

DOSSIÊ ESPECIAL CASO MURDOCH

TEXTOS RETIRADOS DA IMPRENSA

nacional e internacional

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Newsweek

July 11, 2011

Murdoch's Watergate?

His anything-goes approach has spread through journalism like a contagion. Now it threatens to undermine the influence he so covets.

by Carl Bernstein

The hacking scandal currently shaking Rupert Murdoch's empire will surprise only those who have willfully blinded themselves to that empire's pernicious influence on journalism in the English-speaking world. Too many of us have winked in amusement at the salaciousness without considering the larger corruption of journalism and politics promulgated by Murdoch Culture on both sides of the Atlantic.

The facts of the case are astonishing in their scope. Thousands of private phone messages hacked, presumably by people affiliated with the Murdoch-owned *News of the World* newspaper, with the violated parties ranging from Prince William and actor Hugh Grant to murder victims and families of soldiers killed in Iraq and Afghanistan. The arrest of Andy Coulson, former press chief to Prime Minister David Cameron, for his role in the scandal during his tenure as the paper's editor. The arrest (for the second time) of Clive Goodman, the paper's former royals editor. The shocking July 7 announcement that the paper would cease publication three days later, putting hundreds of employees out of work. Murdoch's bid to acquire full control of cable-news company BSkyB placed in jeopardy. Allegations of bribery, wiretapping, and other forms of lawbreaking—not to mention the charge that emails were deleted by the millions in order to thwart Scotland Yard's investigation.

All of this surrounding a man and a media empire with no serious rivals for political influence in Britain—especially, but not exclusively, among the conservative Tories who currently run the country. Almost every prime minister since the Harold Wilson era of the 1960s and '70s has paid obeisance to Murdoch and his unmatched power. When Murdoch threw his annual London summer party for the United Kingdom's political, journalistic, and social elite at the Orangery in Kensington Gardens on June 16, Prime Minister Cameron and his wife, Sam, were there, as were Labour leader Ed Miliband and assorted other cabinet ministers.

Murdoch associates, present and former—and his biographers—have said that one of his greatest long-term ambitions has been to replicate that political and cultural power in the United States. For a long time his vehicle was the *New York Post*—not profitable, but useful for increasing his eminence and working a wholesale change not only in American journalism but in the broader culture as well. Page Six, emblematic in its carelessness about accuracy or truth or context—but oh-so-readable—became the model for the gossipization of an American press previously resistant to even considering publishing its like. (Murdoch accomplished a similar debasement of the airwaves in the 1990s with the—tame by today's far-lower standards—tabloid television show *Hard Copy*.)

Then came the unfair and imbalanced politicized “news” of the Fox News Channel—showing (again) Murdoch's genius at building an empire on the basis of an ever-descending lowest journalistic denominator. It, too, rests on a foundation that has little or nothing to do with the best traditions and values of real reporting and responsible journalism: the best obtainable version of the truth. In place of this journalistic ideal,

the enduring Murdoch ethic substitutes gossip, sensationalism, and manufactured controversy.

And finally, in 2007 *The Wall Street Journal*'s squabbling family owners succumbed to his acumen, willpower, and money, fulfilling Murdoch's dream of owning an American newspaper to match the influence and prestige of his U.K. holding, *The Times* of London—one that really mattered, at the topmost tier of journalism. Between the *Post*, Fox News, and the *Journal*, it's hard to think of any other individual who has had a greater impact on American political and media culture in the past half century.

But now the empire is shaking, and there's no telling when it will stop. My conversations with British journalists and politicians—all of them insistent on speaking anonymously to protect themselves from retribution by the still-enormously powerful mogul—make evident that the shuttering of *News of the World*, and the official inquiries announced by the British government, are the beginning, not the end, of the seismic event.

News International, the British arm of Murdoch's media empire, "has always worked on the principle of *omertà*: 'Do not say anything to anybody outside the family, and we will look after you,'" notes a former Murdoch editor who knows the system well. "Now they are hanging people out to dry. The moment you do that, the *omertà* is gone, and people are going to talk. It looks like a circular firing squad."

News of the World was always Murdoch's "baby," one of the largest newspapers in the English-speaking world, with 2.6 million readers. As anyone in the business will tell you, the standards and culture of a journalistic institution are set from the top down, by its owner, publisher, and top editors. Reporters and editors do not routinely break the law, bribe policemen, wiretap, and generally conduct themselves like thugs unless it is a matter of recognized and understood policy. Private detectives and phone hackers do not become the primary sources of a newspaper's information without the tacit knowledge and approval of the people at the top, all the more so in the case of newspapers owned by Rupert Murdoch, according to those who know him best.

As one of his former top executives—once a close aide—told me, "This scandal and all its implications could not have happened anywhere else. Only in Murdoch's orbit. The hacking at *News of the World* was done on an industrial scale. More than anyone, Murdoch invented and established this culture in the newsroom, where you do whatever it takes to get the story, take no prisoners, destroy the competition, and the end will justify the means."

"In the end, what you sow is what you reap," said this same executive. "Now Murdoch is a victim of the culture that he created. It is a logical conclusion, and it is his people at the top who encouraged lawbreaking and hacking phones and condoned it."

Could Murdoch eventually be criminally charged? He has always surrounded himself with trusted subordinates and family members, so perhaps it is unlikely. Though Murdoch has strenuously denied any knowledge at all of the hacking and bribery, it's hard to believe that his top deputies at the paper didn't think they had a green light from him to use such untraditional reportorial methods. Investigators are already assembling voluminous records that demonstrate the systemic lawbreaking at *News of the World*, and Scotland Yard seems to believe what was happening in the newsroom was endemic at the highest levels at the paper and evident within the corporate structure. Checks have been found showing tens of thousands of dollars of payments at a time.

For this reporter, it is impossible not to consider these facts through the prism of Watergate. When Bob Woodward and I came up against difficult ethical questions, such as whether to approach grand jurors for information (which we did, and perhaps shouldn't have), we sought executive editor Ben Bradlee's counsel, and he in turn called in the company lawyers, who gave the go-ahead and outlined the legal issues in full. Publisher Katharine Graham was informed. Likewise, Bradlee was aware when I obtained private telephone and credit-card records of one of the Watergate figures. All institutions have lapses, even great ones, especially by individual rogue employees—famously in recent years at *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, and the three original TV networks. But can anyone who knows and understands the journalistic process imagine the kind of tactics regularly employed by the Murdoch press, especially at *News of the World*, being condoned at the *Post* or the *Times*? And then there's the other inevitable Watergate comparison. The circumstances of the alleged lawbreaking within News Corp. suggest more than a passing resemblance to Richard Nixon presiding over a criminal conspiracy in which he insulated himself from specific knowledge of numerous individual criminal acts while being himself responsible for and authorizing general policies that routinely resulted in lawbreaking and unconstitutional conduct. Not to mention his role in the cover-up. It will remain for British authorities and, presumably, disgusted and/or legally squeezed News Corp. executives and editors to reveal exactly where the rot came from at *News of the World*, and whether Rupert Murdoch enabled, approved, or opposed the obvious corruption that infected his underlings.

None of this is to deny Murdoch's competitive genius, his superior understanding of the modern media marketplace, or his dead-on reading of popular culture. He has made occasionally dull newspapers fun to read and TV news broadcasts fun to watch, and few of us would deny there are days when we love it. He's been at his best when he's come in from the outside: starting Sky News, which shook up a complacent British broadcasting establishment; contradicting conventional American media wisdom that a fourth TV network (Fox) could never get off the ground; reducing the power of Britain's printing trade unions that were exercising a stranglehold on the U.K. press.

But Murdoch and his global media empire have a lot to answer for. He has not merely encouraged the metastasis of cutthroat tabloid journalism on both sides of the Atlantic. But perhaps just as troubling, authorities in Britain may respond to popular outrage at the scandal by imposing the kind of regulations that cannot help but undermine a truly free press.

The events of recent days are a watershed for Britain, for the United States, and for Rupert Murdoch. Tabloid journalism—and our tabloid culture—may never be the same.

Bernstein's most recent book is A Woman in Charge: The Life of Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Correction: This article initially described News of the World as a daily paper.

The New York Times

July 9, 2011

From the Gutter, Into the Sewer

By A. C. Grayling

London

INTELLECTUALS in Britain have always regarded Rupert Murdoch with suspicion. His rise to prominence on the media scene in the 1980s coincided with a brutal yearlong lockout of newspaper workers, aimed at breaking the traditional hold of their labor unions. In the dominant position he subsequently gained, with four major newspapers and a large stake in television, he began to exercise significant influence over the political scene, and even greater influence on the down-market end of the press.

One anomalous feature of British journalism is its long history of scurrilous, muckraking weekly scandal-sheets, the tabloids or “gutter press,” which since the Victorian era have delighted blue-collar readers with stories of murders and sexual misconduct.

Mr. Murdoch’s achievement was to take the tabloid press from the gutter into the sewer, widening its range from coverage of celebrity scandals to the performance of criminal acts. Some of the latter, such as hacking into the phones of crime victims and their families, were appalling.

There is no redeeming feature in the scandal that has engulfed Mr. Murdoch’s British fief, News International, other than that it has now killed his biggest-selling newspaper, The News of the World. This tabloid made its money by regularly crossing the line of decency; the revelation that it also regularly crossed the line of legality surprises no one, for no one expected any better. What has horrified the British public is the nature of the illegalities. Murdoch journalists not only hacked into the phones of child murder victims and their parents, but of the families of victims of terrorist attacks and of soldiers killed in Afghanistan and Iraq.

And in search of sexual and political scandal they hacked into the phones of thousands of others; the London police say they have a list of 4,000 people who might have suffered their attentions.

Discovery of these serious crimes has brought forward a crisis that was already culminating. News International’s bid to take control of the television company British Sky Broadcasting, or BSkyB, was, in the opinion of many, a step too far, given that, even before the hacking revelations, its influence on politics and public conversation had become deeply corrosive.

The Murdoch media have influenced every election in Britain since the Thatcher era. Both major political parties have courted Mr. Murdoch in hope of his support, and when he gave it, they flourished at the polls. In return, he was allowed to take control of increasing stretches of the media landscape, meanwhile dissuading government from regulation that would hamper his operations. He already owns 39 percent of BSkyB; his reason for wishing to own it all is, as he has publicly indicated, to make it more like its American counterpart, Fox News.

Mr. Murdoch’s influence over successive governments has long been a concern. His hostile attitude toward the European Union and his ingratiating attitude toward China, to name but two examples, have influenced politicians eager to please him.

That the former News of the World editor, Andy Coulson, was, until the hacking scandal broke, Prime Minister David Cameron's trusted director of communications, is only the latest instance of this unseemly influence. Mr. Coulson is now under arrest for being part of the hacking crimes. Significantly, when the scandal emerged in 2005 under the Labor government, the police did little to pursue it; only now, under public pressure, have they begun to alert hacking victims to what happened back then.

Tabloid practices have always had a corrupting effect on the public conversation, but they reached new depths under the editorship of The News of the World by Mr. Murdoch's much-favored deputy, Rebekah Brooks. The cynicism of tabloid technique is well understood: Splash a rumor as news on the front page, then print a one-line retraction on an inside page two weeks later. By then, the victim has been thoroughly damaged, with other papers, and the graffiti wall of blogs and Twitter, transmitting the allegations globally.

Realists accept that scandal and gossip sell, that conflict is entertainment, and that an adversarial stance attracts spectators. But the Murdoch tabloids have championed this approach beyond the breaking point. The soiling of the public debate, and the distorting influence of one foreigner on the political landscape, were barely supportable before the hacking revelations; they are now insupportable.

No doubt over-optimistically, many in Britain hope that the current scandal will at last persuade their government and fellow citizens alike to end Mr. Murdoch's freedom to poison the well from which they drink. At the very least, they hope that culpable heads will roll. No one believes that senior managers at News International were ignorant of their employees' crimes. Ms. Brooks claims that she was. If that is true, she failed dramatically in her role as manager; if that is false, she and others are liable for criminal prosecution.

If there proves to be a silver lining to this debacle, it would be the defeat of Mr. Murdoch's effort to take control of BSkyB, and a diminution of his influence in British affairs. Alas, the anxiety is that the transgressions of News International will prompt a bout of media regulation that will impinge on press freedoms in the wrong way, making it harder to expose the wrongdoings of companies like News International rather than protecting us from them. If this happens, Mr. Murdoch's degrading influence will have reached well beyond the damage it has already done. *A. C. Grayling, a philosopher, is the author, most recently, of "The Good Book: A Humanist Bible."*

The Economist

RIP the PCC

The Press Complaints Commission is another victim of the phone hacking scandal

Jul 8th 2011, 12:22 by A.McE | LONDON

ALONG with Fleet Street and the prime minister's reputation for sound judgement, a British institution is up against the wall today. The Press Complaints Commission will shortly be put out of its misery. Weighed in the balance by the hacking scandal and News International's failure to investigate it properly, the PCC has been found sorely wanting. David Cameron today and Ed Miliband yesterday were in uncommon agreement that it must be ditched. Baroness Buscombe, its chairman, never looked remotely up to the task of holding a newspaper out of control to account. For what, the Baroness plaintively asked, could she do if lied to be senior figures in the press? This is truly pathetic. "Absent, ineffective, lacking in rigour," was Mr Cameron's judgement. Had the PCC insisted on pursuing the allegations of hacking, and made a fuss about the limited flow of information from the *News of the World*, the organisation might be in a better place to defend its record on self-regulation.

In truth, the commission has not been so much toothless as blind. In many cases, self-regulation has worked well in Britain. That's a point to remember, as many who want a sweeping privacy law would like to use the current events as cover to muzzle the press. Does Britain really want supine newspapers on the model of France or Germany, where the lives of elites are immune from impolite probing and the official version often triumphs over the truth? Your blogger would say not. Also, the rough and tumble of competitive tabloids and a lively middle-market in newspapers, creates an exciting, commercially vibrant media landscape. These are not bad things. But right now, Fleet Street does need to examine itself and the cosiness of its practices—not least the assumption that the big titles could and should be trusted to regulate their own behaviour. In effect, the PCC has only got involved where issues like the impact of reporting on children, redress for those wronged by intrusion, or the prospect of court injunctions against publication were at stake. What it has not done is set out, or enforced, minimum standards of behaviour. That is one reason the grim *News of the World* culture could flourish, without fear by the perpetrators or bosses that they might be found out.

Mr Cameron says his "instincts" remain that self-regulation should continue, but with a new and more independent body. Good idea: but lay members of the PCC are already in a majority. What matters is not so much that is on a new body, but what its powers will be. Would it, for instance, be able to call journalists to give evidence, and how would it avoid ending up embroiled in legal battles about what can legitimately be published—and what cannot? One thing is for sure: the PCC will disappear. What Leviathan would like to know (and will continue to chart), is how public policy towards the press will henceforth change in Britain, as a result of the horrors of tabloid excesses and the humbling of a brash newspaper. The battles over that will shape what kind of journalism we will get to read for years to come—and perhaps just as important, what we won't.

