the fifth page on the internal numbering, on our page 2 2 got the information, and that's clear from your 3 it's 00010 --3 statement. 4 4 Can I ask you about your relations with politicians A. Yes. 5 Q. -- you refer four lines from the top to the 5 quite briefly, if I may? It's page 10 on the internal 6 investigations you instigated from 1961 to 1981 at 6 numbering of this document. 00015. You explain that 7 7 various papers. you did have private off-the-record conversations. How 8 A. Yes. 8 did you avoid getting too close to your interlocutors? 9 9 A. By massive restraint. No, I made a determination ever Q. And you note two occasions when surreptitious wireless 10 10 recordings were approved. Could you tell us a bit more since I began to be an editor at the Northern Echo that 11 11 about those occasions? The methods you employed and the too close a relationship could be compromising, and in 12 12 safeguards, in particular, you put up. fact Alastair Hetherington at the Guardian, an editor 13 A. Yes. I wasn't the editor of the paper when the first 13 I greatly admired, I was kind of shocked when I read his 14 use of wireless -- surreptitious wireless. It was to 14 life story of how he'd co-operated with Harold Wilson to 15 expose an antique dealers' ring, and the only way to get 15 change the paper's policy so as to bring pressure to 16 the evidence that people who put up their antiques for 16 bear on President Johnson over whether Britain should be 17 17 involved in the Vietnam war, and I thought that kind of sale were being defrauded was for the antique dealer 18 whom we knew, in fact he was an antique dealer who was 18 relationship -- I've read a great deal on the history of 19 19 also a correspondent, had a wire, and there was a van the press and the Northcliffe era, the Cudlipp era, and 20 outside, and that led to the exposure of this 20 what struck me about all of them was it's a Faustian 21 21 wrongdoing. bargain when you get too intimate with politicians. 22 I wasn't the editor at the time, but actually 22 I think it serves neither the politicians nor the press 23 23 I would have approved it if I had been. well for the relationship to get to be one of 24 24 The occasion where I did approve, the second and the complicit -- complicity, really, and that on no account 25 only instance I can think of, was when the police were 25 would I ever allow myself to do that. Page 5 Page 7 Q. Okay. Do you have any reflections on the culture of 1 trying to find and identify crooks who were selling 2 other sections of the press in the 1970s, in particular 2 franchises to people that were completely fraudulent, 3 the Sun and the News of the World, or not? 3 and the police said to us, "We need to get this 4 information out to alert everybody, to alert everybody 4 A. Well, I thought the Sun and the News of the World were 5 5 to what was going on", and so the franchise crooks, in very vigorous newspapers, and I admired some of the 6 6 conversations with the Sunday Times reporter, the techniques. What I did not admire, and I'm on permanent 7 business news reporter, were exposed. 7 record about this, I absolutely deplored the invasions 8 In Times Newspapers, there was one other instance in 8 of privacy creating a great deal of misery for no public 9 9 Times Newspapers under the editor William Rees-Mogg in interest whatsoever, and I've written extensively about 10 10 this. I thought that the -- while it was very difficult 1967, when the police force was corrupt, very badly 11 11 in the public interest to find out certain things, and corrupt. Bribes were being taken by policemen to 12 12 suppress various wrongdoing, and the editor of the I explained that in my lecture, The Half Free Press, it 13 13 was extremely easy to malign and abuse somebody by Times, William Rees-Mogg -- and I agreed with him, by 14 14 spying and exposing things that were not really of any the way -- arranged for a rather -- well, a very 15 15 national significance but were embarrassing to these surreptitious recording of one of these transactions 16 16 people, and I thought that was atrocious. taking place between a corrupt policeman and a crook, 17 17 and that led to the complete reform of Scotland Yard, If I might add, we've seen the full efflorescence of 18 and then Sir Robert came in, Robert Mark came in, and 18 this appalling cancer in the hacking stuff. That 19 Scotland Yard began rooting out really massive 19 started to grow in the 1970s and it always was 20 20 corruption. appalling. 21 Q. We may come back to more contemporary reflections in due 21 So there were three occasions: antique dealers, 22 22 franchise operations and corrupt policemen in course. 23 23 Scotland Yard. A. Right. Q. Can I move forward to the year 1981, Sir Harold --24 Q. Thank you. You explain that in your own editing, your 24

rule of thumb in deciding the ethics of any such Page 6

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LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Just before you do, what was going on

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that correct?

- 1 in the 1970s that appalled you? Because of course at 2 that stage you were in English journalism, as it were. 3 A. Yes. 4 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: So what was going on? 5 A. I don't want to jump in too quickly. In the 1970s --6 I became editor of the Northern Echo in 1961, in the 7 8 9 editor in 1967 and into the 1970s, there was a great deal of invasions of privacy, but there was also, my Lord, a great deal of restriction in the law. For stop? LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: No. Not at all. A. I'm sorry. LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: No, don't stop. grown extensively, there was a greater need for invigilation in the public interest of what was happening, and so I began the editorship of the
- north of England, and I conducted some campaigns, and I disliked the invasions of privacy then. When I became 10 11 12 instance, in the thalidomide case -- do you want me to 13 14 15 16 17 A. Throughout the 70s there were two issues. We had --18 because the power of corporations and governments had 19 20 21 22 Sunday Times by investigating the cover-up of the spy 23 Philby, and I did various things like that, but in 24 almost every instance we ran against external 25 restraints. Official Secrets Act, libel, contempt of Page 9 1 court, in confidence. And the law of confidence, which
- 1 the United States and the openness of that society, and 2 so we were able to expose the abuses in that particular 3 trade, and it seemed to me absolutely ludicrous that we 4 had to go to the United States to find relevant 5 information. MPs couldn't find it. 6 The growth of corporate power and the growth of 7 government was not sufficiently matched by a responsible 8 press and by a law which I called it in a lecture I gave 9 the "half free press". Half free press in the sense 10 that by comparison with the United States, we were half 11 free. Of course, by comparison with the Albanian 12 People's Republic, we were fully free, but I also 13 accepted the need for restraints, and in all the 14 lectures and education work I did, I always stressed we 15 must be absolutely sure of our facts, we must verify 16 them and we must prepare to defend them in court, and we 17 must never abuse the privilege of the free press, 18 because we have no more rights than the ordinary 19 20 MR JAY: Thank you. May I move forward now to 1981 and the 21 bid for the Times, the Sunday Times and the associated 22 titles. A lot of the background we know about, but one

relevant facet is that you, on my understanding, were

bidding for the Sunday Times as part of a consortium; is

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2 had grown out of a case where Prince Albert -- you know 3 this law better than I do, I'm sure, but I discussed it 4 quite a lot with the Lords of Appeal, I was on 5 a committee, so we were fighting to get information in 6 the public interest and restrained by the law, but there 7 was no law to stop the prurient publication of invasions 8 of privacy. So we were in an ambivalent situation. 9 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Sorry, do carry on. 10 A. We're talking about what I was doing in the 1970s, am 11 I right. 12 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes. 13 A. Okay. We were not hostile to authority or government, 14 but we thought -- for instance, in the House of Commons 15 there were 95 subjects on which MPs could not ask 16 questions. The most ludicrous thing that happened was 17 that one of our staff members was on a cruise ship where 18 I think 400 people were taken off with violent 19 illnesses, so we wanted to investigate the sanitary 20 conditions on cruise ships. The British government, the 21 Board of Trade, would not give us any statistics about 22 the inspection reports on these cruise ships, so we went 23 to the United States, where the New York Port Authority

said, "Here you are, here's the records you want", and

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of course that was an exemplar of the First Amendment of

