



The Guardian

卫报

2022.10.03 – 2022.10.09

- [Headlines thursday 6 october 2022](#)
- [2022.10.06 - Spotlight](#)
- [2022.10.06 - Opinion](#)
- [2022.10.06 - Around the world](#)
- [Headlines monday 3 october 2022](#)
- [2022.10.03 - Spotlight](#)
- [2022.10.03 - Opinion](#)
- [2022.10.03 - Around the world](#)
- [Headlines friday 7 october 2022](#)
- [2022.10.07 - Spotlight](#)
- [2022.10.07 - Opinion](#)
- [2022.10.07 - Around the world](#)
- [Headlines tuesday 4 october 2022](#)
- [2022.10.04 - Spotlight](#)
- [2022.10.04 - Opinion](#)
- [2022.10.04 - Around the world](#)
- [Headlines saturday 8 october 2022](#)
- [2022.10.08 - Spotlight](#)
- [2022.10.08 - Opinion](#)
- [2022.10.08 - Around the world](#)

Headlines thursday 6 october 2022

- [Thailand shooting 22 children among 34 killed in nursery attack](#)
- [Live Russia-Ukraine war: more explosions after missile strikes hit residential buildings in Zaporizhzhia](#)
- [Live Tory infighting continues as Nadine Dorries accuses Truss of 'lurching to the right'](#)
- [Mortgage market UK banks to raise market fears in Kwarteng meeting](#)
- [Live UK five-year mortgage rates hit 6% as Kwarteng meets bank chiefs](#)
- [Prague Sceptical Liz Truss attends first meeting of European Political Community](#)

[Thailand](#)

Thailand attack: children killed in mass stabbing and shooting at preschool

37 people, most young children, killed by former police officer at preschool centre in north-east of country

Thailand: children killed in mass shooting and stabbing at preschool – video report

[Rebecca Ratcliffe](#) and Navaon Siradapuvadoli in Bangkok and agencies

Thu 6 Oct 2022 11.48 EDTFirst published on Thu 6 Oct 2022 04.06 EDT

Thirty-seven people have been killed, most of them young children, in an unprecedented gun and knife attack at a preschool centre in north-east Thailand that has horrified the country.

The attacker, a former police officer, opened fire as children were sleeping at the centre in Na Klang district in Nong Bua Lamphu province at about noon on Thursday, police and witnesses said.

Police said most of the children killed at the centre were stabbed to death. As he left the nursery the attacker drove his car towards and shot at bystanders then returned home, where he shot himself, his wife and his child.

Police identified the attacker as Panya Khamrab, a 34-year-old former police lieutenant colonel who had been dismissed from the force last year for methamphetamine possession and had appeared in court earlier on Thursday on a drugs charge.



Police said the perpetrator was a former police officer. Photograph: Thailand's Central Investigation Bureau/AFP/Getty Images

Witnesses said he was in an agitated state when he arrived at the nursery.

Images from the scene showed a nursery schoolroom, its walls covered in alphabet letters and paintings of animals. The bodies of children lay on sleeping mats, with white sheets placed over them.

Thailand's prime minister, Prayuth Chan-ocha, who is expected to visit Nong Bua Lamphu on Friday, said in a statement on Facebook that he offered his deepest condolences to the families of the victims. "I ordered the police chief to immediately go to the area and all the related agencies help all those affected urgently," he said.

A teacher who spoke to Thai Rath TV said she saw Panya open fire in the car park before walking towards the centre. "I was begging [for him to stop] but he was loading the bullet so I ran to the back and we closed the door, we ran out of the window," she said. The children, aged between two and four years old, were sleeping at the time, she said.

[Map of Thailand](#)

Another teacher told the channel that she was on the phone when she heard a loud bang. “I thought that it was a firecracker, then when I looked out of the window, I saw people on the floor. I saw him loading the gun,” she said. Another teacher present had tried to close the door, but the man shot at it, she said, adding that she ran behind a wall for cover.

She said there were 24 children in the centre at the time. There were fewer children present than normal, it was reported, due to heavy rains that forced some to stay home.

A witness, Paweena Purichan, 31, told AFP that it was known locally that the attacker had drug addiction problems. She was riding her motorcycle to her shop when she saw him driving erratically.

“He intended to crash into others on the road,” she told AFP. “The attacker rammed a motorbike and two people were injured. I sped off to get away from him. There was blood everywhere.”

Officials said the results of an autopsy would determine whether or not he had taken drugs prior to the attack. “Primarily, we believe that it’s because of the drugs and the stress [of his court appearance]”, said the police chief,

Thailand, along with Myanmar and Laos, forms part of south-east Asia’s Golden Triangle, which has long been a notorious centre for trafficking and drug production.

The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) warned in June of “extreme volumes of methamphetamine” being produced, trafficked and used in south-east Asia. The surge in supply had caused wholesale and street prices in Thailand to fall to all-time lows in 2021, it said.



The exterior of the nursery in Nong Bua Lamphu. Photograph: AFPTV/AFP/Getty Images

Mass shootings in Thailand are rare, though in 2020 a soldier, angry at his superiors over a property deal, killed at least 29 people and wounded 57 after opening fire in four locations, including a busy shopping mall in north-east Thailand. The attack, and other recent reports of gun violence, prompted public debate over gun ownership rates in the country.

Possession of an illegal firearm can lead to a prison sentence of up to 10 years and/or a fine of up to 20,000 baht (£480), though unregistered guns remain prevalent due to poor enforcement.

Thailand had about 10m privately owned firearms in 2016, according to Gunpolicy.org. This includes about 4m firearms that were illegal and unregistered. The firearms used in Thursday's attack had been obtained legally.

[Ukraine war live](#)Ukraine

Russia-Ukraine war: Putin must lose or he will invade other European countries, Zelenskiy says – as it happened

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/live/2022/oct/06/russia-ukraine-war-ukraine-retakes-more-settlements-in-kherson-zelenskiy-says-un-nuclear-chief-heads-to-kyiv-live>

[Politics live with Andrew Sparrow](#)Politics

Liz Truss meets European leaders in Prague as Irish deputy PM says NI protocol ‘a little too strict’ – as it happened

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2022/oct/06/liz-truss-tory-tories-conference-labour-conservatives-uk-politics-live>

Banking

Kwarteng considers extending mortgage guarantee scheme

Initiative may continue beyond December as bank bosses raise concerns over mortgage market



There are concerns that rising interest rates – while more lucrative for banks – will make it difficult for homeowners to repay their home loans. Photograph: Ian West/PA

[Kalyeena Makortoff](#) and [Rupert Jones](#)

Thu 6 Oct 2022 12.15 EDTFirst published on Thu 6 Oct 2022 05.29 EDT

The chancellor is considering extending the government's mortgage guarantee scheme, after UK bank bosses raised concerns [over the state of the UK's mortgage market](#) at a high-level meeting at No 11 Downing Street.

The meeting on Thursday – which was attended by chief executives including Alison Rose of NatWest, Charlie Nunn of Lloyds [Banking](#) Group,

HSBC UK's Ian Stuart, Mike Regnier of Santander and TSB's Robin Bulloch – was scheduled amid mounting fears about the potential fallout from rapidly rising mortgage rates.

Executives, including those from Barclays, Nationwide, Virgin Money and Starling Bank, were asked to weigh in on a number of options to support consumers struggling to secure mortgages after the government's mini-budget sent UK financial markets into meltdown last week.

It is understood the chancellor, [Kwasi Kwarteng](#), is now considering extending the mortgage guarantee scheme beyond its December deadline.

The scheme gives banks and building societies the chance to buy a guarantee from the government on the slice of the mortgage between 80% and 95% of the property's value. It means that if a borrower gets into financial difficulty and their property is repossessed, the government will cover that portion of the lender's losses.

The programme was [revived last year](#) during the pandemic, in order to keep 95% mortgages available to borrowers, amid fears house prices might crash.

However, the pandemic ended up pushing house prices even higher. Guardian analysis from April 2021 found single buyers in their 30s on the UK median wage would still be unable to buy a home in about half of local authority areas in England and Wales, despite the help the scheme would supposedly provide.

While the mortgage guarantee scheme does not directly tackle the issue of rising rates on new fixed home loan deals – as it is money market “swap rates” that largely determine their pricing – the policy will provide reassurance to lenders at a time when a number of forecasters are [predicting house price falls of perhaps 10% or more](#). The government will be hoping that feeds through to the pricing of low-deposit mortgages in particular, as it may mean lenders do not feel they have to price in a sizeable premium because of the uncertain economic climate.

The guarantee compensates a lender for losses suffered in the event of the property having to be repossessed.

The meeting with bank bosses came after a challenging week in which the average two-year fixed mortgage rate [rose above 6% for the first time since 2008](#).

Interest rates on mortgages have surged after the mini-budget, which pushed the pound to record lows and caused UK government bond prices to collapse, amid concerns over the country's long-term economic health.

The meltdown ultimately raised long-term interest rate expectations and made it more difficult for UK banks to properly price mortgages. That resulted in a mass withdrawal of home loans last week, with nearly 40% of mortgage deals being pulled at one point before banks started to return with new products often priced 1-2% higher.

Supervisors at the Financial Conduct Authority (FCA) [have since been asking banks](#) how they plan to step in to support mortgage borrowers.

The average new two-year fixed rate – which was 4.74% on the day of the mini-budget – rose again on Thursday to 6.11%, according to the data firm Moneyfacts. That is compared with 5.75% on Monday, then 6.07% on Wednesday. Meanwhile, five-year fixed mortgages rose to an average rate of 6.02% on Thursday.

Sign up to Business Today

Free daily newsletter

Get set for the working day – we'll point you to the all the business news and analysis you need every morning

Privacy Notice: Newsletters may contain info about charities, online ads, and content funded by outside parties. For more information see our [Privacy Policy](#). We use Google reCaptcha to protect our website and the Google [Privacy Policy](#) and [Terms of Service](#) apply.

While one executive described the meeting as “productive and supportive”, bankers were understood to have stressed that recent volatility in markets had hurt the mortgage market.

The Labour leader, Kier Starmer, also took a swipe at the government’s impact on the mortgage market on Thursday. “The prime minister has taken the economy, driven it into a wall, and [is] pretending that this is pro-growth,” he said during a visit to Bilston, Wolverhampton. “If you have consequences that increase mortgage payments by hundreds of pounds per month, that is anti-growth. It’s a destroyer of growth. It certainly isn’t pro-growth.”

UK bank executives are also understood to have raised concerns about the FCA’s incoming [consumer duty regulations](#) during the meeting on Thursday. While the rules are meant to put consumer interests at the heart of financial services’ decision making, bosses claimed it could block banks from offering products that could help customers long term.

Some bosses also raised questions about ringfencing regulation that separates regular savings and current accounts from investment banking operations, while executives from smaller banks discussed lowering the amount of loss-absorbing capital they need to raise and hold against risky assets.

Thursday’s meeting followed similar ones with asset managers and investment bankers last week, who were quizzed about their own ideas to stimulate growth and investment from the City and how the government could calm markets.

Kwarteng and Liz Truss have tried to emphasise their pro-business, pro-City stance, including scrapping the EU banker bonus cap and planning “an ambitious package of regulatory reforms” schedule to be unveiled by the end of October.

[Business live](#)**Business**

Kwarteng to ‘work closely’ with banks as five-year mortgage rates hit 6%; pound falls through \$1.12 – as it happened

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2022/oct/06/uk-credit-rating-downgrade-threat-kwarteng-mortgage-crisis-talks-recession-business-live>

[Foreign policy](#)

Truss calls Macron a ‘friend’ as she attends summit of European leaders

PM joins first meeting of European Political Community but says visit is ‘not about moving closer to Europe’

- [Latest politics news – live](#)

Liz Truss calls Macron a 'friend' rather than foe at EU summit – video

[Jennifer Rankin](#) in Prague

Thu 6 Oct 2022 13.35 EDTFirst published on Thu 6 Oct 2022 05.26 EDT

Liz Truss has said her attendance at a European summit in Prague was “not about moving closer to Europe” and that Emmanuel Macron was a “friend”.

The prime minister visited the Czech capital for the first meeting of the [European Political Community](#), a new group dedicated to advancing security and energy cooperation across the continent.

The organisation is the brainchild of the French president and will bring together leaders from nearly every European country except [Russia](#) and Belarus.

Asked by broadcasters if she wanted to move closer to [Europe](#) as a way to ease trade and boost growth, she said: “This is not about moving closer to Europe.”

She added: “What this is about is about working with all of our European partners to challenge [Vladimir] Putin’s appalling war in [Ukraine](#), but also to work together on the issues that we all face – huge energy costs, rising inflation and also migration across our continent.”

Before meeting Macron in Prague, she said: “He is a friend.” Truss caused outrage during the Tory leadership race when [she said the jury was out](#) on whether Macron was a “friend or foe”.

In a joint statement following the meeting, Macron and Truss pledged to hold a UK-France summit in 2023 “to take forward a renewed bilateral agenda”. The decision marks a thaw in relations, after a Franco-British defence summit was scrapped last year amid the row over the [UK's submarine pact with the US and Australia](#).

Speaking after the meeting Macron said it was “very good news” that Truss had decided to come to Prague, when asked if her attendance could help the UK turn the page on [Brexit](#). “Having the UK being engaged in a lot of common initiatives, I think does make sense both for the UK and for us also, because we do share the same continent ... I do hope this is a new phase of our common relations and that this is the beginning of the day after,” he told reporters.

He also said it made sense for the UK to rejoin the North Seas Energy Co-operation group. The UK left the group, which promotes offshore wind energy, due to Brexit.

As leaders met over dinner, they agreed the UK would host a future gathering of the European Political Community, but after Moldova and Spain. The group intends to meet every six months, with the host city rotating between EU and non-EU countries.

In Prague, prime ministers or presidents from 44 countries were invited to participate, including all 27 EU leaders, Turkey’s president, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, and Ukraine’s Volodymyr Zelenskiy, who was to address Thursday’s meeting via video link. The Danish prime minister, Mette Frederiksen, who [called a snap election on Tuesday](#), was absent because of the annual opening of parliament.

As one of four non-EU leaders to address the opening plenary, Truss urged the gathering to stand firm against Russian aggression as “Europe faces its biggest crisis since the second world war”. She added: “We must continue to

stand firm – to ensure that Ukraine wins this war, but also to deal with the strategic challenges that it has exposed.”

Also addressing the opening session were Zelenskiy, the prime ministers of Norway and Albania, Jonas Gahr Støre and Edi Rama, and the Czech prime minister, Petr Fiala, who is hosting the meeting.

A senior EU diplomat said the gathering was “a relevant message ... to Mr Putin. We’ve seen messages from the EU. We’ve seen messages from Nato. [Thursday] will also be a message by gathering in Prague from 44 European leaders, as we don’t have a functioning forum today for the European continent.”

Although Truss remains somewhat sceptical about the gathering, she decided to go to show the unity of the continent in support of Ukraine. For the UK it is also an important moment to discuss priorities, such as energy and migration, as the pressures of Brexit begin to recede.

Truss held bilateral meetings with Macron and the Dutch prime minister, Mark Rutte, to discuss how to stop criminal gangs that are helping people cross the Channel in small boats. The meetings also addressed developing new nuclear and offshore wind capacity, as part of her plan to make the UK a net energy exporter by 2040.

Sign up to First Edition

Free daily newsletter

Archie Bland and Nimo Omer take you through the top stories and what they mean, free every weekday morning

Privacy Notice: Newsletters may contain info about charities, online ads, and content funded by outside parties. For more information see our [Privacy Policy](#). We use Google reCaptcha to protect our website and the Google [Privacy Policy](#) and [Terms of Service](#) apply.

Arriving at Prague Castle, Rutte praised Truss and the British government’s stance on Ukraine, saying the UK “has provided so much leadership over the last nine months”.

[Writing in the Times](#), Truss said the UK and its neighbours, France, Belgium and the Netherlands, should commit to keeping open energy connections this winter. The UK sends and receives gas and electricity through undersea cables and pipelines linked to the continent.

It emerged in the summer that National Grid had been considering [cutting off gas pipelines to the Netherlands and Belgium](#) under its emergency plans – a stance that shocked EU diplomats.

The meeting was not intended to unlock progress [on the UK's dispute over the Northern Ireland protocol](#), but British and EU officials said they hoped it would help improve relations between the two sides. Separately, EU and British officials were expected on Thursday to [restart talks on the protocol](#).

While the EU has organised the EPC meeting, British officials feel reassured that Brussels is not trying to dominate the fledgling pan-European organisation. But the EU's most senior officials will also take part, including the European Commission president, Ursula von der Leyen, and the European Council president, Charles Michel.

Earlier this week the foreign secretary, James Cleverly, said the government was looking at the new group “with an open mind”. Speaking at the Conservative party conference he said: “We want to find ways of working well with our neighbours and partners and friends in Europe.”

In her Times article Truss said: “A post-Brexit Britain, as an independent country outside the EU, should be involved in discussions that affect the entire continent and all of us here at home.”

The shadow foreign secretary, David Lammy, said: “For too long the Conservatives have isolated Britain from its neighbours in Europe through petty insults and threats to break international law. It is in the national interest for Liz Truss to abandon this juvenile approach to relations with our European allies and partners.”

He said Labour would propose a new UK-EU security pact to complement Nato. Under Boris Johnson and Theresa May, the government disappointed

European allies by [ruling out a formal agreement](#) on foreign policy with the EU.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/oct/06/liz-truss-european-political-community-meeting-prague>

| [Section menu](#) | [Main menu](#) |

2022.10.06 - Spotlight

- [Peter R De Vries The cartel, the journalist and the gangland killings that rocked the Netherlands](#)
- ['It's closer now than it's ever been' Could there soon be a united Ireland?](#)
- [Beverley Knight Suffragettes' struggle still relevant today](#)
- [Blame, threat and clash The war between pickleball and tennis players is escalating in the US – on and off the court](#)

The cartel, the journalist and the gangland killings that rocked the Netherlands

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2022/oct/06/cartel-journalist-gangland-killings-netherlands-peter-r-de-vries>

Advertisement

US edition

- [US edition](#)
- [UK edition](#)
- [Australia edition](#)
- [International edition](#)

[The Guardian - Back to home](#)[The Guardian: news website of the year](#)

[Ireland](#)

**‘It’s closer now than it’s ever been’:
could there soon be a united Ireland?**



Composite: Alamy Stock Vector /GNM Imaging

With Catholics now outnumbering Protestants in Northern Ireland, advocates for unification are starting to believe their dream could become a reality. But is it inevitable – and would a referendum reignite old enmities?



[Rory Carroll](#)

[@rorycarroll72](#)

Thu 6 Oct 2022 02.30 EDTLast modified on Thu 6 Oct 2022 10.34 EDT

The 3Arena in Dublin has hosted U2, Mariah Carey, Britney Spears and Arcade Fire, but on 1 October 2022 5,000 people streamed in to watch a very different spectacle. The performers on stage were Irish politicians, dozens of them from ruling and opposition parties, and all they did was talk. A river of words that touched on pensions, healthcare, taxes, social policy, constitutional arrangements – worthy topics that could put an audience to sleep. Instead, people craned forward in their seats, thirsty for every word. An energy pulsed through the auditorium because each speech articulated a collective wish, a wish once dismissed as hopeless fantasy, a pipe dream for sad ballads, and declared it alive with exhilarating possibility. The wish for a united [Ireland](#).

“Together, we look to an Ireland beyond partition,” [Mary Lou McDonald](#), the leader of Sinn Féin, told the crowd. “We reimagine the future of our country, discuss our ideas for a united [Ireland](#) and a tomorrow that captures all the potential and immense opportunities for this island. We are here in the spirit of ambition. To seize the day.” She paused, and the rhetoric soared: “Friends, we have come together to build our nation anew.”

McDonald finished to cheers and a standing ovation and there was yet more rapture: in a keynote speech, the actor [James Nesbitt](#), a [Northern Irish](#) Protestant from a unionist background, declared it was time for a “new union of Ireland”, one that accommodated all identities and allegiances. “We’re standing at a profound moment here in the history of the islands,” he said. The crowd whooped and gave another ovation. They streamed out into autumn sunshine confident history was finally on their side, that demographic and political forces were aligning to erase the border. “It’s closer now than it’s ever been,” said Mary Greene, 63, from west Belfast. Wally Kirwan, 78, a retired senior civil servant who used to advise Irish governments about Northern Ireland, hoped to see Ireland become one. “If I’m given a few more years, I might be there for it.”



