

# A world without news?



Some of the staffers who were involved in the 2d District coverage gathered in a warehouse section of the 440 Building. Their coverage led to a federal judge's decision overturning the election — and to criminal convictions for ballot fraud.

Photograph by Kyle Keener

@arusbridger





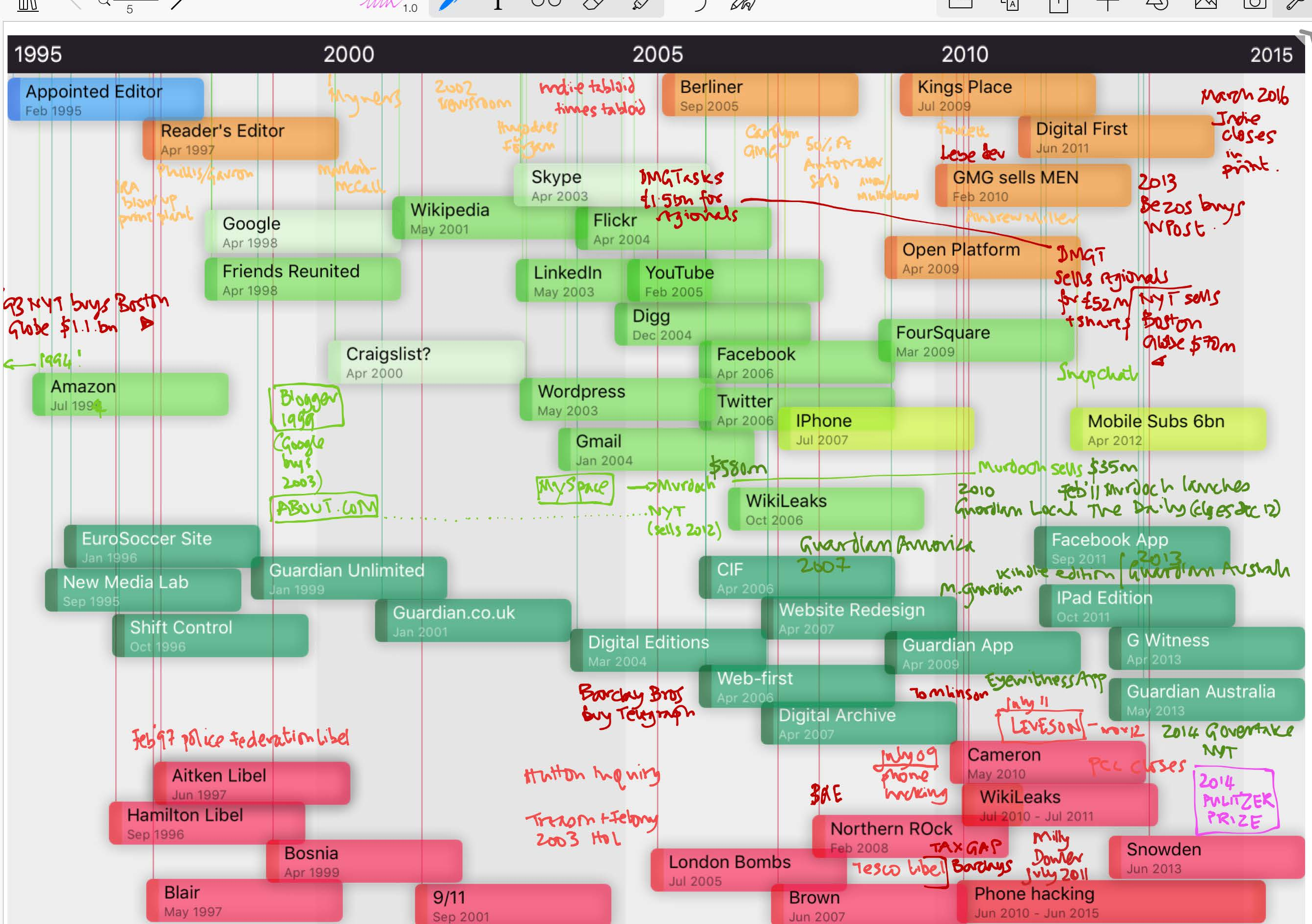


1995.

- Paper only
- Words & pictures
- One deadline a day
- Black and white
- 9th biggest paper in UK
- Little overseas distribution

2015.

- Paper/desktop/mobile
- Words, audio, video, graphics
- Biggest serious English language newspaper website in world
- Global distribution 24/7
- Social







1. An economic crisis in (most) news companies,

2. A low-trust environment for most institutions and their leaders, the same ones who are regularly featured in the news.

3. A broken and outdated model in political journalism, which tries to connect to the public through “inside” or access reporting about a class whose legitimacy is itself eroding

4. An organized movement on the political right to discredit mainstream journalism,

5 Trust in the news media as an institution lower than ever in living memory, while popular anger reaches an all-time high

7. Facebook slowly taking charge of the day-to-day relationship with users of the news system,

6. Lack of diversity in newsrooms

8. The increasingly dim prospect that there will be a fact-based debate to which journalists can usefully contribute

9. Weak leadership and a thin institutional structure in the American press, which is not accustomed to organizing itself to fight back or act assertively in any coordinated way

10. News & political debate subordinated to entertainment values by media companies obeying commercial imperatives, while claiming a public service mantle





## DEWEY

- Press is vital link between people and government
- Give people reliable information and they will influence legislators
- They will make better choice about who to elect

v



## LIPPMANN

- People can't be trusted because of the nature of the press, the nature of the
- public & the organisation of news
- News deals with events but does not do complexity or context
- Therefore government best left to elite in power



No. 1.	SATURDAY, MAY 3, 1841.	Price Sixty-Fence.
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**THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN**  
**DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY**  
 440 TAPSCOTT DRIVE  
 ANN ARBOR, MI 48106-1060  
 TEL: (313) 763-7000  
 FAX: (313) 763-7000  
 E-MAIL: [chem@umich.edu](mailto:chem@umich.edu)  
 WWW: <http://www.umich.edu/chem>

[illegible]

1980-1981, 1982-1983, 1984-1985, 1986-1987, 1988-1989, 1990-1991, 1992-1993, 1994-1995, 1996-1997, 1998-1999, 2000-2001, 2002-2003, 2004-2005, 2006-2007, 2008-2009, 2010-2011, 2012-2013, 2014-2015, 2016-2017, 2018-2019, 2020-2021, 2022-2023, 2024-2025, 2026-2027, 2028-2029, 2030-2031, 2032-2033, 2034-2035, 2036-2037, 2038-2039, 2040-2041, 2042-2043, 2044-2045, 2046-2047, 2048-2049, 2050-2051, 2052-2053, 2054-2055, 2056-2057, 2058-2059, 2060-2061, 2062-2063, 2064-2065, 2066-2067, 2068-2069, 2070-2071, 2072-2073, 2074-2075, 2076-2077, 2078-2079, 2080-2081, 2082-2083, 2084-2085, 2086-2087, 2088-2089, 2090-2091, 2092-2093, 2094-2095, 2096-2097, 2098-2099, 2100-2101, 2102-2103, 2104-2105, 2106-2107, 2108-2109, 2110-2111, 2112-2113, 2114-2115, 2116-2117, 2118-2119, 2120-2121, 2122-2123, 2124-2125, 2126-2127, 2128-2129, 2130-2131, 2132-2133, 2134-2135, 2136-2137, 2138-2139, 2140-2141, 2142-2143, 2144-2145, 2146-2147, 2148-2149, 2150-2151, 2152-2153, 2154-2155, 2156-2157, 2158-2159, 2160-2161, 2162-2163, 2164-2165, 2166-2167, 2168-2169, 2170-2171, 2172-2173, 2174-2175, 2176-2177, 2178-2179, 2180-2181, 2182-2183, 2184-2185, 2186-2187, 2188-2189, 2190-2191, 2192-2193, 2194-2195, 2196-2197, 2198-2199, 2200-2201, 2202-2203, 2204-2205, 2206-2207, 2208-2209, 2210-2211, 2212-2213, 2214-2215, 2216-2217, 2218-2219, 2220-2221, 2222-2223, 2224-2225, 2226-2227, 2228-2229, 2230-2231, 2232-2233, 2234-2235, 2236-2237, 2238-2239, 2240-2241, 2242-2243, 2244-2245, 2246-2247, 2248-2249, 2250-2251, 2252-2253, 2254-2255, 2256-2257, 2258-2259, 2260-2261, 2262-2263, 2264-2265, 2266-2267, 2268-2269, 2270-2271, 2272-2273, 2274-2275, 2276-2277, 2278-2279, 2280-2281, 2282-2283, 2284-2285, 2286-2287, 2288-2289, 2290-2291, 2292-2293, 2294-2295, 2296-2297, 2298-2299, 2300-2301, 2302-2303, 2304-2305, 2306-2307, 2308-2309, 2310-2311, 2312-2313, 2314-2315, 2316-2317, 2318-2319, 2320-2321, 2322-2323, 2324-2325, 2326-2327, 2328-2329, 2330-2331, 2332-2333, 2334-2335, 2336-2337, 2338-2339, 2340-2341, 2342-2343, 2344-2345, 2346-2347, 2348-2349, 2350-2351, 2352-2353, 2354-2355, 2356-2357, 2358-2359, 2360-2361, 2362-2363, 2364-2365, 2366-2367, 2368-2369, 2370-2371, 2372-2373, 2374-2375, 2376-2377, 2378-2379, 2380-2381, 2382-2383, 2384-2385, 2386-2387, 2388-2389, 2390-2391, 2392-2393, 2394-2395, 2396-2397, 2398-2399, 2400-2401, 2402-2403, 2404-2405, 2406-2407, 2408-2409, 2410-2411, 2412-2413, 2414-2415, 2416-2417, 2418-2419, 2420-2421, 2422-2423, 2424-2425, 2426-2427, 2428-2429, 2430-2431, 2432-2433, 2434-2435, 2436-2437, 2438-2439, 2440-2441, 2442-2443, 2444-2445, 2446-2447, 2448-2449, 2450-2451, 2452-2453, 2454-2455, 2456-2457, 2458-2459, 2460-2461, 2462-2463, 2464-2465, 2466-2467, 2468-2469, 2470-2471, 2472-2473, 2474-2475, 2476-2477, 2478-2479, 2480-2481, 2482-2483, 2484-2485, 2486-2487, 2488-2489, 2490-2491, 2492-2493, 2494-2495, 2496-2497, 2498-2499, 2500-2501, 2502-2503, 2504-2505, 2506-2507, 2508-2509, 2510-2511, 2512-2513, 2514-2515, 2516-2517, 2518-2519, 2520-2521, 2522-2523, 2524-2525, 2526-2527, 2528-2529, 2530-2531, 2532-2533, 2534-2535, 2536-2537, 2538-2539, 2540-2541, 2542-2543, 2544-2545, 2546-2547, 2548-2549, 2550-2551, 2552-2553, 2554-2555, 2556-2557, 2558-2559, 2560-2561, 2562-2563, 2564-2565, 2566-2567, 2568-2569, 2570-2571, 2572-2573, 2574-2575, 2576-2577, 2578-2579, 2580-2581, 2582-2583, 2584-2585, 2586-2587, 2588-2589, 2590-2591, 2592-2593, 2594-2595, 2596-2597, 2598-2599, 2600-2601, 2602-2603, 2604-2605, 2606-2607, 2608-2609, 2610-2611, 2612-2613, 2614-2615, 2616-2617, 2618-2619, 2620-2621, 2622-2623, 2624-2625, 2626-2627, 2628-2629, 2630-2631, 2632-2633, 2634-2635, 2636-2637, 2638-2639, 2640-2641, 2642-2643, 2644-2645, 2646-2647, 2648-2649, 2650-2651, 2652-2653, 2654-2655, 2656-2657, 2658-2659, 2660-2661, 2662-2663, 2664-2665, 2666-2667, 2668-2669, 2670-2671, 2672-2673, 2674-2675, 2676-2677, 2678-2679, 2680-2681, 2682-2683, 2684-2685, 2686-2687, 2688-2689, 2690-2691, 2692-2693, 2694-2695, 2696-2697, 2698-2699, 2700-2701, 2702-2703, 2704-2705, 2706-2707, 2708-2709, 2710-2711, 2712-2713, 2714-2715, 2716-2717, 2718-2719, 2720-2721, 2722-2723, 27

Country	Population	Population	Population
United States	248,000,000	248,000,000	248,000,000
Canada	29,000,000	29,000,000	29,000,000
United Kingdom	56,000,000	56,000,000	56,000,000
France	59,000,000	59,000,000	59,000,000
Germany	82,000,000	82,000,000	82,000,000
Italy	57,000,000	57,000,000	57,000,000
Spain	40,000,000	40,000,000	40,000,000
Japan	125,000,000	125,000,000	125,000,000
China	1,200,000,000	1,200,000,000	1,200,000,000
India	850,000,000	850,000,000	850,000,000
South Africa	25,000,000	25,000,000	25,000,000
Sweden	8,500,000	8,500,000	8,500,000
Norway	4,500,000	4,500,000	4,500,000
Denmark	5,000,000	5,000,000	5,000,000
Finland	5,000,000	5,000,000	5,000,000
Poland	38,000,000	38,000,000	38,000,000
Czech Republic	10,500,000	10,500,000	10,500,000
Slovak Republic	5,400,000	5,400,000	5,400,000
Hungary	10,500,000	10,500,000	10,500,000
Romania	22,500,000	22,500,000	22,500,000
Bulgaria	8,500,000	8,500,000	8,500,000
Greece	11,000,000	11,000,000	11,000,000
Turkey	65,000,000	65,000,000	65,000,000
Israel	5,500,000	5,500,000	5,500,000
Australia	19,000,000	19,000,000	19,000,000
New Zealand	3,500,000	3,500,000	3,500,000
South Korea	45,000,000	45,000,000	45,000,000
North Korea	24,000,000	24,000,000	24,000,000
Vietnam	75,000,000	75,000,000	75,000,000
Laos	6,000,000	6,000,000	6,000,000
Cambodia	12,000,000	12,000,000	12,000,000
Thailand	63,000,000	63,000,000	63,000,000
Malaysia	21,000,000	21,000,000	21,000,000
Indonesia	205,000,000	205,000,000	205,000,000
Philippines	75,000,000	75,000,000	75,000,000
Singapore	3,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000
Brunei	3,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000
Myanmar	50,000,000	50,000,000	50,000,000
Burma	45,000,000	45,000,000	45,000,000
India	850,000,000	850,000,000	850,000,000
Pakistan	115,000,000	115,000,000	115,000,000
Bangladesh	120,000,000	120,000,000	120,000,000
Sri Lanka	19,000,000	19,000,000	19,000,000
Nepal	21,000,000	21,000,000	21,000,000
Bhutan	2,500,000	2,500,000	2,500,000
Maldives	300,000	300,000	300,000
Yemen	45,000,000	45,000,000	45,000,000
Oman	2,500,000	2,500,000	2,500,000
UAE	2,500,000	2,500,000	2,500,000
Qatar	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000
Kuwait	2,500,000	2,500,000	2,500,000
Saudi Arabia	22,000,000	22,000,000	22,000,000
Iran	65,000,000	65,000,000	65,000,000
Afghanistan	28,000,000	28,000,000	28,000,000
Pakistan	115,000,000	115,000,000	115,000,000
Bangladesh	120,000,000	120,000,000	120,000,000
Sri Lanka	19,000,000	19,000,000	19,000,000
Nepal	21,000,000	21,000,000	21,000,000
Bhutan	2,500,000	2,500,000	2,500,000
Maldives	300,000	300,000	300,000
Yemen	45,000,000	45,000,000	45,000,000
Oman	2,500,000	2,500,000	2,500,000
UAE	2,500,000	2,500,000	2,500,000
Qatar	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000
Kuwait	2,500,000	2,500,000	2,500,000
Saudi Arabia	22,		

**Financially sound** Although the company's sales are down, its financial position is sound.

[illegible][illegible]

1. ☐ **Yes**  
 2. ☐ **No**  
 3. ☐ **Not sure**  
 4. ☐ **Other**  
 5. ☐ **Don't know**  
 6. ☐ **Refuse to answer**  
 7. ☐ **Other**  
 8. ☐ **Don't know**  
 9. ☐ **Refuse to answer**  
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 98. ☐ **Don't know**  
 99. ☐ **Refuse to answer**  
 100. ☐ **Other**

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

The above information is for informational purposes only. It is not intended to be used as a basis for investment decisions. The information is subject to change without notice.

