

1 **An Interview with**
2 **Tony Hoare**
3 **ACM 1980 A.M. Turing Award Recipient**
4 **(Interviewer: Cliff Jones, Newcastle University)**
5 **At Tony's home in Cambridge**
6 **November 24, 2015**

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10 CJ = Cliff Jones (Interviewer)

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12 TH = Tony Hoare, 1980 A.M. Turing Award Recipient

13
14 CJ: This is a video interview of Tony Hoare for the ACM Turing Award Winners project.
15 Tony received the award in 1980. My name is Cliff Jones and my aim is to suggest
16 an order that might help the audience understand Tony's long, varied, and influential
17 career. The date today is November 24th, 2015, and we're sitting in Tony and Jill's
18 house in Cambridge, UK.

19
20 Tony, I wonder if we could just start by clarifying your name. Initials 'C. A. R.', but
21 always 'Tony'.

22
23 TH: My original name with which I was baptised was Charles Antony Richard Hoare.
24 And originally my parents called me 'Charles Antony', but they abbreviated that
25 quite quickly to 'Antony'. My family always called me 'Antony', but when I went to
26 school, I think I moved informally to 'Tony'. And I didn't move officially to 'Tony'
27 until I retired and I thought 'Sir Tony' would sound better than 'Sir Antony'.

28
29 CJ: Right. If you agree, I'd like to structure the discussion around the year 1980 when
30 you got the Turing Award. I think it would be useful for the audience to understand
31 just how much you've done since that award. So if I could, I'd like to start in 1980
32 and work backwards, and later on we'll come to 1980 and work in the more obvious
33 order if that's okay.

34
35 TH: That's fine. Thank you.

36
37 CJ: So the Turing citation lists four things, not necessarily in this order – the axiomatic
38 approach; design of algorithms, specifically Quicksort; contributions to programming
39 languages in general; and operating systems constructs such as monitors.

40
41 Let's begin with the axiomatic approach. The key paper you wrote in 1968 I think.

42
43 TH: That's right. When I moved to Belfast as a professor.

44

45 CJ: Yes, we'll come to Belfast later on. Can you, for anybody who doesn't know,
46 describe Hoare triples?

47

48 TH: "Hoare triples" is just a symbolic way of saying something quite simple. It's a
49 statement about what will happen if you do something. It has three parts, as you
50 would expect from the 'triple'. The first part is called a precondition, and that
51 begins, 'If something or other is the case in the real world', and the second part is the
52 program itself, which is an active verb, is that 'If you do this, then the final stage of
53 the world after you've done it will satisfy the third component of the triple', which is
54 called a post-condition.

55

56 CJ: Now that's what it was. Can you tell us what problem you were trying to solve when
57 you came up with the Hoare triple?

58

59 TH: Well, I had the idea that it would be a good idea to define programming languages in
60 a way that didn't say too much about what the computer actually did, because in
61 those days anyway all computers were doing things slightly differently, but gave
62 enough information to the user of a programming language to be able to predict
63 whether the computer would do what the programmer wanted it to do. What the
64 programmer wanted it to do was expressed as the post-condition and served as a
65 specification for the program in the middle, but very usually the program wouldn't
66 work in all circumstances and required to be started in a state in which the
67 precondition also held. So what I was trying to do is to construct a formal proof
68 system, calling on my previous acquaintance and love of logic, which would justify a
69 formal proof, a mathematical proof that the program actually does what the
70 programmer wanted.

71

72 CJ: Maybe you could say a bit more about the context of the work at that time. I know
73 from this famous 1969 publication in Communications of the ACM, you make very
74 generous acknowledgements to Floyd¹, Naur², van Wijngaarden³, and so on. But
75 could you say what other people were trying to do with language definitions at the

¹ Robert W (Bob) Floyd (1936 – 2001) also won a Turing Award in 1978. He was a pioneer in the field of program verification and his 1967 paper *Assigning Meanings to Programs* (*Proceedings of American Mathematical Society*, Vol. 19, pp. 19–32) was an important contribution to what later became Hoare logic.

² Peter Naur (1928 – 2016) was a Danish computer science pioneer and also Turing award winner.

³ Adriaan van Wijngaarden (1916 – 1987) was a Dutch mathematician and computer scientist who was head of the Computing Department of the Mathematisch Centrum in Amsterdam. He is widely considered to be founder of computer science in the Netherlands

76 time you came up with your idea?

77

78 TH: Yes. There were two ideas of how to define a programming language current. One
79 was the denotational semantics, which attempted to describe what the meaning of the
80 program was in terms that were familiar to mathematicians – for example, using the
81 mathematical concept of a function – and the other one was an operational semantics,
82 which was more appealing to the programmer who likes to know how the computer's
83 actually going to execute the program. I was out of sympathy with... I couldn't
84 understand the first of them and I was out of sympathy with the second. [chuckles]
85 So I came up with this third approach which is called the axiomatic approach, which
86 has attracted quite a bit of attention.

87

88 CJ: Well, we'll draw a lot of parallels later on with your later work, but let's come to that
89 later. Baden-bei-Wien, the formal language description languages conference, there
90 were a lot of papers there. None of them were using the approach or hinting at the
91 approach that you were to pioneer?

92

93 TH: I think none of them were. I remember standing up to ask a question and using it as
94 an excuse to make a comment that I felt that one of the main advantages of a formal
95 language description language was to be able to say as little as possible, as little as
96 possible and as much as necessary of course, about the details of the language itself.
97 And I gave an example of defining the modulus of a number as being... What?
98 Sorry, I've forgotten. [chuckles] Anyway, let's leave that.

99

100 CJ: I know that you also went to the IBM Vienna Lab and heard the course, the
101 presentations on their extremely large attempt to use an operational semantics
102 approach to define PL/I. Were you on the ECMA standards committee or...?

103

104 TH: I was on the ECMA standards committee, and the course was being run for the
105 benefit of that committee. It was my first introduction to the approach taken by that
106 laboratory, which was I think primarily operational. But they were very appreciative.
107 I actually spent the evenings during that conference writing the very first draft of the
108 axiomatic approach paper on the notepaper of the Imperial Hotel in Vienna.
109 [chuckles] I gave the manuscript to my colleagues in IBM and they were very
110 appreciative of it, but I think very rightly decided that the method was not
111 sufficiently mature shall we say to be applied immediately to PL/I.

112

113 CJ: What was your reaction to the large definition they were writing?

114

115 TH: Oh, withdrawal I think. Definitely I didn't regard, as it were, literary, suitable for
116 literary reading.

117

118 CJ: [chuckles] Right. 1969 we've said the paper came out. I'd like to know what you
119 feel the reaction was from the community, both short-term... I happened to be at the
120 presentation you gave in Vienna for the WG 2.2 meeting in 1969. So did people
121 immediately appreciate that the axiomatic approach was a good way forward? And

122 we'll come to longer term in a minute.

123

124 TH: Right. I don't know that I was so worried about impact then as we are now.
125 [chuckles] I think I was quite happy with the interest that people showed at these
126 technical committee meetings.

127

128 CJ: Longer-term of course, this is one of your most-cited papers. I found 6,000 citations,
129 more than 6,000 citations to that one paper.

130

131 TH: Oh.

132

133 CJ: Do you feel that that's an approach which is now widely followed?

134

135 TH: I think a lot of people do know about it, and it is recognised as one of the three
136 methods of expressing the semantics of a programming language. And a lot of
137 people who were perhaps more comfortable with the operational approach did feel
138 the necessity of proving that it was consistent with the axiomatic approach in the
139 sense that everything you could prove in one system would satisfy the properties that
140 you could prove of the program in the other system.

141

142 CJ: So in working backwards, what I wanted to do was draw out some of the practical
143 stimulus to your chosen research topics. In a paper, I guess it's the Turing Award
144 speech, you talk about the connection between the bound checking that you built into
145 your ALGOL compiler and the idea that they were a form of assertion. How much
146 do you think that was an influence for you, that you...?

147

148 TH: Yes. I think I've always been attempting to make sure that the programmer had a
149 control and understanding of what the computer was going to do when executing the
150 program. So the motto was that whatever happened could be explained in terms of
151 the programming language itself, and you didn't have to understand anything about
152 the machine code or the structure of the computer in order to debug the program. I
153 think that's really a very good principle. Which has not always been observed in
154 subsequent languages, but the necessary condition for it is that the subscripts on all
155 the array references must be checked every time. And indeed, modern languages are
156 following that example, perhaps without ever having heard of it of course.