1 A. It was a management buyout group and it consisted of the 2 senior editors on the paper, the finance director of 3 Times Newspapers Limited and outside advisers, and at 4 one stage we had the support of the Guardian newspaper 5 and the Independent Television Authority. So it was 6 a group, but it was really a management buyout was 7 probably the best way to describe it. 8 Q. The lunch that Mr Murdoch had with Baroness Thatcher on 9 4 January 1981, you point out that the existence of that 10 did not enter the public domain until March of this 11 year; is that right? 12 A. Correct. It was an astonishing piece of news. It 13 wasn't even known to the Cabinet at the time that 14 Mrs Thatcher had had a secret meeting with Mr Murdoch 15 and Mr Murdoch kept it secret to the point of telling 16 the official historian of the time, Mr Graham Stewart, 17 no such meetings took place whatsoever during this 18 period. And this had to be accepted, although it was 19 a falsehood, until the Cambridge archives of 20 Mrs Thatcher were released and the minute of Bernard 21 Ingham, now Sir Bernard, was there, and also a letter of 22 thanks in his own handwriting from Mr Murdoch thanking 23 Mrs Thatcher for a lunch he said had never taken place. 24 Q. If we can move the clock forward to 16 January 1981, 25 we've seen a document -- it's KRM5 -- which is a minute;

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1 I don't know whether it's available to you, Sir Harold, 1 to Rupert Murdoch unless you prefer one of the 2 2 dated 16 January 1981, which refers to -- it's signed by following: Daily Mail, News International or Lonrho." 3 3 Mr Denis Hamilton, referring to "nearly three hours of Okay, so we take Lonrho, Rowlands -- actually, at 4 4 his suggestion I'd taken a poll of the journalists' talks with Mr Rees-Mogg and Mr Evans today. It emerges 5 5 that the three of us are quite unanimous in favour of chapel at the Sunday Times, giving them these choices. 6 Rupert Murdoch as the most suitable future proprietor of 6 I called them the choices between the seven dwarfs 7 7 the company." because there were about seven bidders, but the ones we 8 8 got the vote on was 37 preferred Mr Murdoch, in the Is it fair to say that certainly by the middle of 9 9 that month, you were in favour of Mr Murdoch's bid on chapel, 32 Rowlands, and 11 for Lonrho. So 10 10 behalf of News International? Rupert Murdoch came ahead in the journalists' chapel. 11 11 A. No. I have to put Sir Denis Hamilton's note in context. However, what your note didn't say and what both 12 12 First of all, it did not take place on January 16. The William and I emphasised to Denis Hamilton: rather than 13 lunch with Denis Hamilton and William Rees-Mogg took 13 Mr Murdoch, I would like my Sunday Times management buyout group to succeed and William Rees-Mogg would like 14 place on January 20. I have a record of this. What 14 15 took place on January 16 was a meeting with Sir Denis 15 his journalists of the Times group to succeed. So the 16 and senior journalists at the Times who came back to me 16 idea that we had suddenly decided 100 per cent for 17 absolutely boiling mad. They said, "We told Denis we 17 Rupert Murdoch is not true. 18 want the management buyout to go ahead and he was very 18 Bear this in mind: on 26 January, I continued 19 19 efforts to get the Sunday Times consortium linked to the much against it." 20 We have to understand something about Sir Denis 20 Times, so we could buy the whole company. I had many 21 21 conversations about this, and Donald Cruickshank, the Hamilton. First of all, I regard him as one of the 22 great pillars of British journalism, a man of utter 22 financial director for Times Newspapers, was most 23 integrity. The youngest Brigadier in the British Army 23 insistent that this was the way to go, and all of us 24 24 at the age of 28. The man who brought me from made a fatal miscalculation. We assumed that the bid 25 25 Darlington to the Sunday Times, who recommended my would not go through because of the law of the Page 13 Page 15 1 appointment to Roy Thomson and was a total and wonderful 1 Monopolies Commission, because we knew full well that 2 2 supporter all those years. Really good supporter, the Sunday Times was a highly profitable newspaper and 3 3 chastising me from time to time, encouraging me from therefore could not be exempt from Monopolies Commission 4 time to time. That was marvellous. 4 scrutiny on the grounds that it was losing money. 5 In all those years, that's 16, 17 years, he was 5 So that's the background to this. And by the way, 6 6 vehement in his condemnation of Mr Rupert Murdoch. He Mr Jay, if I may just continue for a moment, one of the 7 thought he was lowering the standards of British press, 7 sadnesses in my life, I'll never forget the moment. 8 he was disgusted by him and he made it clear, and 8 Denis Hamilton, yes, was appointed chairman of Times 9 9 something very sad happened to Denis, which is that he Newspapers as Murdoch had promised him. A few months 10 10 later, he was sacked. This great distinguished man was and the Thomson organisation in London very much wanted 11 Rupert Murdoch to have these papers. Why? Because they 11 denied a lunch tray at his desk, he was humiliated. He 12 12 thought he would deal with the unions effectively. Were called me to his office and gave me bound volumes of the 13 13 history of the Times, in tears. I said, "I'll put them they crazy? No, they were right. Rupert Murdoch was 14 the man to deal with the unions, as we saw with the 14 in the office". He said, "No, get them out of this 15 15 Wapping incident. place." 16 However, both William Rees-Mogg and I were surprised 16 So it's a very sad sequence of events, that 17 17 that Denis changed tack about Mr Murdoch. I remember Sir Denis, who was the creative genius, really, behind 18 standing outside the Times building with him and he 18 the Sunday Times -- I was just a lucky inheritor --19 said, "You know, he thinks very highly of you, Harold", 19 a man of great sensitivity, somewhat sensitive in his 20 20 and I said, "I don't care, I don't think he's a good own personal attitudes, frightened of being confronted, 21 21 proprietor", and Denis revealed to me that Rupert had I think two things happened to him. One, I think he 22 22 offered him the chairmanship of the new Times newspaper. liked the idea of the continuity of the Times with him 23 23 So the January 20 meeting was where Denis Hamilton got as chairman, and secondly, it became clear to him he'd 24 William Rees-Mogg and me together, I have a note of it 24 been heartbroken by the print unions destroying the

here, and he said, "Look, we're going to sell the paper

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paper he had largely created. I mean, I get a lot of