**THE** *Journal of the American Medical Association* is the only medical journal in the United States that is published daily. It is the only medical journal that is published in the United States that is published daily. It is the only medical journal that is published in the United States that is published daily.

[illegible]

**WILLIAMSBURG, Va.**—The annual meeting of the American Society of Civil Engineers, which opened here today, will close tomorrow with a luncheon and a reception at the Hotel Richmond.

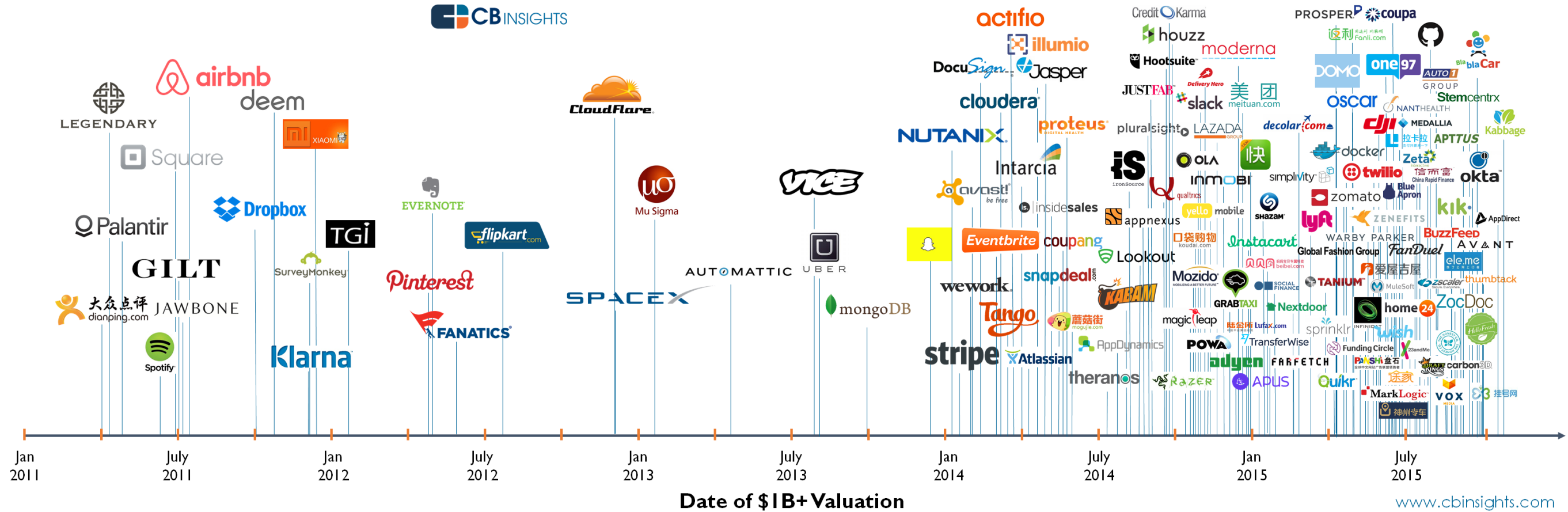
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## The Increasingly Crowded Unicorn Club

Created by:

## Private Unicorns since 2011

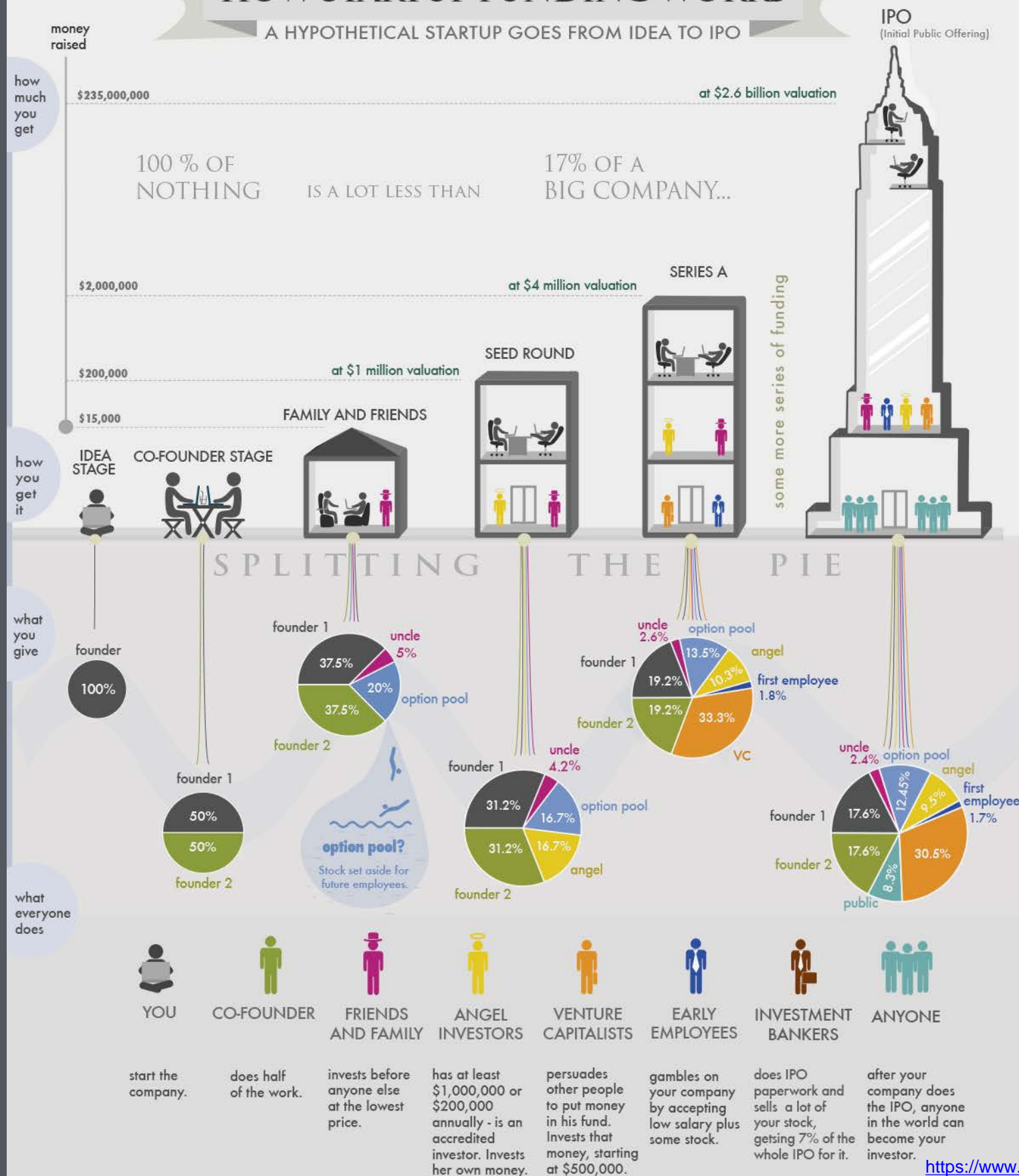




# HOW STARTUP FUNDING WORKS

BY ANNA VITAL

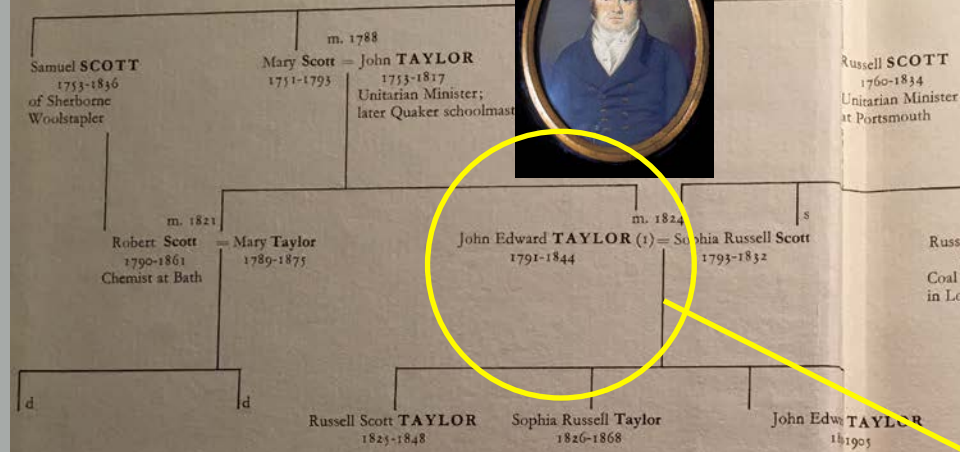
A HYPOTHETICAL STARTUP GOES FROM IDEA TO IPO



<https://www.wamda.com/2013/10/startup-idea-to-ipo-infographic>

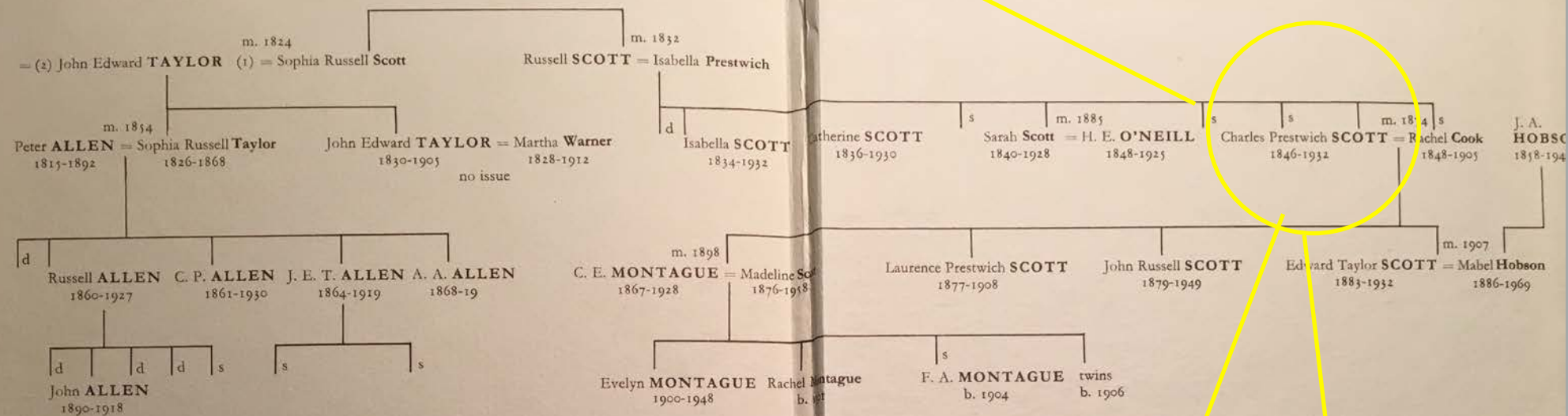


# THE PAPER AND THE FAMILY: THE GATHERING OF THE CLANS TAYLORS AND SCOTTS 1788-1832



Russell Scott retired from business in 1838 with a capital said to be worth £38,000. He and Robert Scott both lent money to the firm during the crisis described in chapter 10. Russell Scott was the executor of his brother-in-law's will and trustee for his young children. During the minority the copyright was registered in his name.

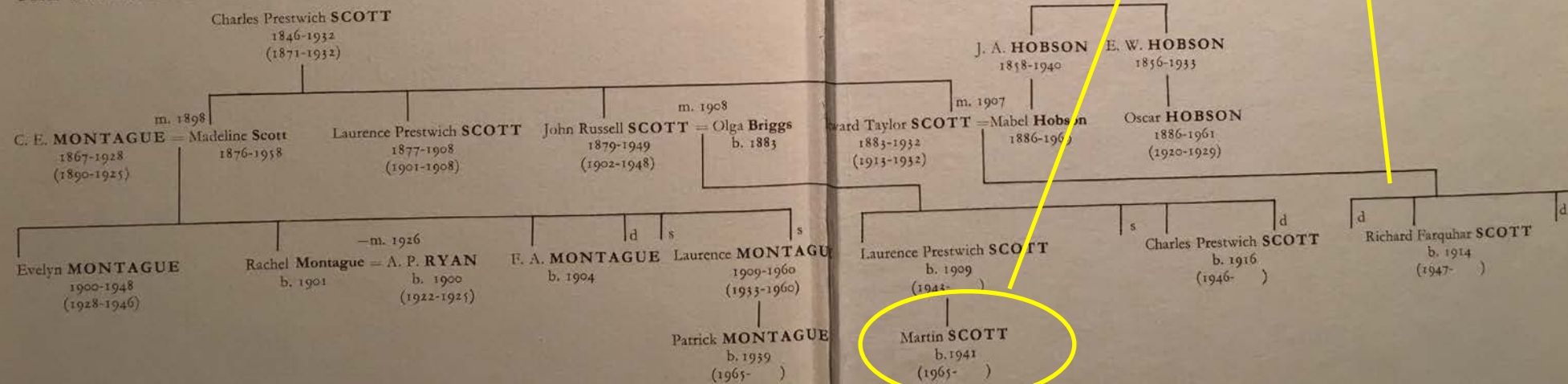
Names are given only of those connected with the paper or where necessary to show interrelationships. Others are indicated by



Peter Allen was business manager of Taylor, Garnett & Co for 1851 and a partner from 1854. In 1868 the *Manchester Evening News* was established and bought the same year by John Edward Taylor, who formed a separate partnership, William Evans & Co to run it. From 1885 Peter Allen owned a half share in the copyright. He and his sons Russell and J. E. T. Allen were principally concerned with this paper and with the general printing business.