‘We look to an Ireland beyond partition’ ... Sinn Féin leader Mary Lou McDonald addresses the Ireland Future’s conference. Photograph: Niall Carson/PA

These were the converted, people who had paid €7.10 to attend the conference organised by [Ireland’s Future](#), a non-profit that advocates unification. But they are hardly alone. British politicians are increasingly vocal about where things seem headed. “It looks more likely than not that in the not too distant future, the province will become part of the republic,” Norman Tebbit, a Thatcherite minister wounded in the IRA bombing of the

1984 Conservative conference at Brighton, recently wrote in the Daily Telegraph. Shaun Woodward, the Labour government's last Northern Ireland secretary, told the BBC the conditions to call a referendum were nearing: "It's getting pretty close." Peter Kyle, Labour's shadow Northern Ireland secretary, said he would call a referendum, also known as a border poll, [if certain conditions were met](#). "I am not going to be a barrier if the circumstances emerge."

For Irish unity even to be taken seriously is a dramatic turnaround – and a century in the making. Rebels led by Michael Collins ended British rule and won autonomy for 26 of Ireland's 32 counties in 1921. The British cleaved off six northern counties as a statelet for Protestants who wished to remain in the UK. Protestants in this [new state](#), Northern Ireland, outnumbered Catholics two to one, ensuring a seemingly permanent unionist majority. Discrimination against Catholics paved the way to the Troubles, which revived the IRA and republican dreams of unification. Then the 1998 Good Friday agreement enshrined the principle of no constitutional change without the consent of the majority. If a secretary of state believes a majority would favour unification, he or she is to call a referendum. For two decades this was a remote prospect since most people in Northern Ireland, including many Catholics, favoured the status quo. It meant stability, the NHS and an estimated £10bn annual subvention from London. The unification dream hibernated.

Over the past six years, little by little, it has awoken. What prompted the comments from Tebbit, Woodward and Kyle were results last month from the 2021 Northern Ireland census. Of the 1.9 million population, [Catholics now outnumber Protestants](#): 45.7% versus 43.48%. The demographic tilt was expected – the gap has narrowed every decade – but was still a landmark. The late Rev Ian Paisley, the founder of the Democratic Unionist party (DUP), had feared such a doomsday when he warned that Catholics "breed like rabbits and multiply like vermin".



A man walks past the International Wall in Belfast. Photograph: NurPhoto/Getty Images

Perhaps even more significant in the census was a loosening of British identity. Some 32% identified as British only, 29% identified as Irish only and 20% as Northern Irish only. In 2011, the figures were 40% British only, 25% Irish only and 21% Northern Irish only. Brexit's fingerprints are all over this waning Britishness. Most people in [Northern Ireland](#), as in Scotland, voted in 2016 to remain in the EU and resented being forced out of it by the English. It wasn't just about markets and travel. The Good Friday agreement's success hinged on blurring identities – in Northern Ireland you could feel British or Irish or both. By resurrecting the debate over borders, Brexit revived an existential question – which side are you on? In a LucidTalk poll in August, 48% said they favoured staying in the UK versus 41% who favoured uniting with Ireland. A University of Liverpool poll in July found both sides tied at approximately 40%.

Sinn Féin, once the IRA's mouthpiece and a political outcast, is now ascendant. In May's assembly election, it [overtook the DUP](#) as Northern Ireland's biggest party, a milestone that makes Michelle O'Neill eligible to be first minister. In the republic it leads the opposition, is surging in popularity and appears poised to lead the next government, a once unthinkable proposition. Sinn Féin leaders [welcomed King Charles](#) to

Northern Ireland last month with a flawless show of republican respect – yet another milestone – that impressed even some unionists.

While Irish-unity advocates polish their credentials, the putative defenders of Northern Ireland's place in the UK immolate their credibility. The DUP has alienated liberal Protestants by resisting same-sex unions, abortion rights and other social changes. It has collapsed power-sharing at Stormont to protest against the Northern Ireland protocol, leaving the region rudderless in the midst of a cost of living crisis and reinforcing a sense that Northern Ireland, as a political entity, simply does not work – long a cherished goal of the IRA.



King Charles meets Northern Ireland Assembly Speaker Alex Maskey and Sinn Féin vice-president Michelle O'Neill at Hillsborough Castle following the Queen's death. Photograph: Reuters

Meanwhile the Tories, officially the Conservative and Unionist party, have prioritised Brexit over the union. In a 2019 YouGov poll, 59% of party members said they would accept Northern Ireland leaving the UK as a price of Brexit. Boris Johnson exhibited this disregard in agreeing to the protocol, which puts a [trade border](#) between Northern Ireland and Great Britain to avoid a hard border on the island of Ireland. Liz Truss seeks to empower her government to rip up parts of the protocol with a bill currently at the House

of Lords but that was devised before her fiscal policies put financial markets and her own party in revolt, reordering her priorities. There are signs Truss is preparing to cut a deal with the EU. Why else, the DUP nervously wonders, did the arch-Brexiteer Steve Baker, a Northern Ireland minister, last week apologise to Dublin and Brussels for previous behaviour?

“Part of the sense of momentum towards a border poll is that Britain is so embarrassing at the moment,” says [Malachi O’Doherty](#), the author of *Can Ireland Be One?*, a new book that interrogates the case for unity. “If I vote for unity, it’ll be out of not wanting to be governed by a Little England run by Tory prats till the end of time.”

Every month seems to bring another book on the topic: *United Nation: the Case for Integrating Ireland*, by Frank Connolly; *Northern Protestants: On Shifting Ground*, by Susan McKay; *Making Sense of a United Ireland*, by Brendan O’Leary. Ben Collins, a former British government press officer who campaigned for the Ulster Unionist party, details his conversion to the cause in *Irish Unity: Time to Prepare*. Next week, Rosemary Jenkinson will launch *Extraordinary Times*, a literary thriller that imagines Belfast on the eve of a referendum.

The tide seems remorseless, inevitable. Unity advocates are at pains to avoid triumphalism. There are no Irish tricolours or rebel ballads at Ireland’s Future events. Gerry Adams stays behind the scenes. The message is: unity is coming, unionists will be welcome, let’s discuss details. “Constitutional change will require planning and preparation. It’s not about imposing a preordained result on anybody,” said John Finucane, a [Sinn Féin](#) MP.

But unification is not inevitable. Sinn Féin’s rise, and the census results, are in some ways deceptive. The party is popular in the south because it promises free-spending leftwing solutions to a housing crisis and other problems unrelated to a united Ireland. Opinion polls suggest support for unification in the republic is wide but shallow, with only 22% prepared to pay more tax to fund it. A Sinn Féin-led government will be expected to prioritise housing, income and welfare. Its electoral surge in the north comes at the expense of the Social Democratic and Labour party (SDLP), which also favours unification. In recent elections, the overall nationalist vote has plateaued at about 40%, as has the overall unionist vote.

A referendum will hinge on the [non-aligned middle](#), approximately 20% of voters. “It’s not an Orange or Green thing – it’s a class thing, it’s about whether you can heat your house,” says Niall Carson, 23, a Belfast barman.



‘It’s climate and social justice that gets me out of bed in the morning’ ...
Eóin Tennyson of the Alliance party Photograph: Paul McErlane/The Guardian

The fastest-growing party in Northern Ireland is Alliance, which is agnostic on any border poll, saying it will decide if and when one comes. “The constitutional question is not what gets me out of bed in the morning. It’s the bread-and-butter issues: climate, social justice,” says Eóin Tennyson, 24, an Alliance member of the assembly. Young people resent being hustled into tribal positions, he says. “If you’re an atheist, it’s: ‘Yes, but a Protestant atheist or a Catholic atheist?’” Voters will judge a prospective unitary state on how it affects the health service, pensions and other pragmatic concerns, says Tennyson. “There is much talk about the need to focus on details but we never seem to get there.”

He has a point. Studies on unification tend to fill gaps in research with wishful thinking and questionable assumptions. The speakers at the 3Arena event tacitly acknowledged that when they said serious work was needed to flesh out what a united Ireland would look like.

Persuading voters to leap into something new – as Scottish nationalists discovered in 2014 – is not easy. It is likely to be even harder if a stable Labour government replaces Tory melodramas. Irish nationalists may find that Northern Ireland, for all its dysfunctions, is not quite dysfunctional enough to sway the non-aligned. They enjoy a relatively low cost of living, job opportunities and a vibrant arts scene.

“There is so much in this place that is good and exciting and ambitious,” says Anne McReynolds, the chief executive of Belfast’s Metropolitan Arts Centre, better known as the [Mac](#). The Lyric theatre, the Grand Opera House and other venues are thriving despite savage cuts to arts funding, she says.

The city’s Cathedral Quarter has transformed into an arts and hospitality hub that draws hordes of students. “There used to be nothing here except the odd dead body and lurking terrorist. There is a vitality about this place, it’s buzzing,” says Damien Corr, the area’s business improvement manager.

The other deterrent to constitutional change is that it could get very messy, very quickly. Herding a minority into a new state against its will did not work out well the last time. Promises to respect unionist culture – perhaps adopt a new flag and anthem, rejoin the Commonwealth, keep a role for Stormont – cut little ice in hardline unionist areas.

Stroll down Lower Newtownards Road in east Belfast and you see freshly painted loyalist murals that announce “freedom corner” and depict masked figures manning a roadblock. Many homes have union jacks and posters of the Queen. “We’re British and we’re staying British. We do not want a united Ireland,” says one resident, Catherine McCormack, 64. “We don’t want our country run by terrorists. It’s up to us to stop it.” Her friend Agnes, 68, says: “I’ll put it plainly, love. We don’t want Sinn Féin-IRA running the country.” She was not impressed by Sinn Féin welcoming the King. “They have as many faces as the Albert clock.”

Richard Stitt, 52, a former Ulster Defence Association paramilitary, says he could never accept Dublin rule. “I’d never go under the Irish government – or the pope.” The UDA and Ulster Volunteer Force, a rival paramilitary group, are still ready to defend British identity, he says. “If there is a referendum, everyone would start fighting again, they’d start shooting again.

They're still collecting guns." Police agree the groups remain armed and dangerous.



'If there is a referendum, everyone would start fighting again' ... former Ulster Defence Association paramilitary Richard Stitt by a mural for the organisation in east Belfast. Photograph: Paul McErlane/The Guardian

Malachi O'Doherty says some loyalist areas might demand their own police, courts and sovereignty. "Unionists in the north hold territory, defined territory which they would assert through murals, flags, parades, maybe weapons. It would be a very hard rock for a united Ireland to swallow. You're creating a potential Donbas region."

Shane Ross, a former Irish politician and author of Mary Lou McDonald, a new biography of the Sinn Féin leader, shares the foreboding. "A united Ireland is a kind of nirvana that is very dangerous. It'll resurrect all the ghosts of the past."

The crowds at the 3Arena shrugged off such talk as scaremongering and defeatist. There was a new nation to build. However, Nesbitt ended his keynote speech with what sounded like a coded warning. "I'll leave you with a traditional and appropriate Irish blessing," he said. "May you have the

hindsight to know where you've been, the foresight to know where you are going, and the insight to know when you have gone too far.”

This article's subheading was amended on 6 October 2022. An earlier version wrongly stated that Catholics were “now the majority” in Northern Ireland.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/oct/06/its-closer-now-than-its-ever-been-could-there-soon-be-a-united-ireland>

| [Section menu](#) | [Main menu](#) |

[Beverley Knight](#)

Beverley Knight: Suffragettes' struggle still relevant today

The soul singer plays Emmeline Pankhurst in *Sylvia*, a hip-hop musical returning to the Old Vic



The singer Beverley Knight, here performing at the Birmingham 2022 Commonwealth Games closing ceremony in August, is regarded as one of Britain's greatest soul singers. Photograph: Alex Pantling/Getty Images

[Nadia Khomami](#) *Arts and culture correspondent*

Thu 6 Oct 2022 01.00 EDT

The story of the suffragettes is a “metaphor for so many things going on right now” including gender inequality and the disenfranchisement of the poor, the singer [Beverley Knight](#) has said.

Knight is playing [Emmeline Pankhurst](#) in a new production at the Old Vic, which celebrates Pankhurst's lesser-known daughter, Sylvia.

Sylvia, which premieres at the London theatre from next January, is a hip-hop musical looking at the life of a “feminist, activist, pacifist, socialist and rebel” who changed the lives of working women and men across the world.

“It’s a metaphor for so many things that are going on right now,” said Knight, who is widely regarded as one of Britain’s greatest soul singers. “The way that the poorer sections of society are disenfranchised and removed from what goes on in the social and political circles, how they’re easily passed over and disregarded – Kwasi Kwarteng and Liz Truss, I’m looking at you!”

The musical is set in a time when women’s voices were not only ignored but actively and in many cases violently crushed, but “in a lot of ways we still haven’t moved on”, Knight said. “Women are still held in subjugation. We still have mansplaining, we still have gender violence. Look at the Sarah Everard case, all the conversations that were a ripple effect from that.

“In the show we portray 18 November 1910, Black Friday, where the women who marched on parliament, led by Emmeline, were battered and a couple of them later died from the extent of their injuries. It’s a story that happened over a hundred years ago, but we’re still feeling the effects of that now, to this very day there’s still huge gender inequality.”

Directed and choreographed by [Kate Prince](#), the musical follows in the style of Hamilton by telling a historic story in a new, imaginative way that will hopefully draw in younger and more diverse audiences. Sharon Rose, who starred as Eliza Schuyler in Hamilton in the West End, has even been cast as Sylvia Pankhurst.

Sylvia was expelled from the Women’s Social and Political Union for her insistence on involving working-class women in the suffrage movement.

The fervent Labour supporter, who had an affair with the party’s founder Keir Hardie, was at loggerheads with her mother, Emmeline, and her sister

Christabel, who felt that suffrage could best be achieved through the efforts of middle class women like themselves, and who wanted to divorce the suffragette movement from any party politics. Sylvia was also a pacifist, while her family endorsed violence to achieve their ends.

“The musical draws on RnB and soul influences which will really help to pull in a new audience, that’s what we’re looking to do with the show,” said Knight, who had her first UK Top 10 hit with the album *Who I Am*, which was nominated for the 2002 Mercury prize. The 49-year-old made her West End debut starring in the *Bodyguard* in 2013, and has since been nominated for two Olivier awards.

“It’s massively significant” that the Pankhursts are being played by two black women, Knight said. “We’re in a time when *Alexander Hamilton* was played by a man of colour, Halle Bailey is playing Ariel in the forthcoming *the Little Mermaid*, which is a wonderful statement.

Sign up to The Guide

Free weekly newsletter

Get our weekly pop culture email, free in your inbox every Friday

Privacy Notice: Newsletters may contain info about charities, online ads, and content funded by outside parties. For more information see our [Privacy Policy](#). We use Google reCaptcha to protect our website and the Google [Privacy Policy](#) and [Terms of Service](#) apply.

“We’re not trying to tell the story in terms of a biopic where you want people who physically look the part. We’re telling a story within the world of theatre where frankly anything can happen, anyone can stand up.”

The musical first showed at the Old Vic in 2018 as a work-in-progress, with original music by Josh Cohen and DJ Walde and book by Kate Prince and Priya Parmar. According to [a Guardian review](#) which gave it four stars, the show “is not simply about Pankurst: it is also about the deep divisions within the suffragette movement”.

For Knight, the message is simple. “Emmeline says in the show: ‘Fall down seven times, get up eight’, and that becomes a rallying cry. I really get behind that. Women’s power was so feared that the establishment did everything it could to crush those voices. So the message is: own your power and be proud of it.”

Sylvia runs at the Old Vic 27 January – 1 April.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2022/oct/06/beverley-knight-suffragettes-struggle-still-relevant-today>.

| [Section menu](#) | [Main menu](#) |

Blame, threat and clash: the war between pickleball and tennis players is escalating – on and off the court

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2022/oct/05/blame-threat-and-clash-the-war-between-pickleball-and-tennis-players-is-escalating-on-and-off-the-court>

2022.10.06 - Opinion

- Here's a plan for green King Charles: sell the family silver and use the cash to save the planet
- Spare a thought for your civil servants, trying to cope with Truss's malignant cult
- People of colour have been shut out of the climate debate. Social justice is the key to a greener world
- There is now a way for the UK to rebuild its bridges with the EU – Labour should take the lead

OpinionKing Charles III

Here's a plan for green King Charles: sell the family silver and use the cash to save the planet

[John Vidal](#)

He's spent his life sniping from the sidelines. Now he has the power to make radical environmental reforms to the monarchy



Prince – now King – Charles at a party in Buckingham Palace garden in 2019. ‘He could offer it London as a new public park.’ Photograph: WPA/Getty Images

Thu 6 Oct 2022 05.00 EDTLast modified on Thu 6 Oct 2022 07.13 EDT

So King Charles won't be going to [Cop27, by order of Liz Truss](#); an inauspicious start for a monarch with pretensions to remain an influencer and be known as the first “green” king.

But he should take heart: Truss may not be long for No10, and Charles may look at recent events and conclude that no-one listens to her anyway. If so, there are plenty of opportunities now for him to turn the archaic House of Windsor into an institution fit for an age of climate breakdown, poverty and deep inequalities.

Ascent to the throne means no more speeches about emissions or off-the-cuff remarks about nature destruction. But his new position actually makes it easier for him to lobby prime ministers, even Truss while she lasts, at confidential weekly meetings and to lead public opinion by personal example – something that even a government hostile to his convictions about the environment may not be able to control.

From now on, what the King says is less important than what he is seen to do. He now runs a multibillion-pound private corporation and has one of the world's greatest personal fortunes. How our billionaire king spends his money and what he does with his vast properties and land holdings may fundamentally change the way Britain sees itself – and how the world regards us.

Royal finances are arcane, mostly anonymous and often blurred between public and personal wealth. The royal cash cow is now the Duchy of Lancaster, an [18,000-hectare](#) (44,000-acre) trove of rich farm and moor lands, chunks of central London, and net assets of [£652m](#). From this he will take around [£24m a year](#).

In addition, he inherits – and will pay no tax on – his mother's vast private financial investments, her many privately owned palaces, castles and mansions, as well as the royal art collection and myriad private jewels. With his own mansions, farms and houses, and the former Queen Mother's [£50m](#) estate, he now has a private fortune worth [nearly £500m](#), which earns him possibly £25m a year.

Beyond that, he receives a quarter of the profits made by the crown estate, the monarch's property corporation which owns nearly 8,000 sq km of farmland and is valued by Forbes at [more than \\$17bn](#) (£16.3bn). It is no wonder that Charles backs renewable energy. Aside from vast acres of wild

lands suitable for onshore wind, the estate owns most of the British foreshore to a distance of 12 miles – perfect for selling leases for offshore wind, tidal and wave power.

It might not go down well to do a Patagonia and try to give it all away to fight climate breakdown. But he could start his green reforms of the monarchy by publicly divesting the institution of all fossil fuel interests. Again, we do not know what these investments amount to, but it is likely to be in the many hundreds of millions of pounds. Far from diminishing his wealth, the Treasury might even see divestment as a shrewd move if Britain is to reach net zero emissions.

So what could a green king actually do without enraging a government? He could start by offering to the state or the National Trust most of his cold, largely empty, useless castles, palaces and mansions, such as Balmoral and Sandringham.

He could then slash the estimated £90,000-a-month heating bills of any that are left – Windsor or Sandringham, for example – by investing heavily in heat pumps, solar power and insulation and then switching his bills to renewable energy providers such as Ecotricity or Good Energy.

The next move of a green king would be to radically change the way the monarchy moves. Here Charles could clear out the old rollers and Bentleys, go entirely electric and take to bicycles and rail like other modern monarchies. Soon he will be able to buy an electric plane for short-haul flights, but for now he could offset all journeys.

That leaves the King with a lot of valuable earth that is barely used. If he was brave and fair-minded he could offer the 16 private hectares (39 acres) of Buckingham Palace to London as a new public park, possibly reserving part of it for rewilding or allotments. In the same spirit, he could give ramblers open access to all royal lands and press the Duchy of Lancaster to go organic and achieve net zero within 10 years.

Selling off the family silver is traditionally reserved for governments, but Charles could happily dispose of most of the many thousands of great diamonds, rubies and other jewels that have been handed personally to

royalty over 200 years without anyone caring. The billions of pounds raised from such a sale could be used to establish academies of sustainable farming or permaculture in the Commonwealth countries from which most jewels were looted in colonial times and many of which are still struggling to feed themselves.

Aside from shedding most of his relations, abandoning archaic British empire medals and generally living less lavishly, he could start hosting vegetarian banquets and end hunting on all royal lands.

At which point, he could do the decent thing and abolish himself.

- John Vidal is a former Guardian environment editor
- ***Do you have an opinion on the issues raised in this article? If you would like to submit a letter of up to 300 words to be considered for publication, email it to us at guardian.letters@theguardian.com***

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/oct/06/king-charles-green-environmental-reforms-monarchy>

[Opinion](#)[Civil service](#)

Spare a thought for your civil servants, trying to cope with Truss's malignant cult

[The civil servant](#)

Our system has worked for over 100 years. But what to do when ministers fetishise ideology over objectivity and honesty?