Elpaís

La crisis de 'News of The World' salpica a Cameron

El primer ministro británico propone reformar el actual sistema de autorregulación de la prensa tras el escándalo de las escuchas - Murdoch viaja hoy a Londres para abordar la crisis

WALTER OPPENHEIMER | Londres 09/07/2011

David Cameron se ha visto obligado a saltar al ruedo para impedir que la crisis de las escuchas ilegales del tabloide *News of the World* le acabe afectando políticamente. Saber de que el viernes por la mañana iba a ser arrestado Andy Coulson, su antiguo asesor de comunicaciones, primero en el Partido Conservador y luego en Downing Street, el primer ministro británico ha comparecido en una larga conferencia de prensa para exponer sus puntos de vista sobre el caso y liderar un movimiento de regeneración de la vida política británica en el sentido más amplio de la expresión. Coulson fue liberado en la noche de este viernes tras ser interrogado durante casi nueve horas.

Mientras, el presidente del grupo empresarial, Rupert Murdoch, viaja hoy a Londres para abordar la crisis, han informado fuentes conocedoras del viaje, si bien la propia compañía ha declinado hacer declaraciones. El magnate, de 80 años, llega a Reino Unido apenas dos días después de su decisión de cerrar el dominical, el más vendido del país.

Cameron adoptó ayer un tono de contrición general por un escándalo que a su juicio afecta no solo al diario que durante años ha practicado la técnica de las escuchas ilegales sino a toda la prensa británica, a la clase política y a la policía por la manera en que se relacionan entre sí. El primer ministro ha confirmado que pondrá en marcha dos investigaciones. Una, liderada por un juez, se centrará en las escuchas ilegales y la manera en que la policía ha tratado el caso. La otra, más genérica, reunirá a un panel de expertos independientes y abordará la cuestión más filosófica de las relaciones entre la prensa y la política.

El primer ministro ha afirmado que el escándalo del *News of the World* "es una llamada de atención" a toda la clase dirigente del país y ha asegurado que "no quedará piedra por remover". Cameron ha dado por muerto el actual sistema de autorregulación de la prensa a través de la llamada Comisión de Quejas de la Prensa. Un organismo gestionado por los propios medios y, que a su juicio, "ha fracasado" y ha estado "totalmente ausente" en el caso de las escuchas. Será sustituido por un organismo regulador independiente. La oposición se ha unido a las críticas por el pasivo papel jugado por la comisión en esta crisis.

Los medios británicos le han acosado a preguntas, en particular en torno a Andy Coulson. El que fuera director del *News of the World* cuando estalló el escándalo -y director adjunto cuando en 2002 se practicaron las polémicas escuchas a la niña desaparecida Milly Dowler- dejó el diario cuando uno de sus redactores fue encarcelado en enero de 2007 por las escuchas. Coulson dimitió porque era el director y se sentía responsable último del comportamiento ilegal de su redactor, pero negó que supiera de las escuchas. Pese a las dudas que despertaban sus argumentos, Cameron le contrató primero para el partido y luego para el Gobierno. Pero Coulson se vio obligado a dejar Downing Street en enero pasado, acosado por las constantes

revelaciones del diario *The Guardian* sobre las escuchas del *News of the World*. También en esta segunda dimisión mantuvo la tesis de que no supo nada de escuchas. Su posición, y la del primer ministro, han quedado en entredicho después de que ayer por la mañana el periodista tuviera que presentarse en una comisaría del sur de Londres, donde le han arrestado varios oficiales que investigan en dos operaciones paralelas tanto las escuchas ilegales del *News of the World* como los pagos que este diario ha admitido que hacía a oficiales de la policía a cambio de información. Aunque la figura del arresto no tiene en Reino Unido el mismo significado de presunta culpabilidad que tiene una detención en España, sí convierte a Coulson en sospechoso y permite a la policía inspeccionar su domicilio o su despacho en busca de documentación potencialmente comprometedor.

David Cameron ha marcado distancias con el emporio de Murdoch. Preguntado sobre si James Murdoch, hijo del patriarca y responsable de sus negocios en Europa, debía ser interrogado después de que la víspera admitiera que la empresa había engañado involuntariamente al Parlamento, el primer ministro ha declarado: "La policía tiene los recursos y la habilidad necesaria para perseguir las pruebas que tiene. Para interrogar a quien quiera, con independencia de lo alto o lo bajo que esté situado". "La declaración [de James Murdoch] deja todo tipo de preguntas sin respuesta. La policía ha de tener en cuenta que puede ir allí donde quiera para interrogar a quien quiera", ha añadido.

También se ha distanciado de la exdirectora de *The Sun* y del *News of the World* y consejera delegada de News International, Rebekah Brooks, de la que es amigo personal. Recordando que según algunos medios Brooks ha presentado dos veces su dimisión y que esta no le ha sido aceptada, Cameron ha dicho que él sí se la hubiera aceptado. Según el diario *The Guardian*, James Murdoch ha empezado a recortar los poderes de Rebekah Brooks y esta ya no está al frente del restringido comité formado en su día para "limpiar" la casa.

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Hugh Grant and the unlikely cast of characters in the phone-hacking crisis

Some unexpected figures have taken centre stage, from the Four Weddings actor to the News of the World's political editor

James Robinson

Friday 8, July, 2011 - 21h27 BST

Hugh Grant

The Four Weddings and a Funeral star is an unlikely expert on press regulation, but the actor has become an unofficial spokesman for hacking victims, and an articulate critic of the tabloid press in general and the News of the World in particular. Grant was also hacked, although he is unlikely to take action against the paper, and railed against politicians for failing to tame Rupert Murdoch. He said this week: "This is the watershed moment when, finally, the public starts to see ... just how low and how disgusting this particular newspaper's methods were." He visited ex-News of the World journalist Paul McMullan at his Dover pub and secretly recorded a conversation in which McMullan alleged Rebekah Brooks "absolutely" knew about hacking.

Ed Miliband

The Labour leader has cast political caution aside by calling on Brooks to resign and declaring that the phone-hacking scandal shows News Corp's bid for BSkyB should be blocked. At the start of the year his press adviser, Tom Baldwin – a former political journalist at the Times, owned by News International – urged Labour MPs not to conflate the two issues, but Miliband's U-turn has placed him in line with public opinion and put David Cameron on the back foot. Miliband has shown he will not be cowed by the power of the Murdoch press, ending a 15-year period when courting the media mogul's papers was a key priority for any Labour leader. His stand also seems to have liberated MPs on all sides, many of whom were previously unwilling to publicly criticise Murdoch. It may prove to be the moment when a news organisation whose influence has been growing stronger for a generation or more finally has its power checked.

Chris Bryant

The Labour MPs have been among the most steadfast and outspoken critics of the Murdoch press over the affair. "At least Berlusconi lives in Italy," Bryant told the Commons this week during the emergency parliamentary debate on phone hacking he secured.

Chris Bryant is suing the NoW and Glenn Mulcaire over phone hacking and his case is one of five that will be tried next year. He has pursued the story doggedly despite coming under pressure from senior Labour sources at one point to stay quiet. A former priest and BBC executive, Bryant has said he lost his fear of the press when the Sun published a picture of himself he'd sent to his ex-partner dressed only in his underwear.

Tom Watson

Another ex-Labour minister, Watson has enhanced his maverick status by taking on the Murdoch press.

A key Gordon Brown ally in government, he is likely to feel vindicated this weekend as a succession of shadow cabinet ministers queue up to condemn News Corp. Tom Watson has been highlighting the company's wrongdoing for two years, revealing the NoW may have targeted the families of the girls murdered by Ian Huntley in Soham. In Wednesday's hacking debate he said Brooks had been warned by police over the behaviour of investigators hired by the NoW while she was editor.

Simon Greenberg

News International's director of corporate affairs, also a regular on news programmes last week, has been handed the unenviable task of publicly defending the company. He has conveyed contrition but has sometimes looked uncomfortable doing so. A former communications director at Chelsea FC and the FA's 2018 World Cup bid, he was hired this year by Brooks. Greenberg worked briefly as a sports editor under her when she was editing the NoW and has also worked for the London Evening Standard and Mail on Sunday. His first task at NI was to tackle the hacking affair and he was instrumental in the decision to apologise to victims and set up a compensation fund.

David Wooding

The political editor of the NoW has become the face of the staff since the bombshell announcement, emerging from the paper's Wapping offices immediately after Brooks's address on Thursday to tell TV crews that he and his colleagues were "devastated", some of them in tears. He joined the paper 18 months ago. During the past 24 hours he has toured broadcast studios stressing those at risk of losing their jobs are part of a "great, dynamic professional" team, caught up in an "awful mess" created years ago and not of their making.

Lady Buscombe

The Tory peer has had to defend the Press Complaints Commission, which she chairs, after it conceded last week it had been fooled by the NoW over the extent of phone hacking. The PCC's inquiry into the Guardian's 2009 revelations about hacking at the title concluded there was no evidence to support the paper's claims and "did not quite

live up to the dramatic billing they were initially given". Buscombe said on Wednesday the PCC could no longer stand by that report. On Friday she added her signature, along with PCC colleagues, to a defiant statement, after Cameron said the PCC had "failed" and should be replaced with a new body independent of the press and government.

Paul McMullan

One of the few former-NoW journalists to admit that hacking was rife at the paper, McMullan argued it was often justified in order to obtain legitimate stories and he popped up frequently on news channels last week talking about the scandal. A former features executive, he told Hugh Grant when he was interviewed covertly that Cameron must have known about hacking because of his close friendship with Brooks. McMullan also told the Guardian's Nick Davies that hacking was widespread at the NoW.

BSkyB shares fall £1.8bn on fears about 'fit and proper' Ofcom test

Markets react to phone-hacking scandal as City speculates over Rupert Murdoch's plan to take full control of BSkyB

Richar Wachman and Jill Treanor

Friday 8 July 2011 20.21 BST

There was mounting concern in the City on Friday as it emerged Rupert Murdoch's plan to take full control of BSkyB could be blocked because his company, News Corporation, may not be viewed as a "fit and proper" owner.

The prospect of intervention from the regulator Ofcom prompted a huge sell-off of shares in the satellite broadcaster. They were down nearly 12% on the week, wiping £1.8bn off the company's value.

Ofcom has written to the authorities, asking to be "kept abreast" of information that could be of help to its chief executive, Ed Richards, following allegations of illegal activities at the News of the World.

Nervous US hedge-fund investors jammed the switchboards of London lawyers, demanding to know the scale of the regulatory threat. By late afternoon, shareholders were dumping the stock and the share price began to fall, down more than 7 percentage points to close at 750p.

Before the latest phone-hacking allegations at the News of the World on Monday, the shares were up at 850p on the assumption that News Corp's bid would be cleared by the culture secretary, Jeremy Hunt. Now there are worries the hacking scandal could implicate senior executives within Murdoch's media empire, raising questions about whether BSkyB's current licence is in good hands.

Jane Coffey, head of equities at Royal London Asset Management, said that in a worst-case scenario, News Corp could be forced to sell its 39% stake in BSkyB.

"Although this seems unlikely, it's a possibility," she said, "This certainly isn't a good time to be buying into BSkyB."

In a letter to John Whittingdale, chairman of the Commons culture, media and sport committee, Richards said Ofcom has a duty under the Broadcasting Act "to be satisfied that any person (which will include controlling directors and shareholders) holding a broadcasting licence remains fit and proper to hold those licences".

Richards adds: "Ofcom will consider any relevant conduct of those who manage and control such a licence."

He said that Ofcom would not do anything to prejudice investigations by the police. However, "we are writing to the relevant authorities to highlight our duties in relation to 'fit and proper' and would like to know of any further information which may assist us in the discharge of our own duties".

Peter McInerney, head of the TV practice at media law firm Sheridans, said that if James Murdoch, chairman of News International (NI), which owns the News of the World, was asked to give evidence to the police, "that could hardly be construed as meaning News Corporation [NI's parent] wasn't fit and proper".

In trading rooms, there was talk that Odey Asset Management would be nursing losses, but a spokesman for the fund insisted the group had owned BSkyB stock for

about 10 years. He described the share price fall as "nothing. It was 550p a year ago". But local authorities and pension funds are more concerned.

Theo Blackwell, Labour cabinet member for finance in Camden, said a review of the council's £877m pension fund holdings in BSkyB had been ordered on Friday.

"Camden ordered a review with our financial advisers Legal & General on the impact of the continuing developments and uncertainty around this."

"Pension funds like Camden may start voting with their feet in order to secure more stable returns for staff and pensioners," he said.

Other local authorities are also thought to be considering action.

Sam Hart, media analyst at broker Charles Stanley said: "Murdoch's plan to bid for the satellite operator has been kicked into touch.

"Shareholders are discounting the possibility that this bid won't happen for the foreseeable future. Some people wonder if it will happen at all. It could take years before the various inquiries have wound up, so the deal has been pushed much further back than anyone would have guessed a week ago."

Several institutional investors agreed with Hart that the prospect of a deal happening anytime soon was fading. One said: "As things stand, it would be inconceivable for such a deal to receive political clearance. There would be a huge uproar." Brokers say that, without a bid, BSkyB would be worth between 695p and 725p a share.

News Corp's non-executive directors

An opera singer, a former prime minister and Rupert Murdoch's eldest son are among those sitting on News Corp's board

Rupert Neate and Jill Treanor

Friday 8 July 2011 20.13 BST



Rupert Murdoch's eldest son, Lachlan, who sits on the board of News Corporation. Photograph: Reuters

Natalie Bancroft

The only woman on the board, Bancroft, a 31-year-old professionally trained opera singer, joined [News Corporation](#) following the Bancroft family's sale of its controlling stake in the publisher of the Wall Street Journal, Dow Jones, to News Corp for \$5.6bn (£3.5bn) in 2007.

Lachlan Murdoch

Lachlan Murdoch, 39, is [Rupert Murdoch](#)'s eldest son. He was born in London, raised in New York and entered the family firm as general manager of Queensland [Newspapers](#) at just 22. Earlier this year he was appointed interim chief executive of Australian TV network TEN.

Thomas Perkins

Perkins, one of the founders of venture capital firm Kleiner Perkins Caufield & Byers, has been a director of News Corp since 1996. The 78-year-old used to own the Maltese Falcon, the world's largest sailing yacht at the time.

Arthur Siskind

Siskind has been senior adviser to Rupert Murdoch since 2005. He has served as general counsel since 1991. Last year he collected pay and bonuses totalling \$3.7m.

Stanley Shuman

Shuman is managing director of specialist media investment bank Allen & Company.

He has been a major player in the financing of the global media industry for decades and has been a stalwart at Allen & Co since 1961.

Viet Dinh

The 43-year-old, who fled Vietnam as a child, grew up in California, studied at Harvard and is a professor of law at Georgetown University. Dinh served as the US assistant attorney general under George W Bush between 2001 and 2003, and created the Patriot Act, which gave US authorities the power to tap phones of suspected terrorists in the wake of the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Dinh, and Joel Klein, News Corp's CEO of its education division, have been drafted in to London to handle the News of the World crisis.

Peter Barnes

Barnes has spent most of his career at tobacco giant Philip Morris (now Altria Group), where he headed up the company's Asian expansion. He was also chairman of condom-maker Ansell and Samuel Smith & Son, the independent brewer known for its cheap and cheerful pubs across London.

José María Aznar

The son of a journalist, Aznar served as Spain's prime minister between 1996 and 2004. Aznar, also a Harvard graduate, joined the News Corp board in 2006. He has been a firm supporter of expanding the European Union's powers and extending Spain's links with the US.