1 1 the credit for that, but much of it was him. I think Mr Murdoch was a better operator in that sense. 2 2 Q. Okay. On 21 January 1981, Sir Harold, there was So to that extent we felt that the advantages for him --3 3 a meeting. This is our KRM7. Sir Denis Hamilton we wouldn't have felt that way if Mr Murdoch had not 4 4 chaired it, Lord Dacre was there, you were there, been prepared to swear the guarantees, to have them 5 Mr Rees-Mogg was there, and at a certain point 5 written into the criminal law and to be guaranteed by 6 Mr Murdoch was there. I don't know if you have this 6 the British government. 7 7 document to hand. In fact, I -- you know -- go on, next question, 8 8 A. I don't. sorry. 9 Q. One thing that is relevant out of this meeting is that 9 Q. In your book, Sir Harold, you ranked the seven 10 10 when Mr Murdoch arrived -- this is our page 01471 -finalists, as you know, on pages 144 and 145. 11 Sir Denis Hamilton welcomed him and introduced him to 11 News International came top. The pros: 12 the committee. He informed Mr Murdoch that out of seven 12 "Commercially viable, proven track record of 13 possible future proprietors he had emerged as the most 13 successful newspaper management, ability in Australia to 14 14 create a quality newspaper [that's The Australian], suitable bidder. Do you remember anything about that 15 conversation, that meeting? 15 readiness to retain present editors, which is" -- well, 16 A. What date is that? 16 Mr Rees-Mogg moved on at his wish, I think, and you 17 Q. 21 January 1981 in the evening. 17 became editor of the Times. And then the reservations: 18 A. Is that the vetting committee? I think that's the 18 "Mr Murdoch's arrival in England has had some vetting committee date. Just a minute. 19 deteriorating effect on the standards of the daily 19 20 Q. It is. 20 tabloid press." 21 21 A. Yes. That --Was that your view? 22 Q. Let me just give you the background. There was 22 A. Yes. 23 a conversation within the committee before Mr Murdoch 23 Q. It also says: 24 24 arrived. Mr Murdoch arrived. He was told what I've "He undoubtedly has been deeply and often involved 25 25 in the editorial function." just told you, and then Mr Murdoch was asked some Page 19 Page 17 1 questions. Do you remember that? 1 Was that your view as well? 2 A. I was present. I have a full note of it in "Good Times, 2 A. Yes. I had the advantage --3 Bad Times". I took a shorthand note of that meeting. 3 Q. Sorry, carry on. 4 Q. Apart from what Mr Murdoch said about guarantees of 4 A. We did quite a bit of work investigating Mr Murdoch's 5 editorial independence, which are clearly set out in 5 practice in Australia, and of course we had on the paper 6 this note, it would be fair to say that by that point he 6 several brilliant Australian journalists, Bruce Page, 7 was the most suitable bidder, wasn't he? 7 Phillip Knightley, who knew full well at first hand and 8 A. By that point he was the bidder that the Thomson 8 they were all utterly opposed to the idea of Mr Murdoch 9 organisation had decided to sell to. That was a fait 9 taking control. In fact, the entire staff of the 10 accompli. That was a decision made by the board of 10 Sunday Times was opposed because they said he's not to 11 Thomson, and it wasn't a decision made by the board of 11 be trusted and they gave example after example after 12 12 Times Newspapers. example. 13 13 However, by that stage there was no point in trying I said, okay, we knew all this, I knew it myself, 14 14 to resist Mr Murdoch's success in taking over the and that's why we have to build these guarantees, and 15 15 papers, and there were two reasons for that. One, since I made a big mistake. I stayed on the vetting committee 16 16 the papers were clearly going to him if -- if -- if he to make sure the guarantees were watertight. In 17 17 satisfied us on the editorial guarantees, if he hindsight, I should have got off the vetting committee 18 satisfied us on the editorial guarantees, he was indeed, 18 and led a campaign against the failure to go to the 19 I agree with the Thomson organisation that he, of the 19 Monopolies Commission. At that stage, we all assumed 20 others, was probably the most suitable person to deal 20 the Monopolies Commission was going to be invoked since 21 with very difficult trade unions. 21 it was a clear case for the Monopolies Commission, but 22 22 Our own management consortium, which had the support we were not, of course, aware of the secret meeting of 23 23 of the former Prime Minister and, for a time, the January 4 and Mrs Thatcher's secret deal with 24 support of the print unions, did intend to tackle the 24 Mr Murdoch. 25 25 abuses of the print unions, but to give him his due, Q. Okay. The other salient background points. This is

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1 a letter from Thomsons dated 26 January 1981 to the 1 Sunday Times were presented to the Secretary of State? 2 2 Secretary of State for Trade. It's our exhibit KRM10. A. No, he didn't. In my book, I never charged Mr Murdoch 3 3 What Thomsons were stipulating was that if there were with fiddling the Thomson figures because he couldn't 4 4 a reference to the MMC, then the agreement would not have done it anyway. 5 5 have effect. In other words, their offer to sell would The best authority on this source is Bruce Page's 6 lapse. Do you agree that that was the position, and 6 book, "The Murdoch Archipelago", which was done years 7 7 insofar as a sword of Damocles was being posed over later when he investigated -- he was former editor of 8 anybody's head, that sword was being brandished by 8 Insight, and a man of great intelligence. In fact, 9 9 Mr Murdoch from this courtroom praised Mr Bruce Page for Thomson and not Mr Murdoch? 10 10 A. It's absolutely true. In the House of Commons debate, his investigations on other issues. And it's pretty 11 11 clear, in fact I would describe it as a shambles. The instead of the metaphor being the sword of Damocles, it 12 12 was a pistol pointed at the heads of everybody concerned level of scrutiny brought to the Sunday Times figures 13 13 by a totally phoney timetable. was a disgrace. The chief accounting officer of the 14 14 The basic thing is, Mr Murdoch gave the impression government was not involved. Mr Biffen did not come 15 he would pull away completely. Thomson organisation 15 back until the day before. It was well-known that 16 wanted him. It was all phoney. It was a phoney war. 16 Mr James Prior said Mr Biffen is Mrs Thatcher's will. 17 17 He did whatever he was told. In fact, the best speeches in the House of Commons were 18 pointing out how phoney a war it was. 18 So in fact, the more one looks at this, the more it 19 19 becomes a kind of Polish war grave. There are so many The Sunday Times was strike-bound for 12 months and 20 we came back with a larger circulation than ever, so 20 bad things undetected for years and years and years. 21 21 I mean, it was a disgrace to the standards of the that was a false argument. 22 In fact, of course, it was ridiculous to say you 22 British government that the Civil Service was so lax, 23 23 can't go to the Monopolies Commission for the most the minister was in India at the time and didn't take 24 24 much of an interest in it, some of the ministers didn't important newspaper takeover in British press history --"I'm sorry, we don't have time to make sure the law is 25 25 even know that the Monopolies Commission law restricted Page 21 Page 23 1 being observed, I'm sorry, we don't have time to go to 1 this kind of thing. 2 2 the Monopolies Commission" -- it's ridiculous. It was As I say, my "Good Times, Bad Times", Bruce Page's 3 3 a whole set of chess moves. This was pawn to bishop 4, "Archipelago" -- and then on top of this, you have -- if 4 actually pawn to bishop 6, because they were going so 4 I might, Mr Jay, refer you to Mr Woodrow Wyatt's diary, 5 fast to try and get the thing through. 5 may I? 6 6 Q. This is our tab 39, isn't it, the entry of 1987? Is Q. Okay, but presumably you'd accept there's no direct 7 evidence of collusion between Mr Murdoch and Thomsons. 7 that what you have in mind? 8 Would that be fair? 8 A. Yes, it is. 9 A. Yes. Ken Thomson was in Canada. The leading figure was 9 Q. Okay. 10 Gordon Brunton. My financial director was alarmed by 10 A. I'll read it to you. Mr Woodrow Wyatt was a go-between 11 all this. Donald Cruickshank later became chairman of 11 between Mrs Thatcher and Mr Murdoch and I'd been at the 12 12 the Stock Exchange. They all thought it was a fiction. dinners with Mr Wyatt throughout my career. At one of 13 13 They all wanted me to lead a campaign against it, but as them Mrs Thatcher was present. There's nothing wrong 14 I just said, I felt I was better employed on the vetting 14 with any of that. 15 15 committee and I was probably wrong, because I had this However, Mr Wyatt was assiduous in keeping a secret 16 16 terribly old-fashioned belief that if somebody made a diary and this is the remarks he made in June 1987. 17 First of all, in a conversation with Mrs Thatcher 17 promise, they would keep it. 18 Q. The other point is that a huge issue was made of this in 18 saying: 19 the debate in Parliament, I think on 27 January 1981, 19 "We need another pro-Margaret newspaper and we tried 20 20 to get the Today newspaper for Mr Murdoch without going namely: was the Sunday Times economic and a going 21 21 concern? Your book deals with the point in great detail to the Monopolies Commission. 22 22 and some would say that on an objective accounting view "Ah, yes, I remember the Times didn't get referred 23 23 it was a going concern, although the Secretary of State to the Monopolies Commission when we bought them both, 24 concluded otherwise. But would you agree that 24 the Times and the Sunday Times, because they were making 25 Mr Murdoch had no role in how the accounts of the 25 a loss', says Mrs Thatcher."