157

158 CJ: You're of course talking here about machines that were much slower. There was an
159 overhead for checking those array bound-.....that you were staying within array
160 bounds. Your customers were prepared to pay that overhead?

161

162 TH: Maybe my customers didn't know. But since most of the customers were academics
163 and had to use to the computer to teach students programming, I think they were
164 quite glad of it. Many years later, the company offered the customers the option of
165 building into the compiler an option for switching off the subscript or array checking,
166 and they said "no." They knew how many errors were due to subscript errors.

167

168 CJ: Yes. We've not finished with the axiomatic method, but I would like to pick up on
169 one thing which your name is always associated with, which is the Quicksort
170 algorithm, and its connection to programming languages. So could you build the
171 connection for us with your ability to write the program Quicksort down when you
172 first had the idea?
173

174 TH: Not when I first had the idea. The idea first came to me when I got interested in
175 sorting. I remember well thinking about it on my couch in my room at Moscow State
176 University. The first idea I had for doing sorting was something like bubble sort, and
177 then I thought it was a bit slow. I could calculate the... 'It would be n^2 in the length
178 of the array, so there must be a faster way.' I did think explicitly, well, if I could
179 start off by assuming that my array was split into two parts, and all the elements of
180 one part were smaller than all of the elements in the other part, then I could tackle
181 those two problems separately. And I sat down and used the only programming
182 language I knew at the time, which was Mercury Autocode, and wrote the partition
183 algorithm, the easy, non-recursive part. And then I was faced with the problem of
184 how does one organise the calculations required to sort all the partitions that you've
185 left behind to sort later? I couldn't figure that one out, but I thought there must be
186 some way of doing it.
187

188 A year or two later when I was working for Elliotts, I came across the ALGOL 60
189 report and I read it. That was worth reading. People who have read it agree with me
190 that it was. You learnt something about programming by reading that report. It had
191 that wonderful sentence in it about recursion – 'Any other occurrence of the function
192 designator inside the function body denotes a call of the function itself.' 'Recursion.
193 Ah, that's the way.' I sort of described it and that led to publication in the
194 Communications of the ACM of the algorithm in their algorithm section.
195

196 CJ: You describe sitting on the couch. We'll come back to Moscow in a while, but you
197 describe sitting on the couch. Did you have pencil and paper? How were you
198 thinking about sorting?
199

200 TH: I had pencil and paper, yes, to write the program. That was after I got the idea of
201 course, and I don't think I ever bothered to even write out the bubble sort algorithm.
202

203 CJ: Is it true you had a financial wager about this algorithm?
204

205 TH: [laughs] When I came back to England, I was offered employment by a small
206 British computer manufacturer, Elliott Brothers, and one of the first things that my
207 boss gave me to do was to write a sorting algorithm. He showed me the algorithm
208 that he wanted written. It was the now-called Shellsort, and it was quite complicated
209 and very difficult to see how fast it was going to be. But when I'd written it out and
210 delivered it back to my boss, I said, 'I think I know a faster way of doing that.' And
211 he said, 'I bet you sixpence you don't.' Then I explained it to him and he
212 implemented it for one of the Elliott machines and found indeed it was considerably
213 faster even than his previous algorithm, which had been a merge sort.

214

215 CJ: For our audience, sixpence is how much money? [laughs]

216

217 TH: Well, about a halfpenny in present money.

218

219 CJ: [laughs] A very small wager. So we've got you at Elliotts. We've worked back to
220 there. 1960 to 1968?

221

222 TH: That's right, yes.

223

224 CJ: After the sorting algorithm success, the next big success was the ALGOL compiler I
225 think.

226

227 TH: Yes.

228

229 CJ: Could you say a bit about the project?

230

231 TH: It was a bit of a surprise. In those days, we wrote the programs that we wanted to
232 write more or less with very little management instruction, and even less checking of
233 deadlines or anything like that. I worked with Jill [nee Pym], my wife, and other
234 members of a small team. And after about a year or so, I sort of thought maybe we
235 could deliver it in another six months or so. So I told my boss that maybe we could
236 deliver it, and he was quite pleased and he started selling it, and probably increased
237 the sales of our computer quite a bit.

238

239 Oh, that was exciting. It's nice actually doing something that somebody finds useful,
240 provided that they come back and tell you this. If you're a manufacturer however,
241 you deliver this large chunk of paper tape embodying 10 man-years perhaps of
242 intellectual effort, it's like publishing a book, you don't hear anything about it until
243 much later.

244

245 CJ: So you've referred to the ALGOL description as a very valuable document. My
246 recollection is it's a very short document as well.

247

248 TH: Indeed.

249

250 CJ: Which is even more impressive.

251

252 TH: It was about 26 pages of half-size book folio format.

253

254 CJ: But have I heard you also give credit to a course which I think was in Brighton?

255

256 TH: Yes.

257

258 CJ: Who were the instructors on that course and what was the content?

259

260 TH: The instructors were Edsger Dijkstra⁴ and Peter Landin⁵ and Peter Naur, Edsger and
 261 Peter of course winners of the Turing Award.
 262
 263 CJ: A pretty impressive team to get you up to speed on ALGOL 60.
 264
 265 TH: I remember not actually doing the exercise that Peter Landin had set, but writing
 266 Quicksort instead. Rather shyly I went up to the dais on which he was sitting and
 267 showed it to him. He looked at it for a bit and he looked at it again, and then he said,
 268 ‘Peter, come over here.’
 269
 270 CJ: [laughs] Right. I’m sure they weren’t grading you, but you would have got a good
 271 grade for that.
 272
 273 So this leads very naturally into the topic of programming languages, which is one of
 274 the things cited in the Turing Award. For those who’ve only programmed in high-
 275 level languages, could you describe what it was like to program for your machine, the
 276 Elliott...?
 277
 278 TH: 803 initially, although the main sales were on the 503, which was a faster machine
 279 which was built a little later. Programming in machine code was writing a lot of
 280 decimal and octal numbers on a piece of paper. [chuckles] What else can I say? The
 281 instruction code was relatively simple for that machine, and it was great fun to try
 282 and find the shortest sequence of instructions that would carry out my will on the
 283 computer with as short a time as possible.
 284
 285 CJ: How about design aids? So yes, you had to write this sequence of instructions, but
 286 did you use anything like flowcharts to develop the design?
 287
 288 TH: I didn’t use flowcharts I don’t think. There were flowchart templates that perhaps
 289 some people used. But I think on the whole the experience was that they were only
 290 used in cases that the management insisted on it. But not in my company they didn’t.
 291 Our managers didn’t do that.
 292
 293 CJ: We haven’t mentioned one very important member of your team – Jill, now your
 294 wife, actually worked with you on the ALGOL project.
 295

⁴ Edsger Wybe Dijkstra (1930 – 2002) was a very influential Dutch computer scientist who made many contributions to both practical and theoretical aspects of the discipline.

⁵ Peter John Landin (1930 - 2009) was a British computer scientist who made many important contributions to theoretical aspects of computer science. The final years of his career was spent at Queen Mary College, University of London. The computer science building there was named the Peter Landin Building in his honour.