John Thornton

Thornton stunned the financial world in 2003 when he gave up his role as head of Goldman Sachs to take up a teaching post at a university in China. A serial networker, he is well known to the Murdoch clan who used Goldman for BSkyB's stockmarket flotation.

Andrew Knight

Started his career at the Economist in the 1960s. By the 1980s he had risen into management, becoming chief executive of the Daily Telegraph and then moving to take on an executive position at News International and later News Corporation before retiring from a full-time executive role in 1994 after a skiing accident.

Sir Rod Eddington

Best known in Britain for his tenure at the top of British Airways, a position he held from 2000 to 2005 before returning to his native Australia. As well as his role on the board of News Corporation, he is non-executive chairman of JP Morgan in Australia and New Zealand and also sits on the board of mining company Rio Tinto.

Kenneth Cowley

Retired as head of the Murdoch Australian empire in 1997 and is now chairman of RM Williams, a well known Australian outdoor clothing business.

Phone Hacking: Police probe suspected deletion of emails by NI executive

'Massive quantities' of archive allegedly deleted Emails believed to be between News of the World editors

Friday, 8 July, 2011 - 14.18 BST

Police are investigating evidence that a [News International](#) executive may have deleted millions of emails from an internal archive in an apparent attempt to obstruct Scotland Yard's inquiry into the phone-hacking scandal.

The archive is believed to have reached back to January 2005, revealing daily contact between [News of the World](#) editors, reporters and outsiders, including private investigators. The messages are potentially highly valuable both for the police and for the numerous public figures who are suing News International (NI).

According to legal sources close to the police inquiry, a senior executive is believed to have deleted "massive quantities" of the archive on two separate occasions, leaving only a fraction to be disclosed. One of the alleged deletions is said to have been made at the end of January, just as Scotland Yard was launching Operation Weeting, its new inquiry into the affair. The allegation directly contradicts NI claims that it is co-operating fully with police in order to expose its history of illegal newsgathering. The alleged deletion of emails will be of particular interest to the media regulator Ofcom, which said it had asked to be "kept abreast" of developments in the Met's hacking investigation, so it can assess whether News Corp would pass the "fit and proper" test that all owners of UK television channels have to meet.

That came amid the first signs that Rebekah Brooks's grip on NI was weakening on a dramatic day when David Cameron all but called for her resignation. It also emerged that Brooks was no longer in charge of the company's three-person in-house standards committee that is tackling the hacking issue, and that Rupert Murdoch is planning to fly into London on Saturday to confront the crisis.

Earlier on Friday, the prime minister told reporters at an emergency press conference on the crisis on Friday morning: "It's been reported that [Brooks] had offered her resignation, and in this situation I would have taken it." Although NI denies that she offered to resign, Cameron's meaning was clear as he tried to distance himself from a person with whom he has a close social relationship.

The scandal brought a number of arrests on Friday, with the prime minister's former PR chief Andy Coulson held under suspicion of involvement in [phone hacking](#). As he was released on bail, he told reporters: "There is an awful lot I would like to say, but I can't at this time." Clive Goodman, the NoW's former royal reporter, was also arrested in relation to the alleged payment of bribes to police, and subsequently bailed. And last night an unnamed 63-year-old man was also arrested in connection with alleged corruption.

Cameron yesterday announced that his administration will launch a full judicial review into phone hacking defended his hiring of Coulson, and in effect announced that the Press Complaints Commission would be scrapped after 20 years and replaced by a new regulatory body independent of the newspaper industry and the government. He said all party leaders had been "so keen to win the support of [newspapers](#) that we turned a blind eye to the need to sort this issue".

The Guardian understands that the suspected deletion of emails is one of a number of actions that have infuriated detectives investigating hacking. In addition to deleting emails, NI executives have also:

- Leaked sensitive information in spite of an undertaking to police that they would keep it confidential.
- Risked prosecution for perverting the course of justice by trying to hide the contents of a senior reporter's desk after he was arrested earlier this year.

NI originally claimed the archive of emails did not exist. Last December, its Scottish editor, Bob Bird, told the trial of Tommy Sheridan in Glasgow that the emails had been lost en route to Mumbai. Also in December, the company's solicitor, Julian Pike from Farrer and Co, gave a statement to the high court saying it was unable to retrieve emails more than six months old.

The first hint that this was not true came in late January when NI handed Scotland Yard evidence that led to the immediate sacking of its news editor, Ian Edmondson, and to the launch of Operation Weeting. It was reported that this evidence consisted of three old emails.

Three months later, on 23 March, Pike formally apologised to the high court and acknowledged News International could locate emails as far back as 2005 and that no emails had been lost en route to Mumbai or anywhere else in India. In a signed statement seen by the Guardian, Pike said he had been misinformed by the NoW's in-house lawyer, Tom Crone, who had told him that he, too, had been misled. He offered no explanation for the misleading evidence given by Bird.

The archive was said to contain half a terabyte of data – equivalent to 500 editions of Encyclopaedia Britannica. But police now believe that there was an effort to substantially destroy it before NI handed over their new evidence in January. Police believe they have identified the executive responsible by following an electronic audit trail. They have also attempted to retrieve the lost data. The Crown Prosecution Service is believed to have been asked whether the executive can be charged with perverting the course of justice.

At the heart of the affair is a data company, Essential Computing, based near Bristol. Staff there have been interviewed by Operation Weeting. One source speculated that this company had compelled NI to admit that the archive existed.

The Guardian understands that Essential Computing has co-operated with police and provided evidence about an alleged attempt by the NI executive to destroy part of the archive while they were working with it. This is said to have happened after the executive discovered that the company retained material of which NI was unaware. The alleged deletion has caused tension between NI and Scotland Yard, who are also angry over leaks. When it handed over evidence of journalists' involvement in bribing officers, it wanted to make an announcement, claiming credit for its assistance to police. NI was warned that this would interfere with inquiries and finally agreed to keep the entire matter confidential until early August, to allow police to make arrests. In the event, a series of leaks this week has led Scotland Yard to conclude that NI breached the deal.

There was friction this year when police arrested a senior journalist. When they went to the NoW office to search his desk, they found its contents had been removed and lodged with a firm of solicitors, who refused to hand them over. They eventually complied. A file is believed to have been sent to the Crown Prosecution service seeking advice on whether anybody connected with the incident should be charged.

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ECONOMIST

A special report on the news industry: The end of mass media

Coming full circle

News is becoming a social medium again, as it was until the early 19th century—only more so

Jul 7th 2011 | from the print edition

THERE IS A great historical irony at the heart of the current transformation of news. The industry is being reshaped by technology—but by undermining the mass media's business models, that technology is in many ways returning the industry to the more vibrant, freewheeling and discursive ways of the pre-industrial era.

Until the early 19th century there was no technology for disseminating news to large numbers of people in a short space of time. It travelled as people chatted in marketplaces and taverns or exchanged letters with their friends. This phenomenon can be traced back to Roman times, when members of the elite kept each other informed with a torrent of letters, transcriptions of speeches and copies of the *acta diurna*, the official gazette that was posted in the forum each day. News travelled along social networks because there was no other conduit.

The invention of the printing press meant that many copies of a document could be produced more quickly than before, but distribution still relied on personal connections. In early 1518 Martin Luther's writings spread around Germany in two weeks as they were carried from one town to the next. As Luther and his supporters argued with his opponents over the following decade, more than 6m religious pamphlets were sold in Germany. "News ballads", which spread news in the form of popular songs, covered the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, among many other events.

In January 1776 Thomas Paine's pamphlet "Common Sense", which rallied the colonists against the British crown, was printed in a run of 1,000 copies. One of them reached George Washington, who was so impressed that he made American officers read extracts of Paine's work to their men. By July 1776 around 250,000 people, nearly half the free population of the colonies, had been exposed to Paine's ideas. Newspapers at the time had small, local circulations and were a mix of opinionated editorials, contributions from readers and items from other papers; there were no dedicated reporters. All these early media conveyed news, gossip, opinion and ideas within particular social circles or communities, with little distinction between producers and consumers of information. They were social media.

The rise and fall of mass communications

The invention of the steam press in the early 19th century, and the emergence of mass-market newspapers such as the New York *Sun*, therefore marked a profound shift. The new technologies of mass dissemination could reach large numbers of people with unprecedented speed and efficiency, but put control of the flow of information into the hands of a select few. For the first time, vertical distribution of news, from a specialist elite to a general audience, had a decisive advantage over horizontal distribution among citizens. This trend accelerated with the advent of radio and television in the 20th century. New businesses grew up around these mass-media technologies. In modern media organisations news is gathered by specialists and

disseminated to a mass audience along with advertising, which helps to pay for the whole operation.

In the past decade the internet has disrupted this model and enabled the social aspect of media to reassert itself. In many ways news is going back to its pre-industrial form, but supercharged by the internet. Camera-phones and social media such as blogs, Facebook and Twitter may seem entirely new, but they echo the ways in which people used to collect, share and exchange information in the past. “Social media is nothing new, it’s just more widespread now,” says Craig Newmark. He likens John Locke, Thomas Paine and Benjamin Franklin to modern bloggers. “By 2020 the media and political landscapes will be very different, because people who are accustomed to power will be complemented by social networks in different forms.” Julian Assange has said that WikiLeaks operates in the tradition of the radical pamphleteers of the English civil war who tried to “cast all the Mysteries and Secrets of Government” before the public.

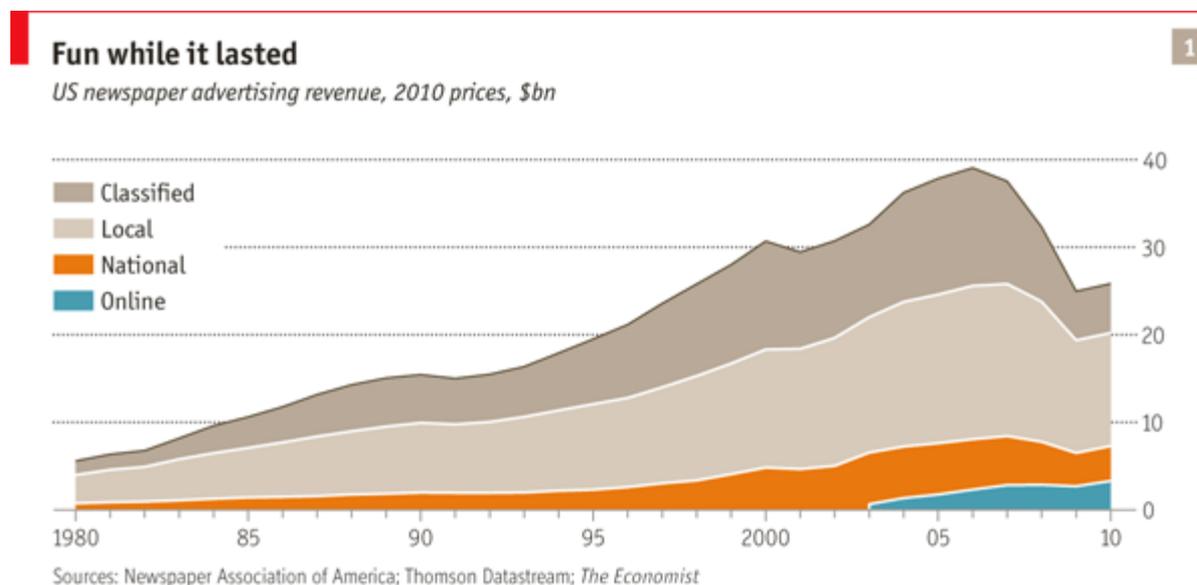
News is also becoming more diverse as publishing tools become widely available, barriers to entry fall and new models become possible, as demonstrated by the astonishing rise of the *Huffington Post*, WikiLeaks and other newcomers in the past few years, not to mention millions of blogs. At the same time news is becoming more opinionated, polarised and partisan, as it used to be in the knockabout days of pamphleteering.

Not surprisingly, the conventional news organisations that grew up in the past 170 years are having a lot of trouble adjusting. The mass-media era now looks like a relatively brief and anomalous period that is coming to an end. But it was long enough for several generations of journalists to grow up within it, so the laws of the mass media came to be seen as the laws of media in general, says Jay Rosen. “And when you’ve built your whole career on that, it isn’t easy to say, ‘well, actually, that was just a phase’. That’s why a lot of us think that it’s only going to be generational change that’s going to solve this problem.” A new generation that has grown up with digital tools is already devising extraordinary new things to do with them, rather than simply using them to preserve the old models. Some existing media organisations will survive the transition; many will not.

The biggest shift is that journalism is no longer the exclusive preserve of journalists. Ordinary people are playing a more active role in the news system, along with a host of technology firms, news start-ups and not-for-profit groups. Social media are certainly not a fad, and their impact is only just beginning to be felt. “It’s everywhere—and it’s going to be even more everywhere,” says Arianna Huffington. Successful media organisations will be the ones that accept this new reality. They need to reorient themselves towards serving readers rather than advertisers, embrace social features and collaboration, get off political and moral high horses and stop trying to erect barriers around journalism to protect their position. The digital future of news has much in common with its chaotic, ink-stained past.

American newspapers are in trouble, but in emerging markets the news industry is roaring ahead

Jul 7th 2011 | from the print edition

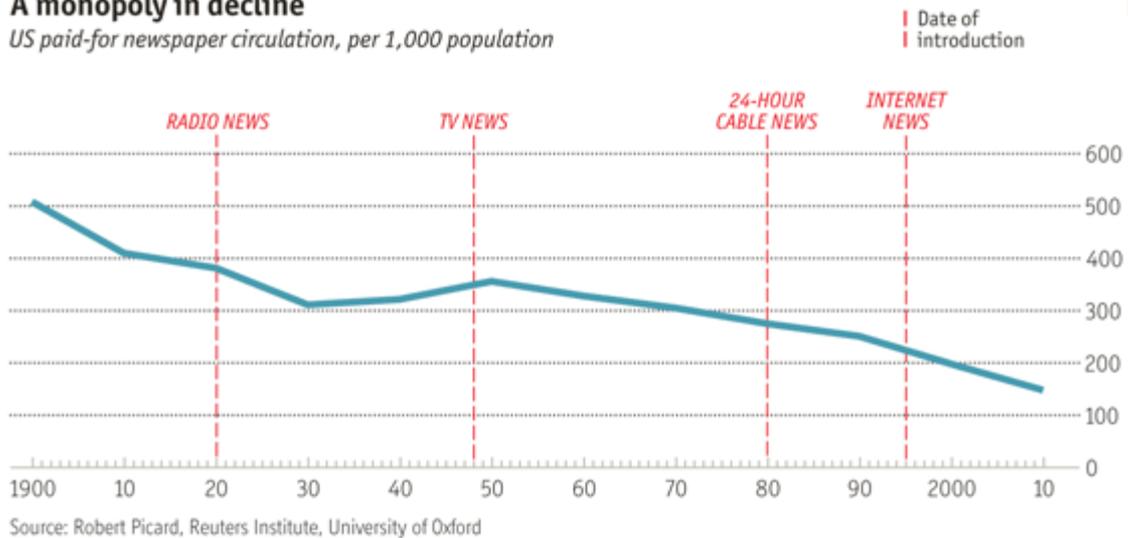


“WHO KILLED THE newspaper?” That was the question posed on the cover of *The Economist* in 2006. It was, perhaps, a little premature. But there is no doubt that newspapers in many parts of the world are having a hard time. In **America**, where they are in the deepest trouble, the person often blamed is Craig Newmark, the founder of Craigslist, a network of classified-advertising websites that is mostly free to use. Mr Newmark has been called a “newspaper killer” and “the exploder of journalism”, among other things. The popularity of Craigslist, the ninth most popular website in America, has contributed to a sharp decline in newspapers’ classified-advertising revenue (see chart 1)—a business where many newspapers have had comfortable local monopolies for decades. Sitting in a café in San Francisco, Mr Newmark looks an unlikely assassin. Did he kill newspapers? “That would be a considerable exaggeration,” he says with a smile.