In 1883 C. P. Scott refused an offer from John Edward Taylor to leave him a half share in the *Evening News*. When C. P. Scott was forced to purchase the M.G. in 1907 the money to supplement his private fortune was put up by Taylor's widow and his three sisters, Isabella, Catherine and Sarah (see chapter 22).

## THE PAPER AND THE FAMILY: THE HOUSE OF SCOTT SINCE 1907











- Equal Laws,
- Equal Rights,
- Annual Parliaments,
- Universal Suffrage,
- Repeal of the Corn Laws
- the Ballot
- a ten hour day and
- an end to child labour.

1773 -1835





August 16 1819







ATKINS. Fecit ~

RECENT EVENT at MANCHESTER.

Published by J. BAILEY, 26, Chancery Lane, Fleet Street, London.





Massacre at St Peter's or "BRITONS STRIKE HOME"!!!

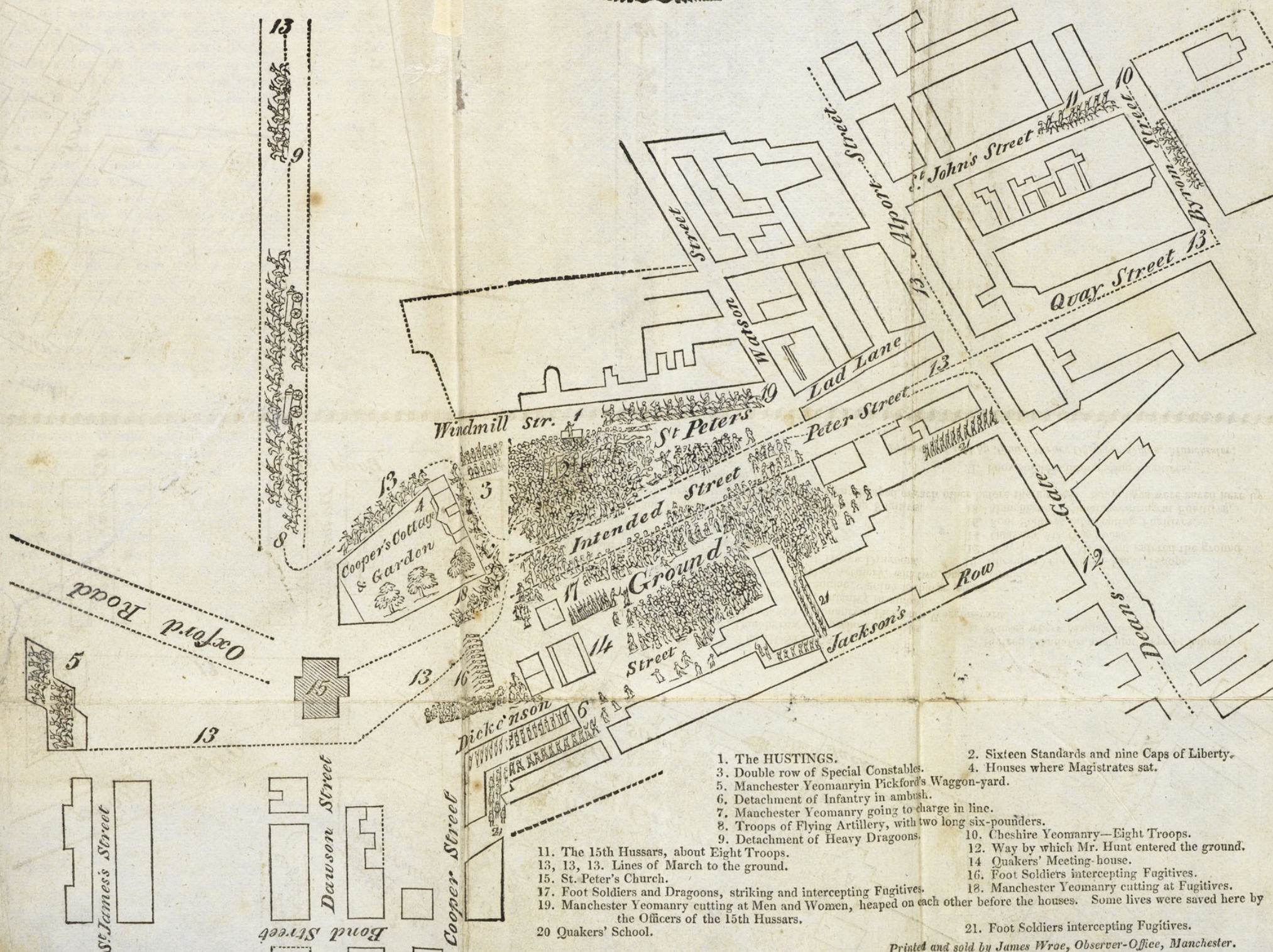
London pub<sup>d</sup> August 16<sup>th</sup> 1879 by  
S. Jagg 111 Cheapside



# Map of St. Peter's Field, Manchester,

A IT APPEARED ON THE 16TH OF AUGUST, LAST:

Taken from a Draft made under the Direction of Messrs. Pearson, Harmer, and Denison.



Printed and sold by James Wroe, Observer-Office, Manchester.



FROM THE INFIRMARY

Names.	Residence.	Hurt received.	Remarks.
John Wrigley	Warrington	Fractures ribs; much bruised	
John Mellor	Burslem	Slight	O.P.
James Lees	Saddleworth	Slight	O.P.
William Taylor	Middleton	Sabre wound on the head	
William Robinson	Salford	Contusion	Cured
Edmund Dawson	Saddleworth	Sabre wound on the head	
Owen Mc Cape	Near Bury	Fractured ribs; not dangerous	
Edward Lannoway	Manchester	Contusion; not dangerous	
Benjamin Seed	Manchester	Fractured thigh	
Thomas Heywood	Pendleton	Fractured ribs and contusion	
John Schofield	Oldham	Slight	Cured
Edwd. Lancaster	Manchester	Slight	O.P.
Thomas Blinston	Manchester	Both arms fractured	
Robt. Ratcliffe	Stockport	Bruised leg	O.P.
John Bridge	Near Bury	Much bruised	
Joseph Whitworth	Hyde	Shot in the head; since dead}	
James Jackson	Ardwick	Two shots in the thigh	} New Cross
Samuel Jackson	Salford	Shot in the leg; amputated }	
Robert Campbell *	Manchester	Dangerous	
John Ferguson **	Manchester	Shot	

The Times,  
August 18  
1819

We kept the press open until a late hour this morning, in the hope of receiving minute accounts of the circumstances which attended the reformist meeting held at Manchester on Monday. From the statements brought to us in the course of last night, and which appear to have been collected in the midst of a scene of extraordinary uproar and agitation, we learned that HUNT took the chair, according to advertisement, and harangued that portion of the multitude which more immediately surrounded him; that the mob altogether amounted to more than 40,000 persons—some accounts say 60,000—collected from all the neighbouring districts; that the Riot Act was read, and the troops called upon by the Magistracy to enforce their orders that the crowd should at once disperse. HUNT himself was taken prisoner—and we add with unfeigned sorrow, that several lives were lost. X

The troops that were employed were the Manchester, Macclesfield, and Chester Yeomanry. The 15th Light Dragoons were likewise in the field, but were not called into action. The local troops, it is said, behaved with great alacrity. The consternation and dismay which spread among the immense crowd collected cannot be conceived. The multitude was composed of a large proportion of females. The prancing of cavalry, and the active use of the sabre among them, created a dreadful scene of confusion, and we may add, of carnage. By the accounts received through the mail, no less than 80 or 100 persons are wounded, and 8 killed. The mob is said to have dispersed as quickly as they could. At 7 o'clock in the evening some of the Yeomanry are reported to have fired on a crowd that showed a disregard of the mandate to disperse. At night, and up to 2 o'clock yesterday morning, complete tranquillity prevailed, and the streets were as quiet as on ordinary occasions. The great number of wounded had been carried to the hospital. Hunt, Johnston, and others, who were on the scaffolding, were taken into custody, and lodged in the New Bailey.

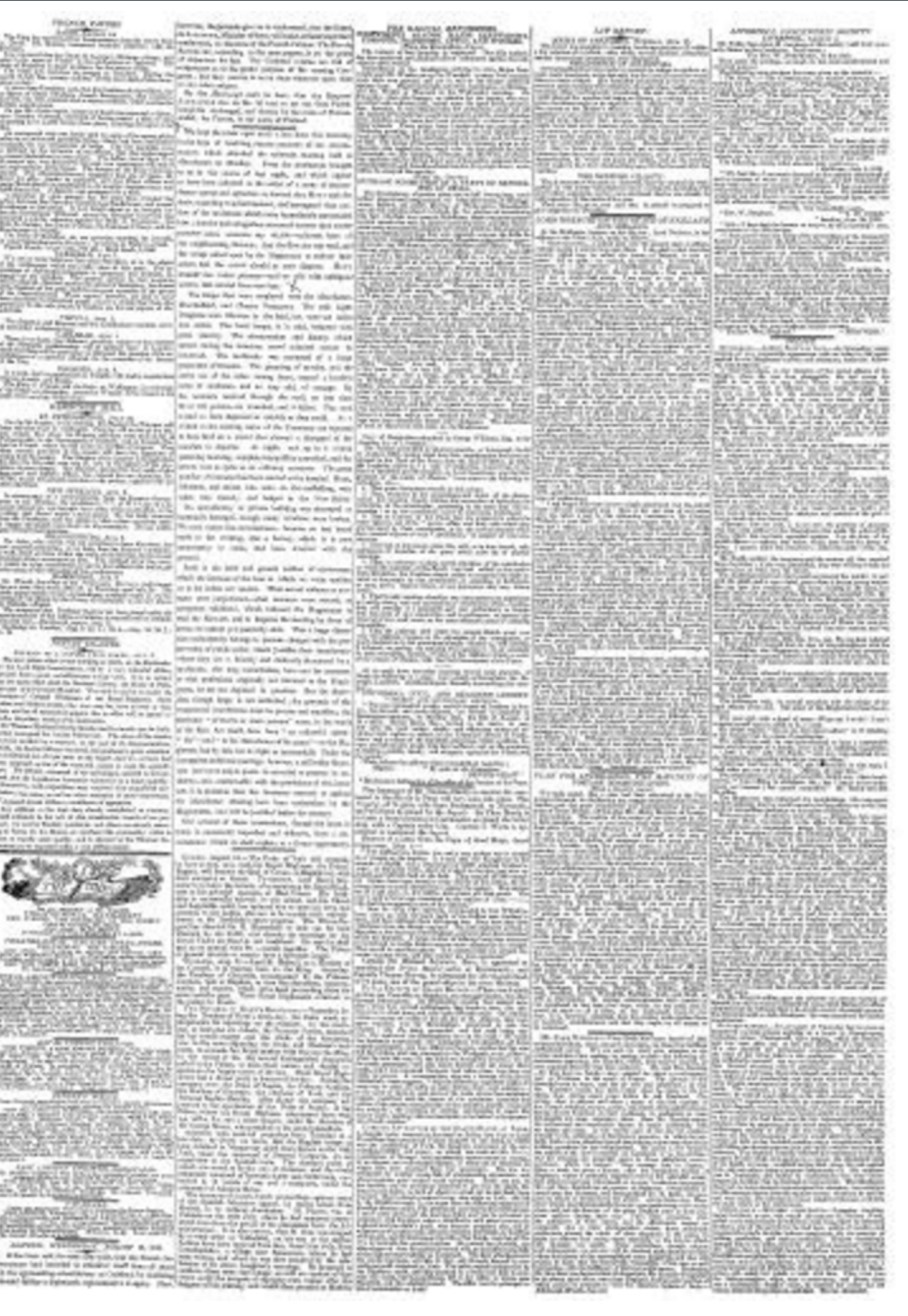
No manufactory or private building was destroyed or materially damaged, though many windows were broken. We only notice this circumstance, because we had heard early in the evening, that a factory, which it is now unnecessary to name, had been levelled with the

Such is the brief and general outline of occurrences which the lateness of the hour at which we write enables us to lay before our readers. What actual violence or outrages were perpetrated—what menaces were uttered, or symptoms exhibited, which induced the Magistrates to read the Riot-act, and to disperse the meeting by force of arms, we cannot yet positively state. That a large discretion undoubtedly belongs to persons charged with the preservation of public order, which justifies their interference where they see it directly and distinctly threatened by a multitude, who may, nevertheless, have met for purposes or with professions originally not inimical to the King's peace, we are not disposed to question. But the discretion, though large, is not unlimited; the grounds of the magisterial interference must be precise and manifest; the assembly "of twelve or more persons" must, in the words of the Riot Act itself, have been "an unlawful assembly"—and "to the disturbance of the peace"—or the Magistrate has by this Act no right to intermeddle. Under the Act against seditious meetings, however, a still wider discretion and more ample power is extended to persons in authority, and, conformably with the provisions of this latter law, it is probable that the measures resorted to against the Manchester Meeting have been undertaken by the Magistrates, and will be justified before the country.

Our account of these transactions, though the latest in town, is necessarily imperfect and defective, from a circumstance which we shall explain at a future opportunity.



The Times,  
August 18  
1819



**Express From Manchester.**  
*The Times* (London, England), Thursday, Aug 19, 1819; pg. 2; Issue 10738. (4557 words)

*The Times* (London, England), Thursday, Aug 19, 1819; pg. 3; Issue 10738.





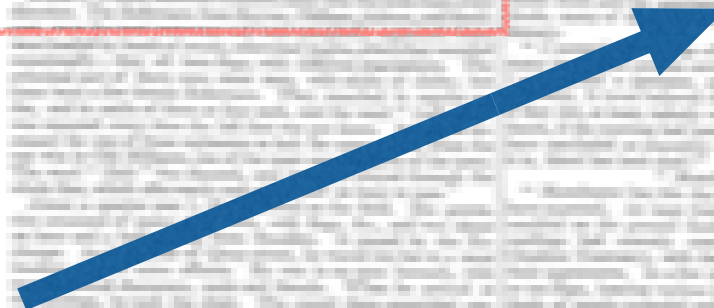


# crowdsourcing

“Extract of another letter”



“Private letter”





## DECLARATION AND PROTEST.

WE, the undersigned, without individually approving of the manner in which the MEETING held at St. Peter's, on Monday, the 16th of August was constituted, hereby declare, that we are fully satisfied, by personal observation or undoubted information, that it was *perfectly peaceable*;—that no seditious or intemperate harangues were made there;—that the Riot Act if read at all, was read *privately*, or, *without the knowledge of the great body of the Meeting*;—and we feel it our bounden duty to protest against, and to express our utter disapprobation of, *the unexpected and unnecessary Violence by which the Assembly were dispersed.*

We further declare, that the Meeting, convened at the Police Office, on Thursday the 19th. of August, for the purpose of thanking the Magistrates, Municipal Officers, Soldiery, &c., was strictly and exclusively *private*;—and, in order that its privacy might be more completely ensured, was adjourned to the Star Inn.—It is a matter of notoriety, that no expression of dissent from the main object of the Meeting was there permitted.