296 TH: Indeed. She did nearly all the detailed programming of it. My duty was to write in
297 ALGOL itself a sort of outline of the structure of the compiler as a whole, and I left
298 nearly all the rest of the work to them.
299

300 CJ: So programming languages. The ALGOL 60 compiler while at Elliott, then a long
301 series of other contributions to programming languages. Could you say a bit about
302 ALGOL W and how that arose?
303

304 TH: Yes. In 1962 I think, I was invited to become a member of the ALGOL committee
305 at IFIP WG 2.1. The committee spent some time working on revisions/corrections to
306 the original ALGOL 60 report and produced a new report in 1962. Then they called
307 for ideas to put into the next version of ALGOL, because in those days it was
308 expected, like machine architectures, that languages would change every few years.
309 So I made a number of language feature proposals, which were published in the
310 ALGOL Bulletin, and that caused me to be invited. I was quite an active member at
311 the Princeton meeting of WG 2.2, at which they discussed the features and gave to
312 me and Niklaus Wirth the duty of writing up the agreements of the meeting in a
313 format that would make it suitable as a definition of a new programming language.
314

315 CJ: And that did not become ALGOL 68.
316

317 TH: [laughs] Yes.
318

319 CJ: Are you prepared to tell the story about the schism and the transition from Working
320 Group 2.1 to 2.3?
321

322 TH: Well, very briefly, the report was produced and presented at the next meeting. I
323 think at Saint-Pierre it was, Saint-Pierre-de-Chartreuse. And the boss of the
324 mathematical centre in Amsterdam, Aad van Wijngaarden whom you know well,
325 during that period had discovered a new way of defining the syntax of a
326 programming language which he wanted to try out on this new language. He spent
327 some time explaining it. I thought it was unnecessarily complicated. But he
328 persuaded the committee to give him a go and he was charged with producing the
329 next draft, which he eventually did. It went through many revisions and culminated
330 in the language ALGOL 68.
331

332 CJ: And you were not a fan of ALGOL 68.
333

334 TH: I'm afraid the final meeting in 1968 at which the committee discussed the draft and
335 approved it, I was one of the signatories of a minority report, which in the words of
336 Edsger Dijkstra was 'We have to regard, as a clear description of the methods of
337 programming, that this report is a failure.' [laughs] He didn't mince his words.
338

339 CJ: And a number of you left or resigned from 2.1 and formed a new working group.
340

341 TH: Yes. I wasn't one of those who either resigned or formed a new working group. I

342 wasn't a founding member of it. And I did stay on in the ALGOL committee to look
343 after the interests of ALGOL 60 at a time when the committee was mainly concerned
344 with removing – what do you call them? – ambiguities and something or other of
345 ALGOL 68. When that task completed – it wasn't a very onerous task – that was
346 when I resigned, and at the same time I was invited to join the WG 2.3 on
347 programming methodology.

348

349 CJ: Yes. Also on programming languages, a very influential book, the *Structured*
350 *Programming*⁶ book. I fear structured programming was somewhat oversimplified
351 by some people, but the content of that book has been very influential.

352

353 TH: Yes. The name 'structured programming' I think was taken from the people you're
354 referring to, namely your own employers, IBM, intended to be equated with just
355 avoiding gotos. But the book, I think we interpreted, the authors of the book
356 interpreted it as applying much more to the overall architectural structure of a
357 program rather than the details of the way in which a flowchart has been encoded in a
358 linear programming language.

359

360 CJ: And a paper I love, 'Hints on Programming Language Design', which I think has also
361 been very influential although perhaps should be even more widely read, that was for
362 the first POPL conference I think, Principles of Programming Languages.

363

364 TH: I think it was, yes.

365

366 CJ: But it wasn't in the proceedings. Were you late delivering, or...?

367

368 TH: Oh. I don't know that proceedings were considered all that important in those days.
369 I think it would have been late. I certainly had produced it within six months as a
370 report of Stanford University, and that's presumably its ending, resting place.

371

372 CJ: That's the question I have, yes.

373

374 TH: Yes, yes.

375

376 CJ: And then another very big project in which I knew you were involved in early on was
377 the Ada project from the US Department of Defense.

378

379 TH: Yes.

380

381 CJ: Could you say a bit about that?

382

383 TH: Well, I happened to be in the United States on sabbatical in the previous year I think

⁶ *Structured Programming*: O.-J. Dahl, E.W. Dijkstra, C.A.R. Hoar; Academic Press, London, 1972.

384 it was, and I took on a consultancy with the Air Force to write a report on their new
 385 programming language, which was called JOVIAL, JOVIAL J-3. I wrote a report on
 386 its various features, which again I'm afraid wasn't very complimentary. [chuckles]
 387 But the report was of course ignored and so was the language. The Department of
 388 Defense decided to start work on a new language, which eventually became called
 389 Ada, and invited four teams to submit draft proposals for the language without laying
 390 down very many conditions about what the language should contain. And I was
 391 asked to serve as a consultant to one of the teams, the one that worked at... it was
 392 SRI at that time.

393

394 So I spent several trips to Menlo Park to advise them on the evolution of this
 395 language. Because like so many language designs, it starts small and evolves, and
 396 the taskmaster, the person who was masterminding the project as a whole, kept
 397 adding more features which his clients, who were of course the armed services,
 398 required in order to gain acceptance of the new language. But the SRI proposal was
 399 eventually rejected and the successful proposal still required quite a bit of
 400 development, so I served as a consultant on that as well.

401

402 CJ: You say there were not very detailed requirements on what had to be in the language,
 403 but linking back to axiomatic basis, there was one very interesting requirement on the
 404 specification of the language.

405

406 TH: I can't...

407

408 CJ: I believe I'm correct. I haven't gone back and looked this up. But I thought the iron-
 409 man requirements – have I got the right phrase? – said that any language had to be
 410 specified either in your axiomatic style or in the operational style.

411

412 TH: I don't recall that, I'm afraid. Certainly I don't think any of them were in the end. I
 413 don't think I was giving advice on how to draft an axiomatic language construction.

414

415 CJ: So back to Elliotts again, but I'd like to postpone the operating system work till when
 416 we talk about CCS later. Could you explain how you came to be working for a
 417 computing company? Because as we'll learn later on, your university degree
 418 wasn't... Well, there were no university degrees in computing then, but how did you
 419 get to your first job being at Elliotts?

420

421 TH: In 1960 when I came back from Moscow State University, just before I came back,
 422 my uncle, who was the general secretary of a British Scientific Instrument
 423 Manufacturers Association, he was organising an exhibition at which his
 424 manufacturers would exhibit their products. And he invited me to serve as interpreter
 425 to the exhibitors and promised to pay the princely fee of £40. [laughs] So I actually
 426 cut short a holiday and went to do the interpretation and found there was a computer
 427 being exhibited by Elliott Brothers, my subsequent employers. I spent most of my
 428 time actually on that stand, although I did do some other interpretation of lectures.

429

430 CJ: So perhaps you could explain to our audience how and why you knew Russian?
431

432 TH: When I finished my undergraduate degree, I got a job... sorry, I had to do national
433 service. I applied therefore, partly based on a connection with my uncle who was a
434 captain in the Royal Navy – in those days, these things apparently used to count –
435 applied to join a course and learn Russian. They accepted me on the basis of my
436 qualifications no doubt in Latin and Greek, and so I went up to Crail to study Russian
437 in a military camp and later passed the examination to study it at the University of
438 London, a branch of the School of Slavonic Studies.
439

440 CJ: So at that time, one was conscripted for two years to be in one of the services.
441

442 TH: Two years, that's right.
443

444 CJ: How much of your time did you actually spend in army uniform doing normal army
445 things, and how much time did you spend learning Russian?
446

447 TH: Oh. Well, on every vacation – I think it was a month's vacation three times a year –
448 we would spend two weeks in a camp and learn a bit of drill and learn a bit about
449 seagoing perhaps, which maybe was just as well because part of our course in the end
450 was to learn technical Russian to describe the parts of a ship. [chuckles]
451

452 CJ: Right. But I know from being in Saint Petersburg with you that you still speak fluent
453 Russian.
454

455 TH: I used to go back to Russia fairly frequently to begin with to take Elliott computers
456 to Moscow and exhibit them, and served on the stand as before to translate and
457 generally to make things a bit easier for the exhibitors in a strange country with a
458 strange language and so on.
459

460 CJ: So back with Elliott, initially your title was probably 'Programmer'?
461

462 TH: Yes.
463

464 CJ: And from there you progressed to...?
465

466 TH: Senior Programmer, Chief Programmer, Chief Engineer, and finally I moved out of
467 the line of management and became a Senior Researcher I think.
468

469 CJ: How big was the research activity within Elliott at that time?
470

471 TH: Oh, it must have been quite small. Most of it was hardware research. But I met up
472 with Mike Melliar-Smith, who was later the leader of the SRI submission for the
473 Department of Defense language. He was my main colleague there and we were
474 commissioned to design a new version... sorry, a new larger and faster version of a
475 range computers which the company was manufacturing.

476

477 CJ: And then for our audience who have never heard of Elliotts, can you describe the
478 series of takeovers that led to your departure from the company?