Liz Truss at the Conservative party conference in Birmingham, on 5 October 2022. Photograph: Anadolu Agency/Getty Images

Thu 6 Oct 2022 01.00 EDTLast modified on Thu 6 Oct 2022 08.18 EDT

If you're finding the past couple of weeks bewildering, can you imagine what it's like having – in the words of the celebrated [civil service Twitter hero](#) of 2020 – to actually *work* with these truth-twisters?

Pity, in particular, the tormented ring-wraiths of His Majesty's Treasury. They will continue to be shackled to their gilded laptops until they come up with a narrative that a rattled prime minister and her brutalised chancellor can use to resolve their trilemma. In other words, to dream up an explanation of their plans that can somehow placate the ravening hyenas of the parliamentary Conservative party, the billionaire non-dom owners of the Daily Mail and the gatekeepers of the global financial markets.

Spare a thought, too, for the rest of us who work in other government departments. Only last week civil servants were, in effect, [asked to scrap 5% efficiency savings already agreed](#) in response to the Treasury's panicky demand that departments scour the back of the sofa in search of billions of pounds worth of new "efficiencies" and growth plans.

In the meantime, are the nation's civil servants drawing any conclusions about whether Truss will be an even bigger disaster than her predecessor? In a chaotic week during which it also emerged that DWP civil servants, like so many of their clients, are having to [switch off their heating and rely on foodbanks](#) to survive the winter, we are drawing conclusions, *hard*.

Because while Boris Johnson's personal untrustworthiness undoubtedly brought the reputation of the office of prime minister to new lows, Truss appears to be trying to go one better by trying to destroy all trust in the machinery of government itself. First as farce, then as tragedy.

Consider what she has already put the civil service, the cabinet and her MPs through. First, she allowed Kwasi Kwarteng – on his very first day as chancellor – to [defenestrate the widely respected Treasury permanent secretary Tom Scholar](#) at the very moment when an economic tsunami is crashing over the country. We expect senior civil service "disrupter" and suspected Truss loyalist Antonia Romero to [be announced](#) as Scholar's successor very soon, despite having zero previous Treasury experience. Right-o.

Second, she [didn't bother telling cabinet](#) – let alone parliament – about the plan to scrap the top rate of income tax and is now overseeing an entirely

predictable [descent into open warfare](#) over the 45p tax U-turn and benefit cuts.

Third, she and Kwarteng [ignored warnings](#) that unfunded tax cuts would alarm world markets, and [deliberately sidelined independent evidence](#) from the Office for Budget Responsibility. The intention was clear: to press ahead, unencumbered by any forecast that might cast any doubt on their plans, a move that may [cost the country up to £65bn](#).

This isn't [Britannia Unchained](#). It's Britannia Unhinged.

It wasn't always [like this](#). In hallowed antiquity, back before Truss, Kwarteng, Michael Gove and the other high priests of Brexit got their mitts on the levers of power, the Westminster model of government worked quite well for more than a hundred years.

After winning an election, newly minted ministers would hand a well-thumbed copy of their manifesto to a small army of officials, who'd then get stuck into the research, analysis and consultation needed to turn the government's glittering vision into reality. Civil servants and ministers, assisted by special advisers greasing the wheels between the two, would then work together to thrash out a plan, one whose mere existence wouldn't terrify world markets.

But the hollow and dangerous [new orthodoxy](#) the PM is now ramming through the corridors of Whitehall threatens to shatter our model of government. It tolerates no dissent and cannot be argued or reasoned with, to the extent that a senior government official whose pleas for reason had been rebuffed by No 10 spoke for all civil servants when [reportedly saying last week](#) that it was "like dealing with crack addicts" who were "hooked on the economics".

The reaction of the market has been even more brutal. According to former civil service boss Bob Kerslake, that's because actions such as the removal of Tom Scholar [represent a shift towards wholly new behaviours](#), causing the wider world to be "less confident that decisions will be made on the basis of robust advice". Well, quite.

The orthodoxy of Truss' praetorian guard is therefore not the kindly "broad church" that the Conservative party once self-identified with. It now presents as a malignant death cult. The judgment of the electorate is probably the only thing that will [scare the party straight](#).

The question isn't whether or not Trussonomics will emerge victorious (it won't because it can't), but how much collateral damage will accumulate in the meantime.

Truss's ideological war cry that [disruption is the price of success](#) demonstrates perfectly her naively mistaken view that the orthodoxy she wants to replace is some sort of deep-state "declinist" ideology. It really isn't – we are nowhere near that organised! It's simply the accumulated evidence, analysis and wisdom about what works in the real world.

At stake now is the delivery of public services, which will continue to disintegrate – growth or no growth – if ministers continue to fetishise ideological loyalty over objectivity and honesty. Government policies have to work in the real world. Not in Downing Street, Narnia, or wherever it was that Kwasi Kwarteng partied with hedge fund managers in the hours after his mini-budget announcement went ballistic: fund managers who reportedly, behind his back, labelled him their "[useful idiot](#)". This is why almost every government department has a chief scientist and a chief economist. In fact, the whole [Civil Service Code](#) revolves around the idea that reality matters.

The brutality and chaos of what is now unfolding at the heart of government is most starkly [described by](#) one memorable quote from an unnamed cabinet minister, who said: "It's like Lord of the Flies."

Certainly, William Golding's tale about a post-apocalyptic island under the rule of upper-class yobs who worship a pig's head on a stick hardly feels like satire now.

- The author works for the UK civil service

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/oct/06/civil-servants-liz-truss-ideology-honesty>.

| [Section menu](#) | [Main menu](#) |

[Opinion](#)Environment

People of colour have been shut out of the climate debate. Social justice is the key to a greener world

[Julian Agyeman](#)



Environmental issues in low-income areas have long been ignored by activists who fail to grasp the importance of equity

- [Support urgent, independent climate journalism today.](#)



A delegation of mothers at Cop26 last year, led by Rosamund Adoo-Kissi-Debrah (second from left), whose daughter Ella Kissi-Debrah died in 2013 after a severe asthma attack. Photograph: Handout

Thu 6 Oct 2022 03.00 EDT Last modified on Thu 6 Oct 2022 11.06 EDT

“Equity is not an issue for us. We’re here to save the world.”

From 1986 to 1990, I worked in an inner London borough as an environmental policy adviser. I worked on raising awareness of local environmental issues, paying special attention to those affecting the borough’s lower-income residents. There were very few jobs such as this in local government, and I was the only Black person employed in one.

Unlike the US, in Britain there was no policy discourse or social movement tackling environmental or climate justice at that time. Yet it was obvious to me through my work, and to a growing number of other activists of colour, that the poorest residents in urban Britain, many of whom were Black and Brown, lived in the most deprived areas in terms of proximity to large polluting roads, poor or unaffordable housing stock, social exclusion, lack of educational and economic opportunity, disinvestment and lack of green and play spaces.

[Climate journalism, open to all](#)

But these issues were being (actively) ignored by (white) environmental activists, who were focusing instead on their stock-in-trade issues: biodiversity, conservation and climate change (not climate justice). Further reinforcing the exclusivity of white environmental activist agendas, those employed in the environmental and emerging sustainability policy arenas were almost entirely white.

In response to this exclusion, a group of activists of colour, including Ingrid Pollard, Judy Ling Wong, Roland de la Mothe, Vijay Krishnarayan, Swantee Toocaram and I founded the [Black Environment Network](#) (BEN) in 1988 to increase activism, reframe environmental and sustainability agendas and get more people of colour into environmental jobs.

We had read the landmark report [Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States](#) (United Church of Christ, Commission for Racial Justice 1987) which had contributed significantly to the development of public awareness in the US of “environmental racism”: the intentional and disproportionate loading of environmental “bads” such as pollution and toxic waste on communities of colour, and the lack of access to environmental “goods”, such as parks and open spaces. The cry for a “justice” framing of environmental and sustainability issues was growing louder in the US, culminating in President Bill Clinton’s [1994 executive order](#) called Federal Actions to Address Environmental Justice in Minority Populations and Low-Income Populations.

Environmental injustice was now a civil rights issue.

At BEN, our evidence was largely anecdotal and remained so until Friends of the Earth’s groundbreaking 1999 report, Pollution Injustice: The Geographic Relation Between Household Income and Polluting Factories, that showed that low-income areas in Britain suffered most from industrial pollution. Race, however, was not factored into Friends of the Earth’s report, unlike Toxic Wastes and Race in the US. We argued that in Britain, like the US, income is a pretty good proxy for race.

With this, and BEN's work on "rural racism", we had the beginnings of a British environmental justice agenda.

On a personal level, the justice frame gave me my mantra, which, with every passing year, I'm more convinced is true: "The social justice perspective must be included in green campaign agendas because, short of coercive measures, true environmental wellbeing will only exist when there is human wellbeing."

Why is Africa bearing the brunt of the climate crisis? – video explainer

Not everyone understood the need for this linkage at that time. While researching a TV programme in the early 1990s, I asked a staff member of a large international environmental organisation if she felt her employees reflected multicultural Britain.

She replied calmly: "Equity is not an issue for us. We're here to save the world." While the concept of intersectionality was new at the time, the deep rupture between environmental activism on the one hand and the need for an equity framing on the other was widespread among activists and policymakers.

Not only was this a major factor in keeping people of colour out of both the environmental movement and environmental jobs, but it also kept the "green" agenda away from tackling "social" issues such as poverty, racism, equity and justice.

However, in recent years research has shown that the issue of environmental quality is inextricably linked to that of equity and human equality at all geographic scales. Wherever in the world environmental despoliation and degradation is happening, it is almost always linked to questions of social justice, human rights, racism, equity and people's quality of life in its widest sense.

From recent [floods in Pakistan](#) to excessive heat in formerly redlined US neighbourhoods, from pollution-related deaths such as [Ella Kissi-Debrah](#) who lived within 30 metres of London's South Circular Road, to the toxic plight of the [copper pickers at Agbogbloshie](#), the world's largest e-waste

dump in Accra, Ghana, the poorest are bearing the brunt of environmental “bads”, and in the case of climate “bads”, they are the least responsible for carbon production.

Today, the situation among activists and policymakers is very different from the 1980s and 1990s. I would argue that it is the justice framing, which was initially called for by activists of colour, that has had the most impact on environmental and sustainability agendas worldwide. We now have the discourses of environmental justice, food justice and climate justice, white supremacy, decolonisation and oppression permeating mainstream environmental and sustainability agendas, activism and policy.

We also have Kate Raworth’s equity-focused [Doughnut Economics](#), the justice-focused [Greenhouse Development Rights](#) framework developed and modelled by the Stockholm Environment Institute, the UN Sustainable Development goals which more fully reflect poverty and inequality, racism, Indigenous and women’s rights, and we have Fridays for Future “strikes” in around 450 places worldwide, demanding that rich countries pay reparations for “loss and damage” due to global heating and climate-related disasters.

We’ve come a long way, but there’s still a long way to go.

- Julian Agyeman is a professor of urban and environmental policy and planning at Tufts University, and editor-in-chief of *Local Environment: The International Journal of Justice and Sustainability*
- ***Do you have an opinion on the issues raised in this article? If you would like to submit a letter of up to 300 words to be considered for publication, email it to us at guardian.letters@theguardian.com***

Opinion**Liz Truss**

There is now a way for the UK to rebuild its bridges with the EU – Labour should take the lead

[Lorenzo Marsili](#)

A new community created as a counter to Russian aggression could help to bring EU countries closer to the rest of Europe



The European Political Community was devised by the French president, Emmanuel Macron. The UK's prime minister, Liz Truss, will be attending. Photograph: Ludovic Marin/AFP/Getty Images

Thu 6 Oct 2022 04.00 EDTLast modified on Thu 6 Oct 2022 09.45 EDT

Imagine it's 2030. You can freely reside in and seek employment across the UK, the EU, [Ukraine](#), Turkey, the western Balkans and a handful of other flourishing democracies. You cross open borders on integrated high-speed

rail connections, powered by jointly financed green hydrogen infrastructure and integrated energy grids.

You feel secure as these countries ensure equitable supplies of life-saving vaccines and maintain a joint fast-response taskforce for climate disasters.

As Russia's war on Ukraine continues, this sounds like science fiction. But it is a real prospect if the European Political Community – a new organisation that will be launched in Prague on 6 October – succeeds. Heads of government from 44 European countries including those of all 27 EU states will attend the inaugural session. The UK prime minister, Liz Truss, despite at first showing little enthusiasm for it, has said [she will be there](#).

The European Political Community, first proposed last May by the French president [Emmanuel Macron](#) as a forum distinct from the EU, is emerging as a direct result of Russia's war of aggression. The aim is to create a European democratic space including, but not limited to the EU. It will be a way of providing Ukraine with long-term institutional support and a clear democratic anchorage. After the 2014 annexation of Crimea, the west turned the other way; now it must avoid that mistake.

Preventing democratic back-sliding is altogether preferable to intervention elsewhere too: countries such as Georgia, Moldova, or the western Balkans will need to be safeguarded from autocratic encroachment and this community offers them a tangible path.

EU enlargement was traditionally meant to perform these functions. But enlargement is a painfully slow process and unlikely to happen again before the [EU itself is reformed](#). Joining the EU can take up to a decade and delays can have nefarious consequences: Turkey's humiliation while sitting in the EU waiting room since 1987 played no small part in Erdoğan's rise to power. And so, what is to be done.

The European Political Community is an answer to that question. It is about much more than protecting countries sitting between the EU and Russia – as the UK's participation shows.

While Joe Biden's [Summit for Democracies](#) was little more than a large Zoom meeting, and China's Belt and Road initiative is a global projection of its autocratic power, the European Political Community may become the first democratic laboratory for a "planetary" politics that [goes beyond the nation state](#) and bestows tangible benefits and rights on the citizens of participating states.

The details are still to be worked out – although no shortage of good proposals [are in place](#). The energy crisis for example, offers the opportunity for cross-border renewable production and integration of energy grids and storage facilities.

The improvement of communication and transport infrastructure for rail, road and water traffic would go a long way in creating a sense of proximity while improving market conditions. The EU's recent extension of free mobile phone roaming charges to Ukraine offers a symbolic yet easily replicable model.

Joint investment could be secured by expanding the mechanism that underpins the EU recovery fund, the first transnational joint debt and investment prototype. Human mobility, crafting a space of free movement that halts the division between first- and second-class citizens, should be on the cards.

Sign up to This is Europe

Free weekly newsletter

The most pivotal stories and debates for Europeans – from identity to economics to the environment

Privacy Notice: Newsletters may contain info about charities, online ads, and content funded by outside parties. For more information see our [Privacy Policy](#). We use Google reCaptcha to protect our website and the Google [Privacy Policy](#) and [Terms of Service](#) apply.

The UK has more to gain than most. Truss's attendance is welcome, although it is unlikely to lead to very imaginative or constructive

engagement. And so here is a plea to British progressives and to the UK [Labour](#) party leadership: own this. A post-Brexit, progressive UK can become a leading force in a community of European democracies. A project that is complementary but external to the EU offers the UK its best tool, as a former EU member, to regain closeness with the rest of Europe, giving it its cherished global projection while returning some of the rights taken from British citizens by Brexit – from free movement to joint research funding.

It's easy to mock the new club as a talking shop or a gimmick. And yet this is not a helpful time to belittle Europe. Faced with Covid-19 and a war on its soil, a continent accused by [critics of being in irreversible decline](#) and obsessed with micro-managing such things as the size of bananas might have been expected to collapse.

The opposite happened. Covid-19 eventually led to the [EU recovery fund](#) and to the successful joint procurement of vaccines. The war in Ukraine has cemented the solidarity between EU countries and advanced fiscal coordination with joint taxation on energy companies. Had a writer predicted such an outcome during the European debt crisis and in the wake of the Brexit referendum, their idea would have been dismissed as fantasy. But this is now the world we live in. We should not let our ambition be poorer than reality.

- Lorenzo Marsili is a philosopher, activist and founder of European Alternatives and Fondazione Studio Rizoma. He is the author of Planetary Politics: a Manifesto

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/oct/06/uk-eu-labour-russia-europe>

2022.10.06 - Around the world

- [Pakistan PM says he should not have to beg for help after catastrophic floods](#)
- [Iran Prosecutors to investigate death of schoolgirl in early days of protests](#)
- ['For freedom' French actors cut their hair in support of Iranian women](#)
- [Mexico Mayor among 18 killed in town hall massacre](#)

World news

Pakistani PM says he should not have to beg for help after catastrophic floods

Shehbaz Sharif says he wants ‘climate justice’ from rich polluting countries after monsoons put a third of his country under water



People displaced because of the monsoon floods in a camp in Sehwan, Pakistan on 30 September. Photograph: Akhtar Soomro/Reuters

[Hannah Ellis-Petersen](#) and [Shah Meer Baloch](#) in Lahore

Wed 5 Oct 2022 21.00 EDT Last modified on Thu 6 Oct 2022 13.19 EDT

Shehbaz Sharif, the prime minister, has said [Pakistan](#) should not be forced to go out with a “begging bowl” to rich polluting nations after the floods that have devastated the country and said he would be seeking “climate justice” from the international community.

Speaking from his home in Lahore, Sharif warned that Pakistan is facing an unprecedented crisis of health, food security and internal displacement after

the “apocalyptic” monsoons which put a third of Pakistan’s regions under water. Some areas were hit by 1.7m of rainfall, the highest on record.

Scientists have determined that the floods were due to climate breakdown. But with Pakistan responsible for 0.8% of global carbon emissions, Sharif said it was the “responsibility of the developed countries, who caused these emissions, to stand by us”.

“I’ve never seen this kind of devastation, inundation and suffering of our people in my lifetime,” said Sharif. “[Millions have been displaced](#), they have become climate refugees within their own country.”

While the international community has given billions in funds and donations and commitments for further support, Sharif was clear it was “not enough”. “The enormity of this climate-induced catastrophe is beyond our fiscal means,” he said. “The gap between our needs and what is available is too wide and it is widening by the day.”

The official death toll from the floods is 1,600, though many estimates on the ground have been higher. More than nine million people have been displaced and over 2m homes destroyed, and millions of families have been forced to live in makeshift tents or shelters on roadsides.



Homes surrounded by flood waters in Sohbat Pur city, a district of Pakistan's south-western Baluchistan province in August. Photograph: Zahid Hussain/AP

The extent of the damage has been put at between \$30bn and \$35bn but Sharif said it was “a rough estimate, it could be more”, with more than 30,000km of roads destroyed along with bridges, railways and power lines, as well as 4m hectares (10m acres) of crops washed away.

“Let me be clear, this is about climate justice,” said Sharif. “We are not blaming anybody, we’re not casting allegations, what we are saying is this is not of our making but we have become a victim. Should I be asked to cast my appeal into a begging bowl? That is double jeopardy. That’s unjust, unfair.”

Even before the floods hit, Pakistan was facing economic catastrophe, with soaring inflation, mounting foreign debt repayments and fast-diminishing foreign currency reserves. Sharif's government, who took over in April after [the previous prime minister Imran Khan was toppled](#) in a vote of no-confidence, had revived the programme with the International Monetary Fund to provide some economic stability to the country, but the funds have come with painful and unpopular conditions.

Sharif was adamant that even with the billions in upcoming foreign debt repayments, and the billions more now in flood damages, the country had averted default through the IMF deal, and would still be able to service the rest of its foreign debt payments, which total around \$22bn for the next year. “No way. We will not default,” he said.

Sharif confirmed they would be talking to “everybody” – including China and the Paris Club – about the possibility of foreign debt moratorium. “What we are asking for is fiscal space but not through the burden of more debt,” he said.

[Climate journalism, open to all](#)

But Ishaq Dar, the newly appointed finance minister, said in a separate interview that he was reluctant to turn to the Paris Club, a collective of nations including the US, UK, Australia and France that help countries struggling with debt.

“If the global community cooperates, donates and helps with the reconstruction, then I think we can avoid it,” said Dar. “Going to the Paris Club is not a very comfortable feeling so I hope we will not have to resort to it.”

Though the rainfall has stopped, many areas in Pakistan – particularly in the region of Sindh – still remain flooded. The humanitarian crisis in Pakistan continues to worsen as the stagnant water is causing diseases such as malaria and dengue to run rife, with children falling sick in large numbers and hospitals overwhelmed.

Sign up to First Edition

Free daily newsletter

Archie Bland and Nimo Omer take you through the top stories and what they mean, free every weekday morning

Privacy Notice: Newsletters may contain info about charities, online ads, and content funded by outside parties. For more information see our [Privacy](#).

[Policy](#). We use Google reCaptcha to protect our website and the Google [Privacy Policy](#) and [Terms of Service](#) apply.