We therefore deny that it had any claim to the title of a "*numerous and highly respectable Meeting of the Inhabitants of Manchester and Salford, and their Neighbourhood*;"—and we hereby invite those who have presumed so to style it, to join with us in giving to the Inhabitants at large of Manchester and Salford, and their Neighbourhood, a public opportunity of expressing their real opinions upon the subject.

T. B. W. Sanderson	Thomas Steven	Henry Moore	William Clarke
Edward Baxter	John Smedley	Francis Jackson	William Swindells
John Reeves	J. S. Ormerod	George Horrocks	James Hill
William Wright	Richard Woodward	William Johns	Robert Banks
Samuel Hobson	William Tuer	Samuel Bates	J. G. Robberds
John Hobson	Peter Tuer	Robert Askew	T. P. D. Cape
Samuel Winks	John Shuttleworth	Joseph Anthony	John Fletcher
John Robinson	Hez. Weight	Joseph Hawkes	Thomas Garbutt
Richard Potter	Wm. Norris Buckley	Thomas Jones	Robert Charlton
Henry Pope	John Barlow	William Ryley	Daniel Potter
John Brooks	John Ashton	William Barlow	Matthew Depear
Joseph Weight	Jesse Gallemore	Edmund Lord	Thomas Taylor
Joseph Mason	William Shawcross	Jeremiah Turner	William Low
John Radcliffe	John Braddock	Samuel Pulein	Samuel Collinge
William Harvey	William Cantrell	John Grundy	Peter Clayton
Thos. Johnson	John Hayes	Thomas Reed	James Magnall
John Johnson	John Atkinson	John Gallemore, jun.	John Swain
Jonathan Lees	William Sutcliffe	Thomas Tipping	John Wilshaw
John Harrison	James Kershaw	Jeremiah Buckley	John Pownall
Joseph Gallemore	J. E. Taylor	Daniel Lonsdale	Edward Foulks
James Anderson	J. B. Thompson	Thomas Hopkins	Thomas Oakden
R. W. B. Sanderson	John Fletcher	Joseph Wood	William Gordon
Benjamin Holbrooke	John Kenworthy	George Woodham	Samuel Bailey
Isaac Lees	F. R. Atkinson	Richard Wilson	John Geenhalgh
John Swindells	Archibald Prentice	Thomas Kershaw	Ratcliffe Pott
Thomas Wilkins	Benjamin Beddome	Alexander Haliday	George Fearn
James Occleston	Peter Coe	Robert Wright	George Reid
Samuel Livesey	Geo. Johnson	Joseph Woodward	James Thornly
James Bates	William Gadsby	Charles Pollitt	Robert Ryder
John Richardson	Henry Grimshaw	John Dewhurst	Timothy Speight
William Wood	John Mangnall	John Johnson	William Crossley
John Mitchell, M. D.	Stephen Bates	John Blackshaw	J. S. Grafton
William Barratt	J. R. Taylor	William Harrison	Thomas Morley
Joseph Barratt	John Foster	Thomas Grundy	George Hall
Edmund Wilson	Francis Wood	William Spencer	James Alcock





**William Hulton**

I saw bricks and stones flying. I wish to convey to the jury those stones and bricks were thrown in defiance of the military. I saw them attacked, and under that impression I desired Colonel L'Estrange to advance



**William R Hay, magistrate**

. claimed to have seen pikes dipped in blood

sabres were plied to hew a way through naked held-up hands and defenceless heads; and then chopped limbs and wound-gaping skulls were seen **Samuel Bamford,**



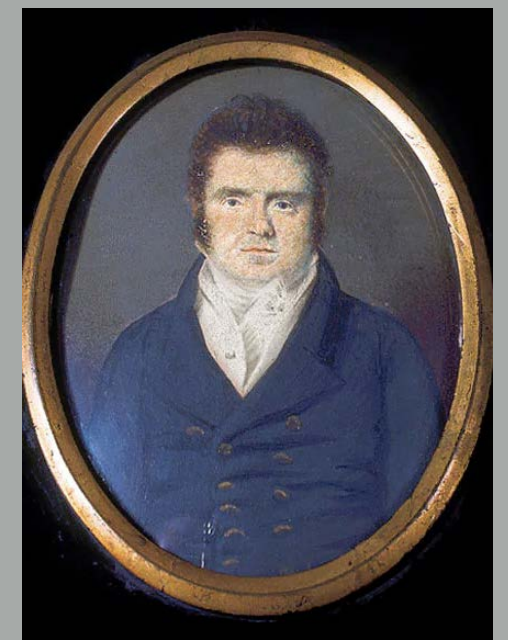
### **Wheeler's Manchester Chronicle.**

. Lt.-Col. L'Estrange, the commander of the troops received a tremendous blow on the forehead with a brick, One special constable, Mr. Ashworth, of the Bull's Head, in Market Place, was killed on the spot. Under the circumstances, these actions were unavoidable: not the smallest blame is attached to the Military.

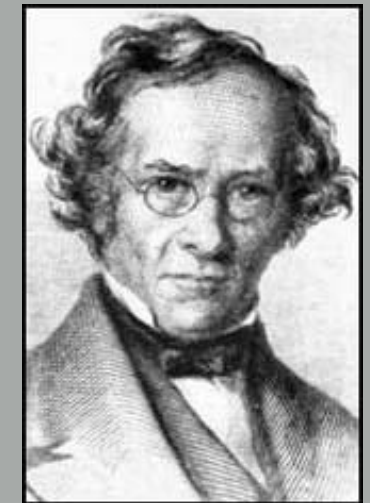


**Richard Carlile**

. The Yeomanry Cavalry made their charge with a most infuriate frenzy; they cut down men, women and children, indiscriminately, and appeared to have commenced a pre-meditated attack with the most insatiable thirst for blood and destruction.



**John Edward Taylor,** . "Facts, undeniable and decisive...These are truths which are impossible to gainsay ..[they intended] to dissolve the meeting by force"



**Archibald Prentice**

"Not the slightest breach the peace had been committed"



15 April 1989



19 April 1989





April 1989

**Police statements altered**

4 August 1989

Lord Justice Taylor  
:  
"the failure of police  
control".

30 Aug 1990

**Decision not to prosecute**

28 March 1991

**Anger over inquests**

1992 - 2012

**A mother's fight for truth**

16 February 2000

**Private prosecution**

12 September 2012

**A 'day of truth'**

Police and ambulance services had made "strenuous  
attempts to deflect the blame onto innocent fans".

Hillsborough Independent Panel

31 March 2014

**New inquests begin**

26 April 2016

**Unlawfully killed**



**30 January  
1972**



**British Land Forces Commander General Ford:** Paras “did not go in there shooting . . . they did not fire until they were fired upon . . . the 3rd Battalion fired three rounds altogether, after they’d had something between 10 and 20 fired at them.”

**MoD:** “all the army shooting was at identified targets in return of fire under the terms of the Yellow C



**30 January 1972:** During a disturbance in Londonderry following a civil rights march, shots were fired by the British Army. Thirteen people were killed and another 13 wounded, one of whom subsequently died

**April 1972:** Lord Widgery's report concluded that the soldiers had been fired upon before they started shooting;



"None of the casualties shot by soldiers of Support Company was armed with a firearm or (with the probable exception of Gerald Donaghey) a bomb of any description. None was posing any threat of causing death or serious injury. In no case was any warning given before soldiers opened fire.

Lord Saville  
Inquiry

Saville said the soldiers fired because they lost control. He said with the exception of two soldiers, "none of the firing... was aimed at people posing a threat of causing death or serious injury".

On balance, Saville says a soldier fired first. "Soldiers reacted by losing their self-control and firing themselves, forgetting or ignoring their instructions and training and failing to satisfy themselves that they had identified targets posing a threat of causing death or serious injury."

Saville concludes: "Apart from Private T many of these soldiers have knowingly put forward false accounts in order to seek to justify their firing."

Some members of our armed forces acted wrongly. The government is ultimately responsible for the conduct of the armed forces and for that, on behalf of the government, indeed, on behalf of our country, I am deeply sorry.







the death of Ian Tomlinson. April 1 2009



## Police: G20 victim had a heart attack

A MAN who died during the G20 protests suffered a heart attack, police said yesterday.

Ian Tomlinson, 47, was on his way home from work when he collapsed as protesters gathered near the Bank of England in London.

The Independent Police Complaints Commission is investigating after claims that the newsagent's treatment was delayed by the security cordon around the protest area on Wednesday.

Officers trying to help save him also had bottles thrown at them. Police said: "A postmortem found he died of natural causes."

## Man dies as bottles lobbed at rescuers

## Man who died in G20 protest 'was just returning from work'

Adam Fresco, Sean O'Neill

Riot police broke down the doors of two squats in East London yesterday as they hunted for those involved in the violence outside the Bank of England during Wednesday's protests.

Police said that they had made 111 arrests so far in connection with the march and were happy with the way that Operation Glencoe had gone.

It emerged that the man who collapsed and died during the protest

allowed people to move more freely. But peaceful protests were hijacked by a small number of people. We were pragmatic, we took a lot and I don't accept that officers have to stand there being punched without any response."

Climate Camp activists said that the police over-reacted as they evicted them from a protest in Bishopsgate. A spokeswoman said: "We said we would stay peacefully overnight but by 1.30am hundreds of riot cops forced their way through while protesters sat



## Man dies after being 'caught among the mob'

PROTESTS

By Richard Edwards, Nick Allen, Caroline Gammell and John Bingham

A MAN who died during the G20 protests was not a demonstrator and collapsed after getting "caught up among the mob", his friends claimed yesterday.

Ian Tomlinson, 47, was on his way home on Wednesday night when he died of a suspected heart attack near the Bank of England, where thousands of protesters were gathered.

him and then he got trampled on by the mob."

The family of Mr Tomlinson, who lived in a hostel in the City, said that he came from "a large loving family and will be sadly missed".

The second day of protests passed with peaceful demonstrations. There were no major incidents, in contrast to the violent outbursts on Wednesday. However, just after 3pm, several hundred officers flooded the streets around the

122 arrests have been made in connection to the protests.

Four people were yesterday charged over an attack on a City branch of RBS during the protests on Wednesday.

A Lithuanian man, Mindaugas Lenartavicius, 21, was charged with arson recklessly endangering life, and 18-year-olds Ben Shiells and Daniel Champion were charged with burglary, criminal damage and theft of a computer. A 17-year-old girl was charged with burglary with intent to com-



## G20 death man suffered heart attack

Apr 4 2009

A man who died at a G20 summit protest suffered a fatal heart attack, police have said.

to give urgent treatment, they had to carry him away from the area after bottles were thrown at them by protesters.

A newspaper vendor at Monument station, who said he had known Mr Tomlinson for 25 years, said: "I think what happened was he was on his way home when the police

came across Mr Tomlinson as he lay dying on the street, said it was wrong that people were kept behind the police cordon. "Even if it was a heart attack, he would have been cordoned off without food, water, shelter and facing enormous police violence if he tried to leave the cordon."

Police continued to pursue



The City of London Police said: "A post-mortem examination found he died of natural causes.

"(He) suffered a sudden heart attack while on his way home from work.

A Metropolitan Police spokesman said officers treating Mr Tomlinson had bottles thrown at them by protesters.

# Protester dies after a day of violent clashes

By Richard Edwards, Caroline Gammell, Nick Allen and John Bingham

A MAN died and 63 people were arrested yesterday as violence flared during a siege of the City of London by G20 protesters.

The man collapsed at around 7.30pm as violent clashes with police continued into the night near the Bank of England. However, as officers went to his aid, they were pelted with bottles and were forced to retreat.

Paramedics broke the police cordon and tried to resuscitate the man but he was pronounced dead shortly after arriving at hospital.

The Independent Police Complaints Commission has been informed of the incident, Scotland Yard said last night.

The death came after a day of protests in which a RBS Scotland branch was a battleground and hooded protesters smashed windows

ransacked the building. In front of a cheering mob, they sprayed the words "thieves" and "scum" on the walls before riot police moved in.

It was one of a number of sporadic clashes as around 6,000 people marched on the City and Trafalgar Square to demonstrate against grievances ranging from "greedy" bankers to climate change and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Fears of organised riots, which had led to the deployment of 5,000 police officers, proved unfounded as the vast majority of demonstrators refused to be led by a small cadre of around 40 anarchists

Scuffles broke out as a few protesters tried to rush police lines and just before 1pm, hooded anarchists set their sights on a closed branch of RBS in Threadneedle Street. After forcing their way past police, they smashed the windows and climbed in, starting a small fire before throwing out office equipment.

Elsewhere, about 2,000 anti-war protesters marched peacefully from the US Embassy in Grosvenor Square to Trafalgar Square, where they were addressed by Tony Benn.

Celia Walden: Page 27

# Riot bystander 'died after being penned in'

By Ross McGuinness

A MAN of 47 who died during G20 riots in the City was not a protester but became penned in by police, it emerged yesterday.

Ian Tomlinson was thought to be on his way home after work when he became 'kettled at the Bank of England' with a group of people.

sion, which will decide if it should investigate.













[guardian.co.uk](http://guardian.co.uk)







Wheeler's Manchester Chronicle.