479

480 TH: Well, yes. The machine that we were designing never saw the light of day because
481 the company was taken over in a very friendly way by the English Electric Company,
482 and so I transferred my allegiance to the English Electric research group, who were
483 working on a new design. And then English Electric were taken over by the ICL,
484 which was a conglomerate of all the remaining computer companies in Britain.

485

486 I suppose I felt a bit sidelined, and I was offered... sorry, I was asked in the way that
487 academics have whether I would allow my name to go forward for consideration for
488 appointment as a chair in Manchester. I had received a similar offer in Oslo actually
489 for the post that Dahl, also a Turing Award winner, eventually occupied. And it just
490 tickled me because I'd always felt I wanted to be an academic, but I didn't know very
491 much about the academic scene and I thought maybe a job with the government
492 computer centre in Manchester would give me better contact with academic work in
493 computing in Britain.

494

495 Was I right? No. [laughs]

496

497 CJ: [laughs] That's another issue. This is the so-called National Computing Centre...

498

499 TH: That's right.

500

501 CJ: ...that was in Manchester. You didn't stay there very long though, I think.

502

503 TH: No. That was one of the more shameful episodes in my career.

504

505 CJ: No shame at all. You were offered a very...

506

507 TH: I think it was three months I was there, and half of it I spent under notice. I was the
508 one who resigned because it occurred to me rather sensibly and rather late that maybe
509 the best way of learning about the academic scene was to go for a few interviews for
510 posts. So I rather tentatively drafted a letter of application and sort of wondered
511 whether I would make it in time to catch the post. I thought, 'Well, if I can catch the
512 post, I'll do it.' And I did. I went for an interview. To my intense surprise, I was
513 chosen for the post.

514

515 CJ: Do you know what the competition was like at Queen's University Belfast? Were
516 they interviewing many people or were you the only person considered good enough
517 to be interviewed?

518

519 TH: No, they were interviewing several. In fact, I think I knew the two other... No, I
520 knew one of the other applicants who was an academic... he was a member of the
521 university already. No, I don't know that there was a great deal of competition.

522

523 CJ: So your first position in a university is as a full professor of...?

524

525 TH: Indeed, yes, yes. It's quite an experience coming in at the top as it were.

526

527 CJ: Can you describe the other transitions – what it was like to work in academic
528 decision-making as opposed to working in the industrial environment?

529

530 TH: Yes. I was a bit shocked when one of the first things I had to do when I arrived in
531 October was to decide something about the syllabuses for the next following year's
532 courses. We never thought that far ahead in industry. The phases of industry were
533 quite simple. At the beginning of the budgetary year, you expanded a bit, and at the
534 end of the budgetary year, you contracted a bit, and that was as far ahead as one
535 could possibly look. But that particular...

536

537 The other thing was getting used to academic politics, which is quite different from
538 industrial politics. I realised that all professors were equal under the vice-chancellor,
539 but you have to understand which professors are more equal than the other ones.

540

541 CJ: [laughs] And the ways to influence decisions.

542

543 TH: Well, it was pretty unpleasant for the first two years actually because I was also
544 director of the computing laboratory, which I took quite seriously. The manager of
545 the computing laboratory and the professor of medical statistics, who was chairman
546 of the computing services committee, attempted to dislodge me, which was really
547 quite unpleasant. In the end, I went to the vice-chancellor and said, 'Am I the
548 director or am I not the director?' He said, 'You are the director.' So I explained the
549 problem. He said he looked into it and he came back with a right decision – I was
550 not the director. That was a great...

551

552 CJ: A great relief.

553

554 TH: It was a great relief. And the unsuccessful applicant for the chair made a very good
555 director after me.

556

557 CJ: You were I think in Belfast from 1968 to 1978.

558

559 TH: '77 I think.

560

561 CJ: '77, sorry. This was of course a time of troubles in Belfast, in Northern Ireland. Can
562 you talk a bit about what effect that had on you personally and on the family?

563

564 TH: Well, yes, of course it had quite a strong effect. To begin with, it seemed rather
565 distant and was over the other side of the province in Londonderry. But it moved to
566 Belfast and it moved to the areas that you would expect in Belfast – the Falls Road
567 and Shankill Road. But it did go on getting worse year by year until about 1972, and

568 so we were always wondering whether we'd made the right choice and when we
569 would be running for our lives.

570
571 But it was such a friendly place, such a lovely place to be, and the job and my
572 colleagues were so wonderful that we really enjoyed it. Our neighbours. We lived in
573 a road a bit like Storey's Way with large houses and extremely friendly neighbours,
574 still friends. And the only time that Jill was really worried was when – should I say
575 this? – I was offered another post in London. Sorry, I was told that I had been
576 appointed to another post and would I come and talk to the vice-chancellor about it?
577 And I probably would not have gone unless I'd been invited to be the professor. So I
578 went for an interview and I turned them down. And Jill says that was the only time
579 that she was really worried when I was in Belfast that she might have to come back
580 to London.

581
582 CJ: Coming back to the axiomatic basis theme, while you were in Belfast, you wrote the
583 FIND paper⁷. This brings neatly together your sorting thing and your axiomatic basis
584 ideas.

585
586 TH: Yes.

587
588 CJ: That paper had an interesting history.

589
590 TH: Yes. I recounted that history at the POPL conference a little while ago, that I
591 submitted it and had it refereed. Were you one of the referees? [chuckles]

592
593 CJ: Yes. Yes. [laughs]

594
595 TH: Being personal. Then I looked through it again to see how to put the referees'
596 comments in and I couldn't understand it. Well, at least I was finding great
597 difficulties in following the details, because I was trying to prove absence of
598 overflow as well, and I thought, 'This doesn't present the use of the axiomatic
599 method for proof in a very good light. So I'll simplify it. I'll leave out the problem
600 of overflow.' So I rewrote it and resubmitted it and it was published all right.

601
602 One member of the audience at the POPL conference pointed out that I had been
603 unscientific in retracting the paper merely because it was unattractive. The business
604 of a scientist is to present it how it is. I should have kept it in. And it hadn't
605 occurred to me that I had done any wrong and now I agree that I had.

606
607 CJ: That's an interesting insight.

608
609 TH: Yes, yes.

610

⁷ Hoare, C.A.R., "Proof of a Program FIND," *Communications of the ACM*, Vol. 14,
1971, pp.39-45

611 CJ: To me, the transition was magic because axiomatic... the original 1969 paper is about
 612 proving programs. You made the transition in the FIND paper to a development
 613 method for programs, and that seems to me crucial for what has happened since.

614
 615 TH: Yes, I suppose I did. Yes, thank you. I hadn't thought about it that way, at least not
 616 for a long time.

617
 618 CJ: So I know personally you have a huge family of PhDs – children, grandchildren,
 619 great-grandchildren of your supervision. But in Belfast, you were supervising a PhD
 620 student, some PhD students without having had one [a Doctoral Degree] yourself.
 621 How did that feel?

622
 623 TH: Oh, I don't think I felt the lack of it, no. I sort of feel and I still say that Quicksort
 624 was a good substitute for doing a PhD.

625
 626 CJ: Tony, you next moved to Oxford. You were appointed to a chair at one of the most
 627 prestigious universities in the world. 1977. 1977?

628
 629 TH: '77 is when I arrived, yes.

630
 631 CJ: And we'll say later on you stayed until 1999. Before we move to the technical stuff,
 632 Oxford was your alma mater – we'll talk about that later on – but you went to
 633 Wolfson College when you went to Oxford. That's not a traditional college.

634
 635 TH: That's true. So it's a graduate college, a fairly recent foundation. But as far as I was
 636 concerned, it was the right college for me because I was still somewhat in awe of the
 637 traditional colleges and the senior common rooms and so on. Wolfson was quite
 638 democratic and very friendly.

639
 640 CJ: And some very interesting people there as well, people like Robin Gandy⁸.

641
 642 TH: Yes, indeed.

643
 644 CJ: So one of the first things I'd like to pick up there is CSP, communicating...

645
 646 TH: Sequential processes.

647
 648 CJ: Thank you. [laughs] I didn't want to get it wrong. Perhaps again we could look at
 649 the context and switch back to Elliott. You're very frank about the operating system
 650 project at Elliott not being as successful as the ALGOL compiler.