Sharif's government has faced criticism as aid and assistance has still not reached large swathes of the affected people who are living without access to clean water, food and shelter in the regions of Sindh and Balochistan. "I concede that, because of the vastness of the problem, we have not been able to do the job so far as it should have been done," said Sharif. "But look at the distances alone. Some of these areas were cut off completely."

With corruption rife at local level in Pakistan, many have also voiced concern that while billions are flowing into the country, it may end up in the pockets of a few local administrators and leaders. Sharif was insistent that the Benazir income support programme (BISP) being used to disburse the flood relief funds is known for its transparency.

[Map of Pakistan's population centres and river systems](#)

Pakistan's plight has captured the attention of the international community, with the UN general secretary, António Guterres, calling the floods "climate carnage" on a scale he had never seen before. Last month, President Biden used his speech at the UN general assembly in New York to urge countries to help Pakistan, and the leaders of the UK, France, Saudi Arabia, China and many more have given millions in donations and pledged further support.

Sharif said while he was grateful for the "very touching words and statements", it was "all very fine but more important is practical demonstration of these statements into action".

He said: "While they are doing a very good job, and we appreciate it, this is not enough. They must come forward with a far better and a far bigger plan to rescue us and rehabilitate us and put us back on our footing."

Sharif pointed to the unfulfilled promise made by rich nations over a decade ago to commit \$100bn a year in a climate fund for less developed nations on the forefront of the climate emergency. "Where's that money?" asked Sharif.

“It’s high time that we question and remind these countries to fulfil their commitments and pledges they have made.”

However, while many Pakistani commentators, as well as Sharif’s [own climate minister](#), have been calling not for aid but for climate reparations from the wealthy polluting nations, Sharif was quick to push back on this suggestion.

“We’re not asking about reparations,” he said. “No, we’re not. I don’t think talk of reparations is proper at this point in time. What I am saying is that they should take notice of the situation, take responsibility and act speedily before it’s too late, before the damage becomes irreparable – not just for Pakistan, but for the world.”

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/oct/06/pakistani-pm-says-he-should-not-have-to-beg-for-help-after-catastrophic-floods>

[Iran](#)

Iran to investigate death of schoolgirl in early days of protests

Authorities respond to growing outrage over death of Nika Shakrami, but continue violent crackdown



The death of Nika Shakrami, who would have turned 17 at the weekend, has become a focus for online activists. Photograph: Twitter

[*Emma Graham-Harrison*](#)

Wed 5 Oct 2022 15.21 EDTLast modified on Thu 6 Oct 2022 00.15 EDT

Iranian prosecutors have opened an investigation into the death of a teenage girl during the early days of protests in Tehran, who has become an icon for the anti-government movement.

The popular uprising against Iran's theocratic rulers was sparked by the death in custody of Mahsa Amini, a 22-year-old Iranian Kurd detained for

allegedly violating the country's laws on clothing, and has [largely been led by women](#).

Universities have been a battleground for days, and on Wednesday riot police were deployed around campuses in several cities including Tehran, Reuters reported, citing witnesses.

“There are lots of security forces around Tehran University. I am even scared to leave the campus. Lots of police vans are waiting outside to arrest students,” said one student in the capital.

Students join anti-government protests in schools across Iran – video

This week high school students have also taken an increasingly prominent role. They have attacked symbols of the ruling regime, including portraits of prominent clerics, taken off their headscarves and documented their fight against decades-old restrictions in videos and photos.

Schoolgirls were part of street protests in 1979 against the new Islamic government's compulsory hijab ruling under Ayatollah Ali Khamenei.

Defiance has spread rapidly, despite more than 1,500 arrests and a bloody government crackdown in which dozens of people have been killed and hundreds more injured.

Video shared online on Wednesday appeared to show one group of students chanting “death to Khamenei”. Other schoolgirls shouted “get lost” at a member of a volunteer government paramilitary force who had been brought in to speak to them.

'Basij get lost!' Female protesters heckle morality police in Iran – video

The death of Nika Shakrami, who would have turned 17 at the weekend, has become a focus for online activists [who say she was killed during the first days of protests](#), in late September. After she went missing, her family spent several days searching for her before she was confirmed dead.

The government has responded to growing public outrage by launching an investigation. Officials told state media there were no bullet wounds in teenager's body, her death was not linked to protests and she had fallen from a roof.

“A case has been filed in the criminal court to investigate the cause of Nika Shakrami's death,” the Tehran public prosecutor Ali Salehi was quoted as saying by the official IRNA news agency late on Tuesday. “An order to investigate the case has been issued.”

Another state news agency, Tasnim, said eight people had been arrested in connection with the death.

The government has intensified efforts to stamp out the protests as they spread around the country and across ethnic and class divides. Authorities claimed the leaderless movement has been [fomented by foreign agents](#).

The dress code for women – at the heart of the protests – was defended by the interior minister, Ahmad Vahidi, a former commander in the Revolutionary Guards' Quds Force, who said protesters wanted “the nakedness and shamelessness of women”.

Sign up to First Edition

Free daily newsletter

Archie Bland and Nimo Omer take you through the top stories and what they mean, free every weekday morning

Privacy Notice: Newsletters may contain info about charities, online ads, and content funded by outside parties. For more information see our [Privacy Policy](#). We use Google reCaptcha to protect our website and the Google [Privacy Policy](#) and [Terms of Service](#) apply.

As well as using violence on the streets, Iran's leaders have tried to block internet access in an attempt to stop social media sites being used to coordinate the protests and news being shared. The threat of jail has also been used in an effort to silence celebrities inside Iran.

The singer Shervin Hajipour was arrested after his song For, which uses protest messages on social media as its lyrics, became an unofficial protest anthem. He was released on bail, but soon after went on Instagram to denounce foreign “movements” for making “improper uses of his song”.

But many people suggested the post was a forced statement, made under duress while he was in custody. Human rights groups have frequently criticised Iran for forcing prisoners to make confessions.

The protests have come at a time of increased tensions with the west, when efforts to salvage the 2015 nuclear deal have stalled. In a rare concession, on Wednesday Iran allowed 85 year-old Baquer Namazi, a US citizen and former Unicef official, to leave the country.

The US had demanded his release as a condition of reviving the nuclear deal. Namazi was detained in 2016 when he traveled to Iran to press for the release of his son Siamak, who had been arrested several months earlier on espionage charges.

Siamak Namazi has been released from jail on furlough but remains inside Iran; his father who needs urgent medical treatment [landed in Oman on Wednesday](#).

The Iranian foreign ministry also summoned the British ambassador on Tuesday to complain about “interventionist” comments from the UK. Britain’s foreign secretary, James Cleverly, has described the violence in Iran as “truly shocking”.

Moment Swedish lawmaker cuts her hair in protest against Iranian regime during EU assembly – video

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/oct/05/iran-investigation-death-schoolgirl-nika-shakrami-protests-crackdown>

[France](#)

‘For freedom’: French actors cut their hair in support of Iranian women

Celebrities including Juliette Binoche and Marion Cotillard stage protest after death of Mahsa Amini



Juliette Binoche, Marion Cotillard, and Isabelle Huppert cut their hair in an online protest video after the death of Mahsa Amini in Iran.

[Kim Willsher](#) in Paris

Wed 5 Oct 2022 08.23 EDTFirst published on Wed 5 Oct 2022 07.49 EDT

More than 50 high-profile French women have filmed themselves cutting their hair in support of Iranian women and girls who have been killed in protests at the death of Mahsa Amini after her arrest by Iranian morality police.

Messagers sans précédent d'actrices et de chanteuses françaises de renom (Juliette Binoche, Marion Cotillard, Isabelle Adjani, Isabelle

Huppert, Angèle...) qui se coupent les cheveux en soutien au combat des Iraniennes pour leur liberté. [#Iran](#) [#MahsaAmini](#)
pic.twitter.com/n66Ry7Lg6K

— Armin Arefi (@arminarefi) [October 5, 2022](#)

They include some of the best-known names of French cinema; Juliette Binoche, Marion Cotillard, Isabelle Adjani and Isabelle Huppert, as well as the Belgian singer [Angèle](#). The British-born singer Jane Birkin – who is filmed with her daughter Charlotte Gainsbourg – and actor Charlotte Rampling, both of whom live in France, and Julie Gayet, wife of former French president François Hollande, were also shown cutting their hair “for freedom”.

A compilation of the videos was accompanied by the soundtrack of a Persian version of the Italian folk song [Bella Ciao by a young Iranian singer called Gandom](#). Bella Ciao originated in the hardships of female paddy field workers in the late 19th century and became the anthem of the Italian resistance movement by partisans opposing fascism in the second world war. It has since become a hymn of freedom and resistance.

The video appeared on Wednesday morning on [Instagram](#) as #soutienfemmesiran (Support Iranian Women) and the hashtag #HairforFreedom. It was also [posted on Twitter](#).

Across Iran, protesters have taken to the streets under the slogan “Women, life, liberty”, burning headscarves and confronting police and security officials. A wave of anger was sparked after Amini a 22-year-old Kurdish woman, [died in custody](#) on 16 September, three days after her arrest for allegedly breaching Iran’s strict rules for women on wearing hijab headscarves and modest clothing.

The French video echoes those showing Iranian women removing their hijabs and cutting their hair.

On Instagram, it was accompanied by the message: “It is impossible not to denounce again and again this terrible repression. The dead are already

numbered in the dozens, including children. The arrests only add to the number of prisoners already illegally detained and too often tortured. We have therefore decided to respond to the call by cutting off some of our strands of hair.”

Moment Swedish lawmaker cuts her hair in protest against Iranian regime during EU assembly – video

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/oct/05/french-women-cut-their-hair-in-support-of-iran-protests-juliette-binoche-marion-cotillard>

Mexico

Mexico mayor among 20 killed in town hall massacre

Dispute between rival gangs lead to fatal shooting of lawmaker and his father in southern state of Guerrero



Members of the Mexican army guard the scene at the municipal palace of San Miguel Totolapan after mass shooting. Photograph: EPA

Staff and agencies in San Miguel Totolapan

Thu 6 Oct 2022 16.31 EDTFirst published on Thu 6 Oct 2022 05.04 EDT

A conflict between two rival gangs in the violence-plagued southwestern state of Guerrero has left 20 dead, including a local mayor, and two more wounded.

The Guerrero state security council said gunmen burst into the town hall in the village of San Miguel Totolapan on Wednesday and opened fire on a meeting the mayor was holding with other officials.

Among those shot dead were the mayor, Conrado Mendoza, his father and former mayor, Juan Mendoza, and other local officials, according to a statement from state authorities.

A minor was also among those killed, authorities said. Photos and videos shared on social media show the town hall riddled with bullet holes.

“It happened in the context of a dispute between criminal gangs,” deputy security minister Ricardo Mejía said, adding that organised crime groups La Familia Michoacana and Los Tequileros appeared to be involved.

Speaking at a news conference alongside President Andrés Manuel López Obrador, Mejía said an investigation to find the perpetrators was underway.

Investigators were also working to verify a video in which Los Tequileros appeared to claim responsibility for the killings, he added. Both gangs are involved in drug smuggling, as well as extortion and kidnapping.

San Miguel Totolapan is a geographically large but sparsely populated mountainous township in a region known as [Tierra Caliente, one of Mexico’s most conflict-ridden areas](#).

In 2016, Totolapan [locals got so fed up with abductions by the Tequileros that they kidnapped the gang leader’s mother](#) to leverage the release of other hostages.

The governor of Guerrero, Evelyn Salgado, said in a news conference the incident was “a clear reflection of the social decomposition we’ve inherited”, and promised to crack down on crime in the state.

State prosecutor Sandra Luz Valdovinos said she was sending 90 policemen to the surrounding area.

There were so many victims that a backhoe was brought into the town’s cemetery to scoop out graves as residents began burying their dead on Thursday. By midday, two bodies had already been buried and 10 more empty pits stood waiting.

A procession of about 100 residents singing hymns walked solemnly behind a truck carrying the coffin of one man killed in the shooting. Once they neared the cemetery, several men hoisted the coffin out of the truck and walked with it to the waiting grave. Dozens of soldiers were posted at the entrance to the town.

There have been record levels of homicides during López Obrador's presidency, with about 750 people killed in the state of Guerrero alone through August, according to official data.

He has been criticised by civil society for handing increased responsibility for domestic security to the armed forces, particularly through the creation of a National Guard that has been stacked with military personnel.

Originally intended to be a civilian institution, replacing the federal police, the president has moved to place the National Guard under control of the army. The move received criticism from domestic adversaries and the United Nations over the militarisation of public security and sparked protests across the country.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/oct/06/mexico-mayor-among-18-killed-in-town-hall-massacre>

Headlines monday 3 october 2022

- [Live Kwasi Kwarteng says he feels ‘humility and contrition’ after U-turn on plan to cut 45p income tax rate](#)
- [Conservatives Liz Truss abandons plan to scrap 45p top rate of income tax amid Tory revolt](#)
- [Analysis Kwarteng’s tax U-turn was inevitable – and he has already done damage](#)
- [Analysis Tax U-turn wins Truss some time but damage to credibility remains](#)

[Politics live with Andrew Sparrow](#)Politics

Kwasi Kwarteng ‘to bring forward planned fiscal statement’ in another U-turn – as it happened

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2022/oct/03/truss-expected-to-abandon-plan-to-abolish-45-top-rate-of-income-tax-live>

[Tax and spending](#)

Liz Truss abandons plan to scrap 45p top rate of income tax amid Tory revolt

Government makes U-turn over proposal to abolish top-rate tax cut after growing backlash over mini-budget

- [Politics live – latest updates](#)



Liz Truss and Kwasi Kwarteng on Sunday, the first day of the Conservative party conference in Birmingham. Photograph: Leon Neal/Getty Images

[Peter Walker](#) and [Virginia Harrison](#)

Mon 3 Oct 2022 04.18 EDTFirst published on Mon 3 Oct 2022 02.24 EDT

Liz Truss's government has abandoned its plan to abolish the 45% top rate of income tax in a humiliating U-turn, after a growing Conservative revolt over the policy and a turbulent reaction from markets.

Announcing the decision in an early morning [tweet](#) on Monday, Kwasi Kwarteng said: “We get it, and we have listened.”

The chancellor said the decision to cut tax for people on incomes of £150,000 or more “has become a distraction from our overriding mission to tackle the challenges facing our country”.

He continued: “As a result, I’m announcing we are not proceeding with the abolition of the 45p tax rate.”

We get it, and we have listened. pic.twitter.com/IOfwHTUo76

— Kwasi Kwarteng (@KwasiKwarteng) [October 3, 2022](#)

But in a round of broadcast interviews hours before he was due to address the Conservative conference in Birmingham, Kwarteng denied his mini-budget 10 days ago had been a mistake, despite its impact on the pound and on the cost of government debt, which in turn has made mortgages more expensive.

Asked if the fiscal package, including a total of £45bn in unfunded tax cuts, had been an error, Kwarteng told BBC Radio 4’s Today programme: “I don’t recognise that at all. We were acting at very, very high speed.”

Kwarteng insisted much of the market turmoil was caused by international factors, and declined repeated invitations to apologise. “There’s humiliation and contrition and I’m happy to own it,” he said eventually.

It is nonetheless a significant reverse for a chancellor in the job for little more than three weeks, as well as for Truss. Kwarteng, who had been due to tell the conference that he was “confident our plan is the right one”, told Today he had not considered resigning.

The sudden change of course followed a realisation within Downing Street that so many Conservative MPs objected to the policy that it might be voted down in parliament, amid worries from voters about rising mortgage costs.

Kwarteng told Today that he and the prime minister had discussed their options over the weekend: “We were absorbing the reaction, and we were thinking, what are we going to do?”

Kwasi Kwarteng suggests Liz Truss took decision to U-turn on 45p rate – video

In an earlier interview with BBC1’s Breakfast, Kwarteng refused to concede the abolition of the 45p tax rate was a mistake, saying it was taking attention away from policies such as the intervention to limit energy bills.

“What I admit is it was a massive distraction on a strong package,” he said.

Kwarteng did, however, say he would “take responsibility” for the policy, adding: “I’ve said that I’ve listened. I get the reaction. I’ve spoken to lots of people up and down the country. I’ve spoken to constituents. I’ve spoken to MPs and councillors and other people in our political system. But most importantly, I’ve listened to voters.”

The chancellor said he had “decided, along with the prime minister”, that it should go: “We felt that the 45p issue was drowning out a strong package of intervention on energy, a strong package of intervention on tax cuts for people generally.”

Kwarteng declined to comment about whether his credibility as chancellor was now undermined, saying only that he was “100% focused on the growth plan”.

Sign up to First Edition

Free daily newsletter

Archie Bland and Nimo Omer take you through the top stories and what they mean, free every weekday morning

Privacy Notice: Newsletters may contain info about charities, online ads, and content funded by outside parties. For more information see our [Privacy Policy](#). We use Google reCaptcha to protect our website and the Google [Privacy Policy](#) and [Terms of Service](#) apply.

However, he declined to say whether the reduction in the amount of borrowing needed for tax cuts meant benefits could rise in line with inflation.

Labour's shadow chancellor, Rachel Reeves, said the government had "destroyed their economic credibility and damaged trust in the British economy". She added: "The Tories need to reverse their whole economic, discredited trickle down strategy."

Ed Davey, the Liberal Democrat leader, said: "This humiliating U-turn comes too late for the millions seeing their mortgage rates soar because of this botched budget. The [Conservatives](#) must now cancel their conference and recall Parliament, to sort out this mess for the sake of the country."

The pound soared in overnight trading on Monday as reports emerged that the government would U-turn. Sterling hit \$1.125 at one stage, recovering to levels before the mini-budget, though it pared back some of the gains in early morning trading to stand at \$1.119.

The overall package of unfunded tax cuts in the mini-budget triggered uncertainty in the City and was criticised by the International Monetary Fund. After a steep rise in the cost of government debt, the Bank of England made a a £65bn emergency intervention to restore order.

From mini-budget to market turmoil: Kwasi Kwarteng's week – video timeline

At the conference, the former cabinet ministers Michael Gove and Grant Shapps had taken aim at the plan to cut the top income tax rate, with speculation the wider programme of tax cuts could be financed in part by cutting benefits.

Gove toured fringe events at the party conference in Birmingham to give his verdict on the plan, which he called "not Conservative", hinting that he could vote against the measure in the Commons.

Shapps, the former transport secretary, used a column in the Times to say "this is not the time to be making big giveaways to those who need them

least” because “when pain is around, pain must be shared”.

“This bolt-from-the-blue abolition of the higher rate, compounded by the lack in communication that the PM acknowledges, is an unforced error that is harming the government’s economic credibility,” he wrote.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2022/oct/03/liz-truss-abandon-plan-scrap-45p-top-rate-income-tax-tory-revolt-kwasi-kwarteng-chancellor>

| [Section menu](#) | [Main menu](#) |

[Economics](#)

[Analysis](#)

Kwarteng's tax U-turn was inevitable – and he has already done damage

[Larry Elliott](#)

Chancellor's reversal shattered his reputation and did unnecessary harm to an already weak UK economy

- [Live coverage of the UK economic crisis](#)



Kwasi Kwarteng's reputation may never recover from his U-turn over the 45p tax rate. Photograph: Oli Scarff/AFP/Getty Images

Mon 3 Oct 2022 13.17 EDTFirst published on Mon 3 Oct 2022 05.51 EDT

[“A little turbulence”](#). That was Kwasi Kwarteng's attempt to put the horror show of the past 10 days to bed. “No more distractions,” the chancellor

added. It was time to focus on the job at hand. Move along. Nothing to see here.

It seems unlikely Kwarteng will get away with it that easily. In the financial markets there was respite after last week's mayhem, but also a sense that the decision by the man responsible for the UK's Treasury policy to [abandon plans](#) to scrap the 45% top rate of income tax paid by those earning more than £150,000 was too little, too late.

The humiliating U-turn forced on the government will have economic as well as political consequences. A week of turmoil in the financial markets showed just how badly [his mini-budget](#) had gone down with international investors. [The pound fell, the cost of government borrowing rose, mortgage products were pulled.](#)

Liz Truss's government has made faster growth its central mission, and that aspiration was the central theme of Kwarteng's speech. But the mini-budget was threatening to deliver a brutal squeeze on activity caused by dearer imports and higher interest rates: the opposite to what the new prime minister had wanted. Hence the U-turn.

In itself, scrapping the top rate of tax was relatively small beer. Britain is a £2tn-plus economy and the cost of abolishing the 45% rate is estimated to be about £2bn a year. It made up less than 5% of Kwarteng's £45bn package of tax cuts.