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Day 73 PM 1 That's what Mrs Thatcher said. She was misinformed. 2 Then Mr Wvatt: 3 "I reminded Rupert during the evening about his 4 request and at my instigation she had stopped the Times 5 acquisition" -- she had stopped the Times acquisition --6 "being referred to the Monopolies Commission, though the 7 Sunday Times was not really losing money and the pair 8 together were not." 9 That you have in a nutshell. 10 Q. Was Mr Wyatt that close to Mrs Thatcher or was there an 11 element of exaggeration here, Sir Harold? 12 A. Well, if you read all the Woodrow Wyatt diaries, yes, 13 he's very close to her. Intimately close to her. It 14 may be a touch of exaggeration, him glorifying his own 15 role, but not to that extent. And many things like the 16 Westland deal and so on and so on, everything that I've 17 been able to check out in Woodrow Wyatt's diaries has 18 turned out to be accurate. 19 Q. I've been asked to put to you -- sorry, carry on. 20 A. No, I was going to say I'm not particularly -- I wasn't 21 particularly fond of Mr Wyatt, I thought he was 22 a bullying character, but I did find his diaries, his 23 journals a remarkably accurate portrait of the feelings 24 in Britain at the time, and having been at his dinner 25 party, I knew the kind of arguments that went on and Page 25

kind of thing that was happening. The House of Commons

2 had a debate, and I'm sitting bound and gagged in the

3 press gallery, all right? Before I get to the press

4 gallery, the Press Association says, "What do you think

of the takeover?" I said, "Well, we would much prefer

6 our management buyout committee, but the editorial

7 guarantees that Mr Murdoch has agreed with us are

8 excellent", which was true.

When Mr Biffen came to use that statement, he dropped out the first reference to our management buyout group, he didn't say we still preferred the management buyout group, he just excised it completely.

Now, that's cheap politics, if you like, but it was certainly very offensive. Right until the deal was done, we expected the Monopolies Commission to

intervene. In fact, the journalists on the Sunday Times

17 had two meetings. The first one, they voted

18 unanimously, pretty well, to ask for a writ of mandamus

19 to go and argue the case before the Monopolies

20 Commission. On the second vote, only 13 voted for it,

because, why? They felt that if they went to the

22 Monopolies Commission through the courts, which we were

23 told we would succeed, because I've given you evidence

24 here from Mr Gerhard Weiss(?) on the fact that the

25 Sunday Times was a ... [break in transmission] that we Page 27

1 they were very enjoyable.

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- Q. I've been asked to put to you this question: in view of
- 3 the fact that you, amongst really everyone else, were
- 4 supporting Mr Murdoch's bid on behalf of
- 5 News International, presumably you were pleased that
- 6 Mr Biffen gave his consent immediately rather than
- 7 incurring the inevitable delay and uncertainty of
- 8 a reference to the MMC?

9 A. Pleased? Horrified! Horrified!

We knew that he couldn't have given it a minute's scrutiny. I put the figures in my book. He clearly hadn't because he missed out £400 million of revenue. Not at all pleased! Our whole hope of the management buyout committee, of Donald Cruickshank, Bernard Donoughue, Peter Wilshire, me and the other senior editors was that they would go to the Monopolies Commission, that we would have a chance to buy the paper

on behalf of the workers.

The idea that he -- in three days, Mr Jay,
a newspaper merger, unprecedented in British history,
went through, and it went through on falsehood, on false
figures! It's really the most extraordinary event. So
the idea that somehow I was pleased! None of us was
pleased. Right to the House of Commons debate. This is
the kind of thing -- let me give you an example of the

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1 might have lost the daily Times continued application.

2 So out of the very best motives, the Sunday Times

3 journalists voted to let the process continue, and they

4 regret it to this day. They have formed what's called

5 a gravediggers' club.

6 Q. I've studied these documents again, Sir Harold, the

7 contemporaneous documents. I don't see any reference in

8 them to any concern on the -- or any view, rather, on

9 the part of Thomson or Sir Denis Hamilton along the

lines that there was likely to be delay because there

11 would be a reference to the MMC. There seems to be

12 complete silence about that, almost, arguably, an

assumption that one way or another there wouldn't be

a reference to the MMC. Do you see that?

15 A. I do, yes.

16 Q. Is that a fair observation or not?

17 A. It's a sound observation. In fact, in my very first

conversations with Denis Hamilton when he indicated that

19 he had been offered the chairmanship and was willing to

20 change his long-held views of Mr Murdoch, he said, "Of

21 course, there's the Monopolies Commission", but that was

22 the last kind of talk of the Monopolies Commission.

23 Q. Okay. The other question I'm asked to put to you: are

you able to give any evidence from your own knowledge in

25 support of the proposition that Baroness Thatcher

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1 intervened with Mr Biffen? 2 A. Yes, just a minute. (Pause). 3 I was told by someone I know that Mrs Thatcher had determined it must go to Mr Murdoch because she valued 4 5 his support. In this belief, I was supportive of 6 7 8 9

Mr Hugh Stephenson at the Times, who had it from

a friend in the Cabinet Office that Mrs Thatcher's real

debt of gratitude was the crucial factor in doing it.

Lord Donoughue, Bernard Donoughue, had it from the

Cabinet Office that she owed him a debt. He had

10 11 supported her in the last election, and would support

him in the next. Mr Jim Prior in an interview with

13 Mr Bruce Page said of course it was a purely cynical 14

ploy for political support.

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I suggest that the Inquiry might actually ask the Cabinet Secretary of the day to give evidence on this

LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: One of the issues that I have to 18 19 consider, Sir Harold, is how far this helps me address

my terms of reference, which are concerned with the

21 culture, practice and ethics of the press, I suppose

today rather than what is now, albeit an important part

23 of the history, 30 years ago.

> A. My Lord, if I might say so, the seminal event was 30 years ago. All flowed from the excessive concentration

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1 given there was zero, so that says a lot about the

2 relationship between politicians and the press today,

3 that not -- never since those pledges to Parliament were

4 broken, never once has Parliament intervened. There's

5 an inertia there and a collusion which is right in front 6

of your faces today.

It seems to me that there's this tremendously clear thread connection between what happened then, the consequences for excessive power, and the nature, the nature of the ownership of that power. If it had been like BBC or the Thomsons, it wouldn't have mattered, but we have in Mr Murdoch a man of enormous competitive energies but who also was able to use that base of the Sunday Times and the Times, tremendously profitable

15 eventually, especially the Sunday Times, also to get 16 control of BSkyB. 17

18 but I want to say that Mrs Thatcher again intervened to 19 get around the law so that Mr Murdoch could get control

BSkyB -- you may not want to go into that, my Lord,

20 of British SkyB. He had more than the share of media

21 control that the law required, but he beamed this stuff

22 in from the European satellite and everybody fell over,

23 because they were terrified of him.