651
 652 TH: Indeed, yes.

⁸ Robin Oliver Gandy (1919–1995) was a British mathematician. Robin's PhD supervisor was Alan Turing at the University of Cambridge.

653

654 CJ: Could you say a bit more about that?

655

656 TH: Yes. We realised that the rudimentary operating systems that were available on our
657 existing computers would not be adequate for use of a more expensive and powerful
658 machine. So I took it upon myself I suppose – I was boss of the programming group
659 then – to design an operating system, about which I knew nothing at all. So I read a
660 few things, learnt about code words for example, what's now called virtual memory,
661 and we tried our best to do something. But in the end, it turned out the system could
662 not be delivered because it was too slow. It had used a virtual memory and caused
663 everything to thrash. So the project was cancelled and nothing was delivered and the
664 entire work of my department for the last two years was consigned to the bin, which
665 was a bit depressing.

666

667 CJ: The machines at that time had tiny stores.

668

669 TH: Yes, and that machine that we had had a particularly tiny store of only 8,000 words,
670 about four times that many bytes, and it had no capability for extending the main
671 store beyond that limit, because that was the limit of addressing of the instruction
672 code. Whereas other companies that got into the same trouble, including IBM I may
673 say, were able to get around the difficulty by free gifts of hardware. We couldn't
674 even give it away.

675

676 CJ: And this led to a long succession of contributions to how to organise concurrency,
677 parallelism, and so on. Could you say a few words about monitors, for example?

678

679 TH: Yes. That was the result of a discovery of a way proving correctness of data
680 representations. The monitor was just a representation of shared data, and otherwise
681 had the same structure as an implementation of a data representation. That's I think
682 what gave me the idea. Edsger Dijkstra was also very interested, because he had
683 actually written a successful operating system for a computer of similar size and
684 application in Amsterdam. So I organised in Belfast a meeting of people interested
685 in operating systems, which led to the publication of a book called Operating System
686 Techniques, and I wrote the introduction and one of the chapters.

687

688 We discussed... Per Brinch Hansen was there and he picked up on this idea that the
689 updates to shared data should be all written and understood in a single place rather
690 than being scattered around, which was the case in my previous proposal for
691 conditional critical regions, which is also mentioned in the operating systems book.
692 Per Brinch Hansen had the opportunity to publish the idea in the Communications of
693 the ACM before I thought of doing so, and I'm afraid I wrote a follow-up of the same
694 idea with very largely the same central content with a few details changed rather in
695 the spirit of competition, I'm afraid. People for a number of years were concerned
696 about which of us had really invented it. Per knew exactly how it had come – we had
697 both invented it – and he wrote a letter to me explaining exactly the order of
698 communications and discussions that we'd had. But certainly the paper was I think

699 somewhat influential and made me feel that I had really... that was the way I should
700 have done it.

701

702 CJ: You mentioned Edsger Dijkstra in connection with the operating system. I was going
703 to ask about guarded commands⁹ and how much you feel the guarded command idea
704 influenced the development of CSP as a language.

705

706 TH: Well, the guarded command itself was taken over directly, and I think it made... it
707 turned out indeed when we formalised the semantics of CSP that was exactly the way
708 to modularise the implicit conditional. I felt it was very important that if a process in
709 parallel attempts to test whether an output is available for further input, it should do
710 so with a command that at least carried the risk that the output would take place
711 simultaneously, because I didn't want anybody testing the availability of something
712 and then not using it when you found it was available. That seems to be a gratuitous
713 way of introducing non-determinacy into the most critical part of a software system,
714 which is of course the interfaces between the modules. I wanted the interfaces to be
715 determinate, and any non-determinism should be expressed independently within the
716 individual threads where we could manage it locally.

717

718 So [Edsger Dijkstra was] very influential I think. I got the syntax from him. I don't
719 think I would have dared to make such a strange syntax if Edsger hadn't paved the
720 way with his beautiful guarded command.

721

722 CJ: Well, I think you'd have dared most things, because we haven't come to the most
723 radical departure in CSP, the complete abolition of shared state.

724

725 TH: Yes. This was at the time dictated by the structure of the implementing
726 microprocessors, where the microprocessors were very cheap and fast but the sharing
727 of memory between the microprocessors was expensive and slow. So one could get
728 away with not sharing state because it fitted the architecture of the implementation -
729 could be very fast.

730

731 The situation is somewhat reversed at the moment, as you understand, which makes
732 shared memory more relevant. And I'm following developments and I hope I have
733 something to contribute to the development of shared memory programming in the
734 future. But I think the input/output will come back. People will realise the value of
735 not sharing memory, particularly in the light of the security considerations, where
736 shared memory is obviously offering a much broader front for attack by malicious
737 software.

738

739 CJ: But it was still a radical departure. Did you hesitate? I mean you'd made your own

⁹ Edsger Dijkstra introduced the concept of guarded commands as a way of making it easier to prove the correctness of programs, using Hoare logic, before the program is written in a usable programming language.

740 contributions to shared variable concurrency. Did you hesitate for long to say,
741 ‘There is no shared state between my processes’?

742
743 TH: No. [laughs]

744
745 CJ: [laughs] Good.

746
747 TH: That was the basis of the whole thing.

748
749 CJ: In connection with CSP, let’s mention Bill Roscoe and Steve Brookes, who were two
750 extremely important PhD students you had at that time. Can you describe the
751 collaboration with Bill and Steve?

752
753 TH: I can describe aspects of it, I suppose. I had written a paper on CSP and published it
754 in the Communications of the ACM, in the standard way/practice of the time, as an
755 informal description illustrated by a great many simple but obviously seminal
756 examples. But in fact one of the reasons why I wanted to move to Oxford was to
757 learn the technology of giving a formal definition to a programming language from
758 Joe Stoy and Dana Scott¹⁰ in order to be able to redress the deficiency and make a
759 formal model. I realised, but I was wanting to explore yet another method of
760 defining the semantics of a programming language, which is the algebraic method.
761 So I asked them to tell me what the algebra of this language was going to be, and
762 they came back and said, ‘Well, what do you want it to be?’ [laughs] So that might
763 have led to an impasse. But I think we realised, we must have realised that the way
764 out of it was to do a denotational semantics of the language, and I worked with Bill
765 Roscoe on that, and Steve was working on it too I think. Of course they’ve both
766 made/done far more valuable contributions to CSP than I have now, and I’d like this
767 opportunity of recognising that fact.

768
769 CJ: Seminal is important. Influential is another thing.

770
771 Let’s move on to another major influence from CSP. There was the occam language and
772 its realisation as the transputer, a physical chip. Can you talk a bit about how that
773 came about?

774
775 TH: Yes. The founder of a startup company in Britain, Iann Barron, had read my paper,
776 the first CSP paper, in the Communications, and he realised that he wanted to make a
777 computer that would execute that programming language. For years, I’d been saying
778 and Dijkstra had been saying that machines should be designed to implement the
779 programming languages that make programming easy. And here was my opportunity
780 and they offered me a consultancy, in which I was to advise on the development of
781 the language and any hardware implications that I could think of.

782
783 CJ: And that led to a product which... I don’t know how many transputers were built,

¹⁰ Dana Scott is the recipient of the 1976 Turing Award

784 how many transputer chips were built, but it was a very large number.

785

786 TH: Well, I think until the ARM was produced, it was Britain's biggest-selling computer.
787 And longest lasting. The actual architecture continued to be made for many years
788 thereafter, and in the end it was selling something like two million a year. Which by
789 present standards is very, very little, but by previous standards was... The computer
790 that I spent most of my time working on for Elliotts, we only ever sold 200, and they
791 were delivered at sort of once a month [actually once a week]. [chuckles]

792

793 CJ: And that led to one of the Queen's University industrial awards I believe.

794

795 TH: Yes. Well, that was the work done by Bill Roscoe actually in the formal verification
796 of the hardware design for the floating-point unit. That was the first I think published
797 case of an error detected in a hardware design. Fortunately for the company, it was
798 detected before the chip was put into production. A much bigger company, as you
799 know, Intel, a few years later came across a similar error after the computer had been
800 delivered.