For the markets, though, the problem was that abolishing the top rate symbolised everything they didn't like about the mini-budget: the fact that the tax cuts were unfunded, that they might lead to higher inflation, and that they were likely to prompt a tough response from the Bank of England. And, as Truss's heroine Margaret Thatcher once put it: you can't buck the markets.

The initial response to the inevitable U-turn was moderately encouraging for the government. Sterling rose by about a cent against the dollar and bond yields – the interest rates paid to the investors who finance new UK

borrowing – fell back a little. Signs of an economic slowdown in the US helped boost the pound and gilts further late in the day.

But the gains were modest and yields are much higher than they were when Truss became prime minister just four weeks ago. Even after the policy shift, the short-term consequences of the mini-budget will be negative. In the circumstances, Kwarteng's mention of the Conservatives facing the "full force of Labour's incompetence" in 2010 showed a lot of nerve.

From mini-budget to market turmoil: Kwasi Kwarteng's week – video timeline

Fiona Cincotta, a senior financial markets analyst at City Index and Forex.com, said: "The pound has been behaving more like an emerging market currency in recent weeks, and this behaviour from the government will do little to change that perception.

"The first major U-turn within the first month of rule isn't exactly an encouraging start for Liz Truss's government. The move could potentially limit gains in sterling as the market frets over the government's ability to ride this storm out in a coherent manner."

Paul Johnson, the director of the Institute for Fiscal Studies thinktank, said another consequence of the mini-budget was that the government would now be forced into spending cuts, something Kwarteng failed to rule out in a speech that sought to emphasise his "ironclad" commitment to fiscal discipline.

As far as the markets are concerned, that pledge has come 10 days too late. Policy mistakes – especially policy mistakes as big as that over the 45% rate of tax – have serious and lasting consequences. An already weak economy has suffered unnecessary damage.

Truss led the standing ovation at the end of Kwarteng's speech. Few were fooled. If a fall guy is needed, Kwarteng will be it. His reputation has been shredded and may never recover.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2022/oct/03/kwasi-kwarteng-45p-tax-u-turn-uk-economy>.

| [Section menu](#) | [Main menu](#) |

[Conservatives](#)

[Analysis](#)

Tax U-turn wins Truss some time but damage to credibility remains

[Pippa Crerar](#) Political editor

PM said she was prepared to make unpopular decisions – but then buckled, so now she will be seen as both unpopular and wrong

- [Latest news from the Conservative conference – live](#)



It was seen as electoral suicide to cut taxes for the rich, and a succession of bad polls for the Tories bore that view out. Photograph: Tolga Akmen/EPA

Mon 3 Oct 2022 14.18 EDTFirst published on Mon 3 Oct 2022 04.24 EDT

So it turns out the lady was for turning, after all. Just hours after Liz Truss declared on national television that she would stand by her controversial plan to scrap the 45p top tax rate, [she dumped it](#).

The decision came in crisis talks with her chancellor, [Kwasi Kwarteng](#), late on Sunday night, after the prime minister spent the evening touring fringe events at the Tory party conference.

It was clear to anybody with even an ounce of political foresight that the U-turn was inevitable. Rebellious Tory MPs, led by the former cabinet minister Michael Gove, had made it clear [they would vote against the 45p rate cut](#), undeterred by threats to strip them of the whip.

They warned of the “un-Conservative” risk of using borrowed money to fund tax cuts and the broader fiscal turbulence unleashed by the uncertainty around the mini-budget. The Tories, they feared, had permanently broken the link with economic competence.

But it was the politics that caused the deepest unease. At a time when people are struggling with the costs of living, and the government is planning further public spending cuts, focusing on welfare, it was seen as electoral suicide to cut taxes for the rich. A succession of bad polls for the Tories bore that view out.

As a humiliated Kwarteng toured the radio stations on Monday morning, he insisted the government had “listened” to the country – until it was pointed out that he’d spent the last 10 days ignoring them. And even after dumping the policy, he still refused to apologise for the damage already caused.

Kwasi Kwarteng suggests Liz Truss took decision to U-turn on 45p rate – video

Every government ended up dropping policies, he said. That may be true, but George Osborne’s [U-turn on the pasty tax](#), Nick Clegg’s on [tuition fees](#), and Boris Johnson’s decision to [row back on free school meals](#) were, while significant, of a different scale.

While binning poor policy should be welcomed, it would have been better not to have imposed it on the country in the first place.

Downing Street insiders suggested Truss was unapologetic about the saga and had only dropped the policy because it was clear she couldn’t get it

through the Commons – quite an admission given the size of the government’s majority.

All the times Truss and Kwarteng defended tax cut plans before U-turn – video

“She still believes it was the right policy, just that it was at the wrong time,” one says. “It wasn’t worth the fight. She knows she’ll need to reserve her political capital for bigger issues.”

The chancellor may have claimed to have “reset the debate” but Tory MPs will fear that it’s too late, that the damage has already been done. The public will always remember that – in response to their mini-budget – the pound tanked against the dollar, the Bank of England was forced to bail out pension funds, mortgage rates are going up, and a new age of austerity is on the horizon.

After she took office, [Truss](#) said she was prepared to be unpopular to drive through her plan for growth. But she buckled, so now she will be seen as both unpopular and wrong.

Sign up to First Edition

Free daily newsletter

Archie Bland and Nimo Omer take you through the top stories and what they mean, free every weekday morning

Privacy Notice: Newsletters may contain info about charities, online ads, and content funded by outside parties. For more information see our [Privacy Policy](#). We use Google reCaptcha to protect our website and the Google [Privacy Policy](#) and [Terms of Service](#) apply.

While many MPs will be glad Truss has listened to their concerns and backed down, others who came out to defend the policy will be less so. With so few of her own backbenchers on her side, she cannot afford to lose trust.

Already, emboldened Tory politicians are working out which other policies they want her to rethink. Ben Houchen, the influential Tees Valley mayor, is

among those who don't think [removing the cap on bankers' bonuses](#) is tenable. Whatever the economic case, they fear it falls into the same category as the 45p tax rate cut: appearing to prioritise the rich while everybody else is suffering.

A decision to put up benefits in line with earnings, rather than inflation, as promised by Boris Johnson, could save the government billions but would hit some of the poorest. Gove, who led the 45p tax rate cut rebellion, said he would take "a lot of persuading" to back any plans to increase benefits by the lower earnings rate. He is not the only MP feeling mutinous.

In the short term, the government may have won itself some time to get through conference and start to flesh out its plans for supply-side reform when parliament returns next week. However, it will always be known as the government that wanted to cut taxes for the rich. Truss's lack of contrition thus far only underlines that.

"We must stay the course. I am confident our plan is the right one," Kwarteng had planned to tell the Tory conference on Monday.

That draft of the speech was ripped up. And with it, the government's credibility.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2022/oct/03/tax-u-turn-wins-truss-some-time-but-damage-to-credibility-remains>

2022.10.03 - Spotlight

- 'We gave up so much' How Covid changed young people's lives
- 'I didn't cry until I knew I was going to live' Monty Python's Eric Idle on surviving pancreatic cancer
- The Bear Forget the food – this kitchen drama is the next great menswear show
- Eliza Carthy 'Folk music is sexy and filthy and at the end of the night you fall over. That's how I live'

‘We gave up so much’: how Covid changed young people’s lives

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2022/oct/03/we-gave-up-so-much-how-covid-changed-young-peoples-lives>

Advertisement

US edition

- [US edition](#)
- [UK edition](#)
- [Australia edition](#)
- [International edition](#)

[The Guardian - Back to home](#)[The Guardian: news website of the year](#)

[The G2 interview](#)[Eric Idle](#)

[Interview](#)

‘I didn’t cry until I knew I was going to live’: Monty Python’s Eric Idle on surviving pancreatic cancer

[Simon Hattenstone](#)



Eric Idle: 'We're old farts. We should be left to go quietly to bed and watch the telly.' Photograph: Lily Idle

Three years after being diagnosed, the 79-year-old has been given the all-clear. He reflects on losing his friends George Harrison and Robin Williams – and how he still manages to always look on the bright side of life



Mon 3 Oct 2022 01.00 EDTLast modified on Mon 3 Oct 2022 10.55 EDT

Eric Idle is a survivor. We've known that for decades. After all, it's 53 years since [Monty Python](#) formed, and the bunch of absurdist jokers are still regarded as the Beatles of comedy. But it was only last week that we discovered *what* a survivor he is. Idle revealed that three years ago he was diagnosed with pancreatic cancer, and that he has come through it. His medical team has now told him that thanks to early diagnosis and surgery, he's likely to be around for the foreseeable.

Idle has always loved his ironies. And none come bigger than this, he says. About 15 years ago, he started working on a project. *Death: The Musical* became his obsession, even though countless people told him it didn't work and would never get made. (It hasn't been.) The basic plot was simple – a man writing *Death: The Musical* finds he is dying. Idle asked his doctor for advice. "I said: 'What's the quickest way to get rid of a character?' and he

said: ‘Pancreatic cancer.’ This is the same doctor who ended up diagnosing me. That was the *fucking plot!* So I had to laugh. And when it’s on yourself it’s even funnier.”

Did he really respond with laughter or did the tears come first? “No, I didn’t cry till I knew I was going to live. I just got on with it. I’m British! You try not to show emotions in the face of danger.”

Idle, 79, has lived in Los Angeles for decades, but few understand Britishness like him. Upper-class twits, deadly bureaucrats, oleaginous salesmen, pedantic bores, establishment perverts, heroic stoics, Panglossian optimists: Python gave all these British stereotypes a surreal twist. One of Idle’s most memorable sketches is Nudge Nudge, in which he asks a stranger in a pub about his sex life via a series of terrible double entendres. It’s one of the few Python sketches with a punchline, and was apparently Elvis Presley’s favourite.

Perhaps Idle is best known for Always Look on the Bright Side of Life, written by him and sung by his character Mr Cheeky as he hangs from the cross in the Python film Life of Brian. Idle was often at his funniest as the sextet’s song-and-dance man. He made his fortune as the writer and lyricist [of the musical Spamalot](#), based on [the film Monty Python and the Holy Grail](#). His estimated worth is \$70m (£63.3m), but he describes this as “laughable” and insists he still has to work. My favourite Idle project is [the mockumentary The Rutles](#), a brilliant parody of the Beatles story, featuring Paul Simon, Mick Jagger and George Harrison.



Monty Python in 1969 ... (from left) Michael Palin, Terry Gilliam, Graham Chapman, John Cleese, Terry Jones and Eric Idle. Photograph: David Newell Smith/The Observer

Idle collects celebrity friends like stamps. Rarely does a sentence pass without a reference to one. It should be insufferable, but he manages to get away with it. As he says, it's just how life has worked out. "People say: 'How d'you know all those people?' Well, if you're in the circus you meet all the other clowns."

Although he's in London, we meet on Zoom because I've got a bug and he can't afford to catch it. "As a cancer survivor I am high-risk," he says, "so they try to keep me away from anybody suffering from anything." He's wearing thick black glasses and a blue jersey and looks as cheery as ever. While John Cleese has become grumpier over the years, Idle has retained his idealism and sunny disposition. On Twitter he rails against the reversal of abortion rights in the US, and the government in Britain, but in person he often looks as if he has just been told the funniest joke in the world. Even when talking about his cancer.

He is here briefly for a surprise appearance on scientist Brian Cox's live show at the O2 in London. Cox is another famous friend. It will be only his second public appearance since his diagnosis. A couple of weeks ago he

made his first, on the US's *The Masked Singer* singing *Love Me Do*. "I wanted to see if the audience still lifted me in the same way – and if I could remember the words, for God's sake." And? "It's a bit challenging. I don't think I'm in danger of being out there too much, but if you can support other people and be with them, I like to do that."

Was he shocked when he got his diagnosis? No, he says, there wasn't time. "I told my wife [former model and actor Tania Kosevich, whom he married in 1981, and with whom he has a daughter, Lily] and kids, made sure everybody was OK and within 10 days I was in hospital. My doctor assured me he had a good chance of getting it because it was right in the middle of my pancreas. It wasn't attached, it had no nodes." The cancer was removed perfectly intact after a five-hour operation.

For three years, he kept silent about it. He would turn up for his twice-yearly scan, knowing the news could be bad. "I've been living six months to six months on tests. I didn't know how much longer I had. I saw my doctor recently, and that's when I got the real shock. I asked him how long I had left, and he said: *10 years*. He also said: 'Had you been two weeks later you wouldn't have got to see the surgery; you would have been straight into chemo', which is unpleasant and not much use at that stage."

In the UK, only 7.3% survive five years with pancreatic cancer. "And some die within three weeks," he says. "It really is that quick." Did he know that at the time? "Of course, because I'd been doing the musical, and I'd asked my doctor that very question."

Even so, he says, he wasn't scared. Why not? "George Harrison. He always said to me: 'Well, you can have as much money as you want, you can be the most famous person in the world, but you're still going to have to die.'" He does a cracking dour scouse impersonation of the former Beatle. "This was always his theme. And he prepared for it his entire life. I was around his deathbed. He wasn't worried because he was in the Hindu faith." Idle's only faith is in science, but Harrison's acceptance of death profoundly affected him. "It was just fabulous to see someone pass away calmly without panic, regret or bitterness. It was a great example."



Idle with (from left) Olivia Arias, George Harrison and Terry Gilliam at the premiere of Monty Python and the Holy Grail, in Hollywood, July 1975. Photograph: Trinity Mirror/Mirrorpix/Alamy

Despite what he says about his British stiff upper lip, Idle is an emotional man, and probably now more so than usual. He becomes tearful talking about Harrison. “George was such a force for good, and so supportive of me at a time in my life when I was confused and sad. My first marriage [to Australian actor Lyn Ashley, mother of his son, Carey] was breaking up, and he just looked after me. I’d never had such a close friendship before with anybody.” Nor since. “I think George was the most influential person I’ve met in life. And certainly in death.”

He and Harrison, who [remortgaged his house to finance The Life of Brian](#), had so much in common. It’s not simply that they were in the biggest groups of their type – it’s the role they played in them. Both were outsiders. Lennon and McCartney were the main Beatles composers, while Harrison wrote on his own. Similarly in Python, Graham Chapman and John Cleese, and Michael Palin and Terry Jones, wrote as teams, while Idle wrote alone. “I was like a free-floating radical, and that’s where George and I bonded.” He grins. “And we liked a reefer and to play guitar together.”

Idle says that, like so many comedians, he was always an outsider. Even in a group of comedians he was the outsider. Although all five British Pythons went to Oxford or Cambridge universities, he was the only one of them who hadn't been to grammar or public school. His father, Ernest, died when he was two, and his mother, Norah, never really recovered. Ernest had survived the war in the RAF, got back to Britain and was hitchhiking home when he got run over. The story sounds like one of those bleakly surreal Python cartoons created by Terry Gilliam. "It *absolutely* is!" he says. "My two watchwords are entropy and irony."

He was sent to a school in Wolverhampton for children of fathers who had been killed in the war, paid for by the RAF Benevolent Fund. He hated the bullying culture and being away from his mother, yet it taught him how to get on with people, partly by taking the mickey out of the teachers. He was both subversive and swotty, and became the first student to win a place at university.

In his first year at Cambridge he was invited to join the Footlights by Tim Brooke-Taylor and Bill Oddie, and performed in a sketch written by Cleeve. He went straight from university to writing for TV shows such as Do Not Adjust Your Set (with Palin and Jones) and At Last the 1948 Show (with Cleeve and Chapman).

Gilliam, the maverick American film-maker, joined Idle, Jones and Palin on Do Not Adjust Your Set. "He'd been sent to us by Cleeve, oddly. Mike and Jonesy were not impressed. I said: 'No, he's got something about him.' I don't know why I said it, and we let him into the gang. He couldn't write but he did brilliant animations, and that gave Jonesy the idea that the second Python series should be linked by animations."



Palin, Idle and Cleese in *And Now For Something Completely Different*, in 1971. Photograph: Ronald Grant

He adored Python's anarchic defiance. "Anything would go. They'd say: 'You can't do that', so we'd think: 'Let's do that, then.' We were in a cab in New York going to get a picture taken by Richard Avedon and we said: 'Well, what are we going to do?' One of us said: 'Well, we're not taking our clothes off, for starters', and of course [we had to do that immediately.](#)"

What does he think when he hears Cleese claiming that comedians are no longer free to make jokes without fear of being cancelled? "He's who he is now. The thing I try to remember is the good times when we were young and funny. And we are no longer those people or speaking to today's generation. We're old farts. We should be left to go quietly to bed and watch the telly." He giggles.

There are only four Pythons left now. Chapman died of cancer at 48; Jones from complications of dementia at 77. Who is Idle closest to nowadays? "I'm not particularly close to any of them. Michael is always the first to write a sweet letter if he finds out you've been through a few things because he genuinely is like that. But I don't think of it like we were mates. We were colleagues and there's a huge difference."

A few years ago he did three huge international tours with Cleese. “It was fun. We got on really well,” he says. But it still doesn’t mean they are friends. Most of his friends have been from the world of music rather than comedy. “I like to play guitar. I like people who play guitar. I like to stick around with people, and we just play and it’s fun. I’ve played with half the Stones. I’ve been up all night in Rome playing with Keith Richards.”

His closest friend in comedy was [Robin Williams](#), who he says was the most naturally funny man he has known. “He was just a great mate. I loved him. We’d go on holidays together. I never expected to out-survive him. I couldn’t believe it when I heard he’d died.” At the time, in 2014, Idle was performing live with a reformed Monty Python. “We were putting a celebrity on stage in a mask and then unmasking them. I asked if he’d come to the last night and do that for us. And he said: ‘I don’t want to be onstage.’ That should have been the clue for me – Robin not wanting to be onstage. Then shortly afterwards we heard the tragic news.” Williams, who had an undiagnosed condition called Lewy body dementia, took his own life. “Robin had this awful disease that nobody knew about till after he’d gone. It makes you completely paranoid. His wife would leave the room and he’d think: ‘She’s having an affair.’ Horrible.”



Idle with Robin Williams in 2004. Photograph: Frazer Harrison/Getty Images

Williams's family asked Idle to speak at his memorial. He couldn't face it, so he wrote a song for him. Does he remember the lyrics? "Goodnight, Robin, thanks for all the laughs, thanks for all the fun you brought and those silly photographs." He starts to well up again, and stops. "Ugh. It makes me go. Sorry. Yeah, I still miss Robin. And George has been gone a long time but I really miss him."

I ask if he's still friends with King Charles, as he appeared to be in the 00s. "No, I'm not. I've not seen him since his 60th birthday when I appeared with the English National Ballet." He stops and corrects himself. "I might have met him since at Billy Connolly's, but it's been a while since those days. He'd come over for dinner and we'd rip his ass, and he just loved it. He just *loved* it. Imagine you've got sycophantic people around you all day and now a bunch of comedians are ripping you apart. It must feel so healthy finally."

Is it true Charles asked him to be his jester? "He did. I don't think he's ever quite forgiven me because I said: 'Why would I want a fucking awful job like that?'" Was the King being serious? For once, Idle stumbles over his words. "I, err, erm, I think he was being funny." I mention the recent footage of Charles losing his temper over a leaky pen and an ill-placed pen-stand. "This is why the Queen was so amazing because she did it so wonderfully and apparently effortlessly. But if you think about the stress he's suddenly under ... Your mum's died and now you're king, for God's sake. I think you have to forgive people because they're still people, they're still going to have to die."

Is he a monarchist? "No. I only worked out the other day why not. On the wall in our house it said about my father: 'He gave his life for King and country' and I think I blamed the King when I was growing up."

As he says, his job has always been to poke the establishment rather than pander to it. Which is just what he does on his Twitter feed. He's terrified at the thought of Donald Trump winning a second term as president. "If he gets to run again I don't know what will happen. We've gone back to the time of the dictators." There's only one solution, he says. "You need to have presidential candidates subject to psychological testing. 'You're an insane narcissist; you have no business being in charge of a teapot.' They are undiagnosed monsters, that's the problem."

And now he's on to Britain. "I had dinner with Jeffrey Archer last night and he said: 'She won't last long.'" Truss? "Yeah. I like Jeffrey. He's very funny; a wonderful gossip."

If Idle was living in the UK, would he prefer to pay 45% tax rather than 40%? "45% always," he says. (He admits he balked when he was paying 83%.) "The Tories are just paying back their supporters. I was happy that the pound dropped in reaction to that. Two weeks in, they're already talking about a vote of confidence."

He tells me more about the dinner with Archer. "We were all cancer survivors at the table, and one thing Jeffrey said last night was that in 30 years people will no longer die from cancer. And I thought: that's my goal."

We catch up a couple of days later, after his appearance with Cox, where he sang The Galaxy Song. How did it go? "It was fabulous. Great fun. There were 7,000 people there." Has it given him confidence to go back on stage? "Just with Brian Cox!"