24 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I certainly understand the point,

25 I certainly understand the point.

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1 of power in a single media corporation. That was --2

3 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: That might indeed be right, and you

4 might be right that one of the issues that has to be

5 addressed today is the impact of the extent to which

6 News Corp, in the form of BSkyB and in the form of

7 News International, has influence in our present media,

8 but that may not necessarily require me to decide who

said what to whom in 1981. I understand the point, but

10 I hope you understand the focus that I have to have.

11 A. My Lord, if I might make this comment on that? What 12

happened in 1981 is entirely relevant today because it's a manifestation of the same culture of too close

a connection between a powerful media group and

15 politicians.

LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: That I entirely agree. It might very 16

17 well be, though, that that is the first chapter in what

18 might be a fair number of chapters of relationships

19 between politicians and media people.

A. Indeed, but the chapter leads to a denouement which

21 you're presiding over at the moment. The excessive

concentration of power which the Royal Commission on the

press in 1947 under McGregor said was a real threat to

24 British democracy, that was what was initiated in the

25 seminal acts of 1981 and the value of the guarantees

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1 A. Okav.

2 MR JAY: Sir Harold, I'm going to cover the history 1981,

3 when you become editor of the Times, to 1982 fairly

4 succinctly, if I may. Can I do it in this way: the book

5 you wrote, "My Paper Chase", we have it under tab 14,

our page 00115, you say towards the bottom of the

7 page that:

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"In my first six months at the Times, Murdoch was an electric presence, vivid and amusing, direct and fast in his decisions, and a good ally against the old guard, as I worked to sharpen the paper's news values while retaining every element of its traditional coverage ..."

So it looks as if something went wrong from the

autumn of 1981; is that right?

A. Yes, that's correct. That's a fair summary. In the first six months, Mr Murdoch was just the kind of owner

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17 one would like: involved, not bullying. He came into

18 a few things -- for instance, when he suggested I attack

19 the Royal Family in the first budget because they had 20 got the civil list increased, I didn't mind him

21 suggesting that. When I investigated the facts, I found

22 it was completely wrong, he'd misread it. That evening

23 I went to the Sun newspaper and told the editor -- the

24 editor said, "I'm doing a blast on the Royal Family",

I said, "Just a minute, those figures you've been given

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1 are not right because you're misreading the calendar 1 was worrying the government. I did get this through his 2 2 vears", and I told Mr Murdoch too. But the Sun mouthpiece, Mr Gerald Long, the ridiculous statement 3 3 continued with the false story and I didn't do it in the that I shouldn't publish the figures on the recession 4 4 Times and he never said a word about that. because Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Chancellor, said the 5 So later on, of course, any kind of conduct of mine 5 recession was over. It went down by 6.5 per cent. It 6 like that received a blast, but for the first six months 6 continued to go down for the whole year. So 7 7 he was extremely good: vigorous, encouraging me to Sir Geoffrey's prediction that the recession was over 8 change the staff, to infuse -- the Times circulation --8 was wrong. 9 William Rees-Mogg was a very fine editor of the Times, 9 This gets me a letter from Mr Murdoch's mouthpiece, 10 but economic circumstances had taken the papers down and 10 Gerald, two pages long: "How dare you say the recession 11 11 we had to try to revive them, and so Mr Murdoch was is continuing when the government says it has ended?" 12 12 continuing, "Why don't you grab so-and-so and Those figures were from the Central Statistical Office. 13 13 so-and-so", and sometimes I would grab -- I took on That's just one of the many, many instances, I'd 14 David Watt, the political person -- all with his 14 like to give you some more, of the gradual distancing of 15 enthusiasm. 15 Mr Murdoch and me due because I would not support the 16 By the way, I suppose we'll come to the budgets, but 16 policies of the government come what may. We supported 17 I said, you know, "Can we afford it?" 17 them rather proudly. And this led to him doing this 18 Q. There came a time in the autumn -- sorry. 18 wonderful imitation to you which I hope somebody's got 19 19 A. Sorry, I didn't answer. I was trying to amplify that a copyright of it, portraying me as Uriah Heep, coming 20 first six months. You're quite right, something 20 in and saying, "I don't have an opinion, Mr Murdoch, can 21 21 changed. It must have changed at the same time for you tell me what to say?" 22 Denis Hamilton, who was then being forced out, but what 22 That's the funniest thing I've heard in a hundred 23 changed I think, Mr Jay, and this could be checked, in 23 years because he was continually talking to me. 24 24 1981 it was a very bad time in Britain. Mrs Thatcher I describe in "Good Times, Bad Times" I had the 25 was grossly unpopular. She was trying very hard to do 25 effrontery to call the Nobel prizewinner in economics, Page 33 Page 35 1 what she thought was right, but the policy of her strict 1 Mr James Tobin, and say, "Write an article looking at 2 2 monetarism, like the austerity in Europe today, was not the British economic condition". At the same time I 3 3 working, and that led to a great deal of anxiety on called up the government's economic advisor 4 4 Professor Hague and said, "After Mr Tobin, will you Mr Murdoch's part and in fact on everybody's part. 5 At the same time, he was feeling money pressures, 5 please reply to this?" 6 6 which we didn't know about at the time. So after That night I was taking Mr Rupert Murdoch to my home 7 September, October, it got more and more difficult. The 7 to meet my wife and have dinner. By the time we reached 8 skies got darker and darker until the thundercloud 8 the dinner, it was almost fisticuffs. "Why did you 9 9 publish that stuff, Tobin?" I said, "He's a Nobel prize 10 Q. So it was a series of circumstances, but some of them 10 winner, it's an interesting view on economics". 11 were externally imposed, namely a deteriorating economic 11 "Intellectual bullshit". I said "Just a minute, what do 12 12 situation, which led in due course to the breakdown of you know," I said, "about economics? You said inflation 13 your relationship with Mr Murdoch. Is that a fair 13 would be down". "No, no, no, no get off" -- this went 14 14 summary or not? on. I mean, that's on the policy side. 15 15 A. A fair summary would -- I think the sequence of events The recession, the -- a vehement dislike of any criticism of the monetary policy of the day, which was 16 was as follows. It became clear, particularly if I can 16 17 mention the -- when political pressure was brought on me 17 leading to massive unemployment, and then, of course, 18 to support the government, even though my own editorial 18 there was -- if I might continue -- in the fall of this 19 board thought it was wrong. And of course therefore 19 year, Mr Murdoch was continually sending for my staff 20 20 I continued with our policy, Mr Murdoch made it clear to without telling me and telling them what the paper 21 21 me, and you have documents saying which he's rebuking me should be. He sent for the elderly and academic 22 22 for not doing what he wants in political terms, and Mr Hickey(?), who went in tremulously, to be told by 23 23 Mr Murdoch, "Your leaders are too long, too complex. I can give you many instances of this. 24 It's wrong to ascribe it to the economic situation. 24 You should be attacking the Russians more."

It's correct to say that Britain's economic situation

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I had in my office the foreign editor, he was

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I said, "No, we stick to our policy'.