801

802 CJ: And cost them a great deal of money.

803

804 TH: Well, I think they put aside half a billion dollars, but I don't know that they actually
805 spent them. A lot of people aren't terribly interested in correctness, you know.
806 You've noticed, I think, yes. [chuckles]

807

808 CJ: Another major project from the Oxford time, which we've recently had a
809 retrospective conference about, was the ProCoS project. Could you describe the
810 vision of that project?

811

812 TH: The vision of the ProCoS project was set by our friends in Austin, Texas, the
813 inventors of the ACL2 system and its predecessor. They had done a project to
814 formally verify and to get a machine-checked verification for the correctness of the
815 hardware and software for admittedly not an existing chip but a potentially viable
816 chip design, which was successful. I wanted to reproduce that technology in Europe.
817 So that was the initial inspiration, but I was most interested in the verification of the
818 consistency of the various tools which they verified – the assembly language for the
819 computer, the verification condition generator, as well as the hardware system and
820 the operating system. I felt – wrongly I believe now – that the technology of Boyer
821 and Moore's tool was not capable of doing structural proofs of that kind, so we did it
822 all manually in the project and learnt a lot from it. But no particular deliverable
823 product I say, except that the people who worked on it are still around and they're
824 still contributing to the German verification efforts, at the time which more or less
825 might otherwise have been rather diminished.

826

827 CJ: Yes. You corrected me. You corrected my omission. This was of course a
828 European-wide project funded by the European Union with partners in Germany
829 and...

830

831 TH: Denmark.

832

833 CJ: And Denmark, yes. Another line which began during the Oxford time was the
834 Unifying Theories of Programming with your colleague or visitor He Jifeng. Would
835 you like to say a few words about the objectives? I think we'll come back to it when
836 we talk about Kleene algebras later on, but...

837

838 TH: The goal of Unifying Theories of course is one that I got from the current efforts by
839 physicists to unify the theories of the four forces. I realised that there were more
840 theories out in the published literature than any one person could comfortably read in
841 a lifetime, and wanted therefore to find some way of unifying them in the scientific
842 sense, that the unified theory would be a generalisation of the other theories but
843 would not supersede them. One doesn't wish to create an antagonism that you're
844 trying to supersede solutions which have been developed very often to deal with
845 particular application areas and particular system architectures, and which are not
846 invalidated by a general theory which shall we say is instantiated by no application
847 and no architecture. Which is what we were looking for actually. [chuckles] It's
848 nice to be a theoretician.

849

850 CJ: Could you say a few words about collaboration? People read your final papers and
851 think these are such gems they must come uncut directly from your pen.

852

853 TH: No. [laughs]

854

855 CJ: I happen to know quite a few drafts.

856

857 TH: Well, I did confess to that in the Essays in Computer Science. Yes, I regard writing
858 a specification or writing an article as the first test of a theoretical idea, that one
859 needs to find a way of expressing it that sort of makes it seem inevitable, that there
860 couldn't be a better way of describing this particular phenomenon, and so carry the
861 reader with what might otherwise seem to be a series of arbitrary definitions through
862 to the place where the punch line could be delivered. And I'm still doing it, I'm
863 afraid.

864

865 CJ: So Oxford, major university. When you went there, the department was tiny.

866

867 TH: Yes. There was me and Joe Stoy, and two programmers.

868

869 CJ: And many practical problems. Can you talk about growing the MSc, moving the
870 department from one building to another, and all of the things that you had to attend
871 to as well as your research?

872

873 TH: I think you just about summarised it in the terms best appropriate. [chuckles] Yes.
874 Setting up anything new at Oxford at that time was very difficult, and I was nearly all
875 the time a member of the Faculty of Mathematics. I had been a member of the

876 Faculty of Science in Belfast and had learnt fairly quickly and exploited my
877 knowledge of how to influence that committee to make a decision in my favour, and
878 eventually learned how to do it pretty well so that I could predict what was going to
879 be passed and really avoid wasting time on something that is not likely to actually
880 pass muster.

881

882 When I got to Oxford, everything was turned on its head. In Belfast, one can make
883 an argument based, for example, on the public perception. ‘What would the public
884 think if they knew that you were doing this sort of thing?’ Or you could base it on
885 the potential benefits for the application/exploitation of the research. These
886 arguments carry no weight at all in the Faculty of Mathematics at that time. Starting
887 up a new course was something that the university was able to contemplate sort of – I
888 exaggerate slightly – once every decade. You know, that was fast enough. However,
889 there was a predecessor. The Department of Material Science had had an even more
890 spectacular rate of growth for a number of years and they knew how to do it, but they
891 were in a different faculty – Natural Sciences, which was more used to this kind of
892 thing. I was in the Faculty of Mathematics.

893

894 And then Mrs Thatcher – bless her for this at least – made an offer of money to found
895 new posts. The first one was associated with the graduate course that we wanted to
896 set up, and the next four were associated with an undergraduate course which I then
897 wanted to set up, a joint degree course with mathematics. I was very pleased to be in
898 a mathematics faculty because I knew that mathematical talent was the way to recruit
899 good programmers, good computer scientists. And of course Bill Roscoe and Steve
900 Brookes were a case in point. But then we got additional, slightly lesser numbers of
901 outside money to support posts to set up new degrees, because no politician wants to
902 support something that already exists, and therefore you need to set up a new degree
903 if you wanted to expand.

904

905 So the number of new degrees I started in Oxford must... I don’t know. The record
906 probably still stands. Hope so, hope so. Because it’s not really much fun.

907

908 CJ: And of course the college system, which is so valuable for undergraduates in Oxford,
909 acted as a brake in the sense that you had to get the buy-in of all of the colleges.

910

911 TH: Yes. Every post that is offered by the university is a joint post, a joint appointment
912 with a college, and the college, they’re mostly fairly traditional colleges teaching
913 fairly traditional subjects. And the only reason why the colleges were willing to
914 accept a new subject was because Mrs Thatcher – bless her for this too – cut the
915 funding of the universities and restricted the number of places universities were
916 allowed to take, and each of the posts that were associated with the subsequent
917 generosity had 10 college places associated with it. So it was just the right bribe to
918 get the foot into the door. But there’s no... [laughs] there are problems with dealing
919 with colleges as well, as you know. Not with Wolfson but the undergraduate
920 colleges.

921

922 CJ: And eventually ‘retirement’ – ‘retirement’ in quotes – came along from Oxford in
923 1999?
924

925 TH: That’s right. I reached the standard age limit for retirement at the university at that
926 time.
927

928 CJ: And we had a very nice conference to mark the end of your time in Oxford I
929 remember. A lot of people might have stopped work at that time. You instead...
930

931 TH: I got an offer from the director of the research laboratory just being set up in
932 Cambridge by Microsoft.
933

934 CJ: Cambridge, UK.
935

936 TH: Cambridge, UK. And the director, Roger Needham, offered me a post. He’d offered
937 me a post two years previously, but I thought I was needed in Oxford at that time
938 still. I think maybe I was wrong. My last two years weren’t very productive after
939 Jifeng left. So I took it. Well, I spent a half-year sabbatical up in Cambridge to test
940 the waters and brought Jill with me of course, because she would have to agree. We
941 both liked the place. And when I heard from the founder of the Microsoft Research
942 Laboratory, the principles under which the laboratory was founded were to employ
943 the best people and give them their heads, let them do the research that they felt was
944 important. The only thing that he did require was that the recruits should have fire in
945 their belly and want to change the world. Maybe I did.
946

947 CJ: So can you describe how you saw Microsoft? You’d been in industry in the UK early
948 on. You now joined the largest software company in the world. Did you feel it was
949 ripe for exploiting more formal methods? Did you feel that the methods they were
950 using were adequate? I’m thinking of a famous paper of yours.
951

952 TH: [laughs] Well, when I wrote the axiomatic method paper, I thought that the topic of
953 verification of programs using the axiomatic method would not be of interest to
954 industry for a number of years. And during the time it is not of interest to the
955 industry, it was appropriate for academic research, because industry was obviously
956 going to have far much more money than a university to pursue the research, and
957 therefore the sensible academic will withdraw if the industry’s looking after the field.
958 I wanted to see whether that prediction was correct. And indeed it was. Microsoft
959 was not using formal methods, not for several years. But when they came to use it
960 from necessity, not for the reasons that I had myself predicted – it was that in the end
961 some error would cause loss of human life perhaps – but because of the virus, which
962 I’d never predicted, nor had Microsoft. So they turned to an element of formal
963 methods, the analysis of programs, as a method of countering the threat of the virus.
964 I believe that human evolution was driven in much the same way, actually.
965

966 CJ: You’ve already hinted at this, but would you like to say a bit more about the research
967 ethos, the ease of getting people with fire in their belly issuing their own ideas in an

968 environment like an industrial research lab, versus in universities as you last worked
969 in them or even as you know them today?