T. B. W. Sanderson	Thomas Steven	Henry Moore	William Clarke
Edward Baxter	John Smalley	Francis Jackson	William Swindells
John Reeves	J. S. Ormerod	George Horrocks	James Hill
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Joseph Weight	Jesse Gallimore	Edmund Lord	Thomas Taylor
Joseph Mason	William Shawcross	Jeremiah Turner	William Low
John Radcliffe	John Braddock	Samuel Pullen	Samuel Collinge
William Harvey	William Cantrell	John Grundy	Peter Chynton
Thos. Johnson	John Hayes	Thomas Reed	James Maguall
John Johnson	John Atkinson	John Gallimore, jun.	John Swain
Jonathan Lees	William Sutcliffe	Thomas Tipping	John Wiltshaw
John Harrison	James Kershaw	Jeremiah Buckley	John Pownall
Joseph Gallimore	J. E. Taylor	Daniel Lonsdale	Edward Foulks
James Anderson	J. B. Thompson	Thomas Hopkiss	Thomas Oakden
R. W. B. Sanderson	John Fletcher	Joseph Wood	William Gordon
Benjamin Holbrooke	John Kenworthy	George Woodham	Samuel Bailey
Isaac Lees	F. R. Atkinson	Richard Wilson	John Goenhalgh
John Swindells	Archibald Prentice	Thomas Kershaw	Ratcliffe Pott
Thomas Wilkins	Benjamin Diddome	Alexander Holiday	George Fearn
James Occleston	Peter Coe	Robert Wright	George Reid
Samuel Livesey	Geo. Johnson	Joseph Woodward	James Thorpy
James Bates	William Gadsby	Charles Pollitt	Robert Ryder
John Richardson	Henry Grimshaw	John Dewhurst	Timothy Speight
William Wood	John Mangnall	John Johnson	William Crossley
John Mitchell, M.D.	Stephen Bates	John Blackshaw	J. S. Grafton
William Barnett	J. R. Taylor	William Harrison	Thomas Mosley
Joseph Barnett	John Foster	Thomas Grundy	George Hall
Edmund Wilson	Francis Wood	William Spruce	James Alcock



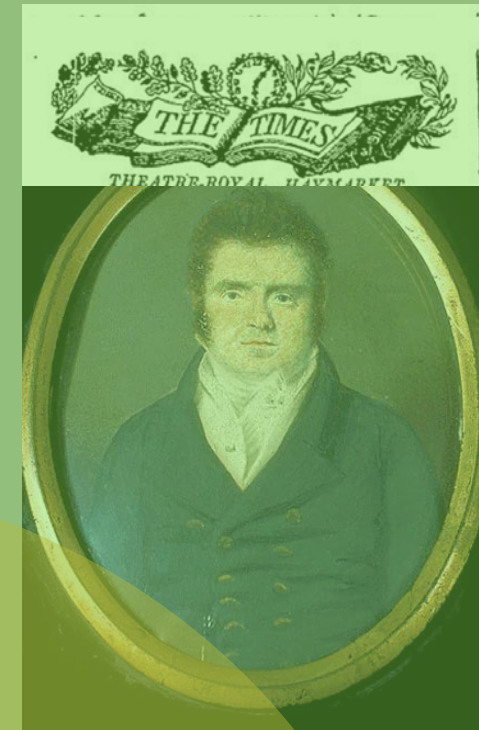
# State

- authority?
- data
- power



# Media

- transparency?
- craft?
- immediacy
- (scale)
- (distribution)
- authority?
- brand

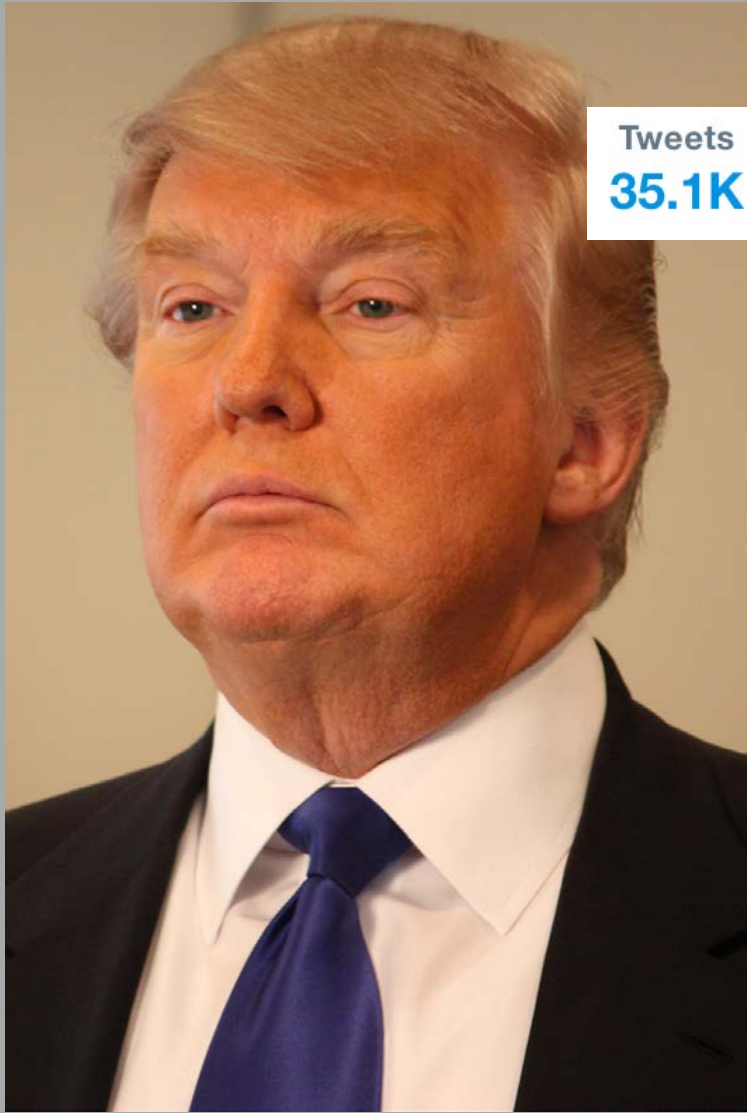


# Public

- immediacy
- eye witness
- scale
- authenticity
- distribution

T. B. W. Sanderson	Thomas Steven	Henry Moore	William Clarke
Edward Baxter	John Smedley	Francis Jackson	William Swindells
John Reeves	J. S. Omerod	George Horrocks	James Hill
William Wright	Richard Woodward	William Johns	Robert Banks
Samuel Holson	William Tuer	Samuel Bates	J. G. Robberds
John Hobson	Peter Tuer	Robert Askew	T. P. D. Cape
Samuel Winks	John Shuttleworth	Joseph Anthony	John Fletcher
John Robinson	Herz. Weight	Joseph Hawkes	Thomas Garbutt
Richard Potter	Wm. Norris Buckley	Thomas Jones	Robert Charlton
Henry Pope	John Barlow	William Ryley	Daniel Potter
John Brooks	John Ashton	William Barlow	Matthew Depon
Joseph Weight	Jesse Gallimore	Edmund Lord	Thomas Taylor
Joseph Mason	William Shawcross	Jeremiah Turner	William Low
John Radcliffe	John Broadbent	Samuel Pallen	Samuel Collinge
William Harvey	William Cantrell	John Grundy	Peter Clayton
Thos. Johnson	John Hayes	Thomas Reed	James Maguall
John Johnson	John Atkinson	John Gallimore, jun.	John Swain
Jonathan Lees	William Sutcliffe	Thomas Tipping	John Wilschaw
John Harrison	James Kershaw	Jeremiah Buckley	John Pownall
Joseph Gallimore	J. E. Taylor	Daniel Lonsdale	Edward Foulks
James Anderson	J. B. Thompson	Thomas Hopkins	Thomas Oakden
R. W. B. Sanderson	John Fletcher	Joseph Wood	William Gordon
Benjamin Holbrook	John Kenworthy	George Woolham	Samuel Bailey
Isaac Lees	F. R. Atkinson	Richard Wilson	John Greenhalgh
John Swindells	Archibald Prentice	Thomas Kershaw	Ratcliffe Pott
Thomas Wilkins	Benjamin Eddowes	Alexander Halliday	George Fearn
James Ocleston	Peter Coe	Robert Wright	George Reid
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Joseph Barratt	John Foster	Thomas Grundy	George Hall
Edmund Wilson	Francis Wood	William Spencer	James Alcock





Tweets  
**35.1K**

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**45**

Followers  
**32.6M**

THE TIMES

Max 4C, min 14C

Tuesday December 7 2010 | thetimes.co.uk | No 7024

Shark attack

Our obsession with the ocean's most notorious predator **Times2**

One dose of aspirin a day cuts cancer risk

Study of 25,000 people proves drug is effective

Chris Smyth Health Correspondent

Taking a daily aspirin can dramatically cut the risk of dying from cancer, a landmark study has concluded.

Significant health benefits began to appear after five years of taking a low dose of the drug with daily intake for all cancers falling by 34 per cent, and for stomach and bowel cancers by 54 per cent.

Aspirin is already known to protect against heart attacks and strokes, but the study of more than 25,000 patients published today in *The Lancet*, is the first to prove that the drug is effective against a range of common cancers.

The findings suggest that millions of people could benefit from taking a daily pill, which would also reduce the chance of dying from prostate, lung, oesophagus, brain and pancreatic cancers.

The effects were seen even at a low dose of 75mg a day, about a quarter of that contained in a standard pill taken to relieve headaches.

Although taking aspirin daily is known to increase the risk of internal bleeding, the researchers said the protection that the drug could offer against cancer means that most people should consider taking it from middle age, and officials advise more have to be changed.

"These results do not mean that all adults should immediately start taking aspirin, but they do demonstrate major new benefits that have not previously been linked with aspirin's well-known side effects," said Professor Peter Rothwell of the University of Oxford, who led the research.

"Previous guidelines have rightly cautioned that in healthy middle-aged people the small risk of bleeding as aspirin partly offsets the benefits from protection of strokes and heart attacks, but the reduction in death due to cancer outweighs concern and now offers the balance for many people."

Professor Rothwell said his colleagues also see that those who took aspirin for between five and ten years had a 63 per cent lower risk of dying from any cause, including internal bleeding during that time.

He believes that people in their late forties and fifties would benefit from taking aspirin for 20 to 30 years, when the benefits outweigh the risks.

Professor Rothwell, 48, said that he had continued on page 3, col 3

So how was breakfast, Mr Naughtie?

**IN THE NEWS**

**Concorde disaster**  
French judges were accused of protecting their country's industry after they convicted a 38-year-old pilot of the crash, which ended in a 28-2 that shattered all French dreams of a new world, page 27

**Empty Nobel chair**  
Lin Yixian, the Chinese, shocked winner of this year's Nobel Peace Prize will be the first to be represented by an empty chair since the Nobel medal Germany in 1936, News, page 5

**Sonic art wins Turner**  
The artist Sam Phillips, who exhibited empty rooms filled with overlapping recordings of his own voice, won the Turner Prize, News, page 11

**Falklands oil blunder**  
The oil exploration company Enron Petroleum was accused of misleading investors after admitting that it discovered oil in the Falklands, News, page 19

**Inside today**  
**1 point**  
Liverpool crash Villa 3-0  
Match report, page 19

**Rugby's Everest**  
Why I love Oscar Wilde  
Travel, pages 14, 16

1,141,000

1.23 billion active users





*Vertical*

*Horizontal*



“alternative facts”



MEET  
THE  
PRESS



## How Teens In The Balkans Are Duping Trump Supporters With Fake News

BuzzFeed News identified more than 100 pro-Trump websites being run from a single town in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

posted on Nov. 4, 2016, at 12:02 a.m.



**Craig Silverman**  
BuzzFeed Founding Editor,  
Canada



**Lawrence Alexander**  
BuzzFeed Contributor









# Stories On Facebook

"Obama Signs Executive Order Banning The Pledge Of Allegiance In Schools Nationwide" [ABCNews.com.co](#)

2,177,000 Facebook shares, comments, and reactions

"Pope Francis Shocks World, Endorses Donald Trump for President, Releases Statement" [Ending the Fed](#)

961,000

"Trump Offering Free One-Way Tickets to Africa & Mexico for Those Who Wanna Leave America" [tmzhiphop.com](#)

802,000

"FBI Agent Suspected in Hillary Email Leaks Found Dead in Apparent Murder-Suicide" [Denver Guardian](#)

567,000

"RAGE AGAINST THE MACHINE To Reunite And Release Anti Donald Trump Album" [heaviermetal.net](#)

560,000

0 500,000 1M 1.5M 2M 2.5M

ENGAGEMENT REFERS TO THE TOTAL NUMBER OF SHARES, REACTIONS, AND COMMENTS FOR A PIECE OF CONTENT ON FACEBOOK  
SOURCE: BUZZSUMO

Pope Francis Shocks World, Endorses Donald Trump for President, Releases Statement

TOPICS: Pope Francis Endorses Donald Trump



## \$375,000 Deposited To The Khan Law Account From The Clinton Foundation

268713

Facebook

Twitter



PHOTO CREDIT YOUTUBE SCREEN SHOT

SHUT UP AND DON'T SAY A WORD...

Emigrate While You Still Can! Learn More...

As my Blue Ridge Mountain grandpa used to say when he had discovered something pleasing, "Well, lucky yonder!"

Granted this is only pleasing if you are firmly in the corner of Donald Trump and find Hillary Clinton a disgusting witch, and I plead guilty on both counts.

## RUPAUL CLAIMS TRUMP TOUCHED HIM INAPPROPRIATELY IN THE 1990S



## WikiLeaks CONFIRMS Hillary Sold Weapons to ISIS... Then Drops Another BOMBHELL!



## Obama Cuts 2.6 BILLION From Veterans While Allocating 4.5 Billion To Syrian Migrants Moving To America

By [Kathleen](#) · 10



## Sarah Palin Bans Muslims from Entering Bristol Palin

Posted about 11 months ago · 34 comments · 11



## Pence: "Michelle Obama is The Most Vulgar First Lady We've Ever Had"

Written by Alex Shanon October 14th 2016

SHARE 100 10 10 10000



STILL PENDING! FINAL ELECTION 2016 NUMBERS: TRUMP WON BOTH POPULAR ( 62.9 M -62.2 M ) AND ELECTORAL COLLEGE VOTES ( 306-232)...HEY CHANGE.ORG, SCRAP YOUR LOONY PETITION NOW!

POSTED ON NOVEMBER 12, 2016 · UPDATED ON NOVEMBER 16, 2016

Hillary Clinton In 2013: "I Would Like To See People Like Donald Trump Run For Office; They're Honest And Can't Be Bought"

Written by all The October 17th 2016

SHARE THIS ON FACEBOOK



IRELAND IS NOW OFFICIALLY ACCEPTING TRUMP REFUGEES FROM AMERICA




## Obama Signs Executive Order Banning The Pledge Of Allegiance In Schools Nationwide

By Jimmy Rustling, ABC News · November 11, 2016 · 47917 · 216

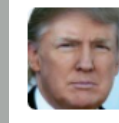
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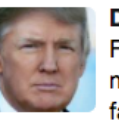


 **Donald J. Trump** @realDonaldTrump 2h  
Don't believe the main stream (fake news) media. The White House is running VERY WELL. I inherited a MESS and am in the process of fixing it.

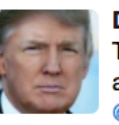
12,388 52,675

 **Donald J. Trump** @realDonaldTrump 17h  
The FAKE NEWS media (failing @nytimes, @NBCNews, @ABC, @CBS, @CNN) is not my enemy, it is the enemy of the American People!


37,564 115,588

 **Donald J. Trump** @realDonaldTrump Feb 16  
FAKE NEWS media, which makes up stories and "sources," is far more effective than the discredited Democrats - but they are fading fast!

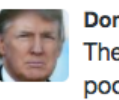
19,112 93,047

 **Donald J. Trump** @realDonaldTrump Feb 15  
The fake news media is going crazy with their conspiracy theories and blind hatred. @MSNBC & @CNN are unwatchable. @foxandfriends is great!

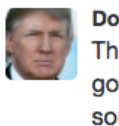
25,657 102,089

 **Donald J. Trump** @realDonaldTrump Feb 10  
The failing @nytimes does major FAKE NEWS China story saying "Mr.Xi has not spoken to Mr. Trump since Nov.14." We spoke at length yesterday!