Perhaps the most particular demonstration of the campaign against me and the conditions in which we were trying to produce a good newspaper was the Ruda affair. What happened was there was a dinner the night before at a restaurant which I attended with Mr Murdoch and he had his pals around with him and they were all saying, "The trouble with the Times is it's too serious, the editorials are too long, what you need is bingo."

trembling. He said, "Do we have to change our policy?"

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I listened to this offensive evening and the next day Mr Murdoch sent for me and he had the pages of the paper open, with his biro pencil gouging through the business news. "Sport, didn't I tell you sport, sport, sport, where are the four pages of sport?" I said, "Just a second". He was excising the unit trust prices and the business news. "You've always told me the business news is important and I agreed." "Never mind that, sport!" I said, "Listen, if I'd given four pages to sport regularly, we wouldn't have space for business news, and you want the business news" -- "I want the business news for the revenues. Business advertising. You worry about editorial, I'll worry about the revenues. Sport, sport!" I turned to the advertising director. I said, "Mr Ruda, you may remind Mr Murdoch Page 37

"That's why I am talking to you, because the editor's not here "

So these were the things that -- it's not the
 general economy, not even the economy of Times
 Newspapers. It is his determination to impose his will
 and destroy the editorial guarantees that he'd given.

Whilst I'm on this theme, it's really after all these years of living with this nonsense, the promise of the budget, the five guarantees, every single one of the five guarantees he promised were broken. The budget never materialised. For 12 months I'm trying to get a budget and Gerald Long, the managing director, said, "Rupert's very funny about figures, he doesn't like anybody to see them", and in our board meetings they were a parody of what board meetings at Times Newspapers were. We never had any figures, we were flying blind, we had no idea what was going on. "Oh, Rupert likes to keep that to himself." The accountants were told don't give any figures to anybody. We never got a budget in the entire 12 months.

And the final straw for me, and the final straw, by
the way, for the journalists who were getting -- morale
was getting lower and lower and lower, I'd just asked
them for 25 redundancies, which was what management
said. Without meeting me or telling me, they went and
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of his pressure to have more business news to get more advertising".

I looked at Mr Ruda -- and this is a scene enacted a million times in Mr Murdoch's company. "Mr Ruda, remember you were pressing me to put more business news in?" Mr Ruda has suffered another bought of selective amnesia. That thing happened all the time.

The most dramatic example again of interference with the content of the paper, I had a reporter in Poland who was doing fantastic work when the coup took place. He was sending little messages out in people's shoes. So we gradually strung together a marvellous narrative of Poland, what had happened in the insurrection with Lech Walesa, a wonderful thing, and said to Mr Murdoch on the way out, "We should put this on the radio, it's a fantastic two pages". Next morning, the next morning he sent for me. He had the Sunday Times, marvellous narrative by Roger Boyes, two pages, and he turned to the Sun newspaper, which had this much on Poland: "That's all you need on Poland."

So he's sending for my staff behind my back, he said to Frank Johnson the columnist, Frank Johnson, going on about these kind of things, and Frank Johnson said, "I'd rather not be talking to you when the editor's not here", and Frank Johnson told me Mr Murdoch said,

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1 asked for 40 redundancies. Can you imagine the effect 2 on morale?

At the same time, it was learned that the titles of the newspapers, the Times and the Sunday Times, were being moved to News International by a board decision at which only two of the nine directors were present, excluding the editors of the Times and the Sunday Times. It was an illegal move without the permission of the editorial directors, the minutes were falsified, there was no quorum.

That's the kind of thing which I had to protest and I did and I was told, when I wrote my protest, Mr Long would not give it to Mr Murdoch. He said "Take it away, you will withdraw this letter". I said "I will not withdraw this letter", and the editor of the Sunday Times supported me, and in the end the national directors repudiated this decision by stealth to move the titles.

Q. Okay. The events of March 1982 are clearly charted in your book. Graphically and clearly. We also have some material from the Hugo Young papers, which indicates -- this is January and February 1982 -- that by this point

your view of Mr Murdoch was fairly florid?

24 A. Yes.

25 Q. I'll just read out one sentence, or perhaps more than Page 40

1 one sentence. These additional papers which arrived 1 (A short break) 2 vesterday. 11 February 1982. This is someone else, 2 (3.40 pm)3 3 MR JAY: Sir Harold, am I now visible? I think Mr Young, actually, setting out your view. You 4 4 refer to Mr Murdoch as: A. Yes, I can hear you. 5 "Evil incarnate, the very personification of it. 5 Q. Can you see me? 6 He's had his heart removed long ago, together with all 6 A. Yes, I can. 7 7 Q. Thank you. I was asking you about page 534 and the his moral faculties and his human sensibility." 8 Might it be said that for whatever reason your 8 reference to Mr Fred Emery and Mr Murdoch allegedly 9 9 saying in relation to the Secretary of State's relationship had reached such a low point that it was 10 10 undertakings, "They're not worth the paper they're increasingly difficult perhaps for either of you to be 11 11 objective? If I can put it in those terms. written on". I was asking you about the source of this 12 12 information for your book. Can you assist us on that? A. Yes, I suppose you could say that I was kind of so 13 furious about all the five promises being broken. It 13 A. Mr Emery told me that, and after we heard Mr Murdoch say 14 14 was objectively true they were being broken, and it's he couldn't remember ever saying that to Mr Emery, 15 objectively true that I was angry about this, and it's 15 Mr Emery sent me an email in New York in which he -- and 16 objectively true that if he'd observed those promises, 16 I think he also sent it to the Commission -- Inquiry, in 17 17 which he said -- he insisted that he did see and did I was prepared to go on as we had gone on. Was 18 I emotional? I got somewhat emotional about this, 18 hear Mr Murdoch say, "They're not worth the paper 19 19 because it seemed to me such a betrayal of all the they're written on." 20 things that Denis Hamilton and I and William Rees-Mogg 20 Mr Emery denied using the word "insurrection". He 21 21 was quite right, by the way, there was chaos at the had fought for. 22 Q. Yes. Can I ask you about one piece of information you 22 Times, and we may spend a moment or two on the origin of 23 23 set out in your book, and then I'm going to move on from that chaos. 24 24 this. At page 534 of "Good Times, Bad Times", you refer Q. It's probably not going to matter overmuch for the 25 25 to something that Mr Murdoch told the home editor of the purposes of this Inquiry. Page 41 Page 43 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I'm not sure that we've --1 Times, Mr Fred Emery. Do you remember that? 1 2 2 I certainly haven't seen an email from Mr Emery, 3 Q. It's a point I put to Mr Murdoch when he gave evidence, Sir Harold, so if you've had one, possibly you could 3 4 and it's about the Secretary of State's undertakings: 4 just send us an email address of Mr Emery and we will 5 "They're not worth the paper they're written on." 5 see what we should do about it, if anything. 6 Can I ask you what the source of your information 6 A. I will do, I will do. 7 here is? 7 MR JAY: I'm asked, Sir Harold, to put to you this --8 A. You vanished as a picture. I can hear you. You're 8 A. If I could --9 speaking from outer space now. 9 Q. Sorry? 10 Q. Okay. 10 A. I've just found the email that he sent me. 11 A. But I can talk. As long as you can see me. 11 Q. We'll be in touch with you separately about his email. 12 Q. Certainly. 12 A. Okay, okay. 13 A. Okay. So it's my loss, not --13 MR JAY: Apparently we do have it. 14 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I'm not terribly happy about that, LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I'm told we do have it, so that's 14 15 15 because I don't think it's terribly fair on you. You fine. 16 have no picture at all, Sir Harold? 16 MR JAY: It's something I've overlooked. I can't see it. A. I have no picture of you at all, no. We'll see if we 17 17 Oh yes, we do have it. It's under tab 18, on the 18 can get somebody in. 18 penultimate page. Under the heading "A note on the LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: I think we'll have a break now 19 19 insurrection". 20 anyway. 20 A. Yes. 21 A. Okay. 21 Q. So we have it there, Sir Harold. 22 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: And we'll consider what we're going 22 A. The one I took out, the one I gave you. There it is, 23 to do. We need a break to give the shorthand writer 23 right. I'm set. 24 just a chance to stretch her fingers. All right. 24 MR JAY: Lord Justice Leveson is just reading the reference 25 25 (3.33 pm) to it. Page 42 Page 44