A monopoly in decline

US paid-for newspaper circulation, per 1,000 population

2



The internet-driven fall in classified-ad revenue is only one of the reasons for the decline of newspapers in America, which started decades ago (see chart 2). The advent of television news, and then cable television, lured readers and advertisers away. Then the internet appeared in the 1990s. A new generation of readers grew up getting their news from television and the web, now the two leading news sources in America (the web overtook newspapers in 2010 and is already the most popular source among the under-30s).

These technological shifts hit American newspapers particularly hard because of their heavy reliance on advertising. According to the OECD, a club of developed countries, in 2008 America's newspapers collectively relied on advertising for 87% of their total revenue, more than any other country surveyed. The 2008-09 recession made things worse. Between 2007 and 2009 newspaper revenues in France fell by 4%, in Germany by 10% and in Britain by 21%. In America they plummeted by 30%. On top of that, a series of mergers and acquisitions in the American newspaper business left many companies saddled with huge debts and pushed several into bankruptcy.

For American regional and metro-area newspapers, further job cuts, closures and consolidation now seem likely. In retrospect it is clear that the industry became too dependent on local advertising monopolies. "The real trouble that a lot of US news organisations have is that they are defined by geography—by how far trucks could go to deliver papers in the morning," says Joshua Benton, head of the Nieman Journalism Lab at Harvard University. The internet has undermined that business model by providing alternatives for both advertisers and readers.

The health of newspapers is particularly important because they tend to set the agenda for other news media and employ the most journalists. In America, for example, the national television networks had around 500 journalists on their staff in 2009, compared with more than 40,000 for daily newspapers (down from 56,000 in 2001). But it would be wrong to conclude from the woes of American newspapers that newspapers and news are in crisis everywhere.

"The United States is the worst case that we see worldwide, and a lot of media news comes out of the US, so it is exceedingly negative. But the US experience is not being replicated elsewhere," says Larry Kilman, deputy head of the World Association of Newspapers (WAN), an industry body. "There's an assumption that there's a single crisis affecting all news organisations, and that's not the case," says David Levy,

director of the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism at Oxford University. “There are different kinds of crisis in different countries, and some countries in the developing world are experiencing expansion rather than decline.”

Newspapers in **western Europe** are having to manage long-term decline rather than short-term pain. In **Germany**, the biggest market, a 10% drop in revenue amid the worst recession in a generation “is not a terrible result”, says Rasmus Kleis Nielsen, a colleague of Mr Levy’s at the Reuters Institute and co-author with him of a recent book, “The Changing Business of Journalism and its Implications for Democracy”. That does not mean the German industry is immune to long-term changes. “But broadly speaking, the German industry has a large and loyal audience, strong brands and editorial resources to manage that transition,” says Mr Nielsen. Many European newspapers are family-owned, which helps to protect them in difficult times.

In **Japan**, home to the world’s three biggest-selling daily newspapers (the *Yomiuri Shimbun* alone has a circulation of more than 10m), circulation has held up well, in part because over 94% of newspapers are sold by subscription. But there is trouble on the horizon. Young Japanese do not share their elders’ enthusiasm for newsprint, and advertising revenues are dropping as the population ages.

The number of newspaper titles in **Russia** increased by 9% in 2009, but it might be no bad thing if a few newspapers died, particularly those “useless” titles that are merely mouthpieces for the local authorities that fund them, says Elena Vartanova, dean of the journalism school at Moscow State University. The Kremlin controls 60% of Russia’s newspapers and owns stakes in all six national television stations. In a country where newspapers were traditionally used as propaganda tools, online news sites offer an opportunity to break with the past. But there is a clear divide between the internet-savvy youth, who get their news online, and the old and rural populations, who depend on state-run television.

Hungry for news

There is certainly no sign of a news crisis in **India**, now the world’s fastest-growing newspaper market. Between 2005 and 2009 the number of paid-for daily newspapers in the country increased by 44% to 2,700 and the total number of newspapers rose by 23% to more than 74,000, according to the WAN. In 2008 India overtook China to become the leader in paid-for daily circulation, with 110m copies sold each day.

Newspaper and magazine advertising expenditure increased by 32% in the year to June 2010, according to Nielsen India, a market-research firm.

Television news is also booming: of more than 500 satellite channels that have been launched in India in the past 20 years, 81 are news channels. The field is dominated by private firms with interests in both news and entertainment media, so the emphasis is on sensationalist, “Bollywoodised” coverage of celebrities, says Daya Thussu at the University of Westminster in London. Most news outlets are openly partisan. Thanks to India’s vast population, there is scope for growth in print media for years to come. “Indian publishers come to newspaper conferences and complain that it’s too focused on digital, not enough on print,” says Mr Kilman. But Mr Levy wonders whether the greater interest in news in fast-growing India and **Brazil** will prove to be a short-term phenomenon that will be undermined by the spread of internet access.



Viktor Koen

China is another market where news media are growing rapidly, but the strict controls on them have intensified in recent months. A private media industry was allowed to develop only in the 1990s. The combination of social change, increasingly savvy readers, a booming advertising market and the need to reconcile credibility among readers with state controls has created a very confusing environment, says David Bandurski at the University of Hong Kong. Media firms must dance skilfully “between the party line and the bottom line”, in the memorable phrase of Zhao Yuezhi, an analyst of the Chinese media scene.

Officially the state permits watchdog journalism, known as “supervision by public opinion”, but in practice news outlets are wary of offending local party officials. One way around this used to be for reporters to expose wrongdoing in other provinces, but a ban on “cross-regional” reporting put an end to that. Journalists must identify areas where muckraking will be permitted by officials, or ensure that their own political connections will provide them with sufficient cover.

A new tactic, which became particularly popular in China during 2010, is the use of microblogging services to release information anonymously in small chunks, notes Ying Chan, dean of the journalism school at Shantou University in China. Twitter is banned in China, so this is done using local clones of the service. Microblogging works well in China because it can be done on mobile phones, which are widespread, and Chinese characters allow an entire paragraph to be packed into a short message. Moreover, microblog posts are difficult to censor because they may not make sense unless they are all read in order.

Ms Chan describes the future for Chinese journalists as “both promising and perilous”. Journalists elsewhere would agree, though for different reasons. Like Tolstoy’s unhappy families, all unhappy in their own way, the news business faces different problems in different countries. To survive, news organisations will have to make the internet part of the solution.

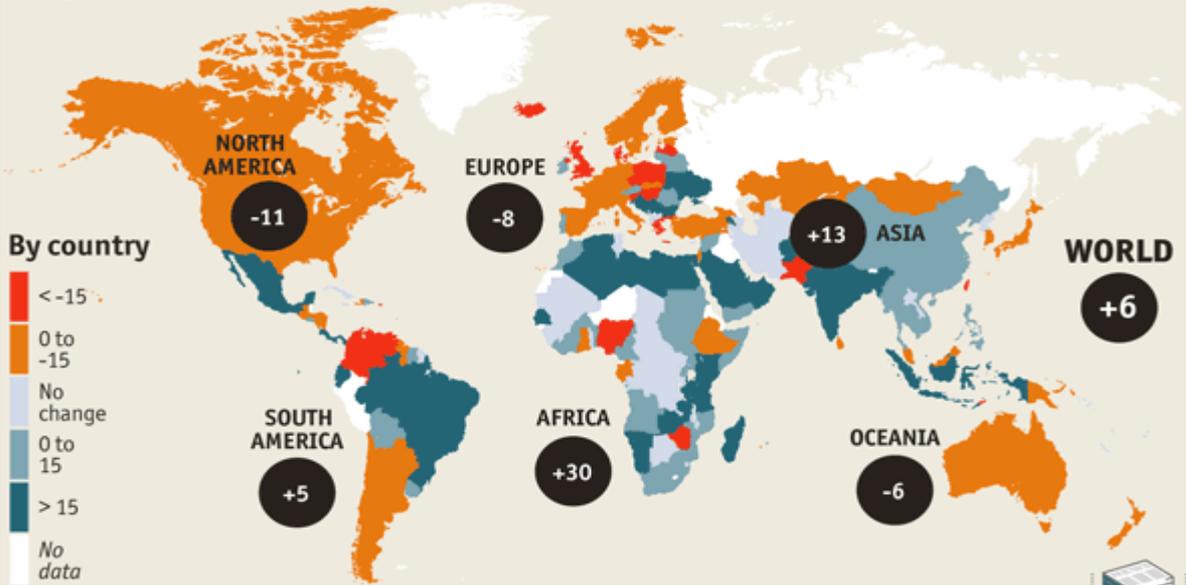
The internet has turned the news industry upside down, making it more participatory, social, diverse and partisan—as it used to be before the arrival of the mass media, says Tom Standage

Jul 7th 2011 | from the print edition

EVEN IF YOU are not a news junkie, you will have noticed that your daily news has undergone a transformation. Television newscasts now include amateur videos, taken from video-sharing websites such as YouTube, covering events like the Arab spring or the Japanese tsunami. Such videos, with their shaky cameras and people's unguarded reactions, have much greater immediacy than professional footage. Messages posted on Twitter, the microblogging service, have been woven into coverage of these events and many others. "You have these really intimate man-in-the-street accounts, and you can craft a narrative around them," says Jack Dorsey, co-founder of Twitter. A computer consultant in Pakistan unwittingly described the raid on Osama bin Laden's compound in a series of tweets. The terrorist attacks in Mumbai in 2008, too, were reported on Twitter in real time by people who were there. The past year has also seen the rise to fame of WikiLeaks, an organisation that publishes leaked documents supplied to it anonymously. WikiLeaks and its media partners have published detailed records of the Afghan and Iraq wars, hundreds of classified American diplomatic cables and records from the Guantánamo Bay detention centre. "We believe that true information does good," says Julian Assange, WikiLeaks' founder. "Our goal is not just to have people reading documents, but to achieve political reforms through the release of information."

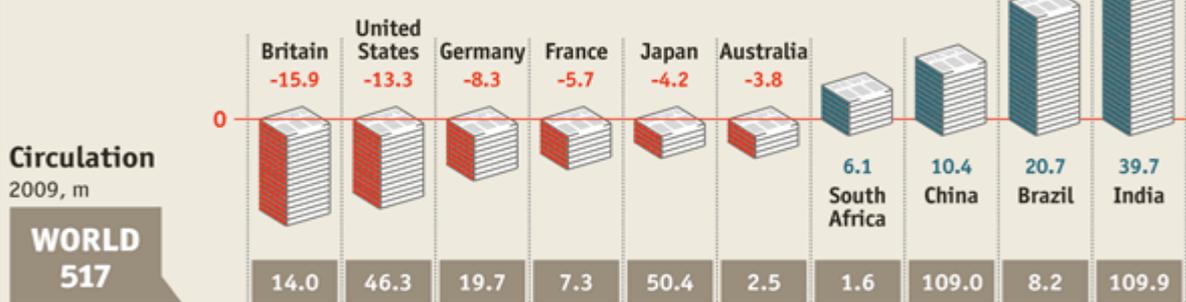
Paid-for daily newspapers

Average circulation, 2005-09, % change



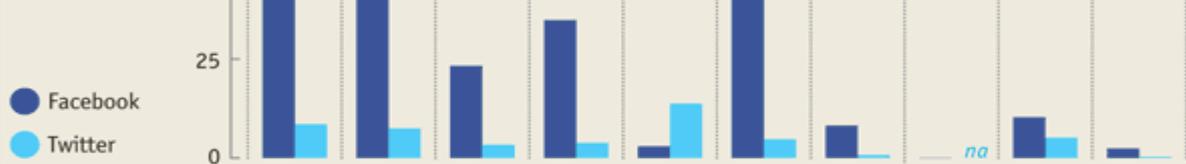
Selected countries

Average circulation 2005-09, % change



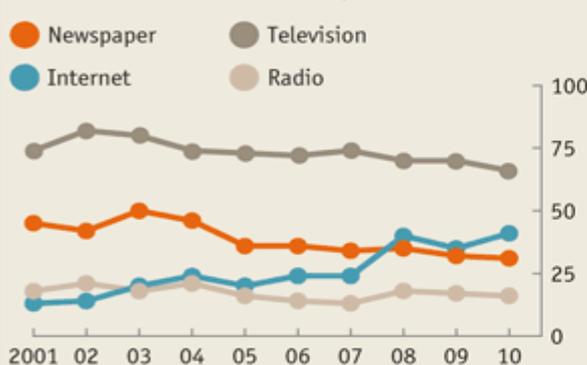
Social-media penetration

% of population, Q2 2011



News sources

Where Americans get most of their news about national and international issues, % of respondents:



Newspaper revenues

Contribution to paid-for daily-newspaper revenues, 2008, % of total



Sources: comScore; OECD; Pew Research Centre; socialbakers.com; UN; World Association of Newspapers; The Economist

In January this year Al Jazeera, a news organisation based in Qatar, published its own cache of leaked documents, known as the Palestine Papers, which lifted the lid on more than a decade of Israeli-Palestinian negotiations. And by broadcasting amateur videos of the Tunisian uprising to its millions of satellite viewers across the Arab world, the channel played an active role in spreading the protests across the region. Among television news organisations it has led the way in integrating social media (such as tweets, Facebook posts and amateur online video) into its operations in order to engage with its increasingly wired audience. “The way we operate has changed because the landscape has changed dramatically,” says Moeed Ahmad, the firm’s head of new media.

Clearly something dramatic has happened to the news business. That something is, of course, the internet, which has disrupted this industry just as it has disrupted so many others. By undermining advertising revenue, making news reports a commodity and blurring the boundaries between previously distinct news organisations, the internet has upended newspapers’ traditional business model. But as well as demolishing old ways of doing things, it has also made new ones possible. As patterns of news consumption shift, much experimentation is under way. The internet may have hurt some newspapers financially, but it has stimulated innovation in journalism.

Reporters all

For consumers, the internet has made the news a far more participatory and social experience. Non-journalists are acting as sources for a growing number of news organisations, either by volunteering information directly or by posting comments, pictures or video that can be picked up and republished. Journalists initially saw this as a threat but are coming to appreciate its benefits, though not without much heart-searching. Some organisations have enlisted volunteers to gather or sift data, creating new kinds of “crowdsourced” journalism. Readers can also share stories with their friends, and the most popular stories cause a flood of traffic as recommendations ripple across social networks. Referrals from social networks are now the fastest-growing source of traffic for many news websites. Readers are being woven into the increasingly complex news ecosystem as sources, participants and distributors. “They don’t just consume news, they share it, develop it, add to it—it’s a very dynamic relationship with news,” says Arianna Huffington, co-founder of the *Huffington Post*, a news website in the vanguard of integrating news with social media.