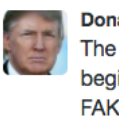
24,121 108,193

 **Donald J. Trump** @realDonaldTrump · Feb 7  
The failing @nytimes was forced to apologize to its subscribers for the poor reporting it did on my election win. Now they are worse!

23K 17K 93K

 **Donald J. Trump** @realDonaldTrump · Feb 6  
The failing @nytimes writes total fiction concerning me. They have gotten it wrong for two years, and now are making up stories & sources!


38K 20K 98K

 **Donald J. Trump** @realDonaldTrump · Jan 28  
The failing @nytimes has been wrong about me from the very beginning. Said I would lose the primaries, then the general election. FAKE NEWS!


32K 21K 112K




 **Donald J. Trump** @realDonaldTrump Feb 14  
Great parent-teacher listening session this morning with @VP Pence & @usedgov Secretary @BetsyDeVos. Watch: [youtube.com/watch?v=opufN8...](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=opufN8...)

 **Donald J. Trump** @realDonaldTrump Feb 16  
Stock market hits new high with longest winning streak in decades. Great level of confidence and optimism - even before tax plan rollout!

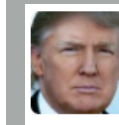
22,976 120,266

 **Donald J. Trump** @realDonaldTrump Feb 12  
The crackdown on illegal criminals is merely the keeping of my campaign promise. Gang members, drug dealers & others are being removed!

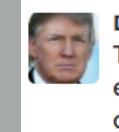
29,501 148,887

 **Donald J. Trump** @realDonaldTrump Feb 11  
Our legal system is broken! "77% of refugees allowed into U.S. since travel reprieve hail from seven suspect countries." (WT) SO DANGEROUS!


23,194 101,767

 **Donald J. Trump** @realDonaldTrump Feb 8  
My daughter Ivanka has been treated so unfairly by @Nordstrom. She is a great person -- always pushing me to do the right thing! Terrible!

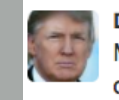
27,590 143,909

 **Donald J. Trump** @realDonaldTrump · Feb 4  
The opinion of this so-called judge, which essentially takes law-enforcement away from our country, is ridiculous and will be overturned!

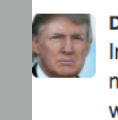
73K 34K 162K

 **Donald J. Trump** @realDonaldTrump · Feb 3  
We must keep "evil" out of our country!

86K 46K 208K

 **Donald J. Trump** @realDonaldTrump · Feb 3  
Meeting with biggest business leaders this morning. Good jobs are coming back to U.S., health care and tax bills are being crafted NOW!

12K 20K 128K

 **Donald J. Trump** @realDonaldTrump · Feb 2  
Iran has been formally PUT ON NOTICE for firing a ballistic missile. Should have been thankful for the terrible deal the U.S. made with them!

16K 40K 123K

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media



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"alternative  
facts"







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George W. Hales



# Audience





# The rule-breakers

[illegible]



# The man who knew nothing





The man who confused the end with the beginning





# The man who asked for help





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dog/animal fanatic - email/PGP public key  
([theintercept.com/staff/glenn-gr...](#))

[theintercept.com](#)

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x 28



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Secure contacts: [gellman.us/pgp](#)

[bartongellman.com](#)

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# Our readers are stupid?

Politics in a 'post-truth' age

The Opinion Pages | OP-ED COLUMNIST

### The Post-Truth Campaign



**Paul Krugman**    DEC. 22, 2011

Suppose that President Obama were to say the

## WHY WE'RE POST-FACT

Peter Pomerantsev


Lies,  
Incorporated

The World of Post-Truth Politics

Ari Rabin-Havt  
and Media Matters

"Ari Rabin-Havt tells the truth, and that's something rare in Washington, D.C." —SEN. HARRY REID, U.S. SENATE DEMOCRATIC LEADER

TRUE  
ENOUGH




Learning to Live in a  
Post-Fact Society

FARHAD MANJOO

THE  
POST-  
TRUTH  
ERA

Dishonesty and Deception  
in Contemporary Life

RALPH KEYES



THE BLOG

**Welcome to the Post-Factual Era**

© 03/03/2007 12:18 pm ET | Updated May 25, 2011

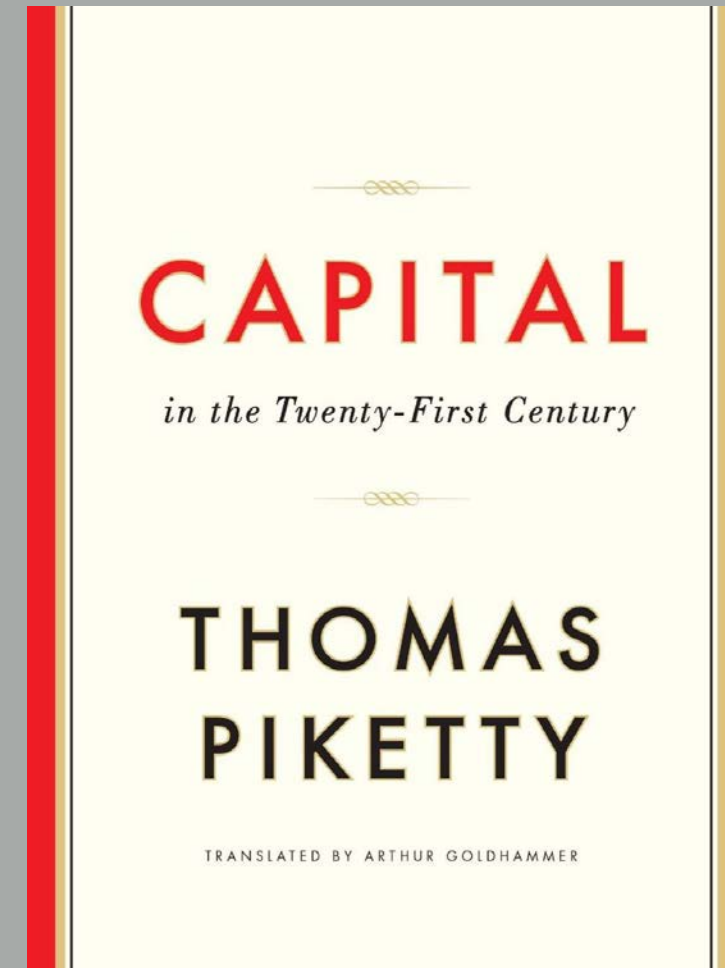
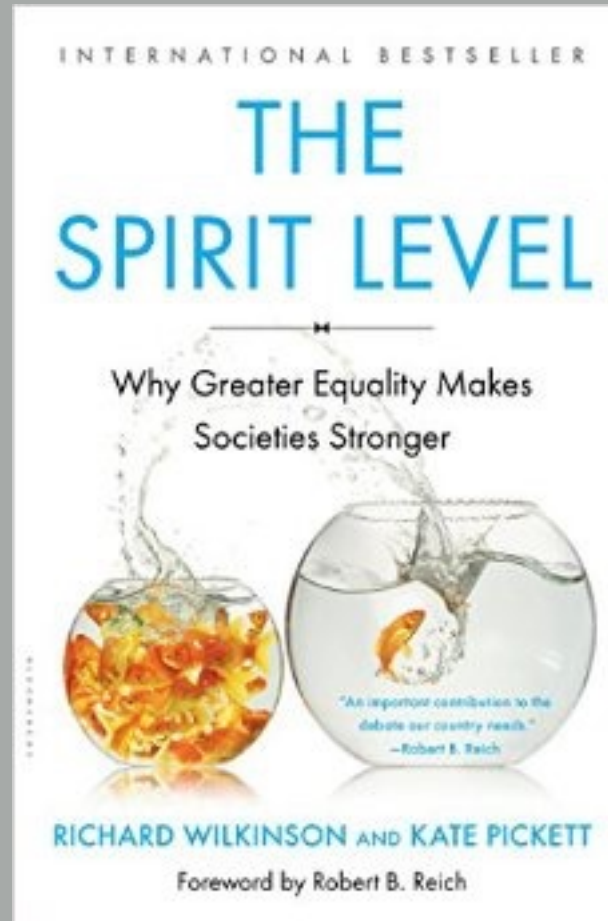


# Post-truth?





Or a different truth?



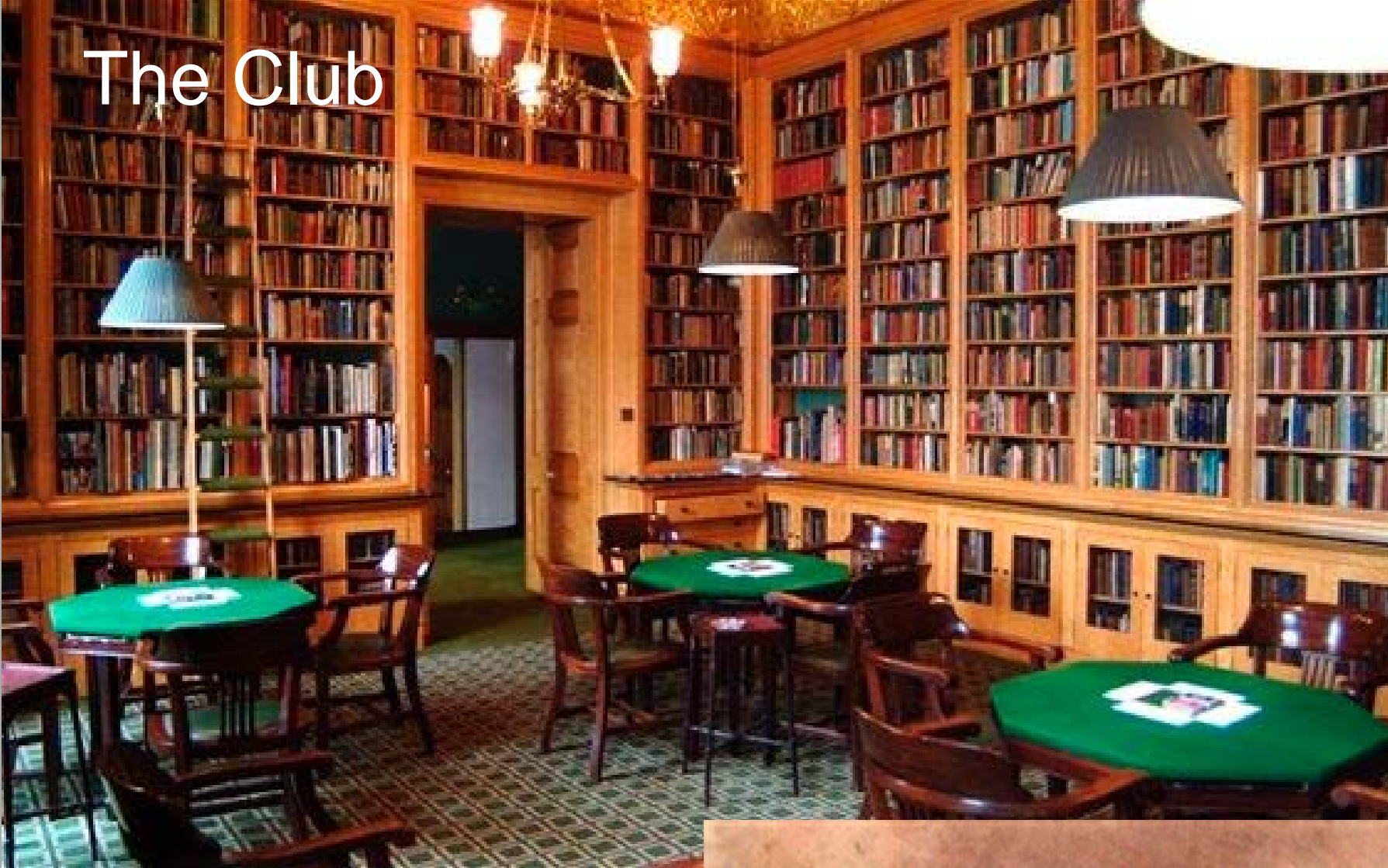
**Paul Romer**



**The Trouble With  
Macroeconomics**



The Club



The Mob





**Exclusive to all newspapers**

# WHAT WILL HAPPEN NEXT?

by **Someone Who Got It All Wrong Last Time**

MAKE no mistake, this is a seismic shift in British politics which I, for one saw coming but didn't think I'd mention.

The signs were there for all to read but nobody to actually remark upon, and that's how we've got to where we are. It's easy to look back with hindsight and say "I got it all wrong", but that doesn't help anyone – it's the future we've got to focus on, as I did in the past when I used all my experience to predict a hung parliament with a majority of just 100 seats for the Conservatives. And a Labour resurgence ending in Corbyn's resignation, and a new SDP-style Party run by Peter Mandelson, Nick Clegg and a fully vindicated Tony Blair.

But now let there be no doubt Theresa May is in it for the long  
*please check if she's*

Senior insiders in Downing Street ask me privately, "Do you know what's going on? Because we haven't got a bloody clue." My other sources in the opposition camp confide "We haven't got a bloody clue, do you know what's going on?"

However, my detailed research, involving asking a number of my children if there's anything on social media that I should have read, points to an amusing meme of Mrs May to the music of Stormzy.

So in my considered view, we are in for a rough ride, a period of stability, and the resurgence of a Centrist, far-right, left-wing coalition led by Nigel Farage, Vince Cable and Laura Kuenssberg.