970

971 TH: Well, the thing that worked well in the universities is that the universities were able
972 to collect teams to undertake projects which were larger than a single theorist could
973 match. And this worked very well, very well indeed. People did pull together and
974 produce and demonstrate ideas to the development organisation in Microsoft, many
975 of which found their way into Microsoft products. And that sort of prospect of
976 eventual delivery was what motivated the research and motivated the collaboration.
977 University research is much more fragmented because the university's going to have
978 a very small team working in any particular area of research, and the needs of
979 teaching require that even those are diversified. Therefore most collaborations in
980 universities at the level of staffing that we then enjoyed were between universities,
981 which is quite an overhead.

982

983 Building teams of theorists is actually very much more difficult than teams of
984 engineers. Much more competitive. There are no agreed criteria as to how you judge
985 between two theories if all that you're producing is theories. You need some form of
986 experimental use of a theory in order to make that choice, and the project that makes
987 a theory useable, that is a tool that enables ordinary programmers to take advantage
988 of the theories, is a multi man-year project and takes many, perhaps 15 years even to
989 mature after the originators have put in a lot of work on it. It doesn't really recruit a
990 productive and reactive user base for up to 15 years. So you have to be very brave to
991 embark on a project like that.

992

993 CJ: Well, bravery's never been lacking. Can we come right up to date on your own
994 research? And I don't expect in this interview to go through the full detail of Kleene
995 algebras, but could you build the connections between what you are trying to do now
996 with the algebraic approach, what you were trying to do in Unifying Theories, and
997 what you were trying to do in axiomatic basis?

998

999 TH: Well, yes. Starting with the axiomatic basis, the first part of the axiomatic basis used
1000 an algebraic approach to illustrate how you could axiomatise a branch of arithmetic,
1001 and you could give different axiomatisations to different kinds of arithmetic, which at
1002 that time were an option even in the hardware of the computer. You could tune your
1003 axioms to describe exactly the kinds of binary arithmetic and sign plus modulus
1004 arithmetic that were fashionable at that time. And if I'd maintained that tradition,
1005 which I got by looking at standard algebra books in mathematics, I would come
1006 about with the idea of presenting the axioms as equations in an algebraic form rather
1007 than as proof rules in the form of Hoare triples.

1008

1009 It was only a whisker's breadth as it were. I just did not get the right idea at the right
1010 time. Even when I was writing the book on Unifying Theories, what I was doing was
1011 constructing a model of the theories using Dana Scott's method, the denotational
1012 semantics, to cover a great number of theories of how programs worked. It was
1013 again one of those chance discoveries lying on a sofa that led me to believe that one

1014 could actually present an adequate treatment, a usable treatment of the meaning of a
 1015 programming language in a few algebraic axioms, which are almost identical with
 1016 those that apply not just to programs but to numbers as well. Simple laws of
 1017 associativity, commutativity, and distribution were exactly what you need in order to
 1018 reason about programs and ensure their correctness. And I discovered a very simple
 1019 proof in which I defined my own triple – or, sorry, the Hoare triple, it’s not really my
 1020 own – in terms of the algebraic operation of sequential composition, and derived the
 1021 proof rules from the algebraic axioms by a perfectly standard style of logical
 1022 justification.

1023
 1024 So that was a surprise and I’ve been talking about it ever since. [chuckles]

1025

1026 CJ: But each of those earlier steps that you’re now somewhat critical of spun off
 1027 enormous amounts of other work. I can’t help wondering if you’d started with
 1028 Kleene algebras if any of us would have understood it.

1029

1030 TH: [laughs] Quite. And the Kleene algebra, actually the advance was triggered by a
 1031 discovery that I could do this for a new form of logic, logic of programs, a new
 1032 definition of the triple that appeared recently as a result of the work of Peter O’Hearn
 1033 called separation logic. I was looking at the proof rules which express the semantics
 1034 of separation logic in terms of Hoare triples, and I discovered the law which enables
 1035 me to treat concurrency in the same way as sequential composition. And that I think
 1036 was really not only unification of theories but unification of two ideas which are now
 1037 central to computing, concurrency and sequentiality, into a simple algebraic
 1038 framework. And since then I’ve discovered that Robin Milner’s operational
 1039 semantics could be similarly defined in terms of the algebra of the semicolon
 1040 operator, and all of his laws, his laws of operational semantics, could be derived from
 1041 the algebra as well. So yes, very satisfactory. [chuckles]

1042

1043 CJ: And still busy?

1044

1045 TH: Ah, yes. Well, I’m trimming the hedges a bit and trying to go back to a denotational
 1046 semantics, which is really based on the needs of people who are debugging their
 1047 programs. A person who’s debugging a program needs to see a comprehensible trace
 1048 of the behaviour of that program together with an indication of where the fault has
 1049 been detected, and with the ability to trace back in the program to all the places
 1050 which might have to be changed in order to get rid of that fault. So one has a sort of
 1051 graphical picture of arrows and chains of arrows leading back from a symptom to the
 1052 causes to help you discover and diagnose and correct the error.

1053

1054 So just as the Hoare triples were designed to help people to prove programs and the
 1055 Milner similar rules, the operational rules are designed to help people who are
 1056 compiling and implementing the programs. My new denotational semantics based on
 1057 graphs is an attempt to provide the theory which is directly applicable to the testing
 1058 and correction of programs. So I’m trying to bring that particular branch of
 1059 programming methodology under theoretical control as well.

1060
1061 CJ: I'd like to change gear. Some of our audience I'm sure would like to know more
1062 about Tony Hoare the person. You weren't actually born in the UK.
1063
1064 TH: I was born in Ceylon, now called Sri Lanka, in Colombo. My father was a British
1065 civil servant, among the rulers of the country. And my mother was the daughter of a
1066 tea planter, which doesn't mean somebody who plants tea but somebody who looks
1067 after a tea estate and looks after people who plant tea and collect it and dry it and
1068 manufacture it.
1069
1070 CJ: Do you remember things about Ceylon as it then was?
1071
1072 TH: I remember a few things. I went back there when I was 70. I took my family back
1073 on a holiday trip. And there are one or two things that I remember. Not as many I
1074 might have. It was mostly fairly...
1075
1076 CJ: I actually meant do you remember things about living there when you were a child
1077 or...?
1078
1079 TH: Oh yes. I remember going to school there, and the incidents going into the jungle to
1080 see elephants and tigers... sorry, leopards, and bears and buffalo. All of them pretty
1081 dangerous. The headmaster of the school took us on a school party to Yala where we
1082 stayed in the rest house and went around in this old bus to waterholes to see animals
1083 we could see. Fascinating.
1084
1085 CJ: And you then had to move away, still not back to the UK immediately.
1086
1087 TH: After... This is... We... My mother and my two brothers moved to Rhodesia
1088 during the war because of the threat of imminent invasion of Ceylon, and we spent a
1089 couple of years in Rhodesia and South Africa before going back. The school that I'm
1090 talking about was in the rather brief interval between returning to Ceylon and
1091 returning to Britain, 'returning' of course in two different senses. All the English in
1092 Ceylon regarded 'returning' as being returning to the United Kingdom.
1093
1094 CJ: And your first school back in the UK was...?
1095
1096 TH: Was the Dragon School in Oxford, a rather superior prep school where I spent just
1097 under two years. Got a scholarship to a public school in Canterbury, King's School.
1098
1099 CJ: Which leads on to your first university degree, which wasn't an obvious preparation
1100 for computing. Could you explain what the degree of 'Greats' is?
1101
1102 TH: Yes. It has quite an ancient tradition in Oxford. It consists of four subjects. Latin
1103 and Greek language and literature – well, that's four already – Latin and Greek
1104 history, and ancient and modern philosophy. So it's a four-year course with an exam
1105 in the middle, in which I did moderately well, but not sufficiently well to gain a

1106 research grant to do doctoral research in philosophy at Oxford, which is what I would
1107 otherwise have done. Fortunately...