It was only after receiving the recent good news from his doctor that Idle went public about the cancer, launching the [Bright Side Fund](#). He decided it was time to campaign, to tell people that there is hope. "That's why I came out about it. I wanted to say: 'Look, I was very lucky and I survived. And so can you.' I've heard from so many people how much that meant to them. And that chokes me up. That makes me cry." He pauses. "If there is a more appropriate song for me than Always Look on the Bright Side of Life, I'd like to know about it."

In the UK, Samaritans can be contacted on 116 123 or email jo@samaritans.org. You can contact the mental health charity Mind by calling 0300 123 3393 or visiting mind.org.uk

This article was downloaded by calibre from <https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2022/oct/03/i-didnt-cry-until-i-knew-i-was-going-to-live-monty-pythons-eric-idle-on-surviving-pancreatic-cancer>

Advertisement

US edition

- [US edition](#)
- [UK edition](#)
- [Australia edition](#)
- [International edition](#)

[The Guardian - Back to home](#)[The Guardian: news website of the year](#)

[Fashion](#)

The Bear: forget the food – this kitchen drama is the next great menswear show



‘The look is very alpha’ ... Jeremy Allen White, star of The Bear.
Photograph: Matt Dinerstein/AP

This hectic closeup of kitchen life is more than just a culinary drama – it’s a hymn to the fashions of our time

[Larry Ryan](#)

Mon 3 Oct 2022 05.00 EDT Last modified on Mon 3 Oct 2022 05.02 EDT

In an early moment of the TV drama series [The Bear](#), the perpetually stressed lead character, Carmy, is seen making a rushed deal in a parking lot. He is trying to swap vintage denim with someone who has a case of beef. Carmy needs the meat for his family's barely surviving sandwich shop. It may not seem like a great offer but he pleads: "This is original Big E redline selvedge, all right? Nineteen forty-four. You can get \$1,250 for that on eBay tonight." Throw in a "1955 blanket-lined Type 3" Levi's denim jacket too – "pleated"? The deal goes down (it's mirrored in a later episode when another character sells coke to keep the struggling restaurant afloat. Whatever works.)

Carmen "Carmy" Berzatto, played by Jeremy Allen White, is a nationally recognised award-winning chef, who has returned home to run The Original Beef of Chicagoland after the death of his brother (played in flashback by Jon Bernthal), who had been in chaotic charge. The show is a hectic, closeup look at life in the kitchen. It encompasses grief and trauma, camaraderie and the dignity of work, the strains of gentrification and the fraying ties of family and friends, all at a relentless pace, with rat-a-tat wisecracking and a rage that is always at the point of boiling over. It has been the unexpected hit of US summer television – due on Disney+ in the UK this week – turning its star, complete with tattoos and great hair, into a gritty but damaged heartthrob and [meme](#).

But the early mention of vintage denim points to another aspect that has gained wide attention: its style. "While *The Bear* *appears* to be a food show, it's *actually* the next great menswear show," declared Cam Wolf in GQ. Carmy is also briefly seen keeping his denim in the oven at his apartment – a nod, unwittingly or otherwise, to the storage methods of a TV fashion totem from a previous era: [Sex and the City's Carrie Bradshaw](#). It is not clear whether he collects purely for the resale value or because he's an out-an-out denim nerd, but his obsessional approach to food is matched by the show's attention to a certain style.

And that style has been gaining a lot of traction. The show's costume designers, Courtney Wheeler and Cristina Spiridakis, get almost as much coverage as the show's main creative team, Christopher Storer and Joanna Calo. [Fashion TikTok](#) and [subReddits](#) chased down every detail of Carmy's work wardrobe: his black trousers are Dickies 874 work pants, his footwear a Birkenstock Tokio sandal. The author Kayla Ancrum, New York Magazine and everyone else weighed in on how to get the signature white T-shirt, with emphasis on the specific weight of the material, loop of the collar and cut on the arms and body. Two brands were identified: Whitesville and Merz b. Schwanen.

"I have been surprised by the amount of attention around this style," says Derek Guy, the menswear writer behind the site [Die, Workwear!](#) "The costume designers reportedly went to Self Edge [a small US chain of menswear shops] to buy some of the clothes. After this fact came out, apparently more than 1,000 people went to Self Edge and cleared out their stock of T-shirts from these two brands."



Chef's whites ... Carmen 'Carmy' Berzatto, played by Jeremy Allen White. Photograph: Matt Dinerstein/AP

Ultimately, though, the surge in interest for Carmy/Jeremy Allen White maybe isn't all that hard to decipher. "Carmy is a very handsome guy and

the show's costume designers did a really good job of styling him," says Guy. "He has a nice physique, a great hairstyle and cool-looking clothes. Oftentimes, when people talk about clothes in this way, they're largely drawn by the other aspects of the person's presentation. But that's not to take anything away from the clothes or styling. It's a whole package."

Regardless, there has been much speculation about The Bear's universe. "I haven't been able to figure out if, like, he's supposed to have shopped for those things," says Pete Anderson, a menswear writer and contributor to the US style site [Put This On](#). "Does Carmy know about Whitesville T-shirts? Or does the costume designer know that he would look really good in this T-shirt, but he's supposed to be wearing just a T-shirt he bought."

On the one hand, Carmy is running a restaurant on the brink of bankruptcy, so could he afford those clothes? On the other, he's a high-end chef devoted to every aspect of that lifestyle, so of course he would. It is part of the push and pull of a character battling external and internal demons. The look is very alpha, with obvious nods to [Marlon Brando](#) and [James Dean](#), and yet he is constantly undermined by the steaming masculinity of his "cousin" Richie (played by Ebon Moss-Bachrach), whom Carmy has usurped in taking over the restaurant. Richie's look, meanwhile – Adidas tracksuit pants, high-top trainers, a Members Only pleather jacket – is more indebted to an Italo-sports casual style also in the midst of a resurgence and stretching on screen from [The Sopranos](#) with Paulie Walnuts and Christopher Moltisanti, to [Ray Liotta in Goodfellas](#), and even back to the vest and braces worn by [James Caan's Sonny in The Godfather](#).



Cousins ... Ebon Moss-Bachrach as Richard 'Richie' Jerimovich and White in *The Bear*. Photograph: Matt Dinerstein/FX

[Mad Men](#), starting with a bang in 2007, was perhaps the last TV show to have such a steady stream of attention for its menswear. Again it helped that in its lead, Jon Hamm, they had a handsome actor who could look decent in almost anything. Back in 2011, [Banana Republic sold a capsule collection inspired by the series](#), maybe trying a little too hard. Naturally, much of the retrospective love was merely taking pleasure in its midcentury-modern aesthetic and crisp suiting, rather than something people were likely to emulate regularly.

“I think part of the buzz around *The Bear* stems from the fact that it doesn’t feel too self-consciously ‘styled’,” says Rob Nowill, content director at the e-commerce site Mr Porter. “The costume design occupies a quieter role than it did in, say, *Mad Men* or [Narcos](#) or [The Sandman](#). And I think that’s the appeal: the way the characters dress feels unstudied, which is how we all want to look, really.”



Retro love ... January Jones and Jon Hamm in Mad Men. Photograph: Lionsgate Television/Allstar

Anderson agrees: most of prevailing pop culture is elevated reality, period pieces or drawn from comic-book style. “They’re a little harder to imitate, and we’re probably not going to dress like superheroes every day. So this being people in their 20s and 30s, doing a job, if they look good, I think it’s easier for people to say: ‘Oh, I could do that. I can wear that.’”

Another element that makes The Bear stand out is the relative scarcity of broad pop-culture breakout moments lately, be it via fashion, food or anything else. Because of how diffuse culture has become in the past decade, prestige TV shows, films and albums, regardless of their quality, can pass in a blink, barely registering a wider imprint on the world.



Head to head ... White and Moss-Bachrach in *The Bear*. Photograph: AP

“It’s harder to pinpoint a single piece of culture it seems everyone wants to reflect,” says Anderson. “A movie like 2019’s [Once Upon a Time ... in Hollywood](#) seemed primed for that sort of influence, and I did see guys looking for T-shirts and jackets in the style of that movie, but I think the bar is much higher these days for universal appeal.” In the film, Brad Pitt and Leonardo DiCaprio sport the clothes of late-1960s/early-1970s Hollywood on the precipice of change – all denim and beige leather jackets and Hawaiian shirts – but a [meme](#) has perhaps lingered longer than its fashion. Granted, Hawaiian shirts are widespread at the moment, but fashion-watcher Jake Woolf suggests the influence goes back to another Tarantino creation: Tim Roth’s hapless thief in the era-defining *Pulp Fiction* from 1994.

Indeed, it can be hard to manufacture a fashion moment via TV or film. The short-lived HBO series *How to Make It in America* tried to go direct, chronicling two hipsters’ attempts to build a designer jeans brand among bohemians, scenesters and rich kids in downtown Manhattan. It was 2010’s comedy-drama version of the recent Dimes Square discourse you may have read about, but with boutique denim instead of dork fascism. Though not without some charm, the show was cancelled after a two-season, 16-episode run, and largely lost to time.

Granted, there have been some notable style moments on television in recent years that have organically created a stir. People were endlessly obsessed with the third season of [Succession](#), and there was surprising interest in some of the sartorial choices of the 1% – especially the logo-free cashmere baseball cap worn by Kendall and Logan Roy, as well as the rich-guy gilet layering of Adrien Brody’s cameo character. In late 2020 there was a flurry of attention for the purple Pierpoint & Co branded hoodie worn by a character working for the investment bank at the dark heart of financial drama [Industry](#) – even the late great designer [Virgil Abloh](#) was hunting for it. And back in the [Normal People](#)-crazed early days of the pandemic, there was a brief frenzy for the chain and tight GAA shorts worn by Paul Mescal’s brooding Connell.



How the 1% live ... Adrien Brody, left, and Brian Cox in Succession. Photograph: Macall Polay/AP

The shooting manner of The Bear seems to draw on the singular vision of the [Safdie brothers'](#) recent, much-discussed films. It's a stressful, relentlessly in-your-face aesthetic, almost a hysterical vérité. The excessive realism of the film-making is reflected in the clothing, too. Of course The Bear's moment in vogue may not last long, but in Carmy's kitchen casual it is capturing something immediately accessible and that has long been part of the culture.

“At the risk of sounding corny, I think he wears things that have been appealing for generations because they’re associated with a kind of rugged, working-class masculinity,” says Derek Guy. “Costume designers have relied on these styles for ever to signal a kind of gritty, working-class persona. It fits into a ‘moment’, although I don’t think that this moment ever really goes away. Workwear has been popular for ever. The constant in menswear is this desire always to look more relatable.”



Down but not out ... White in The Bear. Photograph: Matt Dinerstein/FX

The emphasis on certain sturdy, well-made basics with a touch of style has always been a draw. Think of how the late fashion photographer [Bill Cunningham](#) helped spur a wider interest in the classic French blue workman’s jacket, which would soon spread far beyond trades- and craftspeople.

Americana and workwear, meanwhile, remain ever present, “a consistent global design language” in menswear, says Nowill, something that is revived and reassembled continuously. It’s not surprising that such looks resonate and survive. “We can see that over the past year or so we’ve been coming out of the ‘hype’ era, as men have been moving towards a quieter, trend-agnostic approach to dressing,” Nowill says. “There’s a reason why that kind

of look remains so popular: it suits almost everyone, and it doesn't look dated after a few months. Selvedge is part of the same conversation: I think all of us are looking to buy clothes that will endure, that will look better as they age."

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/fashion/2022/oct/03/the-bear-forget-the-food-this-kitchen-drama-is-the-next-great-menswear-show>

| [Section menu](#) | [Main menu](#) |

Advertisement

US edition

- [US edition](#)
- [UK edition](#)
- [Australia edition](#)
- [International edition](#)

[The Guardian - Back to home](#)[The Guardian: news website of the year](#)

[Music](#)

[Interview](#)

Eliza Carthy: ‘Folk music is sexy and filthy and at the end of the night you fall over. That’s how I live’

[Dave Simpson](#)



‘I’m a scrubby little asshole from Yorkshire’ ... Eliza Carthy in Whitby.
Photograph: Christopher Thomond/The Guardian

She was the pink-haired fiddler who punked up folk, but Covid almost sank her and her famous family. Eliza Carthy talks about going broke, bereavement and the healing power of boozy, bawdy music

Mon 3 Oct 2022 01.00 EDTLast modified on Mon 3 Oct 2022 05.13 EDT

At the start of this year, things did not look good for the Waterson-Carthy folk dynasty. It was, as [Eliza Carthy](#) put it, “struggling to survive”. Her mother, the celebrated singer Norma Waterson, had been unable to tour for a decade after falling into a coma that left her having to re-learn how to walk and talk. She’d never returned to full health and had recently been hospitalised with pneumonia. Meanwhile, Covid lockdowns had deprived the MBE-awarded Eliza and her father, the revered singer-songwriter Martin Carthy, of their means of income. Being self-employed, like many artists, they didn’t qualify for furlough, just a small business grant that lasted six months.

“By the third lockdown,” says Carthy, “we were looking at selling our instruments.”

Then an old agent friend in the US suggested Carthy [launch a public appeal](#) for help. “You wouldn’t believe the people who gave us money,” she says. “It’s been comforting and heartbreaking.” Sadly, Waterson passed away in January, aged 82. “We weren’t allowed to see her until the last day,” says Carthy. “And she was gone by then. But we’d been FaceTiming and I got to tell her how much was in the fund. She looked at me and just said: ‘The children are going to be safe. The house is going to be safe.’ And that’s the first time we’d felt like that for a decade.” She reaches for a tissue, to wipe away the tears rolling down her face. “I’m sorry,” she says, “but it’s been really hard.”

I had four glasses of champagne and they found me under a bridge

We're sitting in the kitchen of their congenially cluttered family home in Robin Hood's Bay, a fishing village on the North Yorkshire coast. At the back door, her 81-year-old father – who influenced Bob Dylan and [taught Paul Simon to play Scarborough Fair](#) – is feeding chickens. Carthy moved back in 2011, becoming a “part-time carer and single mum”, as well as running her own band. On the wall are posters for NormaFest, the festival she set up in 2015 so her mother could at least perform locally. “She was a classic matriarch – loving but firm,” says Carthy, brightening at this happier memory. “When I moved back, she wanted me here but didn't want me to touch anything.” She laughs and gestures towards a laptop plonked on a kitchen worktop. “She'd say: ‘This isn't your office! It's a food preparation area!’”



‘Ariana Grande is folk, Bohemian Rhapsody is folk’ ... Carthy. Photograph: Christopher Thomond/The Guardian

Lately, Carthy has thrown herself back into music. This month, she releases *Queen of the Whirl*, an album of fan favourites chosen by a Twitter poll and re-recorded with her crack band the [Restitution](#), to celebrate the 30 years since she skipped her A-levels to become a professional musician. Her parents led the “folk revival” in the 60s, but Carthy is seeking to refashion the genre for a modern world, fusing traditional and contemporary music

with rock guitars, reggae rhythms and sometimes edgy subjects, mixing in the bawdiness and vulnerability she displays in person.

“I object to the Brit-centric definition of folk,” she says, “which is very white and safe and fixated with acoustic instruments.” In her role as [president of the English Folk Dance and Song Society](#), she has been keen to shake things up, diversity-wise. “To me, Ariana Grande is folk music. Bohemian Rhapsody is folk. I define folk as whatever you can sing in a pub – and for people to be able to join in and be as shit as you like. Folk music isn’t clean. It’s sexy and filthy and at the end of the night you fall over. And that’s how I like to live.”

Quite literally, in some instances. The song Blood on My Boots describes the night her friend, the comedian Stewart Lee, invited her to the premiere of [Jerry Springer: The Opera](#), which he co-wrote. After four glasses of champagne, Eliza hit the cold night air and took a tumble. “They found me under a bridge,” she says with a laugh. “I literally had blood on my boots.”

She recalls the first time she picked up the fiddle, in her case one that had belonged to her grandfather. In the nicest possible way, she says: “I didn’t want to be my dad.” Female fiddlers – give or take a [Kathryn Tickell](#) or [Helen O’Hara](#) – were rarer in the late 80s and 90s, never mind sporting bovver boots and a buzz cut. “Someone said: ‘You’re trading on your youth and beauty.’ I was like: ‘You wot?’” She dyed her hair pink and blue and toured the folk clubs, getting by on four hours’ sleep on couches. “In some ways, it was punk,” she says. “At one point, I woke up in a bed and it was snowing on my face.” In another incident, when her vehicle broke down, she tested the old wives’ tale about sealing a leaky radiator with a dozen eggs. “It didn’t work. We just got a radiator full of scrambled eggs.”



‘Decent people built stages that kept us all alive’ ... at Wickham festival in 2015. Photograph: Harry Herd/WireImage

Gradually, after encountering some resistance from the more traditional folk camp, she earned their respect as other younger musicians emerged, such as Seth Lakeman and Jock Tyldesley. “I credit the folk scene for that,” she says. “I think they realised that if they didn’t get new blood, it would just be a case of them waiting for the phone calls telling them another old artist has died. Instead, they let us in and said: ‘Show us what you’ve got.’ Sometimes we fell on our arses and sometimes we didn’t, but the great thing about folk clubs in the 80s and 90s is they held folk up and that’s why my dad still plays the clubs. These people weren’t professional promoters. They were social workers, nurses, teachers – decent people who built stages that kept us all alive.”

After 1998’s *Red Rice*, often called her “drum’n’bass album”, was nominated for the Mercury prize, as was *Anglicana* five years later, Warners signed her up, hoping for “a cross between Joni Mitchell and Judy Garland”. They perhaps weren’t expecting such songs as *The Company of Men*, which begins: “I’ve given blowjobs on couches / To men who didn’t want me any more / Why didn’t they tell me before?”

She laughs at the memory. “It’s interesting encountering your early 20s self. There are certainly things that I’m not prepared to do any more.” As she tells it, she’d been inspired by Ani DiFranco’s songs about “abortions and stuff” which gave her the desire to be “completely honest” about a real life incident. She’d had her heart broken and the line “I don’t want to be one of the beautiful people” is pointed. “I was still in love with him and he said: ‘It doesn’t matter, because we’re the beautiful people.’ I thought: ‘No. I’m a scrubby little asshole from Yorkshire and I don’t like you very much. I’m a punk and you’re an asshole!’” Her mighty cackle fills the kitchen. When the time came to record the song, she says, another musician walked into the studio. “I thought: ‘Oh Jesus, it’s Nick Cave and I’m singing about blowjobs!’”

Music is mathematics – you can actually learn about how arpeggios affect your nervous system

She now describes herself as a “carer”. When her band got ripped off and didn’t get paid, she recorded a solo album, 2019’s *Restitute*, in her bedroom and sold it on the web to compensate them. Lately, she’s been planning her father’s Covid-delayed 80th birthday gig at the Barbican in London, writing her next solo album and – after being further waylaid by the virus – teaching music at her old school in Robin Hood’s Bay. “You can’t put a value on the emotional and spiritual awareness that music brings from an early age,” she says. “Music is mathematics. You can actually learn about the science of how arpeggios affect your nervous system. Music is so undervalued. It can be life-changing.”

By playing it – and reaching out to people again – she’s starting to put this year’s sadnesses behind her. “I found coming out of the pandemic traumatic at first,” she says, “because it reminded me of all the pain and isolation. But whenever we’ve performed, I’ve felt that collectivism again – and laughter and people. The pandemic’s brought up a lot of stuff and I’ve thought: ‘Maybe I should call so-and-so.’ And that’s been really lovely.”

Queen of the Whirl is released on 28 October. Eliza Carthy’s UK tour begins on 23 November.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/music/2022/oct/03/eliza-carthy-folk-music-sexy-filthy-covid>

| [Section menu](#) | [Main menu](#) |

2022.10.03 - Opinion

- Here's the question to define this sorry era: Truss or Johnson, which is worse?
- To all men: can you please make it easier to buy presents for you?
- Who's paying for Britain's disastrous mini-budget? We are, with our health
- When British schools ignore Irish history, is it any wonder Brexit is such a mess?

OpinionConservatives

Here's the question to define this sorry era: Truss or Johnson, which is worse?

Julian Baggini



The former PM was a shambles; his successor is a zealot. Still, calling for him to be replaced was a risk we had to take



‘Liz Truss is doing her best to make Boris Johnson look good in comparison.’ Johnson and Truss visit GKN Aerospace, Bristol, October 2021. Photograph: Andrew Parsons/No10 Downing Street

Mon 3 Oct 2022 01.00 EDTLast modified on Mon 3 Oct 2022 09.24 EDT

One reason [Boris Johnson](#) hung on for so long, when it was obvious he was a brazen liar, is that no one had a good answer to the question of who should replace him. Many a reprobate has profited from the principle of “better the devil you know”.