It may be time for me to have a holiday, but one thing's for sure, by this time next week I will still be here, writing something while



WS

## S QATAR

knows how to pick a the UK have enjoyed a international trade the Qatar-UK Trade and e in March, "a history ship and ambition." of the most iconic city, from the Shard to stand as testament to mercial relationship". pounds' worth of ne £35bn of British the emirate. d be "doubling the overment body] UK trade with Qatar to arantees British tari business to deals ointed to six ministerial overment's eight his government's est-Brexit. litically and other Gulf states, urn expensive. Already as been downgraded. o be our partner on invest in your 2030 n March. "When our higness the emir at cil] in December, C is seeking a of the Gulf n do we enjoy the eady share with from the last Tory

## R S

xtremist isation high up t exactly is the new division,

years ago as an nit, but its aims ents largely age and

ms to challenge using non-military nrs of the This involves, the behavioural dversaries", as isation and

77th Brigade uch to learn world, both er it is it the handling ned by its e enemy and boasts 851 ahem, 1,652 orts by,

# STREET OF SHAME SPECIAL: VOTE UNQUOTE...

## Snap shot

"It is a bold decision and one that affords Mrs May the opportunity to become as dominant a figure on the political stage as Margaret Thatcher was 30 years ago... she is right to call an election." - **Daily Telegraph editorial, 18 April**

"It was always a gamble to call a snap election and Theresa May's decision to do so was particularly surprising in view of her innate caution... Rarely has a prime minister made such a calamitous misjudgement." - **Daily Telegraph editorial, 10 June**

## Opinion polly

"Wrong, wrong and wrong again. Was ever there a more crassly inept politician than Jeremy Corbyn, whose every impulse is to make the wrong call on everything?... On Wednesday he had the very real authority to stop certain calamity for his party and call out Theresa May's game-playing chicanery. The mother of all bombs is about to drop on Labour, but what does he do? He says: 'I welcome the prime minister's decision to give the British people the chance to vote for a government that will put the interests of the majority first.' What? The Fixed-term Parliaments Act was designed to stop prime ministers dashing opportunistically to the polls when momentarily at the peak of their popularity. May can only gain a two-thirds majority in the Commons if Labour agrees to its own annihilation - which he welcomes. Will this be the last disastrous disservice he does to his party?" - **Polly Toynbee, Guardian, 19 April**

"Theresa May was trounced and 'Jez we can' was no wishful fantasy... What hubris of May to call an election in the face of the longest, most sustained wage-fall in living memory." - **Polly Toynbee, Guardian, 9 June**

## Flaw show

"By any standards it is an extraordinary document. Detailed, deadly serious, utterly candid and unashamedly moral, the Tories' 84-page manifesto yesterday unveiled Mayism (a word she hates) and British politics entered a new era. Gone were the gimmicks, glitz and disingenuity of the Cameron and Blair eras, and the cynical manifestos replete with pledges their authors had no intention of keeping. Nor did Theresa May try to exploit her opponents' weakness by playing safe. Instead, with a clear ethical - even Christian - tone, this vicar's daughter took the riskier option: to be unremittingly honest with the public about the great challenges this country faces, to spell out how she intends to confront them and to promise only what she can deliver. This was a grown-up politician treating the electorate as grown-ups." - **Daily Mail editorial, 19 May**

"As for why the Conservatives' commanding lead all but evaporated, the reasons are not hard to find. The party went to the country on a deeply flawed manifesto, drawn up by a tiny clique of advisers at No 10, committed to such vote-losing policies as a free Commons vote on foxhunting and means-testing pensioners' winter fuel allowance." - **Daily Mail editorial, 10 June**

## Majority view

"One thing is certain: this is going to be a bad election for a divided Labour party and Corbyn." - **Sebastian Payne,**

"I have no fucking idea"



option. Such a victory would kill off the idea of a second referendum, and close down the argument that the electorate had not given consent to withdrawal from the single market. This will be a verdict on May, her version of Brexit and her vision for the country. I never thought that I would feel sorry for Jeremy Corbyn, but today I do." - **Matthew d'Ancona, Guardian, 18 April**

"The outcome of the 2017 General Election is not in doubt; the Conservatives will win a majority similar to that gained by one of Theresa May's predecessors 30 years ago, almost to the day. Labour will be crushed." - **Former Labour MP Tom Harris, Daily Telegraph, 19 April**

"In terms of share of the vote, Labour's result in June will draw comparisons with Michael Foot's disastrous campaign against Margaret Thatcher in 1983." - **Former Labour MP Tom Harris, Daily Telegraph, 19 April**

Labour's share in 1983 was 27.6 percent, compared with 40 percent in 2017.

"Pollsters have criticised a shocking YouGov poll which claims Theresa May's Conservative party could lose up to 20 seats in the House of Commons at the general election. The surprising poll, which is so far out of step with every other election prediction, also claimed that the Tories would lose their majority and cause a hung parliament. Rival pollsters have queried the controversial results. Tory campaign aide Jim Messina, who helped mastermind president Barack Obama's election victories, criticised the findings as 'yet another stupid poll from YouGov'... Another pollster, Andrew Hawkins of ComRes market research, questioned the validity of the poll's results. He said: 'If voters behave the way they broadly did in 2015 then the Conservatives remain on track for a 100-plus majority. That seems, on present assumptions, the most likely outcome.'" - **Daily Express, 1 June**

"I wouldn't trust the poll predicting a hung parliament... The YouGov model implies dramatic variation in swing around the country to the Labour party's advantage. My view is that this model is bunkum and balderdash." - **John Rentoul, i, 1 June**

"The Conservatives are likely to gain a series of key target seats in the general election, capitalising on their strong position in the polls. An analysis of the 2015 general election results by the Telegraph has shown that around 58 seats in Labour's North and Midlands heartlands are under threat due to the Brexit effect in the upcoming snap election on June 8." - **Ashley Kirk and Patrick Scott, "data journalists", Telegraph, 2 June**

"My own view is that despite the twists and

of the vote. Anything less than a Conservative majority in excess of 100 seats would be surprising... May has faltered. On Thursday, the British people will come to her rescue." - **Dan Hodges, Mail on Sunday, 4 June**

"Corbyn may even succeed in his real objective of beating the 30 percent Miliband two-party contest that won't prevent the Conservatives winning their biggest parliamentary majority since Margaret Thatcher's in 1987." - **Dominic Lawson, Sunday Times, 4 June**

"General Election Seat by Seat: My final predictions - A Tory Landslide is Still On." - **Iain Dale, iaindale.com, 5 June**

As polls tightened, the broadcaster and publisher revised his predicted Tory majority from 134 down to 122.

"The Conservatives remain on course to win a majority in the general election, according to a new figures from the Ashcroft Model. Our 'combined probabilistic model', which calculates the sum of each party's win chances in all the seats in which it is standing, estimates 357 Tory seats, or a potential majority of 64... In the 2015 turnout scenario, for example, the model estimates that the greatest probability is a majority between 60 and 79 (34.8 percent), followed by a majority of 80 to 99 (27.1 percent); it also finds a 22.4 percent probability of a Conservative majority over 100." - **Lord Ashcroft, Conservative Home, 6 June**

"The question is whether the collapse in the Tory lead shown by the polls is as extensive as it seems. It is not impossible, but nor does it seem likely... None of the retrospective fixes I've seen for the misfiring 2015 polls looks more than superficially adequate. Some polling companies have invested money and effort into improving their samples, others have made only minor changes... So while the Conservatives have faded slightly since my previous analysis, I still believe Jeremy Corbyn and Labour have a very narrow path to depriving Mrs May of a majority." - **Matt Singh, billed as "the only analyst to predict the polls had failed in 2015 and the Conservatives would win more than 300 seats", Financial Times, 7 June**

"The received wisdom is that May probably won't get the huge, record-breaking, triple-digit majority that many Tory and Labour MPs thought she might at the start of the campaign. That doesn't matter at all. A majority of 40 would be enough for Mrs May's objectives... It's not how big your majority is, it's what you intend to do with it. Let's remember that next time, folks. (By the way, I still happen to think Theresa will win big - but we'll find that out in a few hours' time)." - **Sun political editor Tom Newton Dunn, article on paper's website, 7.30pm on polling day**

"Rumour Tories could be looking at 400 seats - we'll find out in a min." - **Tweet from Steve Hawkes, Sun deputy political editor, just ahead of exit poll on 8 June**

## Mystic moron

"Mrs May isn't just kicking Corbyn when he's down, she's dug his political grave, prepared the coffin, set the date for the funeral service and invited us all to attend his career death. Many, even within his own party, believe it will be the greatest slaughter in the history of British politics. I think it could be worse than that... if Corbyn leads Labour into this General Election on 8 June, I fear he's going to get beaten so badly the party itself may never move forward with no

"As exit poll looms, I repeat my prediction: Conservatives to win by 90-100 seat majority." - **Piers Morgan, Twitter, 8 June**

"Mr Corbyn has proved a lot of people, including me, completely wrong." - **Piers Morgan, Twitter, 9 June**

## Shome mishtake!

"When Theresa May called a snap general election, the first thing I did was call my dad, Alastair Campbell, to tell him how smart and strategic a move I thought it was... What this campaign has shown is just how out of touch I was." - **Calum Campbell, Guardian, 3 June**

"Let me be the first to say, I got it wrong, wholly wrong." - **Iain Dale, LBC, 9 June**

"I was wrong about Jeremy Corbyn." - **John Rentoul, Independent, 9 June**

"I admit it: I was wrong about Jeremy Corbyn." - **Ayesha Hazarika, Guardian, 9 June**

"I wasn't a bit wrong, or slightly wrong, or mostly wrong, but totally wrong." - **Owen Jones, Guardian, 9 June**

"I was wrong about Corbyn." - **Ian Moss, Labour Uncut, 9 June**

"I have been crushingly wrong about many of the most important political judgement calls of the last two years. For someone who spends a lot of time thinking about politics and who makes money out of betting on it, that's appalling and humiliating." - **Alastair Meeks, PoliticalBetting.com, 9 June**

"Good evening. I know nothing. We, the media, the experts, the pundits, know nothing." - **Jon Snow, Channel 4 News, 9 June**

"I was wrong." - **Jonathan Freedland, Guardian, 10 June**

"I was wrong about Jeremy Corbyn." - **James Bloodworth, International Business Times, 11 June**

"Here, I consume a monster helping of humble pie... I was wrong." - **Andrew Rawnsley, Observer, 11 June**

"I was wrong." - **Nick Cohen, Observer, 11 June**

"As I was saying last week, or at least as the headline on this column accurately summed it up: 'Don't panic... May is well ahead'. Wrong, Lawson, and not for the first time in this campaign." - **Dominic Lawson, Sunday Times, 11 June**

"We all got it wrong." - **Jess Phillips, Observer, 11 June**

## JUST FANCY THAT!

Trust in Theresa May will win the election, not personality or politics

Matthew d'Ancona

- Guardian, 15 May

We wanted a politics of audacity. May's manifesto delivers it

Matthew d'Ancona

- Guardian, 22 May

May is the past for Tories now. And Amber Rudd looks like the future

Matthew d'Ancona

"Theresa May is a dead woman walking..." - **Nick Curtis, Evening Standard, 9 June**

"Theresa May is a dead woman walking..." - **George Osborne, Curtis's editor at the Standard, to Andrew Marr, BBC1, 11 June**

"MOS poll that was the only one to predict Tory vote collapse," boasted the Mail on Sunday three days after the election, trumpeting the fact that its Survival effort pre-election poll that proved to be accurate".

"It was described by rival companies as an 'outlier' - polling jargon for 'wrong', the paper preened beside a rag-out of its headline the previous week. "One former Conservative candidate even wrote that the pollsters were 'muppets'."

No such worries at the Mail on Sunday however, which had such confidence in its figures that it had run the poll as... a box-out buried on page 17, way behind not just coverage of the London Bridge terror attack but also pages about Princess Diana, the question of whether Jeremy Paxman would get a knighthood, and full details of what Amazon Holdem had been wearing for the Britain's Talent final.

AS PUNDITS lined up to deliver culpae over their failure to foresee electoral popularity of Jeremy Corbyn, self-styled "communications consultant" doing the opposite.

Over the past year there have been fervent online critics of the Labour former Miliband spin doctor John who Twitter profile billed him as press & broadcaster, Labour survivor '97, '05, '10, '15."

His general tone can be described as blog he wrote for the Spectator he confidently predicted the hammering Labour signed re Corbyn was elected and re Labour's national vote share Tories' higher and many will be ejected from party.

Last week Green quipped entire Twitter history - of his followers, including Corbynistas, to be alerted message from the so-called "Just tried @tweeted if you want to delete

SHOULD any following the election anything, it is p Telegraph's staff Theresa May's by comment e

Political ed would sail hor Evans plumped Telegraph co admirable se close 77. Ch Christopher bagging any while leader columnist himself w respective

The so would no would la foreign woman



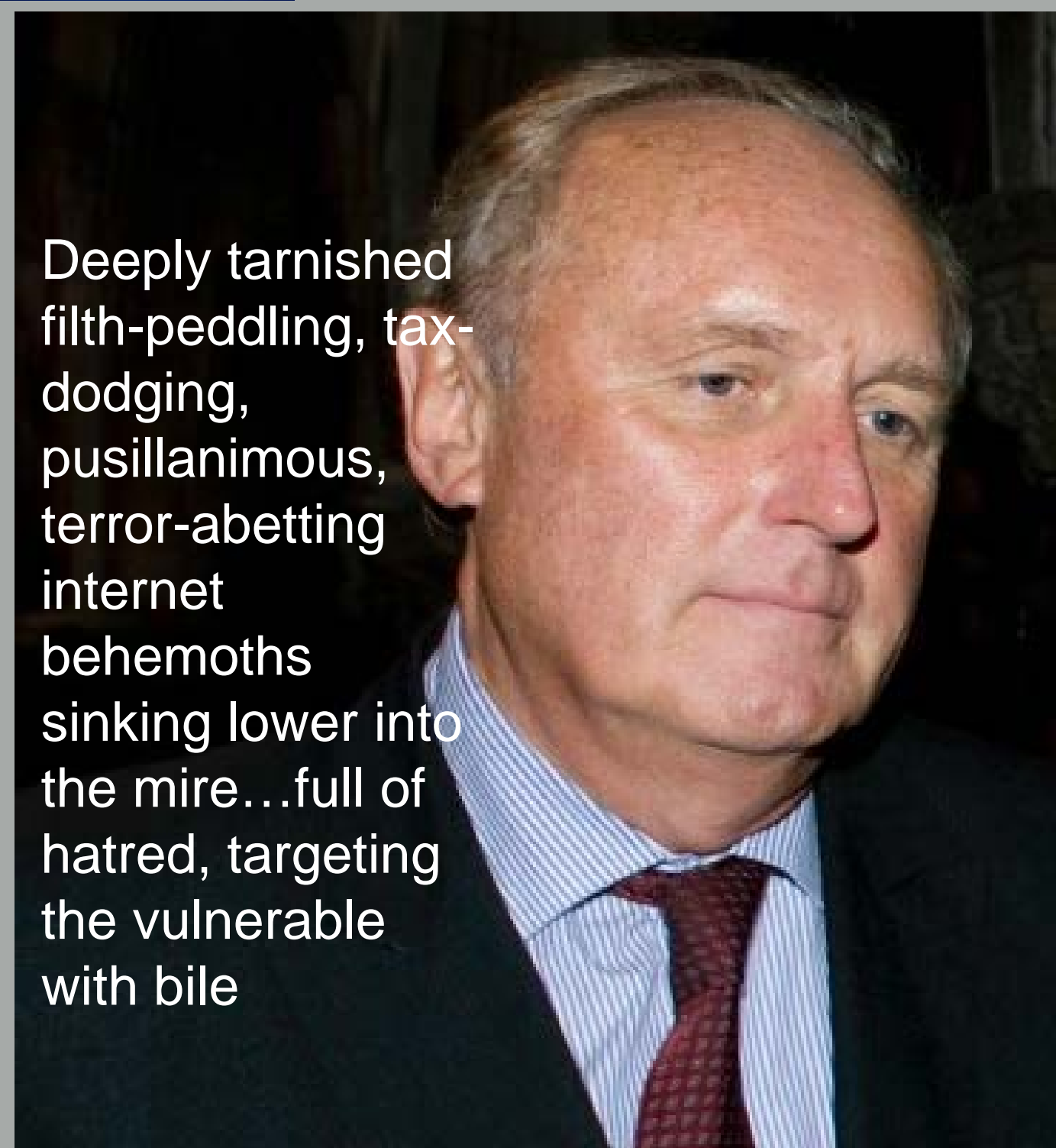
	Don't know	5
<b>Journalists on "upmarket" newspapers (e.g. Times, Telegraph, Guardian)</b>		
	A great deal	4
	A fair amount	32
<b>TOTAL TRUST A GREAT DEAL / FAIR AMOUNT</b>		<b>36</b>
	Not much	36
	Not at all	23
<b>TOTAL TRUST NOT MUCH / NOT AT ALL</b>		<b>59</b>
	Don't know	5
<b>Journalists on "mid-market" newspapers (e.g. Mail, Express)</b>		
	A great deal	1
	A fair amount	10
<b>TOTAL TRUST A GREAT DEAL / FAIR AMOUNT</b>		<b>11</b>
	Not much	42
	Not at all	42
<b>TOTAL TRUST NOT MUCH / NOT AT ALL</b>		<b>84</b>
	Don't know	5

<b>Journalists on red-top tabloid newspapers (e.g. Sun, Mirror)</b>		
	A great deal	1
	A fair amount	6
<b>TOTAL TRUST A GREAT DEAL / FAIR AMOUNT</b>		<b>7</b>
	Not much	31
	Not at all	58
<b>TOTAL TRUST NOT MUCH / NOT AT ALL</b>		<b>89</b>
	Don't know	4





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# Post-truth?