As well as making Twitter, Facebook and Google part of the news ecosystem, the internet has also made possible entirely new kinds of specialist news organisations. It has allowed WikiLeaks, for example, to accept documents anonymously and publish them to a global audience, while floating in cyberspace above national jurisdictions, operated by a small, nomadic team. Other newcomers include a host of not-for-profit news organisations that rely on philanthropic funding and specialise in particular kinds of journalism. Many of these new outfits collaborate with traditional news organisations, taking advantage of their broad reach and trusted, established brands. All these new inhabitants of the news ecosystem have brought an unprecedented breadth and diversity of news and opinion to the business. This has cast new light on a long-running debate about the politics of journalism: when there are so many sources, does political objectivity become less important?

This special report will consider all these trends in turn, starting with a look at the state of the industry and the new business models that are emerging. It will argue that as news becomes more social, participatory, diverse and partisan, it is in many ways returning to the more chaotic, freewheeling and politically charged environment of

the era before the emergence of mass media in the 19th century. And although the internet has proved hugely disruptive to journalists, for consumers—who now have a wider choice than ever of news sources and ways of accessing them—it has proved an almost unqualified blessing.

Britain's phone-hacking scandal

Street of shame

A full judicial inquiry is needed immediately to clean up British journalism

Jul 7th 2011 | from the print edition

NOT for nothing is it known as the gutter press. The allegations that the *News of the World*, Britain's biggest Sunday newspaper, broke into the voicemail of a murdered teenage girl, is a stain on the newspaper and on News International, its owner. But the stench is much more widespread. As new allegations of lawbreaking surface, journalism itself is reeking. So are Britain's politicians and especially its police. Britain has long had a scrappy press. A brutally competitive newspaper market encourages screaming headlines and intrusive tittle-tattle. In France a politician's peccadillos may be kept quiet for years. In Britain they are splashed across the front pages. Britons know their newspapers are rude, excessive and unreliable. But they want them to draw blood from politicians and misbehaving celebrities.

Thanks largely to some splendid muckraking by the *Guardian*, it is now clear how one tabloid obtained some of its headlines. The *News of the World* seems routinely to have asked a private investigator to hack into mobile-phone mailboxes, which is a crime. Until this week the victims seemed to be celebrities, publicists, politicians and other journalists—the sort of people who, in the British mind, probably deserve what they get. But a lawyer representing the family of the murdered girl claims that police said her phone was hacked in a way that raised hopes that she was alive. The families of terrorism victims, dead soldiers and two other murdered girls are also said to have been targeted. If true, that is callousness heaped on criminality.

Far beyond the printing presses

Four deeply worrying questions emerge from this. The first is how a newsroom could run so far out of control. And almost certainly not just one newsroom. In 2006 the Information Commissioner explained that the use of private investigators was widespread. It is notable that Britain's other tabloid newspapers, which love to kick a rival when it is down, have been disturbingly quiet about the allegations of phone hacking at the *News of the World*. It may turn out that the paper was merely the most enthusiastic, ruthless lawbreaker among several.

The second question concerns News International, the British newspaper arm of Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation. It has consistently ducked and twisted. For as long as they could get away with it, executives claimed the phone hacking was the doing of a rogue reporter. When that argument was demolished, they claimed few knew of wrongdoing. Rebekah Brooks, News International's chief executive, told staff this week that it was inconceivable she knew of the alleged phone hacking when she was editor of the *News of the World*. Yet if the allegations are true, many journalists at the newspaper would have known about such practices, and failed to report them. That can only happen in an outfit that has lost any sense of right and wrong. The notion that its rivals were perhaps doing the same thing is no excuse.

Then there are the police. The initial investigation by the Metropolitan Police into phone hacking was pitiful. For years the cops sat on a huge sheaf of seized documents and did nothing. Sloppiness is one thing. But the police tend to be hand-in-glove with popular newspapers. An implicit deal applies: we give you stories, you raise the alarm about criminals on the loose. And, occasionally, put your hand in your pocket too. Files handed over last month suggest that police received some payments from the *News of the World*.

The politicians who have fulminated against the press over the past few days are tainted, too. Far from urging the police to conduct a full investigation, they have long cosied up to the tabloids. Alastair Campbell, Tony Blair's powerful director of communications, came from the *Daily Mirror*. Andy Coulson, who resigned as editor of the *News of the World* in 2007, went on to run David Cameron's communications machine. Fear seems to play a role. One member of the parliamentary culture committee alleged last year that members had been warned they could be targeted by newspapers if they insisted on summoning Mrs Brooks to give evidence against her will.

Black, white and red all over

It is a depressing mess—and one with wide consequences. As the *Times*, another Murdoch paper, has correctly pointed out, British journalism is in its equivalent of the MPs expenses scandal. Given the uselessness of the Press Complaints Commission throughout, this affair will only encourage demands for regulatory oversight of the press. This would probably do more harm than good. Britain already has the toughest libel laws in the world, which have been misused repeatedly to protect the rich and the powerful; and giving the state power to regulate the press is a dangerous temptation to governments.

So what should be done? Within News International anyone implicated directly in any aspect of this saga—not just the apparent phone hacking at the *News of the World* but the obfuscations since—should immediately stand down, pending a proper police investigation. Then there needs to be a judicial inquiry, with the power to call witnesses, including police officers, under oath. That should cover all newspapers, not just Mr Murdoch's, and ferret out other dodgy activities, such as obtaining private medical records and credit-card transactions. If the result of such an inquiry is a bloodbath in Fleet Street and Scotland Yard, so be it. Mr Cameron's refusal to push ahead with this forcefully is incredibly cowardly and shortsighted.

Some MPs have called for News Corporation's purchase of the 61% of BSkyB it does not already own to be delayed, while Britain's media regulator investigates whether the firm is a "fit and proper" owner of the satellite-TV company. That is a stretch. The acquisition, which this newspaper thought was fair, is a matter of competition law.

The regulator can find a broadcaster to be unfit, and yank its licence, at any time. It also misses the point. Mr Murdoch is a ferocious businessman who has helped steer media through a treacherous digital transition. But if it is proven that News Corporation's managers condoned lawbreaking, they should not be running any newspaper or television firm. They should be in prison.

New York Times

July 10, 2011

Labour Party Vows to Fight Murdoch's Bid to Take Over Satellite Company

By JOHN F. BURNS

LONDON — The \$12 billion bid by Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation to take over Britain's most lucrative satellite broadcast company, British Sky Broadcasting, ran into fresh trouble on Sunday when the opposition Labour Party promised to take the battle against the takeover to a vote in the House of Commons — a step that, if successful, could deal a fatal blow to the bid.

The News Corporation effort to buy the 61 percent of the company it does not already own had been in peril because of the phone-hacking scandal that led to the shutdown this weekend of *The News of the World*, the tabloid that was one of Mr. Murdoch's biggest newspapers. Many commentators in Britain saw the closing of the paper as a move to cauterize the phone-hacking crisis and save the bid for the much more profitable company, known as BSkyB.

The Labour Party's new move against the takeover came as the 80-year-old Mr. Murdoch landed at an airport outside London to take direct control of the crisis that has enveloped his company from executives of News International, News Corporation's London-based subsidiary.

Apparently keen to emphasize his support for his management team in Britain, officials of News International arranged later in the day for news photographs to be taken of a smiling Mr. Murdoch with his son James, News International's chairman, and Rebekah Brooks, a former *News of the World* editor who is the subsidiary's chief executive. The two have been the focus of much of the public outrage that has been directed at the Murdoch empire in Britain since the long-smoldering phone-hacking scandal re-erupted last week.

Ed Miliband, the Labour leader, announced his intention to force a Commons vote on the takeover on a BBC Sunday morning talk show, saying that he regretted having to take the step but believed that Prime Minister David Cameron had left no other option to bid opponents with his refusal to take steps to halt the takeover. Mr. Cameron has said that his governing coalition of Conservatives and Liberal Democrats is bound by law not to interfere in the regulatory review of the British Sky Broadcasting bid, which has already moved close to clearing the deal.

Under questioning by Andrew Marr, the BBC host, Mr. Miliband denied that he had "declared war on Rupert Murdoch" — who is already Britain's most powerful media magnate, with a daunting political influence over decades that has led governments in Britain, Labour and Conservative, to seek his favor.

The reluctance of politicians to alienate powerful media barons was acknowledged with unusual candor on Friday by Mr. Cameron, who told a news conference that *The News of the World* scandal showed the importance of curbing what he called the "cozy" relationship in Britain between the media, politicians and the police. At a news conference, he announced plans for new regulatory controls to eliminate a pattern of unhealthy and potentially unlawful collaboration among them.

Mr. Miliband minced no words in demanding that Mr. Cameron reverse course on the British Sky Broadcasting takeover and instruct the cabinet minister responsible, Jeremy Hunt, the culture secretary, to refer the bid to Britain's Competition Commission, which has the power to kill the bid by ruling that it would lead to excessive concentration of ownership in Britain's media.

This spring, Mr. Hunt issued an initial ruling that would spare the bid from scrutiny by the commission, but delayed a final decision pending a mandatory delay to allow for public submissions. On Friday, Mr. Hunt announced that he had received 156,000 submissions and a collective protest with another 100,000 signatures.

Mr. Cameron, Mr. Miliband said, "has got to understand that when the public have seen the disgusting revelations that we have seen this week, the idea that this organization, which has engaged in these terrible practices, should be allowed to take over BSkyB, to get that 100 percent stake, without the criminal investigation having been completed and on the basis of assurances from that self-same organization — frankly, that just won't wash with the public."

The Cameron government, with a majority in the Commons and the power to set the chamber's agenda, could seek to block the Miliband move for a vote on the proposed takeover. But with the phone-hacking scandal roiling the political landscape in Britain like no other event in years, blocking a vote would be a risky move. Signaling a keen sense of the public fury over the phone-hacking and the political price for failing to engage with it, Mr. Cameron has announced plans for two public inquiries into the scandal: one into the hacking itself, and what the prime minister has called the "abysmal failure" of Scotland Yard to investigate it effectively over a five-year period until this year, and another into the "culture, practices and ethics" of British newspapers. The prime minister's calculations may be influenced by his coalition partners, the Liberal Democrats, who have declared their own opposition to the takeover, at least until the criminal cases arising from the phone-hacking have been completed.

Nick Clegg, the Liberal Democrats' leader, who is deputy prime minister, and Vince Cable, the Liberal Democrat who is business secretary in the Cameron cabinet, are said to have made their opposition to the bid known to Mr. Cameron in strong terms, and allowing it to go ahead would most likely add to the severe strains between the coalition partners on other issues that have raised doubts as to how long the coalition can survive.

Ravi Somaiya contributed reporting.

The New York Times

July 10, 2011

Scandals Redefine Rules for the Press in Europe

By ALAN COWELL

PARIS — A widening phone-hacking scandal is prompting a broad reassessment of the balance between press freedom and privacy in Britain, even as France grapples with the consequences of its tradition of protecting the powerful.

If Dominique Strauss-Kahn walks free now that the sexual assault case against him in New York seems to be weakening, will the French public have a right, or, indeed, an appetite to know more than what emerged in American courts? And if less-exalted people in Britain feel that their secrets should be protected too, how should they shield themselves from unscrupulous journalists hacking into their most intimate voice mails?

The questions underscore the contrasts between cultures that, in the past, have made Britain a temple to strident disclosure and France a whispered haven of discretion. In both countries, the debate has reached what might, at first, seem like a tipping point. In London, a tabloid newspaper, The News of the World, was accused of eavesdropping on the cellphones of a kidnapped and murdered schoolgirl, the relatives of people who died in the 2005 London transit bombings and possibly the families of British war dead in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Such was the public revulsion that an embattled prime minister, David Cameron, was forced on Friday to order two separate inquiries — one into the phone-hacking scandal itself and the other into the behavior of the freewheeling British press. In a news conference, Mr. Cameron insisted that the British press tradition of self-regulation had failed.

“I believe we need a new system entirely,” he said, prompting an outcry on Saturday from British journalists who have long resisted statutory restrictions on their freedoms, arguing that the press is able to police its own affairs.

“As a politician, Mr. Cameron can perhaps be forgiven for trying to shift the blame,” said a columnist, Stephen Glover, in the conservative newspaper The Daily Mail. “He can’t be allowed to shackle a free press.”

Yet, the broad rules remain freighted with ambiguity, governed by two apparently conflicting clauses of the European Convention on Human Rights: one endorses the right to privacy, another the right to free expression.

In recent months, that legal chasm has been filled by judges’ rulings in favor of high-profile clients seeking to keep their private lives under wraps. But Mr. Cameron has voiced unease. “It is an odd situation if the judges are making the law rather than Parliament,” he said this year.

On Friday, Mr. Cameron went much further, calling not only for a new form of press regulation, but also for an end to the cozy relationships between news organizations that are seen as wielding huge influence and politicians who are desperate to harness the support of the press for electoral advantage.

“Of course it is vital that our press is free,” Mr. Cameron said. “That is an essential component of our democracy and our way of life. But press freedom does not mean that the press should be above the law.”

“While it’s vital that a free press can tell truth to power, it is equally important that those in power can tell truth to the press.”

France — like much of Continental Europe — has long chosen a different, less swashbuckling attitude toward matters of privacy, offering the powerful a degree of protection that would be unthinkable in Britain or the United States. French politicians have been able to hide behind some of Europe’s tightest privacy laws, protected by what amounted to a code of silence about the transgressions of the mighty. Sexual activity among male politicians, indeed, is still seen as a sign of vigor rather than a cause for moral concern.

The sexual reputation of Mr. Strauss-Kahn, for instance, was known to many journalists but rarely publicized. The extent of that knowledge emerged only when he was arrested in New York in May and charged with trying to rape a hotel housekeeper at the Sofitel in Manhattan.

Then, just last week in France, a novelist, Tristane Banon, 32, filed a criminal complaint in which she claimed that Mr. Strauss-Kahn tried to rape her eight years ago — an accusation that Mr. Strauss-Kahn has dismissed as “imaginary.”

In France and Britain, the past days and weeks have shown both models of reporting to be strained to the point of failure, leaving journalists in both countries to define the role they ought to play. The epiphany, said Alan Rusbridger, the editor of *The Guardian* in London, which has taken a lead in exposing the phone-hacking scandal, represents “the most severe crisis in the past two or three generations.”

And, as the author Christophe Deloire put it in Paris, “If tomorrow the French people, readers or voters, accuse us again of having kept a secret among ourselves, of accepting different standards for the powerful than for the humble, what will we tell them?”

“It should be our ambition to say nothing but the truth — but the whole truth,” he concluded.

In a way, the malaise in both countries represents the logical conclusion to longstanding and contrasting definitions of tolerance. Only when *The News of the World* stood accused in Britain of hacking the phones of ordinary people in their moments of pain did public rage ignite. In France, the spectacle of a single powerful man brought low provoked an equally passionate debate.

But as prosecutors revealed doubts about the credibility of Mr. Strauss-Kahn’s accuser in New York, many of his allies in the Parisian elite — particularly men — began to talk of a political comeback.

Before the episode at the Sofitel, Mr. Strauss-Kahn was widely viewed as the most likely Socialist Party challenger in France’s presidential election next year.