1 LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes, I've seen it now. 1 the paper by then, so that was not ... 2 2 MR JAY: Thank you. Lord Robens, I had another meeting with him, who was 3 3 May I ask you this further question, Sir Harold, and speaking on behalf of the four, forget Pickering, and 4 4 again another core participant has asked me to put this, the sixth one had not been appointed following the 5 that at the end of the day the articles allowed you to 5 resignation of the journalist representative. 6 appeal to the independent national directors, and 6 I had the famous meeting, famous in my mind, of 7 7 although your difficulties with Mr Murdoch had lasted Lord Robens where we discussed whether I should, with 8 only about six months, you chose to resign when you 8 the backing of the independent directors, insist on 9 9 could not have been dismissed without the agreement of staying as editor of the Times. Robens said, "He has no 10 10 reason to fire you." In fact, he tried to do that and the independent national directors. Why didn't you 11 11 appeal to them? Lord Robens told me that Mr Murdoch at an earlier 12 12 A. Well, I did invoke the national directors when I was meeting had asked them to approve my resignation and 13 being harassed in the fall of 1981, I was in touch with 13 they said to him, "No, you can't do that, you have to 14 Lord Robens and Lord Roll and Denis Hamilton and also 14 ask Mr Evans", and Lord Robens told me all this. 15 with Mr Edward Pickering. Sir Edward Pickering was the 15 I didn't know that this had gone on, that secretly -- of 16 Murdoch appointee to the board, and so I asked him to 16 course, it was all part of the ploy. At the moment, 17 17 come to my office and I protested the pressures and Mr Murdoch was meeting journalists all over London 18 particularly the failure to be given the budget, and 18 telling them he was going to fire me, et cetera, 19 19 I said, "I'm looking to you, as I'm looking to these et cetera, I overspent the budget that didn't exist, 20 other directors to whom I've spoken, to protect me from 20 I was a communist and all this kind of -- he told 21 21 these pressures in honour of your duty as an independent a group of Geoffrey Johnson-Smith and Conservative MPs 22 director", and I'd known Pickering for a long time and 22 that I was a massive support of the SDP, which I wasn't. 23 23 he looked at me and he said, "You have to remember So the answer is -- the real answer is that I by 24 I work for Lord Beaverbrook", who was a notorious 24 this stage was absolutely disgusted, dismayed and 25 brilliant dictator of newspapers, and what Edward 25 demoralised by living in a vindictive, punitive Page 45 Page 47 1 Pickering was saying to me, "I am the fifth national 1 atmosphere, where every paperclip was challenged. 2 2 director, don't look to me", so that was a total Freedom to operate within a budget? Every -- we got 3 3 failure. written instructions that I could not send a reporter to 4 Lord Robens, Lord Roll and Sidney Greene and to a 4 a fire without giving written authorisation. 5 5 somewhat lesser extent Lord Dacre were vehemently in The whole thing was a farce. The production systems 6 6 were a farce because Rupert Murdoch had not succeeded in 7 7 getting full access to the computer. I remember the When the titles were removed by Rupert Murdoch,

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When the titles were removed by Rupert Murdoch, illegally ... [break in transmission] [he?] said to me, "We have a leviathan by the nose", and they were so furious they forced him to retract.

I then asked Lord Robens to come to my office and this was in -- the dates in November, December, and I told him what was happening. He said, "Oh, that's his game, is it?" He didn't even have a good word to say. He said, "This is a lunatic asylum. I don't like the way Mr Murdoch does business."

Mind you, he'd been particularly infuriated by the question of removing the titles without the national directors, so it's not true to say I didn't appeal to the national directors. Denis Hamilton's response was, "Just sit there and bide your time and I, Denis, will sort it out and make sure that you get the budgets and things that you were promised", and since Denis Hamilton was such a figure, I was inclined to rely on it, but at the same time Denis had already been fired, he'd left

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The whole thing was a farce. The production systems were a farce because Rupert Murdoch had not succeeded getting full access to the computer. I remember the occasion, I'd written an editorial and I go upstairs to look at it and a page -- and I find it sticking to my feet, because it was a paste-up system. It was chaos.

11 It took a long time to get production right.

So I thought, to be absolutely honest, it was attractive to think I should now lead the fight, I've got the backing of these four, and that's enough.

I honestly didn't think I wanted to endure any more of the nit-picking, trying to produce a great newspaper in impossible circumstances, and that's why I resigned.

Q. Okay. May I move on now, Sir Harold, to other issues, wider issues about the culture, practices and ethics of the press? May I start off, please, with a piece you wrote, not sure exactly when, and that's part of my focus in asking you this question. Look at tab 16 of the bundle that has been prepared, you'll see a piece that you wrote, it must have been before 1981, called,

25 "Privacy in journalism, striking the balance", and it

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2	related, amongst other things, to the role of the press	1	good, as I thought the 1947 Royal Commission was good.
4	in the Lambton/Jellicoe Affair. Do you remember that?	2	And the reason my information is and we may have
3	A. Yes, I do. What tab is that?	3	a superior witness in court with us today my
4	Q. Tab 16. I think we're in the 1970s here, but I'm afraid	4	information was that Calcutt wanted to act after the
5	I can't remember when the Lambton/Jellicoe Affair was.	5	excrescences that had occurred after his publication,
6	A. Right, okay. I have the article now.	6	and he was told or concluded that it would upset some of
7	Q. I'm sure you'll want to take time to read the set of	7	the political leaders too much, and so the opportunity
8	principles which is in the penultimate column from the	8	to follow on Calcutt with a reasonable law of privacy
9	right. Do you see that?	9	was lost. And then of course since then we've had all
10	A. Yes.	10	the appalling conduct that your Inquiry is focused on.
11	Q. These principles may be said to be equally apt now to	11	LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: Yes. I think there were two bits of
12	when they were written.	12	Calcutt: Calcutt 1, which allowed a period of time, and
13	A. Yes.	13	Calcutt 2, where he said, "Actually, this has not
14	"The reporter should not do anything"	14	worked, there ought to be all these other steps taken",
15	Very hard to read this.	15	and then the government decided that the Press
16	Q. It is possible to read?	16	Complaints Commission could carry on. You may not have
17	LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: "The reporter should not do anything	17	appreciated that I have made the point several times
18	illegal, such as breaking and entering, stealing	18	during the course of this Inquiry that I am very
19	documents or other property, threatening people with	19	concerned that there shouldn't be simply a report that
20	physical violence, demanding money with menaces,	20	sits on a shelf in a professor of journalism's study;
21	impersonating a police officer [et cetera]. When	21	that actually we try and make some difference, if we're
22	photographing people without their permission, nothing	22	going to change anything that has an effect.
23	should be done which may not subsequently be described	23	A. In my view, my Lord, that is actually the heart of the
24	in the published story. These methods should be	24	matter of this Inquiry, because if the relationship
25	considered only when no other means are available"	25	between the politicians and the press, which in this
	Page 49		Page 51
1	et cetera.	1	particular case the politicians are scared of the press,
2	They are a series of principles.	2	scared of having some kind of penalty, wouldn't do what
3	A. Yes, I still believe those principles, and I would	3	they should have done, which was to introduce a debate
4	put them in rather gold plate.	4	of high order on the consequences. So I am absolutely
			of high order on the consequences. So I am absolutely
5	MR JAY: And you would do that in view of the experience of	5	-
5 6	MR JAY: And you would do that in view of the experience of the last 35 years since this piece was written; is that	5 6	100 per cent with you on that, and I think a number of senior journalists would be.
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tell them that."