Free **GIANT** map of Britain inside tomorrow

# Daily Mail

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 2016

www.dailymail.co.uk

DAILY NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR 65p



The fencer: Sir Terence Etherton



Worked with Tony Blair: Lord Justice Sales



The Europhile: Lord Chief Justice Thomas

**Fury over 'out of touch' judges who defied 17.4m  
Brexit voters and could trigger constitutional crisis**

# ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE

MPS last night tore into an unelected panel of 'out of touch' judges for ruling that embittered Remain supporters in Parliament should be allowed to frustrate the overwhelming verdict of the British public.

The Lord Chief Justice and two senior col-

By **James Slack** Political Editor

leagues were accused of putting Britain on course for a full-blown 'constitutional crisis' by saying Brexit could not be triggered without a Westminster vote.

The judgment by Lord Thomas - a founding member of the European Law Institute, a club of lawyers and academics aiming to 'improve' EU law - throws

into chaos Mrs May's timetable for invoking article 50 in March next year.

Senior MPs - led by an ex-justice minister - said it was an outrage that an 'unholy alliance' of judges and embittered Remain backers could thwart the wishes of 17.4million Leave voters. They warned that Mrs May could be forced to hold an election early next year if the courts did not back down. Leave

Turn to Page 2

4/11/16





## My near death experience taught me how to live

PAGES 36-37

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VOUCHERS PAGE 58

## Special Investigation into a central figure in the McAlpine scandal and judicial inquiry into the press

# LEVESON: DISTURBING QUESTIONS OVER HIS KEY ADVISER



Sir David Bell: Trustee of bureau behind the Newsnight report that led to smearing of Lord McAlpine

**DISTURBING** questions have been raised about the role of a senior adviser to the Leveson Inquiry.

Sir David Bell is on the six-strong panel of assessors assisting Lord Justice Leveson, whose report

By **Michael Seamark** and **Sam Greenhill**

into press standards is expected within weeks.

But a Daily Mail investigation has uncovered evidence that questions both his suitability as an adviser and the

impact this may have had on the objectivity and neutrality of the Inquiry.

Sir David is a trustee of the Bureau of Investigative Journalism, the group behind the disastrous Newsnight report that falsely implicated Lord McAlpine as a paedophile.

With his lawyers preparing to sue the BIJ for damages, the former Tory Party

treasurer yesterday described the devastating impact on him of the programme that has left the BBC in crisis, with the resignation of its director general.

The 70-year-old spoke of how the shattering allegations had consigned him 'to the lowest circle of hell' and said it

Turn to Page 2

**How they 'broke the law' to smear their critics**

**A prestige award for a liar and the McAlpine debacle**

**We need transparency - not this modern version of a freemason's handshake**

## A coup by the Left's old boy network

**The Leveson Inquiry has momentous implications for free speech. But this Mail dossier raises disturbing questions about the influence of a quasi-masonic nexus of the 'people who know best'**

by **Richard Pendlebury**

**SPECIAL INVESTIGATION**

There are serious questions about the impact Bell's had on the inquiry's neutrality

Like a giant octopus, its tentacles reach into every cranny of the Establishment

## A nuclear bomb that dropped on the press - and the motley crew who seized their chance

**STEVE COOGAN** **HUGH GRANT**

**MIDDLETON: I'M PROUD OF OUR CAMPAIGN**

**Campbell and Blair were architects of the baited Labour/Murdoch axis**

## Why are so many figures in the Leveson Inquiry connected to New Labour's favourite media quango Ofcom?

**WHAT A VERY SMALL WORLD**

**How the Left's old boy network helps appoint the top mandarins**

**wren**

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# Solved: the mystery of the money chest

**How David Bell sits on the charity bankrolling his own campaign**

**He rides one of Britain's most lucrative cash cows**

**Dark arts and links with the Masters of Spin ...**

**Sir David Bell and the public's right to know**

**YESTERDAY** Lord McAlpine, his frail voice crackling with anguish, described how BBC Newsnight's false child abuse allegations against him had created a legacy that can't be repaired.

It gets into your bones, the "Try peer said. 'It makes you angry... and it gets into your soul and you just think there's something wrong with the world'.

Unsurprisingly, the terrible slur - based on misinformation supplied to the BBC by the Bureau of Investigative Journalism - has had tumultuous consequences.

The Director General has resigned, the BBC's reputation for journalistic integrity shattered, is in chaos and countless individuals, including members of the BIJ, face paying substantial financial damages.

Which is why the Mail believes there is over-riding public interest in our decision to publish today an investigation into Sir David Bell, who is one of the trustees of the BIJ, and more pertinently into his role as assessor to the Leveson Inquiry into press standards.

For today we reveal that Bell is a leading member of an incestuous body called Common Purpose which has direct or indirect links to two other Leveson assessors.

It was Common Purpose's founder who, with Bell, set up the Media Standards Trust which has played such a prominent role in the Leveson Inquiry.

It was the Media Standards Trust, chaired by Bell, which set up Hacked Off - whose luminaries include those sexual mountaineers Max Mosley, Hugh Grant and Steve Coogan - and boasts, with justification, of substantially broadening the remit of the Leveson Inquiry.

It was also Bell's Media Standards Trust which conducted a scurrilously shoddy report on the Press Complaints Commission and awarded a prestigious journalism prize to a writer who, it emerged, had made up his articles.

Indeed, the Mail's investigation paints a picture of how a small, intertwined nexus of Left-of-centre individuals - some with links to Ofcom, the media regulator, and virtually all with links to Bell - have sought to exert huge influence on the inquiry.

We also reveal that Bell is a trustee of a charitable trust that has donated huge sums of money to the Media Standards Trust that he set up.

All of which we believe raises profoundly disturbing questions about the suitability of Bell as an assessor and the impact this may have had on the objectivity and neutrality of the inquiry itself.

The Mail is acutely aware of the seriousness of publishing this investigation. We know all too well that our enemies will accuse us of being aggressively defensive in a bid to pre-empt the outcome of the Leveson report, which is due any week now.

But in the light of the scandal engulfing the BBC, we passionately believe in the public's right to know about a senior Leveson assessor's role in it.

Let us stress that Lord Justice Leveson has no links to Common Purpose and is a man of integrity who has conducted his inquiry with impartiality.

However we make no apology for carrying this investigation. Newspapers have a duty to ask embarrassing questions about the powerful and the self-important people who know best.

The Mail has one final observation: if some form of statutory regulation is introduced because of Leveson, you can be sure your life will be a little less free as Bell and what happens in the 'public interest' and what newspapers should be allowed to print.

The consequences of this for both a press that has been free of political control for over 300 years and the public's right to know doesn't bear thinking about.

## THE PEOPLE WHO KNOW BEST

**Dark arts and links with the Masters of Spin ...**

**Sir David Bell and the public's right to know**

**YESTERDAY** Lord McAlpine, his frail voice crackling with anguish, described how BBC Newsnight's false child abuse allegations against him had created a legacy that can't be repaired.

It gets into your bones, the "Try peer said. 'It makes you angry... and it gets into your soul and you just think there's something wrong with the world'.

Unsurprisingly, the terrible slur - based on misinformation supplied to the BBC by the Bureau of Investigative Journalism - has had tumultuous consequences.

The Director General has resigned, the BBC's reputation for journalistic integrity shattered, is in chaos and countless individuals, including members of the BIJ, face paying substantial financial damages.

Which is why the Mail believes there is over-riding public interest in our decision to publish today an investigation into Sir David Bell, who is one of the trustees of the BIJ, and more pertinently into his role as assessor to the Leveson Inquiry into press standards.

For today we reveal that Bell is a leading member of an incestuous body called Common Purpose which has direct or indirect links to two other Leveson assessors.

It was Common Purpose's founder who, with Bell, set up the Media Standards Trust which has played such a prominent role in the Leveson Inquiry.

It was the Media Standards Trust, chaired by Bell, which set up Hacked Off - whose luminaries include those sexual mountaineers Max Mosley, Hugh Grant and Steve Coogan - and boasts, with justification, of substantially broadening the remit of the Leveson Inquiry.

It was also Bell's Media Standards Trust which conducted a scurrilously shoddy report on the Press Complaints Commission and awarded a prestigious journalism prize to a writer who, it emerged, had made up his articles.

Indeed, the Mail's investigation paints a picture of how a small, intertwined nexus of Left-of-centre individuals - some with links to Ofcom, the media regulator, and virtually all with links to Bell - have sought to exert huge influence on the inquiry.

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## THE PEOPLE WHO KNOW BEST

**Why are so many figures in the Leveson Inquiry connected to New Labour's favourite media quango Ofcom?**

**WHAT A VERY SMALL WORLD**

**How the Left's old boy network helps appoint the top mandarins**

**wren**

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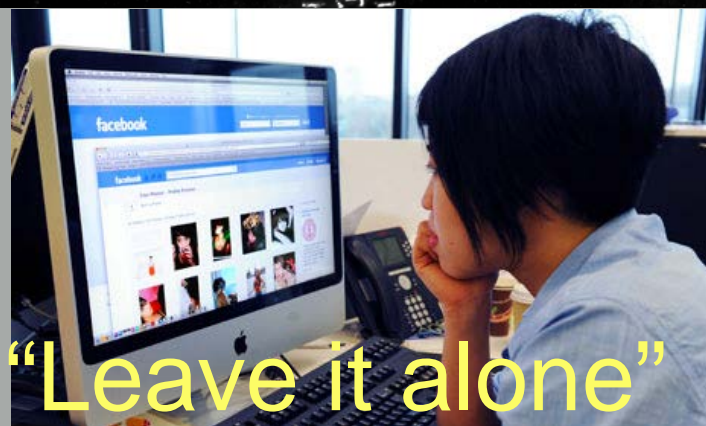
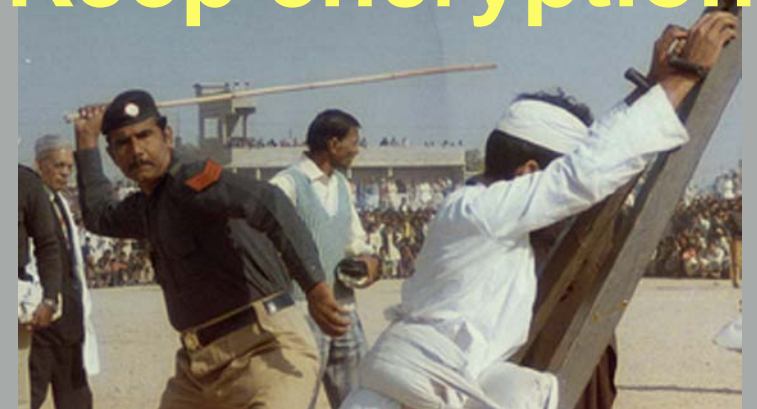
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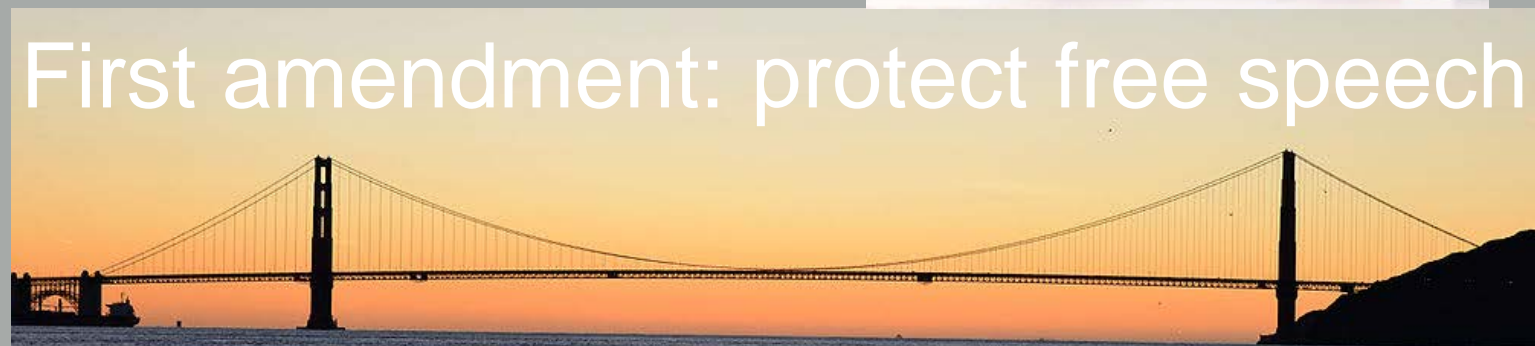
Keep encryption



“Leave it alone”



Regulate



First amendment: protect free speech



supportive, safe,  
informed,  
civically-engaged,  
inclusive  
global  
community





+

- \* Democratizing
- \* Power to the voiceless
- \* Protect free speech
- \* Protect dissidents
- \* New forms of community
- \* Self-expression

-

- \* Fake news
- \* Secret algorithms
- \* Filter bubbles
- \* Pay tax
- \* Share revenues
- \* Accept responsibilities of publisher
- \* Monopoly





Norms  
Not legally binding  
Grow organically  
Give legitimacy

Regulate  
Accountability  
Law





*Vertical*

*Horizontal*



# A world without news?



Some of the staffers who were involved in the 2d District coverage gathered in a warehouse section of the 440 Building. Their coverage led to a federal judge's decision overturning the election — and to criminal convictions for ballot fraud.

Photograph by Kyle Keener

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