So the question arises: Is France still so magnanimous toward the sexual adventures of the powerful that Mr. Strauss-Kahn, the former managing director of the International Monetary Fund, would be permitted to re-enter public life without an accounting of events that his lawyers say did not involve force or criminal behavior? Some journalists say the affair will — or at least should — break the mold of silence. “More than ever, the rule of journalism should be to speak out,” wrote the blogger Jean Quatremer, “and the exception should be to remain silent.”

But there is some skepticism about whether the culture will change in France to the extent that Mr. Cameron is seeking in Britain. “Journalists will pay a bit more attention to private lives” of powerful figures, said Lucas Delattre, an author and a former *Le Monde* correspondent, “but not much.”

In Britain, journalists might well conclude that those who claim a right to call the elite to account could soon face much the same scrutiny themselves.

BBC — reproduzida no UOL

10/07/2011 - 20h06

E-mails sugerem que donos de tabloide já poderiam saber de grampos; grupo nega

O grupo News International, ao qual pertence o tabloide "News of the World", encontrou há quatro anos e-mails que davam indicativos de que o jornal estaria fazendo escutas telefônicas e pagando policiais para obter informações jornalísticas. O tabloide circulou pela última vez neste domingo, após se envolver em um escândalo de grampos telefônicos ilegais de celebridades, políticos e pessoas de interesse midiático, em um caso que está causando comoção no Reino Unido.

Esses e-mails, que poderiam evidenciar comportamento criminoso, datam de 2007, mas só foram entregues às autoridades britânicas em 20 de junho deste ano, informa o editor de Negócios da BBC, Robert Peston.

O grupo midiático, porém, negou que o executivo James Murdoch, filho do magnata Rupert Murdoch, tivesse conhecimento de tais e-mails.

Segundo fontes ouvidas pelo jornalista, essas mensagens eletrônicas teriam sido guardadas temporariamente pelo escritório de advocacia Harbottle & Lewis e obtidos de volta por advogados agindo em nome do News International.

As mensagens eletrônicas parecem indicar que Andy Coulson, editor do News of the World entre 2003 e 2007 e ex-porta voz do premiê David Cameron, autorizou pagamentos para que policiais contribuíssem com furos jornalísticos do tabloide.

Coulson foi preso e solto sob fiança na sexta-feira, sob acusações de ter avalizado as escutas telefônicas ilegais. Ele nega ter conhecimento dos grampos.

Os e-mails indicam, também, que os grampos telefônicos iam além de atividades promovidas por repórteres "mal intencionados" -- que é o que o "News of the World" alegou à época em que o escândalo veio à tona, dando a entender que se tratavam de ações isoladas que não eram de conhecimento da cúpula do tabloide.

Em uma carta apresentada ao comitê de cultura e imprensa da Câmara Baixa do Parlamento britânico, o escritório de advocacia Harbottle & Lewis diz que pediu ao News International investigasse se as ações ilegais de Clive Goodman - ex-editor do News of the World, preso em 2007 por escutas telefônicas ilegais - eram de conhecimento de seus colegas de jornal.

Na carta, datada de 29 de maio de 2007, o escritório de advocacia diz que não encontrou provas de que a cúpula do jornal sabia dos grampos.

Mas, quando executivos do News International recuperaram esses e-mails das mãos dos advogados, encontraram evidências que, à primeira vista, indicavam que os grampos ilegais iam além das atividades isoladas de Clive Goodman. Apontavam, também, a existência de pagamentos ilegais para policiais.

Robert Peston relata que são cerca de 300 e-mails, a partir de 2007, que sugerem conhecimento amplo das más práticas aparentemente cometidas pelo "News of the World".

Negócios

Rupert Murdoch chegou à Reino Unida neste final de semana, na tentativa de lidar com o escândalo de grampos.

Na noite deste domingo, ele saiu de uma reunião ao lado de Rebekah Brooks,

executiva-sênior do grupo News International e ex-editora do News of The World entre 2000 e 2003.

Apesar de pressões para a demissão de Brooks, Murdoch voltou a dizer que a apoia no cargo.

Mas o escândalo envolvendo o tabloide já está atrapalhando outros negócios do magnata midiático. Neste domingo, o líder do Partido Trabalhista (oposição), Ed Milliband, disse que vai pressionar o Parlamento britânico a tentar adiar a proposta de Murdoch de comprar 100% das ações da BSKyB, a subsidiária britânica da operadora de TV por assinatura Sky, da qual já ele é acionista minoritário.

Milliband disse que quer que a compra seja adiada até que as investigações sobre o News of the World sejam concluídas.

Última edição

Também neste domingo, o News of the World, existente há 168 anos, circulou sua última edição, com os dizeres "Obrigado e adeus" na capa. Dentro, um editorial dizia que o jornal havia "perdido seu caminho".

A tiragem do jornal, o mais vendido do Reino Unido aos domingos, foi quase dobrada, para 5 milhões de exemplares, e é esperado que sua venda bata recordes. Uma federação de vendedores de jornais do Reino Unido estimou que, ao meio-dia (horário local), as vendas do jornal eram 30% maiores em comparação com o domingo anterior.

20 May 2011

Q&A: Super-injunctions

By Dominic Casciani BBC News home affairs correspondent

A report by top judges has recommended changes to the way the courts deal with so-called super-injunctions and other anonymity orders in important cases.

What was the purpose of this report - and who wrote it?

Lord Neuberger, the Master of the Rolls and head of civil courts in England and Wales, and other judges have produced a report examining how and when judges can grant someone anonymity to protect their privacy in a so-called "super-injunction". The report does not cover anonymity and secrecy in other branches of the law, such as family proceedings or national security cases.

So what is a super-injunction?

There are different types of injunctions and a super-injunction is the most powerful. A super-injunction stops anyone publishing information about the applicant which is said to be confidential or private - but also prevents anyone from reporting that the injunction itself even exists.

How does a super-injunction work in practice?

Taking a hypothetical case, a Premiership footballer asks the High Court to stop a kiss-and-tell story from appearing in next weekend's papers, saying that he is a victim of wrongdoing and blackmail by the other party.

If the judge agrees to a super-injunction, the newspaper cannot report the allegations - and it is also prevented from saying that the footballer went to court to gag the paper. If the newspaper breaks the injunction, the editor could be prosecuted for contempt of court.

What other injunctions exist?

A court can make an anonymised order. Lord Neuberger's report describes an anonymised order as an injunction that stops someone from publishing information "which concerns the applicant and is said to be confidential or private where the names of either or both of the parties to the proceedings are not stated."

So how many injunctions are there which are either supers or anonymised?

We don't know exactly and the report says the Ministry of Justice should start collating figures. Since January 2010 two super-injunctions have been granted. One was overturned on appeal and the second was only enforced for seven days. The report says super-injunctions are now only being granted for very short periods and only where this level of secrecy is necessary. However, at the same time, there has been an increase in anonymised orders where the names of the parties involved are kept from the public, but not the existence of an injunction.

Who created super-injunctions? Was it the judges?

Judges don't make new laws - Parliament does. The problem over super-injunctions has come about because judge must interpret what exactly Parliament means in a particular law.

In 2000, the European Convention on Human Rights became embedded in British law - creating a right to privacy enforceable by the courts. The legislation simultaneously created a competing right to freedom of speech. Parliament said that these two rights had to be balanced - and the judges were left to work that out.

So does this report change the law at all?

Again, no. The report makes clear that the judges were not "vested with any authority to enlarge or reduce" the rights to privacy or freedom of expression.

In April, Prime Minister David Cameron waded into the debate saying he felt "uneasy" about super-injunctions and said that judges were developing a privacy law without Parliament's say so. But the day before the report's launch, Culture Secretary Jeremy Hunt ruled out a new privacy law.

So while the judges cannot change the law, they have proposed making it simpler for the public and media to know what is going on.

So how will they do that?

The report says that judges who are asked to grant injunctions should make sure that the media know about the application in advance. In effect, that means that the media or other members of the public will have a greater and clearer opportunity to contest orders before they happen.

Who currently has a super-injunction?

The BBC cannot tell you because that would mean it would be breaking the super-injunction and its reporters would be in contempt of court.

But I can read about them on Twitter?

Allegedly. Speaking at the report's launch, Lord Judge, the Lord Chief Justice, did not rule out the possibility of specific future measures to prevent people spreading stories online.

He said: "Are we really going to say that somebody who has a true claim for privacy, perfectly well made, which the newspapers and media can't report, has to be at the mercy of somebody using modern technology?"

"At the moment that may seem to be the case, but I'm not giving up on the possibility that people who in effect peddle lies about others [by using modern technology] may one day be brought under control, maybe through damages."

What about Parliamentarians? Haven't they been busy busting super-injunctions?

MPs and peers have the protection of Parliamentary Privilege - the law which basically protects everything they say and do in the Houses of Commons and Lords. The law exists to protect Parliament's right to do its work without interference.

Lord Neuberger said however that the law on Parliamentary Privilege is "astonishingly unclear" and he asked whether it was a "good idea" for lawmakers to be "flouting a court order just because they disagree".

As for journalists repeating what allegations made in Parliament, the committee's report says: "It is an open question" whether publishing information that breaches a court order and was deliberately intended to do so, would have legal protection because it could have been done in malice."

11/07/2011

Última edição de tabloide inglês vende 4,5 milhões e chega perto de recorde

Do UOL Notícias*

Em São Paulo

A tão anunciada última publicação do tabloide "News of the World", mesmo mergulhado em denúncias envolvendo escutas ilegais, chegou perto de bater um novo recorde de vendas neste domingo. Foram 4,5 milhões de cópias vendidas, encerrando, pelo menos até agora, uma história de 168 anos.

O número foi divulgado pelo jornal britânico "The Guardian", mas não foi confirmado pela publicação.

O recorde de vendas do jornal foi em fevereiro de 1998, quando foram vendidas 4.543.457 cópias em um domingo.

Nesta segunda-feira, o vice-primeiro-ministro britânico Nick Clegg pediu que Rupert Murdoch, dono do tabloide, repensasse sobre a oferta de US\$ 12 bilhões feita pela News Corporation para adquirir a British Sky Broadcasting, uma das empresas mais lucrativas do Reino Unido.

Clegg fez essas declarações após anunciar que o titular de Cultura, Jeremy Hunt, pedirá a Ofcom, organismo regulador do setor das telecomunicações, assessoria sobre a oferta da News Corporation pelo canal.

"Rupert Murdoch está agora em Londres tentando resolver as coisas. O que posso dizer é: 'olhe como o povo se sente com isso, olhe como o país reagiu com repugnância destas revelações'", acrescentou o vice-primeiro-ministro.

Clegg falou com a imprensa após se reunir nesta segunda-feira com a família de Milly Dowler, a menina assassinada, cujo celular foi grampeado pelo jornal depois que desapareceu em 2002.

O político liberal democrata disse que é necessário contar com uma investigação judicial sobre o escândalo porque há uma dívida com a família de Milly Dowler e outras vítimas das escutas.

O advogado da família de Dowler criticou nesta segunda-feira o magnata Rupert Murdoch por não ter pedido desculpas aos familiares.

"Até agora ele não se desculpou", disse o advogado Mark Lewis, embora o editorial da última edição do jornal tenha pedido desculpas aos leitores e investidores do jornal. Para Lewis, o pedido deveria partir de Murdoch.

"Nós valorizamos os altos padrões, nós pedimos alto padrão mas, como nós infelizmente sabemos, a partir de 2006, alguns dos que trabalharam para o jornal passaram longe desses padrões", diz um trecho do editorial.

Ainda de acordo com o advogado, a ex-editora do jornal e editora-executiva da publicação, Rebekah Brooks, deveria assumir a responsabilidade pelas escutas ilegais.

"Ela deveria fazer a coisa certa. Ela era a editora na época em que Milly [Dowler, adolescente que foi sequestrada e depois assassinada em Londres] desapareceu. Ela deveria assumir a responsabilidade editorial do caso", disse.

Por enquanto, Brooks deve ser mantida no cargo de chefe-executiva da News Corporation, embora muito peçam que ela seja desligada da empresa. Nos próximos dias, ela deve ser ouvida pela política para falar sobre os grampos ilegais.

No entanto, a Scotland Yard, que investiga o caso, não informou se ela será ouvida na condição de testemunha ou acusada. Ao todo, nove jornalistas e três policiais, que teriam recebido propina de jornalistas, podem ser presos.

**Com agências internacionais*

Libel laws explained

Thursday 31 August 2006 12.03 BST

By James Sturcke

Article history

British libel laws were already complicated enough before the internet came along. Their aim is to balance the right of free speech against protection for the reputation of an individual from unjustified attack.

In law, a person is defamed if statements in a publication expose him to hatred or ridicule, cause him to be shunned, lower him in the estimation in the minds of "right-thinking" members of society or disparage him in his work.

Juries are told that the measuring stick of a libel being committed is whether any of this would affect how a "reasonable man" views the complainant.

There are defences in law for libel. The publisher could prove the statement to be true, it could be fair comment - so long as the opinion is based on true facts, is genuinely held and not influenced by malice - or it could be protected by privilege (reporting of comments made in parliament, courts and other official arenas are, generally speaking, protected from libel actions).

Since the 1998 Reynolds claim against Times Newspapers, it has become accepted that material published in the public interest is a further defence in libel proceedings. The problem for anyone preparing to publish information which may be defamatory, is that the laws are very much open to interpretation. Different juries will have different views on what exactly influences a right-thinking man.

What is certain is that the legal costs of defending a libel action will be considerable, often running into hundreds of thousands of pounds. The loser almost always has to pay the costs of the winner, plus any damages awarded to the claimant.

In effect, fighting libel cases is an expensive game of chicken, which newspapers are often reluctant to enter into, even when they believe they have a strong case.

The emergence of the internet has further complicated the issue. Individuals now have a simple way of putting their writings online - with little or no review or vetting.

Over the past decade, forums and online chats have introduced a new genre of writing, that in effect provides a written record of raw, impulsive conversations where most participants have paid scant consideration to any legal implications.

Furthermore, internet postings can be read anywhere, bringing into question issues of jurisdiction. The internet has also been seen as a place where people can express themselves anonymously, although the rise of successful online child pornography and grooming prosecutions has raised awareness of the trail left by ISP addresses.

Finally, there have also been past doubts about who is the actual publisher of online information and what, if any, protection they should have from being sued. In print, the primary publisher is the newspaper and any libel action would normally be directed against the author or editor or both.

It is rare, though not unheard of, for the shop which sold the publication, known as the secondary publisher, also to have to pay out. The issue with online articles is whether the publisher is the person who runs the website, or the ISP which hosts it.

Financial Times

July 6, 2011

Britain's media must start policing itself

By John Kampfner

No one can now be in any doubt about the depths to which some in the British media will sink to get a story.

The claim that someone working for the News of the World, the tabloid owned by Rupert Murdoch's News International, might have hacked into the voicemail of a murdered teenager after she went missing reinforces the view that depraved practices have been taking place on an industrial scale for many years. Hundreds of people – not all celebrities – have had their phones hacked to glean private information. It will be for police and prosecutors to decide who, beyond the two men jailed in 2007 (a News of the World journalist and a private investigator) and others under investigation, should be pursued.

Anger is easy; finding the remedy will be harder. Britain's parliament will today debate the issue, before hosting a public meeting that will call for an inquiry into the scandal. The initiative was organised by present and former journalists, some of them now in academia, with impeccable motives. They want to clean up the profession, to drive out the criminals. Who can disagree?