1108
1109 CJ: That might have saved computing. [laughs]

1110
1111 TH: I think it saved me from possibly rather a career for which I was not ideally fitted.

1112
1113 CJ: What made you choose Greats?

1114
1115 TH: Well, at the public schools in those days, all the brightest students studied Latin and
1116 Greek, and history was for those who can't, and scientists, well, nobody knows what
1117 they take up for a subject. [chuckles] So I was always interested in mathematics. I
1118 got quite good marks in mathematics for as long as I was studying it, and I went on to
1119 study mathematics just for the fun of it from popular textbooks. And I acquired an
1120 interest in philosophy through the philosophy of mathematics, through reading books
1121 by Bertrand Russell for example and C. E. M. Joad, who was quite a popular
1122 philosopher in those days. And certainly it was the study of philosophy and
1123 particularly the philosophy of mathematics and the foundations of mathematics that
1124 led me into computing, take an interest in computing.

1125
1126 CJ: You were at Merton College I think.

1127
1128 TH: Merton College.

1129
1130 CJ: Presumably that's a very traditional college.

1131
1132 TH: Very traditional. It claims to be the oldest. I'm there because my father was there.
1133 [laughs]

1134
1135 CJ: But presumably offered you lots of scope to pursue your interest in philosophy and
1136 logic and so on. It wasn't a tightly constrained course?

1137
1138 TH: Well, the course was a fairly massive course, as all university courses seem to be
1139 after secondary school course. But we all had personal tutors, and the personal tutor
1140 would advise us, set us an essay subject every week in philosophy or ancient history,
1141 and so we went out to look at the literature, which he also recommended. No, I
1142 don't... I mean I studied logic in my spare time, but we did have spare time for
1143 goodness' sake. I studied it from Quine's book on mathematical logic.

1144
1145 CJ: And around this time, you met your first computer. The Mercury I think. Was that
1146 while you were an undergraduate, or was that in the master's course that followed?

1147
1148 TH: That was in the master's course. I attended a course run by Leslie Fox, who was my
1149 later head of department when I came back to Oxford as a professor.

1150
1151 CJ: And that was a course in statistics, not in programming as such?

1152
1153 TH: After my national service where I learnt Russian, I thought I better do something a
1154 little bit more practical. So I registered for a course at the Unit of Biometry just to
1155 get a diploma in statistics, a one-year course, and managed to persuade them that I
1156 knew enough mathematics to stand the pace. That enabled me... Well, I very much
1157 enjoyed that. I mean statistics is still something that I find interesting, and it's
1158 getting more interesting for computer scientists too.
1159

1160 CJ: Then there's the machine translation connection. Could you knit that into the story
1161 for me?
1162

1163 TH: Machine translation was a bit of a flash in the pan. When I was in Moscow, I got a
1164 letter from the National Physical Laboratory at Teddington offering me a post as a
1165 senior scientist to work in a team of programmers who were attempting to program
1166 an automatic translation from Russian to English on the Pilot... – no, not the Pilot
1167 ACE – the ACE computer at the National, which was, if you remember, a very
1168 primitive computer. So I took up an interest in the subject and I studied it in Russia,
1169 more or less neglecting my statistical studies, which I should have perhaps paid
1170 attention to, but were a bit beyond me. And that was how I got interested in sorting.
1171

1172 CJ: Yes, I was going to make sure we got that link. So large dictionaries of words needed
1173 sorting, yes?
1174

1175 TH: Yes, because the dictionaries were held on magnetic tape, and if the words were
1176 sorted before you started the magnetic tape whirring, then you could pick up all the
1177 words in a sentence on a single pass of the tape, which might very well take 20
1178 minutes. And the... So how did I get... Sorry, what was the question again?
1179

1180 CJ: Well, just the link between machine translation and your eventual Quicksort
1181 algorithm, the design....
1182

1183 TH: Oh right. You were angling for that story then.
1184

1185 CJ: So we've already mention Jill, Jill Pym before she married you. You were married in
1186 1982. 1962.
1187

1188 TH: Thank you. [laughs]
1189

1190 CJ: [laughs]
1191

1192 TH: Yes, January '62.
1193

1194 CJ: Children? Grandchildren?
1195

1196 TH: Yes, we have three children. Tom first. He's now a security expert working in the
1197 research facility of Huawei in Banbury, Oxford. My daughter Joanna is married...

1198 Sorry, her partner is a city architect in Vienna, and she lives in Vienna and learned
1199 German, and is now working as an organiser for the Buddhist community in Europe.
1200 And my youngest son was Matthew, was a bright schoolboy, but he unfortunately
1201 succumbed to leukaemia some time ago. In, well, 1982. He was very clever,
1202 amusing, bright, an extraordinarily kind and considerate person. Real, real fun to be
1203 with. And he left us with many happy memories.

1204

1205 CJ: You've lived in houses, I gathered earlier, more than one in Barnet.

1206

1207 TH: Yes. That's North London.

1208

1209 CJ: North London, yes. Of course Belfast, which we have talked about. Then you lived
1210 in Oxford.

1211

1212 TH: Yes.

1213

1214 CJ: And now here. Actually ignoring for the moment the spells in the States, not too
1215 many moves in your life.

1216

1217 TH: No, no. Eight years for industry, nine years in Belfast, 22 years in Oxford. Wow.
1218 [laughs] I keep remembering that this is twice as long as Mrs Thatcher was Prime
1219 Minister, and that was too long.

1220

1221 CJ: [laughs]

1222

1223 TH: And now 16 years working for Microsoft in the research department.

1224

1225 CJ: Yes. And there were spells in America at least.

1226

1227 TH: Yes. The first one was six months where I was hosted by Don Knuth and wrote a
1228 number of papers, and met the Palo Alto Research Center of Xerox, which was the
1229 leading, really leading computer science laboratory in America at the time. And then
1230 a year in Austin, Texas with Edsger Dijkstra, which was wonderful.

1231

1232 CJ: The famous Year of Programming.

1233

1234 TH: The Year of Programming, yes. We organised a series of seminars which we called
1235 the Year of Programming. And I'm hoping to go back there next year to renew
1236 acquaintance and celebrate the retirement of a close friend and colleague.

1237

1238 CJ: Well, to move towards wrapping up, as well as the Turing Award in 1980, the
1239 enormously prestigious Kyoto Prize in the year 2000, honorary doctorates. Can you
1240 remember the first and the most recent perhaps?

1241

1242 TH: Yes, yes. The first was at the University of Southern California, and it was
1243 organised by Per Brinch Hansen, who was good friend of mine. He was a great man.

1244 And the most recent were in Europe – Warsaw, Madrid, and Saint Petersburg.
1245
1246 CJ: And at least 10 in between those, so...
1247
1248 TH: Well, nearly perhaps. I don't know. [laughs]
1249
1250 CJ: ...a lot of honorary doctorates. Fellow of the Royal Society, Fellow of the Royal
1251 Academy of Engineering, a knighthood in the year 2000. That was a good year.
1252
1253 TH: Yes, it was a good year. [laughs] That was my first year at Cambridge. So I met the
1254 President of China, the Mikado of Japan, and the Queen, all in the same year.
1255
1256 CJ: So it was actually the Queen who conferred the knighthood on you?
1257
1258 TH: Indeed it was, yes.
1259
1260 CJ: Many collaborations along the way, and in many cases those collaborations have
1261 established that person's main scientific thrust. Do you work best in collaboration do
1262 you feel?
1263
1264 TH: I haven't made... I work a lot by myself now. I think I do enjoy being... Well, I
1265 need somebody else to keep me on the rails. [chuckles] Niklaus Wirth filled that
1266 role for some time, He Jifeng for a very long time. Admittedly they do a quite a lot
1267 of the hard lifting and I'm very grateful to them.
1268
1269 CJ: Well, Tony, thank you very much. It's been a very interesting discussion and I'm
1270 sure our audience will enjoy hearing something about the way you do research and
1271 about you as a person.
1272
1273 TH: I hope so, but it's been very much a pleasure to meet you again and answer your
1274 questions again. Thank you.
1275
1276 [end of recording]