1 came to one of our seminars in October, and said that in 2 fact the standards of the British press have improved 3 over the last 20 years and in his own words he said it 4 would be churlish to deny that. I wonder whether you 5 could assist us from your perspective. Would you agree 6 with Mr Dacre or not? 7 A. Mr Dacre deserves a compliment from me for the bravery

he exhibited in challenging the Lawrence killing.

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I thought that was a superb piece of journalism. On the improvement of the British press, if you're measuring it by quantity, the amount of newsprint now consumed, you can say there's been a gross tonnage appreciation. And in terms of quality, some of the writing -- I think that British journalism in its writing and in its design and expression is superior to American journalism, by and large, by and large. Having lived with both, some of the general standard in the American press is much higher so far as accuracy, checking and freedom of expression, and there are tabloids, like Mr Murdoch's Post in New York, which don't go for that, which go for the end of the trashy

So it's fair to say you can have a fair comparison between the American and British press in which the British press doesn't look too bad, but it's the Page 53

supermarket magazines.

1 please, Sir Harold?

> A. Yes. In my view, it's very dangerous to bring a statute to bear on these matters, because I've explained in my life as an editor I had great trouble with statutes and also with common law which had been congealed from very different cases, usually to protect property. So in the thalidomide case, a great injustice lay for ten years because of the misapplication of the civil law of contempt, and so on and so on. Many instances of that. So I'm very, very -- personally very leery of

an attempt to write a law which can meet the subtlety and the changing circumstances and is adequate for those occasions when you have to consider doing something questionable for the sake of a greater public good. This is the tricky area.

I mean, I took a chance in the thalidomide and I was vindicated in the end, but I was pursued all the way to the House of Lords and finally the European Court of **Human Rights.**

I think the best answer is to have an ombudsman or a senior -- a man of some intellectual and journalistic distinction as the chairman, with legal advice, with the power to issue a subpoena, with the power to punish and holding the press to the very highest standards. That, I think, is what should be done, rather than having a --

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excesses of the tabloids and the hysteria which is really where I part company with Mr Dacre. The persecution of individuals for no public good whatsoever. I think that is such a significant decline in the standards of the press, it's gone far beyond what it went in the Lambton Jellicoe case, with having a photographer behind a prostitute's mirror. It's now got entrapment, bribery, hacking, blagging.

We've got a situation in which newspapers are employing private detectives! We used to employ reporters, trained reporters, whose job it was to find the facts. And the idea that the press has now come to the fringes of the criminal underworld, I'm totally appalled by what I see.

So I have to part company from Mr Dacre in that regard, while paying tribute to the general standards, the quality of papers in Britain, the Guardian, the Telegraph, and the Times still remain pretty good and so on. And some the things the tabloids do are very, very good. But there needs to be some external restraints to stop this dissolution of civilised standards.

Q. Okay. The external restraint. It may come back to the question you yourself posed five minutes ago: how do you get the press to behave better? It's all part of the same theme, isn't it? Could you develop that for us,

Page 54

divine a statute, retain the flexibility of an ombudsman 2 who is experienced in these things. Can you go to him 3 before -- I'm not particularly keen on going to him 4 before, but in some circumstance you could go and say, 5 "Look, there are these gangsters who are doing this; is 6 it permissible in this case to bug their phone?" And if 7 I were the ombudsman, I might well say no. I might say, 8 "That's a police matter, you should go to the police and

However, that's the kind of situation which nobody can predict, nobody can predict the amazingly complex and difficult circumstances that may arise almost in a night for a newspaper editor. So the newspaper editor has to have judgment, he has to have principles, and he has to have the freedom within those constraints to do what he thinks is in the public interest, and then bear the consequences of making misjudgments.

For instance, I have never been -- I mean, there's a very good interesting new defamation bill going through Parliament at the moment, and it probably is a big improvement. It's not nice to see Britain become the tourist libel capital of the world, and I think superinjunctions are an appalling abuse of power. It's not nice to see any of that, but it's much better if we could have a self-regulating system that works. What Page 56

14 (Pages 53 to 56)

1	we've had is a self-regulating system that didn't work.	1	Paul Dacre as an editor or Alan Rusbridger as an editor
2	LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: But what you've just described,	2	are all very well, are all sincere men, are all
3	Sir Harry, requires a statutory structure behind it. In	3	honourable men, as Antony said, but we need some extra
4	other words, it requires legislation, as it were, to set	4	authority to clean up this terrible mess that we're in.
5	up your ombudsman with all these powers.	5	MR JAY: Sir Harold, unless you have any other ideas you
6	A. (Nods head).	6	wish to share with us regarding the future, those were
7	LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: So if you were to say to me that this	7	all the questions I had for you.
8	should not be a government-controlled body, I would	8	A. Just one. I did neglect to say that one of the points
9	absolutely totally and completely agree with you,	9	where we disagreed with Mr Murdoch was that I believed
10	without hesitation.	10	the Times should be open to different opinions, and he
11	A. (Nods head).	11	thought it should not be. For instance, I with the
12	LORD JUSTICE LEVESON: But what you are suggesting could not		articles I published I published one by Mr Ray
13	be done, I don't think, purely consensually.	13	
			Buckton, a trade union leader, and he said, "He should
14	A. Well [break in transmission] said, what is the	14	never be published because the man was a comic", which
15	alternative? Keep the government out of it. Let's have	15	was ridiculous. Opening the Times to different opinion,
16	a body of respectable and good people and	16	not my opinion, was actually an issue. The issue of
17	a superstructure behind them, as you say, to set it up,	17	diversity.
18	with clear parameters written about what should concern	18	Otherwise, I don't have anything to say except I'm
19	them, what the principles are. One principle obviously	19	glad of the opportunity to correct some records. I'm
20	should be transparency. Everything should be open.	20	tired of the defamation of me, particularly Mr Murdoch's
21	At the moment, we don't we have a Press	21	statement that I lowered the circulation of the Times
22	Commission, Press Council, which has shown itself in the	22	when I increased it from 276,000 to over 300,000, which
23	hacking case, with all the best will in the world, to	23	is a falsehood that he's retained, and I think that when
24	have no investigative powers, you know, not even able to	24	the Times newspaper itself refused to publish
25	frighten a goose, and I rather feel that's one of the	25	a correction on that score, we were looking at
	Page 57	_	Page 59
1	great blotches on the history of press control in this	1	a newspaper which had lost its sense of moral
1 2	great blotches on the history of press control in this country, press invigilation, that that particular thing,	1 2	a newspaper which had lost its sense of moral responsibility.
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