Indeed, there are many areas on which mainstream journalists and politicians agree. Self-regulation for the written press is surely the best way of ensuring the right mix of independence, scrutiny and standards. The UK's regulator, the Press Complaints Commission, has long been considered toothless – in an interview on Tuesday, the best its chairman could offer was a “review” and a yelp that she had been lied to. The PCC insists that the reality is better than the perception, that it has prevented several wrongful acts without fanfare but is not given due credit. Yet any organisation that loses public confidence struggles to restore it without fundamental reform. The PCC, in its present configuration, is woefully inadequate.

This is a tough time to be promoting freedom of expression. The instinct among many of the media's critics is to tar everyone with the same brush. Unfashionable though it might sound, however, the problem in the UK is not too much investigation, but too little. By investigation, I mean the dogged extraction of facts that those with power would wish to conceal. Investigative journalism has for years been in decline – a result of economic factors and some of the world's most restrictive defamation laws. My organisation has, with our partners, led the campaign for libel law reform. The danger is that reform, which has been progressing slowly since publication of a draft defamation bill, is seen within the context of a “feral” media, as Tony Blair famously described it.

The same goes for discussions on privacy, a right that in recent years has gained primacy over the competing right to free expression. A committee of parliament has been asked to investigate how privacy is defined; who is entitled to it; what exactly is meant by the public interest; and when it should override other concerns.

The third potential constraint on free speech, also gaining currency among politicians, is greater control of the internet. Again, this is a complex area, but the instinct appears to be to find ways of restricting free expression.

No country has a perfect media, and goodness knows Britain's is flawed. But a healthy democracy should err on the side of journalists finding out too much rather than too little. By definition it is a rough trade. If an investigative reporter knows of, say, an arms company up to no good, should he in future be prevented from using subversive or undercover methods to seek out the truth? The criterion must be a heightened understanding of the public good, tested to distraction by editors and managers.

An inquiry on phone hacking should be welcomed if it serves a broader purpose of not just rooting out the criminals and the sharks – but of helping to restore journalism to its rightful place as a fearless but fair challenge to authority.

The writer is chief executive of Index on Censorship and author of 'Freedom For Sale'.

Financial Times

July 12, 2011

Read all about it! All the news is bad news

By Philip Stephens

In its way it was a touching gesture. Rupert Murdoch had flown in to London to douse the fires engulfing News International. So what was his priority? “This one,” he replied, turning protectively to his flame-haired lieutenant Rebekah Brooks. Touching maybe, but shareholders in his News Corp media group might take a rather more hard-headed view. Mr Murdoch still does not get it.

The challenges for David Cameron are more straightforward. Britain’s prime minister needs to explain why he brushed aside advice and appointed the former News of the World editor and now-arrested Andy Coulson as his communications director.

Unconvincing waffle about “second chances” will not do.

More likely, the employment of Mr Coulson reflected the insouciant self-regard that persuades Mr Cameron that he can always “handle” things. In that case, a straightforward public apology for a serious error of judgment would be a good start. Mr Murdoch has offered the prime minister a breathing space by agreeing that his bid for full control of British Sky Broadcasting should be examined by the Competition Commission. Scarcely anyone in Whitehall or Westminster believes the deal can proceed before the completion of the myriad police and parliamentary probes into alleged criminality at News International. How can Mr Murdoch’s News Corp be deemed “fit and proper” before the law has taken its course?

So the prime minister needs more than a respite. Mr Murdoch hopes to keep the bid alive by delaying a decision. But it will probably be years before the investigations into phone hacking and the bribery of police officers reach a conclusion. People are facing jail. Whatever the interim opinion of the Competition Commission, it is hard to see how the government can wave the deal though. Mr Cameron is a close friend of Ms Brooks. The prime minister’s nightmare is the headline declaring that BSkyB has been gifted to an organisation that hacked into the voicemail of a murdered child. One bright spot for Mr Cameron comes from Ed Miliband’s break with the Murdoch media. Now the Labour leader has cut himself loose, Mr Cameron can escape Mr Murdoch’s embrace at much lower political cost.

I have struggled to see any bright spots for Mr Murdoch since it emerged that phone hacking at the News of the World had reached beyond politicians and celebrities to the families of murder victims and of soldiers killed in action.

Each day brings fresh allegations – the latest that News International invaded the personal privacy of Gordon Brown, the former prime minister, and that a police officer was offered cash to pass on personal contact details of members of the royal family. A plot to bug the Queen? It beggars belief, even if Mr Murdoch is a staunch republican.

As often in such affairs, the cover-up may well turn out to be more significant than the original allegations. Whatever Ms Brooks knew or did not know about hacking during her tenure as editor of the News of the World, she has been compromised by the subsequent failure to properly investigate.

Only last autumn Mr Murdoch told the annual meeting of News Corp that the affair amounted to “one incident more than five years ago”. Ms Brooks was by then chief executive of News International. Yet a bipartisan committee of MPs had already declared the company’s “single rogue reporter” defence to be incredible. Now it seems evidence pointing to wider criminality had been circulating within News International as long ago as 2007.

The apposite question for Mr Murdoch is not whether he can save Ms Brooks, but whether he can rescue his British newspapers. He may well decide he would do better to sell up. With the closure of the News of the World, he has already lost his best-selling title.

That leaves the third player in the drama. The Metropolitan Police is deep in the mire. Public expectations of politicians and journalists are always low. The police are supposed to be guardians of the law. The easy bit will be identifying and prosecuting the police officers who received payments from the News of the World in return for passing on privileged information. As damaging as these specific charges has been the refusal of senior figures to pursue the allegations of criminality at the newspaper.

The original 2006 investigation into hacking did see a reporter and private investigator going to jail. But it was curiously narrowly drawn. Much of the evidence now emerging had been available in police files for five years. John Yates, an assistant commissioner of the Met, has described his own dilatory inquiry as “a crap decision”. Apologies are not enough. Politicians and the public need a credible explanation. As Alan Johnson, a former home secretary, has put it: were the police “evasive, dishonest or lethargic?”.

So there you have it: Mr Cameron, Mr Murdoch and the police are all big losers. Once they were close. Now they are falling out as each struggles to salvage a reputation. For now, the news gets worse every day.

ESTADÃO

Governo britânico pede que Murdoch desista de comprar operadora a cabo. Parlamento deve convidar Murdoch a explicar escândalo da obtenção ilegal de informações.

12 de julho de 2011 | 14h 36

BBC Brasil - BBC

O governo britânico disse nesta terça-feira que vai apoiar uma moção da oposição trabalhista pedindo que a News Corporation, empresa do magnata Rupert Murdoch e pivô do recente escândalo de obtenção ilegal de informações, desista de finalizar a compra da operadora de TV a cabo BSkyB.

Como o governo é formado por uma coalizão entre o Partido Conservador e o Liberal Democrata, as três principais forças políticas britânicas estão unidas contra a intenção da empresa de avançar em sua compra de 100% das ações da BSkyB.

Nesta quarta-feira, o Parlamento britânico votará a moção, que afirma ser "do interesse público", para tentar cancelar a proposta.

O líder trabalhista, Ed Miliband, disse que a proposta de compra não deveria ser considerada até o término das investigações criminais sobre a empresa de Murdoch.

O vice-primeiro-ministro e líder dos liberais democratas, Nick Clegg, já havia feito um pedido semelhante.

"Em última instância, esta é uma decisão que compete à News Corporation, mas sempre esperamos que as pessoas levem em conta o que o Parlamento tem a dizer", disse um porta-voz do governo britânico nesta terça-feira.

O secretário da Cultura, Jeremy Hunt, responsável pela decisão final sobre a compra, não vai votar.

'Gigante'

A News Corporation já detém 39% das ações da BSkyB. O negócio criaria um "gigante" da mídia, com um lucro que superaria todos os seus rivais na Grã-Bretanha, incluindo a BBC.

Grupos de mídia rivais alegavam, já antes do escândalo envolvendo os jornais de Murdoch, que o negócio prejudicaria a concorrência ao concentrar muito poder em uma só companhia.

O primeiro-ministro, David Cameron, deve se encontrar nesta tarde com Clegg e Miliband para discutir detalhes de inquéritos propostos para investigar as alegações de obtenção ilegal de informações envolvendo jornalistas das empresas de Murdoch.

A Câmara dos Comuns, a câmara baixa do Parlamento britânico, pediu para que Murdoch, seu filho James Murdoch e a diretora-executiva do grupo, Rebekah Brooks, prestem esclarecimentos na próxima terça-feira.

Também nesta terça-feira, o ex-premiê britânico Gordon Brown pediu para que os jornais de Murdoch sejam investigados, após denúncias de que ele teria sido espionado de forma ilegal quando ocupava o posto de ministro das Finanças.

As acusações contra jornais do grupo pertencente a Murdoch surgem uma semana depois de alegações de grampo telefônico envolvendo o tabloide News of the World, também de propriedade da News Corporation

O escândalo levou, no último domingo, ao fechamento do News of The World, após 168 anos de atividade. BBC Brasil - Todos os direitos reservados. É proibido todo tipo de reprodução sem autorização por escrito da BBC.

ESTADÃO

Murdoch é pressionado a rever compra de TV

12 de julho de 2011 | 0h 00

LONDRES

Em meio ao escândalo de grampos telefônicos que prejudicam a imagem do primeiro-ministro David Cameron, o governo britânico busca uma maneira de evitar que o magnata Rupert Murdoch compre a empresa de comunicações via satélite British Sky Broadcasting (BSkyB).

Ontem, o vice-primeiro-ministro Nick Clegg, do Partido Liberal Democrata, pediu a Murdoch que reconsidere sua proposta após as denúncias de que um de seus jornais, o tabloide News of the World, grampeou os telefones de celebridades, políticos, vítimas de homicídio e parentes de soldados britânicos mortos no Iraque e Afeganistão.

"Faça a coisa certa e reconsidere sua proposta de compra da BSKyB", disse Clegg à rede de TV BBC, depois de um encontro com parentes de uma das vítimas das escutas ilegais.

Londres já pediu ao Ofcom, órgão que regula as TVs na Grã-Bretanha, e ao Office of Fair Trading (OFT), agência do governo que fiscaliza as práticas comerciais no país, que reavaliem a proposta de Murdoch após o escândalo dos grampos.

Clegg tornou-se a figura mais graduada do governo britânico a se posicionar contra a proposta da News Corp., empresa de Murdoch. O partido do vice-premiê, o Liberal Democrata, tem um histórico de problemas com alguns dos jornais do magnata.

O governo também deve levar em conta a rejeição dos eleitores em relação à News Corp. e ao acordo. Uma pesquisa publicada recentemente mostrou que apenas 9% dos britânicos apoiam o negócio, enquanto 70% desejam que ele não ocorra.

A posição de Clegg é parecida com a do Partido Trabalhista, de oposição, que já prometeu atrasar uma votação parlamentar sobre o acordo até a conclusão das investigações, o que aumentará a pressão sobre o governo. / AP

G1

13/07/2011 10h32 - Atualizado em 13/07/2011 10h32

Murdoch retira oferta de compra pela "BSkyB", diz "Sky News" Agencia EFE

Londres, 13 jul (EFE).- A companhia "News Corporation" do magnata Rupert Murdoch retirou nesta quarta-feira sua oferta de compra da totalidade das ações do canal britânico "BSkyB" diante das crescentes reservas no Reino Unido, segundo informou a rede "Sky News".

O anúncio ocorre horas antes de a Câmara dos Comuns britânica votar uma moção, respaldada pelos principais partidos, que pede a Murdoch que retire sua oferta por causa dos escândalos das escutas telefônicas ilegais do dominical "News of the World". EFE

OPERA MUNDI

13/07/2011 - 09:18 | Efe | Washington

Senador democrata quer saber se grupo de Murdoch espionou nos EUA

O senador democrata Jay Rockefeller pediu nesta terça-feira (12/07) uma investigação para saber se o grupo jornalístico News Corporation -- dirigido pelo magnata Rupert Murdoch -- espionou ou realizou atividades ilegais nos Estados Unidos. Rockefeller disse que as acusações contra o diário britânico *News of the World*, propriedade da News Corp., levantam dúvidas se a companhia violou alguma lei norte-americana. Em comunicado, o senador democrata pelo estado da Virgínia Ocidental expressou sua preocupação porque a espionagem jornalística em Londres, admitida pela News Corp, "pode ter se estendido às vítimas dos atentados de 2001" e a outros norte-americanos. "Caso isso se confirme, as consequências serão sérias", avisou Rockefeller na nota, postada nesta terça-feira no site do Comitê de Comércio, Ciência e Transporte do Senado dos EUA, que é presidido por ele.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

July, 13, 2011

In Retreat, Murdoch Drops TV Takeover

By JOHN F. BURNS AND ALAN COWELL

LONDON — In a stunning setback after days of building scandal surrounding its British newspaper operations, Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation announced on Wednesday that it was withdrawing a \$12 billion bid to take over the shares it does not already own in Britain's main satellite television broadcaster.

The withdrawal from the bid for complete control of British Sky Broadcasting, also known as BSkyB, represented the most severe damage inflicted so far on Mr. Murdoch's corporate ambitions by the scandal. Only a week ago, Mr. Murdoch hoped to contain the damage by shutting down his 168-year-old tabloid, The News of the World, which had admitted to ordering the hacking of the voice mail of Milly Dowler, a 13-year-old girl abducted and murdered in 2002.

Since then, virtually every day has brought dizzying new disclosure and developments, culminating in News Corporation's announcement on Wednesday. In a statement, Chase Carey, the company's deputy chairman, president and chief operating officer, said, "We believed that the proposed acquisition of BSkyB by News Corporation would benefit both companies but it has become clear that it is too difficult to progress in this climate."

As the announcement was made, Prime Minister David Cameron was meeting with Milly Dowler's parents at 10 Downing Street.

It was unclear whether the move would mute the outcry against Mr. Murdoch's operations in Britain. Within minutes of News Corporation's announcement, politicians from the Labour opposition and the Liberal Democrat junior coalition partner said competition authorities should investigate whether to challenge the Murdoch family's existing 39 percent stake in BSkyB.

Ofcom, the media regulator, said it would continue its scrutiny of BSkyB's ownership structure.

According British law, News Corporation would be allowed to make another bid for the BSkyB shares it does not already own in six months. Some analysts said another bid is indeed likely, but that the company would in all likelihood have to wait until investigations into the phone hacking and bribery allegations were completed.

As the announcement was made, the chief lawyer for News International, the British subsidiary of the News Corporation, confirmed reports that he was quitting after 26 years at the paper. Officials at the company said that the lawyer, Tom Crone, had been the lawyer chiefly responsible for clearing controversial stories published in The News of the World and another paper in the Murdoch stable, The Sun. His resignation made him the first senior executive of News International to quit in the scandal.

In Washington, Senator Jay D. Rockefeller IV, a West Virginia Democrat and the chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee, said he had asked officials to investigate whether any News Corporation entities in the United States had employed illegal methods in their news gathering operations.

"The reported hacking by News Corporation newspapers against a range of individuals — including children — is offensive and a serious breach of journalistic

ethics,” he said in a statement. “This raises serious questions about whether the company has broken U.S. law.