Those who warned us that the alternatives to Johnson could have been even worse are probably feeling quite smug now. Kwasi Kwarteng’s brutal special fiscal operation has confirmed that the policies of Truss’s government are far worse than those of her predecessor.

Analysis by the Resolution Foundation suggests the [richest 5%](#) are the only people who are going to be better off as a result. In contrast, under Johnson the tax burden was set to rise more for the rich than the poor. Rishi Sunak’s plan to fund social care was inadequate but at least he tried to address the funding crisis. Now the levy scheduled to fund social care has been scrapped and we’re back to no plan at all. Even if you don’t care about equality and

social justice, almost all economists think Kwarteng's mini-budget is disastrous for the economy.

On top of all this, the government is planning to [repeal](#) EU wildlife, river, clean air and food standards without any commitment to replacing them with equally strong alternatives. Truss also plans to abolish green levies on energy bills, stymieing investment in renewable energy. And from her strong anti-immigration stance to her embrace of the culture war, which promises a nastier, more divisive Britain, the list goes on.

Johnson's flaws begin to look like virtues when contrasted with his replacement. He had no moral compass and was only interested in his own self-aggrandisement, and as a result he aimed to please, steering him away from extremes. This made him a terrible leader, but arguably not as bad as one who has a clear but dangerous ideology. Truss has a moral compass – pointing slightly to the right of Hades. Which would you prefer: the most shambolic and incoherent government of modern times or the most economically rightwing?

Despite this dismal situation, we who called for Johnson to go were not wrong. His flaws went deeper than policy. His disdain for the processes of democratic government poisoned the body politic. When a government knowingly and wilfully [breaks the law](#), ignores [legal advice](#), repeatedly [misleads parliament](#) and lies to the people, it crosses a red line. The worst policies can be reversed, but damage to the integrity of politics itself can be fatally wounding.

It is simply intolerable to have a prime minister so obviously lacking in moral fibre. If Johnson had been allowed to go on, it would have encouraged others to draw the conclusion that the electorate doesn't care about principles, as long as their leader is charismatic and promises all things to all people. Many countries have provided cautionary tales of what happens when people excuse abuses of power because they believe rulers are more effective than the alternatives. Look at how the rule of law has been seriously eroded by Viktor Orbán in Hungary and Andrzej Duda in Poland, as well as in the world's largest democracy, India, by Narendra Modi. The arc of history can be bent in more than one direction.

But what if Truss turns out not only to be differently bad, but a match for Johnson in her disregard for truth and due process? She has after all signalled that she is prepared to tear up the [Northern Ireland protocol](#) and she also has scant regard for the [United Nations Convention on Refugees](#). Her government's first budget avoided being called what it is because she ignored the requirement for it to be examined by the Office for Budget Responsibility.

If we had known that Johnson would be replaced with someone possessing all the same vices and more, that could have been a reason to have eased off on the pressure for him to resign and waited for the opportunity to remove the [Conservatives](#) from government at the next election. But back in June when we were calling for his head, we knew no such thing. Political choices cannot be made in hindsight.

The mere possibility that a replacement could be worse cannot be a good reason to keep a discredited leader in office. The uncomfortable truth is that in politics, you don't always get what you want or expect – but if you give incumbents almost unlimited benefit of the doubt, you never will. And because not everything is within our control, or foreseeable, sometimes the right choice leads to worse outcomes. Truss may be doing her best to make Johnson look good in comparison, but it was still right to call for him to go.

- Julian Baggini is a writer and philosopher; his latest book is *How the World Thinks*

OpinionMen

To all men: can you please make it easier to buy presents for you?

Emma Beddington



I have any number of things I'd love as a gift. But the men in my life either want for nothing – or want something I'd never think of



‘Don’t men have trinkets that catch their eye?’ Photograph: Edwin Tan/Getty Images

Mon 3 Oct 2022 02.01 EDTLast modified on Mon 3 Oct 2022 10.22 EDT

A shiver of dread traverses my spirit at this time of year, despite the golden-leaved glories of autumn: three men I know have birthdays in quick succession. Why are many – if #NotAllMen – so hard to find gifts for? Do they not have trinkets that catch their eye, stuff they hanker after and once-in-a-lifetime extravagances in open tabs on their phone to be examined, covetously, late at night? There are about 40 things I want at any given time: I can reel off a list sorted by price and ease of acquisition, from a bike bell to a “deathlayer” hen (“like having royalty visit your coop” according to the page I look at on my phone late at night).

The men in my life don’t, apparently. My husband only wants technological items with specifications so abstruse they must be sourced via URLs he provides. My stepfather is a notorious ascetic whose current goal appears to be to liberate himself of all material possessions, becoming agitated if as much as an unexpected packet of digestives enters his life. And in 40 years of gift buying, I have only had two successes with my father: pictures of his grandchildren and a wildlife cam (both my husband’s idea).

It hurts because presents matter to me. I want to be known intimately enough to be surprised and delighted by, say, a Victorian lustreware mug with a poorly sculpted frog inside. Yet I am currently deep in Man Gifts 101 shame, sheepishly presenting books, booze and food, year after year. Capitalism seems similarly bewildered by presents for men, offering either set dressing from Fast & Furious 8 (Vantablack and garishly flashing gadgetry) or accessories for a PG Wodehouse character (hip flasks, golf tees and moustache wax). It's that or admit defeat with an "experience": three hours cheating death somehow on a bleak airfield for £250.

Which is why I am pleading: men, please share your private passions. Say "Ooh!" at shop windows, or decoupage ideas I can steal or start collecting antique pencil sharpeners, Mountain Dew flavours or false teeth. Anything, please. Call it your present to me.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/oct/03/to-all-men-can-you-please-make-it-easier-to-buy-presents-for-you>

[OpinionHealth](#)

Who's paying for Britain's disastrous mini-budget? We are, with our health

[Devi Sridhar](#)



From stress about homelessness to illnesses caused by food poverty and cold homes, this financial chaos will take a heavy toll



‘Financial stress eats at your mind and body, day after day. It’s an impossible feeling to understand for those who have gone through life buffered by wealth, especially family wealth and property.’ Photograph: Daniel Harvey Gonzalez/In Pictures/Getty Images

Mon 3 Oct 2022 03.00 EDTLast modified on Mon 3 Oct 2022 12.46 EDT

The British economy [has spiralled into chaos](#): the UK government’s £45bn package of tax cuts has resulted in the pound sinking, interest rates rising, and the [Bank of England](#) intervening in an extraordinary way to avert economic collapse. The International Monetary Fund, which usually steps in to ensure stability in middle- and low-income countries, [made a rare and critical statement](#) on the danger of the government plan.

Economic policies that increase inequality and make the bulk of the population poorer have grave consequences for health and wellbeing. This is true not just for the lowest earners, but for most of the population including middle-class families. Currently, rising interest rates have increased mortgages while [real wages are falling](#). This will lead to more expensive and increasingly unaffordable housing. The costs of expensive mortgages are passed on to both homeowners and renters, in the form of higher mortgage payments and higher rents. [Shelter has highlighted](#) that almost 2.5 million people are behind or constantly struggling to pay their rent – an increase of 45% since April 2022.

The constant threat of being homeless, and the stress associated with this, is debilitating. This is the toll of not knowing if you'll have a roof over your head next month, or food on the table next week. This is the stress of knowing that even working 50 hours a week won't bring in enough money to cover the bills. Such [financial precarity](#) is linked to heart attacks, strokes, cancer, depression and [reduced life expectancy](#). Significant financial stress is associated with [13-fold higher odds](#) of having a heart attack. Financial stress eats at your mind and body, day after day. It's an impossible feeling to understand for those who have gone through life buffered by wealth, especially family wealth and property.

Then there is the problem of more expensive food. The UK imports [more than 50% of its food](#); as the pound falls against other currencies, the price of food will increase even further. Fruit, vegetables, wheat, rice, pasta and protein sources will grow more expensive. Low-income households will be forced to buy the cheapest products, [food that is ultra-processed](#) and detrimental to health, while middle-class households will have an increasing share of their income taken over by weekly shopping bills. Not having enough fruit, vegetables and protein in a diet is a risk factor for conditions such as obesity, diabetes, hypertension and cancer. Child hunger has also been increasing in Britain. Some parents have been unable to provide their kids [with warm meals or even lunchboxes](#).

More expensive fuel also has dangerous consequences for people's health. In the UK, [50% of gas](#) is imported from international markets and [53 million people](#) are projected to face fuel poverty by January 2023. Fuel poverty will force families to live in cold and damp homes. Many will become ill as a result. [Respiratory conditions](#) such as wheezing and pneumonia are linked to unheated homes and damp conditions contribute to asthma. As the air becomes colder indoors, the lungs struggle to function. Doctors expect to see a rise in hospital admissions for breathing difficulties over the winter, and children missing school while they're ill.

This tsunami of interrelated health issues adds to the burden on the health system: a sick society results in sick people, and those sick people show up in hospitals needing care. The NHS is already at breaking point and unable to provide the quality and volume of care needed. This will only become worse in the current economic climate.

We have already seen the consequence that the financial crisis had [on people's health in Greece](#). In the years after 2007, there was a significant increase in the prevalence of people in Greece reporting that their health was bad or very bad. In addition, there was a significant increase in people not seeking medical care despite feeling it was necessary. This was largely a result of long waiting times, understaffing in hospitals, and major cuts to public hospital budgets. In addition, a national suicide helpline found that 25% of callers reported financial difficulties, with suicide rising during the period of financial crisis.

The government's mini-budget is disastrous for the health of the British public. Why would they go down this route? We can debate whether Prime Minister Liz Truss is incompetent for not anticipating the market's reaction, cruel in not caring what this does to the wellbeing of the population, or [corrupt in helping the super-rich](#) profit from the pound's plummet. But in the end, we're all poorer in Britain today compared with a decade ago. The effects will be felt not just in our bank balances, but also in our most important asset: our mind and bodies.

- Prof Devi Sridhar is chair of global public health at the University of Edinburgh

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/oct/03/britain-mini-budget-paying-with-our-health-stress-illness-food-poverty-cold-homes-financial-chaos>

[OpinionIreland](#)

When British schools ignore Irish history, is it any wonder Brexit is such a mess?

[Jennifer Horgan](#)

Lack of knowledge about the Anglo-Irish relationship past and present has deep personal and political consequences



Sculptor Rowan Gillespie's famine memorial statues in Dublin. 'British people are taught not to know – not to care – about Ireland's history.' Photograph: David Gannon/AFP/Getty Images

Mon 3 Oct 2022 05.00 EDTLast modified on Mon 3 Oct 2022 08.31 EDT

Before emigrating from [Ireland](#) to teach in England in 2006, I assumed British people would know as much about me as I did about them. I was put right just one year into the job, in an east London staffroom, when a colleague teased: "Why the salad, Jen? I thought you Irish loved a potato."

Contrary to the stereotype, Irish people don't just happen to love potatoes. Pushed on to infertile land in west Ireland, most notoriously at [Oliver Cromwell's command](#), farmers had been encouraged to grow the ill-fated crop by their British colonisers. But when the blight came, little was done to help them. The resulting [Great Hunger](#) brought the death or emigration of 2 million people – more than a quarter of the Irish population – between 1845 and 1852.

Potato jokes aren't funny to me – government turning its back on its own people during a time of crisis rarely is – but I heard dozens of similar gags during my 12 years in English and international British schools. They were never nasty – they just came from a place of absolute ignorance. Rubbing shoulders with colleagues in history departments, I quickly came to a realisation: while Irish students arguably learn too much about Ireland's colonisation, British students certainly learn too little.

In every Irish classroom, children are reared on stories of oppression and rebellion. Every child understands the intricacies of Anglo-Irish relations. As a secondary English teacher, I can't avoid plays, novels and poetry dealing with our complicated relationship with Britain. Irish students leave school with the historical and emotional weight of colonisation on their shoulders.

Compare that to Britain, where teaching English rightly involves texts focused on class, misogyny and injustice, often set around the second world war, but rarely relating to Britain's relationship with Ireland, despite Ireland's literary clout and proximity.

In 2016, my school embarked on a project on the British empire. Irish media were consumed by the centenary of the [1916 Easter Rising](#), a [historic turning point](#) in the fight against British rule. Naively, I offered a book on the subject to our head of history – it was returned to my desk the following morning. I should have known better.

Studying Othello in my A-level English class, we had a debate on race. I asked my intelligent, wonderful students whether white people can

experience ethnic prejudice as seen in the play. No, they said. “What about Britain’s treatment of the Irish?” I asked. They looked at me blank-faced – of course they did. In response, I told them about the infamous signs my grandfather saw while living in London in the 50s: “No blacks, no Irish, no dogs.”

This failure of British schools to teach students anything about Ireland has far-reaching consequences. For one, if educated British people do not understand the difference between Ireland and the United Kingdom, they cannot understand Brexit. Take the Conservative MP Andrew Bridgen, who in 2018 confidently declared English people had a [right to an Irish passport](#) due to the common travel area. Or how about Boris Johnson, who, when concerns were raised about the possibility of a hard border, brushed off fears as “[pure millennium bug stuff](#)”, and later as a “folly”. Try using that word to any of the families and communities affected by decades of violence and devastating loss.

Even now, as Ireland and Britain continue to grapple with highly sensitive trade agreements in the wake of Brexit, knowledge of this kind matters. In June, Liz Truss, then foreign secretary and probably Britain’s next prime minister, summed up so much when, with a straight face, [she pronounced](#) taoiseach as “tea-sock”. In delicate negotiations, considering the historical British policy of [eradicating the Irish language](#) in Ireland, it’s paramount that elected politicians, at the very least, get Irish names right. When Queen Elizabeth spoke a few words in Irish at a state dinner in Dublin Castle, the former seat of British power in Ireland, she did something very significant. She showed Irish people and Irish culture her respect. Politicians must look to their recently deceased and beloved monarch for inspiration in this regard.

While British people are taught not to know – not to care – about Ireland’s history, Irish people carry the pain of it around with us. Every political gaffe, every time an Irish celebrity is [wrongly claimed as British](#), every mix-up of Britain, Ireland and the United Kingdom – every time it happens, is corrected and happens again – sets our relationship back. It makes Irish people feel as if their nationality, their distinct cultural difference, is a detail too insignificant to learn about. Yes, it’s time we move on – but to do so requires respect and knowledge on both sides.

Jennifer Horgan is a secondary school teacher, Irish Examiner columnist and author of ‘O Captain, My Captain’: One Teacher’s Hope for Change in the Irish Education System

Do you have an opinion on the issues raised in this article? If you would like to submit a letter of up to 300 words to be considered for publication, email it to us at guardian.letters@theguardian.com

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/oct/03/british-schools-irish-history-brexit>

| [Section menu](#) | [Main menu](#) |

2022.10.03 - Around the world

- [Sudan Campaigners demand action after alarming rise in 'honour killings'](#)
- [Bird flu Europe and UK hit by 'unprecedented' number of cases this summer](#)
- [Iran protests Riot police clash with students at Sharif university](#)
- [Credit Suisse CEO reassures staff bank has solid balance sheet amid market speculation](#)
- [Debt High interest rates paid by poorer nations spark fears of global crisis](#)

Global development

Sudan campaigners demand action after alarming rise in ‘honour killings’

Reported deaths more than double in a year, with women attacked by male relatives for appearing to talk to men on smartphones



Women protest against violence against women, including sentences for stoning for adultery, in front of the UN office in Khartoum, Sudan. Photograph: Marwan Ali/AP

Global development is supported by



[About this content](#)

[Zeinab Mohammed Salih](#) in Khartoum

Mon 3 Oct 2022 05.07 EDT Last modified on Tue 4 Oct 2022 10.26 EDT

Campaigners are calling for urgent action to tackle a rise in “honour killings” in [Sudan](#).

Eleven women and girls have been killed by relatives so far this year, more than double the number reported to the authorities in 2021.

In September an 18-year-old woman, Aisha Abakar , died after an attack led by family members who believed the unmarried [Darfur](#) teenager was pregnant. Her younger sister is in a critical condition in hospital after being injured in the same attack. Three men have been arrested. Three days previously, in the same state a 21-year-old woman was murdered by her brothers and cousins who believed that she was talking to men on her mobile phone. No arrests have been made for her murder.

Nahla Yousif, head of the Future Development Organisation, a women’s rights group based in South Darfur state, said the reported cases were the “tip of the iceberg”.

“I believe there are so many other similar crimes in the villages and towns that are far from the media. We only get to hear about those which are taken to the police,” she said. “It’s all about ignorance and lack of awareness, they think it’s shameful to see their daughters having relationships. These crimes have always been here, but they are now increasing due to the lack of accountability.”

Yousif said the rise of the use of mobile phones meant more men were unable to feel in control of young female relatives.

“Even the young women who are activists working in important fields documenting the abuses people go through in the [displacement] camps are now targeted by their relatives,” she said. “We have had to offer shelter to some women because they had smartphones and their relatives assumed they would be chatting with men.”

The majority of reported cases this year have occurred in Darfur, where for decades violence and rape against women has been used as a [weapon](#) of war by the Janjaweed militias. [Mohamed Hamdan Daglo](#), who founded the Janjaweed and is head of the feared Rapid Support Forces, is now vice-president of Sudan’s governing sovereign council.

Yousif said her organisation was planning protests to raise awareness of the violence and was writing to the Darfur Bar Association to urge lawyers to push for cases to go to court, and not be quietly settled with families.

Sulaima Ishaq, head of the unit to stop violence against women in the Ministry of Social Affairs, said the [coup in October last year](#) had disrupted government institutions.

“There is no system in place, nothing is functioning, the judicial system is not working,” she said. “They [the government] are too busy releasing those who killed the martyrs during the revolution, despite saying that they did the coup for the safety and the security of the people of Sudan.”

[Research](#) conducted by the Arab Barometer in 2019 showed that more than a quarter of people over the age of 35 in Sudan thought that “honour killings”

were acceptable.

Women's groups fear rights are under threat in Sudan after, in July, a Sudanese woman was given the first sentence of [death by stoning](#) for adultery for a decade and where in August the government announced a new police unit which suggested a return of the "morality police", who punished "immoral" behaviour under former president Omar al-Bashir.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2022/oct/03/sudan-campaigners-demand-action-after-alarming-rise-in-honour-killings>

| [Section menu](#) | [Main menu](#) |

Animals farmedBird flu

Europe and UK hit by ‘unprecedented’ number of bird flu cases this summer

Poultry farmers from Arctic to Portugal reported 2,500 outbreaks in past year, with migrating birds taking avian flu to North America



A grey crane, killed by bird flu, in Israel's Hula valley. It is one of 2,000 cranes to die in Israel in the past year as avian flu has become endemic in wild birds. Photograph: Jalaa Marey/AFP/Getty

Animals farmed is supported by



[About this content](#)

[Tom Levitt](#)

Mon 3 Oct 2022 03.00 EDTLast modified on Mon 3 Oct 2022 07.38 EDT

The UK and continental [Europe](#) have been hit by an “unprecedented” number of cases of avian flu this summer, with 47.7m birds having been culled since last autumn, according to new figures.

Poultry producers from as far north as Norway’s Svalbard islands to southern Portugal have together reported almost 2,500 outbreaks of the disease since last year.

There have also been thousands of outbreaks [recorded in wild birds](#), according to the latest update from the EU’s [European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control](#), European Food Safety Authority and the EU reference laboratory. The virus reached breeding colonies of sea birds on the north Atlantic coast, killing huge numbers.

In past years, outbreaks of avian flu declined with warmer weather and the end of migration by wild birds in the autumn and winter.

But outbreaks have continued across the UK and elsewhere in Europe this summer [leading to fears](#) that highly pathogenic variants of avian flu are now

endemic in wild birds, creating a risk of infection all year.

From June to September, the number of outbreaks in domesticated birds was more than five times higher than the same period last year. Experts say all kinds of bird species have become infected now, causing the virus to remain.

Outbreaks have also crossed the Atlantic Ocean, spreading from Europe to North America along migration routes and leading to [millions of poultry being culled](#) in the US and Canada.

Disease experts say outbreaks could get even worse this winter.

“As autumn migration begins and the number of wild birds wintering in Europe increases, they are likely at higher risk of HPAI [highly pathogenic avian influenza] infection than previous years due to the observed persistence of the virus in Europe”, said Guilhem de Seze, head of risk assessment at the European Food Safety Authority.

Year-round infections in the UK and Europe could force free-range chickens [to be housed indoors](#).

Veterinary trials to test bird flu vaccines have started in France and the Netherlands, but there are question marks around the effectiveness of vaccinations against avian flu and whether vaccinated birds can still spread the disease if they are infected.

The European Commission has said it wants to allow eggs produced in the EU to be labelled as [“free range” even if birds are kept inside](#).