The senator voiced particular concern for the victims of the 9/11 attacks and their families. If the phone hacking did extend to them, he said, “the consequences will be severe.”

Only hours before News Corporation’s announcement, Mr. Cameron had sought to distance himself from Mr. Murdoch and had urged him to drop the bid for BSkyB, reversing his previous support. The announcement came just before Parliament was set to approve a cross-party call for Mr. Murdoch to abandon his long-cherished desire to take full control of the lucrative satellite broadcaster — a deal regarded as the cornerstone of his strategy for corporate expansion.

Mr. Cameron said Murdoch executives should “stop the business of mergers and get on with cleaning the stables.”

The scandal has also convulsed British politics, the press and the police, forcing them to contemplate unheard-of scrutiny of their sometimes incestuous ties. A criminal investigation and a public inquiry have been spawned as a direct result of allegations that journalists from Murdoch newspapers may have tried to hack the phones of families of soldiers killed in Iraq and Afghanistan and that they made illicit payments to corrupt police officers.

But given Mr. Murdoch’s towering influence in British public life, the scandal has also cast unusually sharp light on a world of cozy relationships between political and corporate leaders and senior police officers.

On Wednesday, Mr. Cameron offered details for the first time of a broad inquiry into those relationships to be led by a senior judge, Lord Justice Brian Leveson. Mr. Cameron told Parliament that it would have the power to summon witnesses to testify under oath. The announcement came as Mr. Cameron fought to recover the initiative in a scandal that has turned into potentially the most damaging crisis of his time in office, partly because of his own close relationship with senior figures in News International.

He said that the inquiry would examine the ethics and culture of the British media as well as the accusations of phone hacking at The News of the World, and that it would also investigate why an initial police inquiry failed to uncover the extent of the scandal. It will also explore allegations that journalists paid corrupt police officers.

The senior judge said in a statement that parts of his investigation would begin soon. Mr. Cameron said he wanted the inquiry to be “as robust as possible, one that can get to the truth fastest and get to work the quickest, and one that commands the full confidence of the public.”

Mr. Cameron said it should complete a report on the future regulation of the press within a year, but he acknowledged that inquiries into allegations of criminal wrongdoing — which the police are also investigating — would take longer.

The opposition Labour leader, Ed Miliband, said the withdrawal of the BSkyB bid was “a victory for people up and down this country who have been appalled by the revelations of the phone hacking scandal” and the failure of News International over the years to take responsibility. “The country wanted this. It wanted its voice to be heard. Today, it has been.”

“People thought it was beyond belief that Mr. Murdoch could continue with his takeover after these revelations,” he said in a statement carried by the Press Association news agency. “It is these people who won this victory. They told Mr. Murdoch: ‘This far and no further.’ ”

Nick Clegg, the leader of the Liberal Democrats, who is also the deputy prime minister and nominal ally of Mr. Cameron, also praised the News Corporation's decision. "This is the decent and sensible thing to do. Now that the bid has been called off and a proper inquiry set up, we have a once-in-a-generation chance to clean up the murky underworld and the corrupted relationship between the police, politics and the press."

In a rancorous session at the weekly encounter in Parliament known as prime minister's questions, Mr. Cameron also came under renewed pressure from Mr. Miliband to explain his relationship with his former director of communications, Andy Coulson, a former editor of The News of the World who was taken in for questioning last week on suspicion of conspiracy in the phone hacking and making payments to police officers to gain confidential information.

The debate in Parliament was also marked with sharp exchanges between Mr. Cameron and Mr. Miliband. "He just doesn't get it," Mr. Miliband said, referring to the worries provoked by Mr. Cameron's decision to hire Mr. Coulson, who was forced to resign in January as the phone hacking scandal gathered pace. Mr. Miliband said Mr. Cameron's hiring of Mr. Coulson revealed a "catastrophic" lack of judgment. But Mr. Cameron replied, "The person who is now not getting it is the leader of the opposition." He added, "What the public wants us to do is to deal with this firestorm." During the parliamentary debate, a lawmaker also asked if there was evidence that journalists at News International had tried to hack into the voice mail of victims of the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks in the United States, as they are accused of doing in Britain after the London subway and bus bombings in July 2005.

The Daily Mirror newspaper had reported that journalists had sought to secure phone data concerning Sept. 11 victims from a private investigator in the United States. Mr. Cameron said he would investigate the issue.

Neither the withdrawal of the BSkyB bid nor the shuttering of The News of the World seems to have diverted the fury of lawmakers sensing that, for the first time in decades, Mr. Murdoch and his family are vulnerable.

A spokesman for the House of Commons said that a parliamentary motion censuring Mr. Murdoch — "This house believes that this is in the public interest for Rupert Murdoch and News Corporation to withdraw their bid for BSkyB" — would still be debated later on Wednesday. But it was not immediately clear whether members would vote on it.

David Winnick, a Labour member of parliament who has been investigating the phone hacking case as part of the Home Affairs Committee, said in an interview that Mr. Murdoch had "anticipated what the result would be — a unanimous vote in the House of Commons against him, 650 members deciding it was not in the public interest. He's used his senses and come to the only possible conclusion."

He added that Mr. Murdoch had headed off a demonstration of "political hostility which would have been shared in the country," but warned that "the heat is not off, bearing in mind the criminality that has started to be exposed."

A parliamentary committee said Tuesday that it would call Mr. Murdoch, his son James and Rebekah Brooks, the chief executive of News International, to testify next week about accusations of phone hacking and corruption at the News International papers. John Whittingdale, chairman of Parliament's Culture, Media and Sport Committee, said it would seek to determine "how high up the chain" knowledge of the newsroom malpractices in the Murdoch newspapers went.

John F. Burns reported from London, and Alan Cowell from Paris. Reporting was contributed by Ravi Somaiya and Julia Werdigier from London.

A globalização da ética de imprensa

14 de julho de 2011 | 0h 00

Eugênio Bucci - O Estado de S.Paulo

O fechamento do tabloide inglês The News of the World, que vendia 2,6 milhões de exemplares, deu a largada para a principal discussão sobre ética de imprensa no mundo globalizado. A partir de agora está claríssimo: a conduta dos órgãos encarregados de informar a sociedade é uma pauta supranacional. Não é apenas o capital que viaja em segundos de um continente para outro. Não são apenas as massas trabalhadoras que migram clandestinamente para disputar empregos em terras estrangeiras. Não é apenas a indústria da diversão que alcança simultaneamente os olhares de povos distantes entre si. Agora ficou evidente: a credibilidade dos órgãos jornalísticos não é meramente um assunto doméstico, ela floresce e sucumbe na arena global.

Já veremos por quê. Antes façamos uma recapitulação sumária do que se passou. Esse jornal, The News of the World, tinha 168 anos de idade. Desde 1969 pertencia à News Corporation, o megaconglomerado internacional, com faturamento na casa dos US\$ 33 bilhões ao ano, controlado pelo australiano Rupert Murdoch. Vivia de bisbilhotagem, luxúria e algum sangue. Vivia muito bem, apesar do lento declínio em circulação, que vinha de décadas. Sua fórmula editorial ia dos aposentos da família real em Londres às estripulias transoceânicas dos astros do show business, passando por bestialidades a granel.

Há poucos anos, seus métodos "jornalísticos" passaram a ser contestados. No site da Press Complaints Commission - instituição encarregada da autorregulamentação da imprensa britânica - há queixas de escutas clandestinas contra ele. Na esfera policial também houve investigações. Um jornalista do News of the World, Clive Goodman, chegou a ser preso em 2007.

Tudo isso não é novo, portanto. Mas até então se acreditava que os crimes registrados eram desvios individuais, casos isolados, como se diz. Agora se viu que não. Os crimes são mais sérios e muito mais numerosos. Segundo apontam as investigações, seriam mais de 4 mil os telefones grampeados pelo jornal. Estamos falando, portanto, da industrialização do grampo. Gerenciar milhares de escutas clandestinas é uma operação de monta: requer equipes treinadas, orçamentos bem planejados, estruturas próprias. Os inquéritos vão dando conta de que o News não era uma redação jornalística - era uma agência de arapongas assalariados.

Descobriu-se mais. Além de grampear celebridades - o que já constitui uma ilegalidade inaceitável, que se situa fora do campo do jornalismo -, o jornal teria invadido celulares de pessoas comuns, que não dependem do estrelato para inflar seus cachês. Grampeou parentes de soldados mortos. Grampeou até a adolescente Milly Dowler. A garota estava desaparecida - soube-se depois que já tinha sido assassinada - quando detetives contratados pelo News apagaram mensagens de seu celular, o que causou nos familiares a impressão de que ela ainda estava viva. Com isso o caso ganhou uma sobrevida - e, em consequência, a cobertura do caso, liderada pelo News of the World, também ganhou sobrevida. Lucrativa.

Essas revelações estarreceram a Inglaterra. O tabloide era um serial killer da privacidade de gente comum. Anunciantes caíram fora. Os protestos se generalizaram. Murdoch fechou o semanário, na tentativa de estancar a sangria de reputação e de salvar um objetivo maior: ele queria comprar a totalidade da BSkyB, um poderoso

grupo de canais a cabo do qual já é sócio. A tentativa não deu certo. O quadro só se complicou. Andy Coulson, ex-diretor do News of the World e porta-voz de David Cameron, o primeiro-ministro britânico, até janeiro de 2011, foi preso na sexta-feira passada. Só foi liberado sob fiança. O ex-primeiro ministro Gordon Brown diz que também foi grampeado. A crise do tabloide virou uma crise no Parlamento. Políticos de correntes várias passaram a contestar em público as pretensões do dono da News Corp., a tal ponto que, ontem mesmo, Murdoch anunciou que desistiu da compra da BSkyB. Ele está acuado. Na Inglaterra e no mundo.

Aí é que entram as razões da internacionalização desse debate. O escândalo dos grampos virou notícia no mundo todo porque o conglomerado de Murdoch está no mundo todo - e se ele faz por aí o que parece ter feito em Londres, isso diz respeito a todos nós. Ontem pela manhã a Rádio CBN noticiou em primeira mão no Brasil que o senador democrata Jay Rockefeller pretende investigar o grupo de Murdoch nos Estados Unidos. Um dos jornais que mais se destacaram na cobertura dos bueiros da News Corp. - depois do diário inglês The Guardian - é o americano The New York Times, que vem sofrendo uma concorrência frontal do Wall Street Journal, comprado, em 2007, por ninguém menos que Murdoch. Na Newsweek desta semana, o jornalista Carl Bernstein - autor, ao lado de Bob Woodward, da série de reportagens sobre o escândalo de Watergate, publicadas no Washington Post, que levaram a renúncia de Richard Nixon, em 1974 - lança a pergunta que só ele pode fazer: será que esse escândalo não é o Watergate de Murdoch?

O sentimento geral foi bem sintetizado pela revista The Economist de quinta passada: "Se ficar provado que os diretores da News Corporation agiram contra a lei, eles não deveriam mais comandar nenhum jornal ou estação de TV. Deveriam estar na cadeia". Isso vale para qualquer país. No mundo de hoje, as práticas dos tabloides ingleses viraram tema do interesse público internacional.

Sim, isso mesmo. Existe um interesse público internacional, ainda que difuso, rarefeito, pouco institucionalizado. Não são apenas o capitalismo selvagem e a especulação financeira que rasgam fronteiras. As preocupações humanitárias em geral e a ética jornalística em particular também se globalizam como valores universais. É a isso que Murdoch terá de prestar contas. E com isso ele talvez não contasse.

JORNALISTA, É PROFESSOR DA ECA-USP E DA ESPM

News Corp. Newspapers May Face U.S. Inquiry

By BRIAN STELTER

Public criticism of the News Corporation's conduct in the British hacking scandal has crossed the ocean as half a dozen members of Congress this week urged the United States government to investigate possible misconduct, including violations of a law that guards against foreign corruption.

In a letter on Wednesday, Representative Peter T. King, Republican of New York, pressed the F.B.I. to investigate whether journalists working for News Corporation newspapers tried to obtain phone records of victims of the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, as one British newspaper claimed, citing anonymous sources.

Mr. King was the first Republican to call for an investigation into the company's activities. The News Corporation's chief executive, Rupert Murdoch, is a longtime supporter of conservative causes and Republican politicians.

Several of the other lawmakers who spoke out this week have been publicly critical of the News Corporation in the past. The first to issue a statement, Senator John D. Rockefeller IV, Democrat of West Virginia, said Tuesday that the United States government should hold investigations to "ensure that Americans have not had their privacy violated."

He was joined on Wednesday by senators like Robert Menendez, Democrat of New Jersey, who asked the Justice Department to investigate the claims involving 9/11 victims. Mr. Menendez said in his letter that the "large scope" of the hacking in Britain made it "imperative to investigate whether victims in the United States have been affected as well."

New Jersey's other senator, Frank R. Lautenberg, suggested Wednesday that both the Justice Department and the Securities and Exchange Commission should examine the case and consider starting a formal investigation. Mr. Lautenberg referred to news media reports that journalists "paid London police officers for information, including private telephone information, about the British royal family and other individuals for use in newspaper articles."

Because the News Corporation is based in the United States, such payments may have violated the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act, which forbids payments to foreign officials. Citing the act's accounting rules, he added, "If indeed bribes were made and were not properly recorded, this too may be a violation of law."

Several of the lawmakers echoed what Mr. Lautenberg asserted: that "further investigation may reveal that current reports only scratch the surface of the problem at News Corporation."

Asked about Mr. Lautenberg's letter, Mary Schapiro, the chairwoman of the S.E.C., said, "We will look at it very carefully, as we do all Congressional correspondence." Some legal experts cast doubt that the government would pursue a legal case against News Corporation. Ellen S. Podgor, a law professor at the Stetson University College of Law and a regular contributor to a blog about the anticorruption act, said that initiating an investigation against the company "would be like entering a minefield." She said prosecutors would weigh the First Amendment issues involved and the fact that other statutes covered the conduct in Britain "where they allegedly occurred." Several civic and public interest groups, including some that have been longtime opponents of Mr. Murdoch, have set up petitions and proposed Congressional hearings into the company's conduct.

Floyd Norris contributed reporting.

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FBI Opens News Corp. Hacking Probe

By DEVLIN BARRETT

The Federal Bureau of Investigation has opened a probe into whether employees of News Corp. might have hacked or attempted to hack into the private calls and phone records of Sept. 11 victims and their families, according to people familiar with the matter.

The investigation was opened Thursday morning, following a request a day earlier by Rep. Peter King (R., N.Y.) who heads the House Homeland Security Committee and whose Long Island district was home to many victims of the 2001 terrorist attacks.

The investigation will try to determine whether employees of News Corp. illegally accessed the private calls, voice-mail messages, or call records of 9/11 victims or their families, these people say. It will also look into whether any News Corp. employees bribed or sought to bribe police officials to gain access to such records.

A scandal over phone hacking in the U.K. by News of the World, a publication recently closed by News Corp., has roiled the media empire and prompted a series of legal inquiries.

The Daily Mail in the U.K. reported earlier this week that News of the World reporters tried to hack the voice-mails of dead 9/11 victims, citing an unidentified former New York policeman who said he was offered money by News of the World reporters who said they would pay him to retrieve private phone calls. The unidentified former officer says he declined the offer.

News Corp. also owns The Wall Street Journal.