Sign up for the [Animals farmed monthly update](#) to get a roundup of the biggest farming and food stories across the world and keep up with our investigations. You can send us your stories and thoughts at animalsfarmed@theguardian.com

| [Section menu](#) | [Main menu](#) |

[Iran](#)

Iran protests: riot police use teargas on students at Sharif university

Unverified social media videos show security forces firing teargas amid reports some students are trapped in campus car park



Protests over the death of 22-year-old Mahsa Amini have continued to intensify in Iran despite crackdowns by the authorities Photograph: Contributor/072019/Getty Images

Reuters

Sun 2 Oct 2022 22.45 EDTLast modified on Mon 3 Oct 2022 10.45 EDT

Iranian security forces have clashed with students at a prominent university in Tehran, social and state media reported, in the latest sign of a deadly clampdown on nationwide protests that were ignited by the death in custody of a young woman.

The anti-government protests, which began at 22-year-old Mahsa Amini's funeral on 17 September in the Kurdish town of Saez, have spiralled into the [biggest show of opposition to Iran's authorities in years](#), with many calling for the end of more than four decades of Islamic clerical rule.

Activist Twitter account 1500tasvir, which has about 160,000 followers, posted several videos showing Sharif University, traditionally a hotbed of dissent, surrounded by dozens of riot police on Sunday.

One of the videos showed security forces firing teargas to drive the students off the campus and the sound of what appeared to be shooting at a distance could be heard.

Another video showed security forces chasing dozens of students trapped in the university's underground parking. The account said dozens of students had been arrested.

Iranian state media described "reports of clashes" at the university and said the country's science minister visited the campus to check on the situation.

Reuters could not independently verify the events at the university.

Students had been protesting at numerous universities on Sunday and demonstrations were held in several cities such as Tehran, Yazd, Kermanshah, Sanandaj, Shiraz and Mashhad, with participants chanting "independence, freedom, death to Khamenei," earlier social media posts showed.

The protests have not abated despite a growing death toll and the crackdown by security forces using teargas, clubs, and in some cases, according to videos on social media and rights groups, live ammunition.

Iran Human Rights, a Norway-based group, in a statement said that "so far 133 people had been killed across Iran", including more than 40 people it said died in clashes last week in Zahedan, capital of the south-eastern Sistan-Baluchistan province.

Iranian authorities have not given a death toll, while saying many members of the security forces have been killed by “rioters and thugs backed by foreign foes“. Last week state television said 41 had died, including members of the security forces.

Iran’s utmost authority Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei has not commented on the nationwide protests, which have spread to Iran’s 31 provinces, with all layers of society, including ethnic and religious minorities, taking part.

[Amini’s death and the crackdown](#) have drawn international criticism of Iran’s rulers, who in turn accuse the United States and some European countries of exploiting the unrest to try to destabilise the Islamic Republic.

Iranian state media shared a video of pro-government students, who gathered at the Ferdowsi university in Mashhad, chanting “the Islamic Republic is our red line”.

Earlier on Sunday, Iranian lawmakers chanted “thank you, police” during a parliament session, in a show of support for a crackdown on widespread anti-government protests.

Amini was arrested on 13 September in Tehran for “unsuitable attire” by the morality police who enforce the Islamic Republic’s strict dress code. She died three days later in hospital after falling into a coma.

The lawyer for Amini’s family, Saleh Nikbakht, told the semi-official Etemadonline news website that “respectable doctors” believe she was hit in custody. Amini’s autopsy report and other medical details have not been released, but her father said he saw bruises on her leg and that other women detained with her said she was beaten.

Iran’s police authorities say Amini died of a heart attack and deny she was beaten to death in custody.

The country’s hardline president Ebrahim Raisi has ordered an investigation into Amini’s death. He said last week that a forensic report would be presented in “coming days”.

Amnesty International on Friday reported that hundreds were injured and thousands have been arrested in the protests.

State media said at least 20 people were killed in the Zahedan clashes, blaming a separatist group from the Baluchi minority for starting a shootout in the city.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/oct/03/iran-protests-riot-police-clash-with-students-at-sharif-university>

| [Section menu](#) | [Main menu](#) |

Credit Suisse

Cost of insuring against Credit Suisse defaulting reaches record high

Investors rush to buy credit default swaps as worries grow over solidity of bank's balance sheet



Credit Suisse is preparing to reveal a plan for getting itself out of its financial hole, which may include job cuts and selling assets. Photograph: Arnd Wiegmann/Reuters

[Ben Butler](#) and agencies

Mon 3 Oct 2022 14.23 EDTFirst published on Mon 3 Oct 2022 02.22 EDT

The cost of buying insurance against [Credit Suisse](#) defaulting on its debt soared to a record high on Monday, amid fears on markets about the solidity of the balance sheet at the globally significant Swiss bank.

There was a sell-off in the bank's shares and bonds while investors rushed instead to buy credit default swaps (CDS) – insurance against the bank

failing to meet its debts.

Credit Suisse CDS soared to 355 basis points at one point on Monday, a record measure of its risk of defaulting, while its shares fell by as much as 11.5%, although losses eased throughout the day and it closed just slightly down.

The gyrations came after the chief executive issued a memo to staff attempting to reassure them about the bank's financial position. Ulrich Körner wrote that there were "many factually inaccurate statements being made" in media coverage of the bank's crisis, as its share price plunged by 60% this year.

Credit Suisse is preparing to reveal a plan to get itself out of its financial hole, which may include [job cuts](#), selling assets and asking investors for a fresh infusion of cash, on 27 October.

"I trust that you are not confusing our day-to-day stock price performance with the strong capital base and liquidity position of the bank," Körner said in the staff memo on Friday.

"We are in the process of reshaping Credit Suisse for a long-term, sustainable future – with significant potential for value creation.

"Given the deep franchise we have, with a longstanding focus on serving some of the world's most successful entrepreneurs, I am confident we have what it takes to succeed."

Credit Suisse is among 30 "globally significant banks" listed by the central banks' bank, the Bank for International Settlements, that are required to set aside extra capital to absorb potential losses because of their importance to the international financial system.

The bank plunged from a profit of 2.7bn francs in 2020 to a loss of 1.65bn francs last year, driven mostly by big losses on its investments in the failed supply chain finance group [Greensill](#) and hedge fund Archegos – where US

authorities have [charged](#) founder Bill Hwang and three others with racketeering and fraud offences after its collapse.

Sign up to Business Today

Free daily newsletter

Get set for the working day – we'll point you to the all the business news and analysis you need every morning

Privacy Notice: Newsletters may contain info about charities, online ads, and content funded by outside parties. For more information see our [Privacy Policy](#). We use Google reCaptcha to protect our website and the Google [Privacy Policy](#) and [Terms of Service](#) apply.

And the red ink continued flowing into 2022, with an additional 1.8bn francs in losses recorded in the first six months of the year.

Credit Suisse has also [paid large fines](#) after admitting to fraud over bonds it issued that were supposed to be used to fund tuna fishing in Mozambique but where some of the proceeds were diverted to pay kickbacks, including to bankers at Credit Suisse.

And its private banking division – traditionally a cornerstone of Swiss banking – has been put under pressure after the [Suisse secrets investigation](#), conducted by a consortium including the Guardian, [exposed](#) the hidden wealth of clients involved in torture, drug trafficking, money laundering, corruption and other serious crimes.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2022/oct/03/credit-suisse-ceo-reassures-staff-bank-has-solid-balance-sheet-amid-market-speculation>

Interest rates

High interest rates paid by poorer nations spark fears of global debt crisis

Campaigners say low-income countries urgently need debt relief on foreign borrowings as their interest rates soar



Ukraine is having to pay 46% on new borrowing since the Russian invasion, the highest rate among countries that supplied data. Photograph: Anadolu Agency/Getty Images

[Larry Elliott](#) *Economics editor*

Sun 2 Oct 2022 12.09 EDT Last modified on Mon 3 Oct 2022 00.12 EDT

Fears of a deepening global debt crisis have been highlighted by research showing that low-income countries are paying rocketing interest on their foreign borrowing.

Analysis by the campaign group Debt Justice found that, while interest rates have been rising for rich and poor countries since the start of 2022, increases

have been particularly severe for some of the most vulnerable poorer nations.

With debt relief set to be high on the agenda at the annual meeting of the [World Bank](#), which begins on 10 October, Debt Justice said interest rates had risen by an average of 5.7 percentage points for low income countries compared with a 2-point increase in the US.

Many of the 27 countries that provided data faced much higher than average interest rates, led by war-ravaged Ukraine, which has seen the cost of its new borrowing rise from 10.2% to 46% since the start of 2022.

Ethiopia and Zambia have both seen 25-point increases in their debt servicing costs, as measured by the yield – or interest rate – on their foreign currency bonds. [Interest rates](#) for two-thirds of the countries studied are now above 10%, intensifying debt problems and making it almost impossible for them to borrow from private lenders, the campaign group said.

Heidi Chow, executive director of Debt Justice, said: “Many countries were already cutting essential spending to cope with the debt crisis, before rising interest rates made an alarming situation even worse.

“Countries like Pakistan are also facing colossal costs from widespread devastation caused by the climate emergency. We urgently need mechanisms to quickly cancel debts for countries in need, especially high interest loans from private lenders.”

Of the 27 lower-income governments with public information available on their foreign currency bonds, Debt Justice found nine had yields over 20%: El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, Maldives, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Tunisia, Ukraine and Zambia. A further 10 had yields between 10% and 20%: Angola, Cameroon, Egypt, Honduras, Kenya, Mongolia, Nigeria, Papua New Guinea, Rwanda and Tajikistan.

In addition to the rise in borrowing costs, the study found that debt repayments were also being made more expensive by a rising US dollar, which had appreciated by an average of 14% against the 27 low-income

countries. External debt tends to be owed in foreign currencies – especially the dollar.

Sign up to First Edition

Free daily newsletter

Archie Bland and Nimo Omer take you through the top stories and what they mean, free every weekday morning

Privacy Notice: Newsletters may contain info about charities, online ads, and content funded by outside parties. For more information see our [Privacy Policy](#). We use Google reCaptcha to protect our website and the Google [Privacy Policy](#) and [Terms of Service](#) apply.

David Malpass, president of the [World Bank](#), said in a speech last week that debt relief would play a “key role” in alleviating the strains on the budgets of poor countries.

Malpass said that the new financial crisis that had followed Covid-19 “finds developing countries with eroded fiscal positions, including high debt and depressed budget revenues. Countries do not have enough fiscal buffers to provide support to key pro-growth and development spending.”

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2022/oct/02/high-interest-rates-paid-by-poorer-nations-spark-fears-of-global-debt-crisis>

Headlines friday 7 october 2022

- ['Not a nanny state' Minister says Britons will not be told to use less energy](#)
- [Live Government refuses to rule out winter energy blackouts](#)
- [Growth UK economy predicted to be weak till 2024 despite Truss agenda](#)
- [Nadhim Zahawi Cabinet minister apologises for economic turmoil after mini-budget](#)

Conservatives

Tory MPs urge Truss to launch campaign on cutting energy use

Intervention comes amid reports No 10 blocked public information campaign over ‘nanny state’ fears

UK government refuses to rule out winter energy rationing – video

[Alex Lawson](#), [Rowena Mason](#) and [Jamie Grierson](#)

Fri 7 Oct 2022 04.21 EDTLast modified on Fri 7 Oct 2022 13.55 EDT

Senior Conservative MPs have urged [Liz Truss](#) to launch a public information campaign to encourage people to reduce their energy use after No 10 blocked the idea over fears it would seem like the actions of a “nanny state”.

Iain Duncan Smith, a former cabinet minister and supporter of Truss was one of several MPs suggesting the government was wrong to rule out a campaign, from [warnings from National Grid of potential blackouts this winter](#).

The Guardian revealed this week that ministers had [discussed a potential campaign with National Grid and energy suppliers](#).

Jacob Rees-Mogg, the business secretary, reportedly signed off on a £15m campaign but this was later blocked by Downing Street.

Duncan Smith told the Guardian that a campaign should be launched. “I think it’s better than doing nothing. I know what they’re frightened of – that people think we’re getting lectured by the government when they should be helping us out. That’s probably their concern at Downing Street [but] I think there are ways of doing it.

“A pamphlet delivered to every door would work. The government should pick up the cost but it should include experts independent of the government and the energy companies giving advice on how to minimise your energy use and the financial support available with lists of websites and telephone numbers.”

Duncan Smith said his local authority, Waltham Forest in London, was distributing information to constituents on support for finances and handling energy costs.

He added: “People have got used to low interest rates and energy costs. You notice people walk around at home in T-shirts even in winter, when in the past you always used to put sweaters on. The truth is that there has been a whole generational shift about what people think about how they ought to use energy. Now energy is a big part of their budget, and understanding how to reduce that cost without damaging our lives is quite helpful.

“My instinct is that quite a lot of people are quite ignorant about how to manage this and it’s therefore helpful for them to understand and change their lives dramatically.”

Duncan Smith’s views were supported by fellow [Conservatives](#) Guy Opperman, a former minister, and Simon Hoare, the chair of the Northern Ireland select committee.

Opperman said he was fully behind an energy-saving campaign, as the “energy war of Putin means this is a worldwide problem”, adding: “Reduction in energy helps constituents save money, and saves the taxpayer money, as public sector should lead the way. Reduce usage, while we address supply. Government must act.” Hoare retweeted a post saying: “We are using vast amounts of taxpayers’ money to pay for energy bills this winter, but the argument for not launching a public energy saving campaign is because it is too interventionist?”

Ed Miliband, the shadow climate change secretary, also called on Truss to change her mind.

“It is entirely possible and sensible to give the public factual information about how they can save money on their energy bills,” he said.

“It would be wrong for Liz Truss to block the provision of this kind of information because of dogma or embarrassment about the energy crisis that failed Conservative energy policy has caused.”

Truss’s refusal to launch a public information campaign was confirmed on Friday morning by Graham Stuart, the climate change minister, who told Sky News: “We’re not a nanny state government.”

Asked if people should use less energy, he said: “We are not sending that out as a message. All of us have bills, of course, and the bills have gone up.” He said the government had stepped in to “protect” businesses and families from rising energy bills.

Stuart later outlined why a general message to use less energy would “probably make no difference”.

“We’re also hesitant to tell people what they should do when we’re not a nanny-state government,” he told LBC. “What we are prepared to do is talk to the big energy users and talk to consumers with smart technology about rewarding them for reducing energy at the peak times.”

Sign up to First Edition

Free daily newsletter

Archie Bland and Nimo Omer take you through the top stories and what they mean, free every weekday morning

Privacy Notice: Newsletters may contain info about charities, online ads, and content funded by outside parties. For more information see our [Privacy Policy](#). We use Google reCaptcha to protect our website and the Google [Privacy Policy](#) and [Terms of Service](#) apply.

Rees-Mogg was believed to have backed a £15m campaign this winter with measures designed to help people save up to £300 a year, including lowering

the temperature of boilers, turning off radiators in empty rooms and advising people to turn off the heating when they go out.

The [Times quoted](#) a government source describing the campaign as a “no-brainer” and said No 10 had made a “stupid decision”, but it added Truss is said to be “ideologically opposed” to such an approach as it could be too interventionist.

The prime minister said in her party conference speech that she would not tell people what to do. Rather than a new public information campaign the government is looking at “signposting” existing guidance.

Stuart told Sky News he did not recognise the reports. “I don’t recognise that,” he said. “We are in an iterative process of policy development and ideas, and we come to a conclusion. So, the idea there was some highly developed campaign ... passionately devoted to and No 10 nixed it, I don’t recognise that.”

Truss on Thursday sought to downplay concerns, although she stopped short of explicitly offering a guarantee of no blackouts. Her remarks came in response to a report from the body that oversees Britain’s electricity grid.

In what it called an “unlikely” worst-case scenario, the National Grid’s electricity system operator (ESO) said households and businesses may face planned three-hour outages to ensure the grid did not collapse. It was the most dire of three possible scenarios the ESO laid out on Thursday for how the grid may cope with the worst global energy crisis for decades.

In the other two scenarios, the operator hopes that by paying people to charge their electric cars at off-peak times, and firing up backup coal plants, it can offset the risk of blackouts.

A government spokesperson said: “The UK has a secure and diverse energy system. We have plans to protect households and businesses in the full range of scenarios this winter, in light of Russia’s illegal war in Ukraine.

“To strengthen this position further, we have put plans in place to secure supply and National Grid, working alongside energy suppliers and Ofgem,

will launch a voluntary service to reward users who reduce demand at peak times.

“We will continue to work internationally on tackling rising energy prices and ensuring security of supply, but there are no current plans to follow the EU’s decision. However, ministers are not launching a public information campaign and any claim otherwise is untrue.”

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2022/oct/07/climate-minister-britons-not-be-told-use-less-energy-winter-nanny-state>

| [Section menu](#) | [Main menu](#) |

[Politics](#)

Conor Burns suspended from Tory party and sacked as minister over misconduct allegations – as it happened

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2022/oct/07/government-liz-truss-winter-energy-blackouts-uk-politics-live>

Economic growth (GDP)

UK economy predicted to be weak till 2024 despite Truss growth agenda

Business confidence sinks to lowest level since depth of Covid pandemic as rising costs hit households and companies



British Chambers of Commerce says up to four in 10 firms expect profitability to fall in the next 12 months. Photograph: Andy Rain/EPA

[Richard Partington](#) *Economics correspondent*

[@RJPartington](#)

Fri 7 Oct 2022 01.00 EDT

Britain's economy is expected to take until 2024 to recover to pre-Covid levels amid a slowdown for hiring and business investment, as households and businesses struggle with soaring costs.

Business leaders have said that there has been a significant decline of key economic indicators in recent weeks, with confidence among company bosses over the growth outlook collapsing to the lowest level since the depths of the Covid crisis.

In a downbeat assessment, analysts at Deutsche Bank said UK GDP was due to take until 2024 to return to the level of December 2019 before the pandemic struck, raising the prospect of limited economic progress being made by the time of the next election.

Liz Truss used her [speech to the Conservative party conference](#) in Birmingham to argue her government would prioritise “growth, growth, growth” while attacking what she called an [“anti-growth coalition”](#) that could hold the country back.

The prime minister said she wanted to break a “high-tax, low-growth cycle” by offering lower taxes and scrapping regulations to encourage households to spend and companies to invest in the UK economy.

However, the promise to reboot growth comes at a difficult moment, with official figures showing the economy remained [0.2% smaller than pre-Covid levels at the end of June](#). With soaring energy prices and weaker global growth since Russia’s war in Ukraine began, the [Bank of England](#) has said the economy is close to recession and on course for limited progress next year.

Highlighting the risks to the economy with [inflation at a 40-year high](#), the British Chambers of Commerce (BCC) said more than three-quarters of companies in a survey of 5,200 firms had not increased investment in the last three months.

It said there had been a sharp drop in business confidence in the past quarter, in a study carried out before the government announced its energy support package and mini-budget plans. As many as four in 10 firms said they thought their profitability would fall in the next 12 months.

Shevaun Haviland, the director general of the BCC, said that, while the government's support measures were welcome, ministers urgently needed to present more detail on how their policies would support firms to expand.

“Our findings paint a worrying picture of the state of affairs at many UK firms. Almost every key business indicator is trending downwards – sounding alarm bells across all sectors and regions,” she said.

Separate figures from the Recruitment and Employment Confederation and the accountancy firm KPMG showed a further slowdown in hiring activity among employers to the weakest rates since the final nationwide Covid lockdown in early 2021.

Claire Warnes, head of education, skills and productivity at KPMG UK, said: “Deepening economic uncertainty has also meant that workers are choosing to stay put in current roles, rather than apply for new roles, leading to a moderation in the overall rate of vacancy growth.”

Sign up to Business Today

Free daily newsletter

Get set for the working day – we'll point you to the all the business news and analysis you need every morning

Privacy Notice: Newsletters may contain info about charities, online ads, and content funded by outside parties. For more information see our [Privacy Policy](#). We use Google reCaptcha to protect our website and the Google [Privacy Policy](#) and [Terms of Service](#) apply.

Deutsche Bank said the government's tax cuts and energy support scheme would help to add about 0.5 percentage points to UK GDP over the next year relative to its previous forecasts. However, higher interest rates from the Bank of England would shave off close to 0.8 percentage points from GDP relative to its previous estimates.

Sanjay Raja, a senior economist at Deutsche, said: “Tighter financial conditions ... will offset much of [the] gains in fiscal policy. Household spending and business investment are likely to track a little lower than we

previously anticipated, especially with unemployment expected to rise from next year.”

He said UK GDP growth was now forecast to slow to 3.5% this year, compared with a previous estimate of 4.5%. The economy is expected to shrink by 0.5% next year, compared with a previous estimate for zero progress, before a rebound to 1% growth in 2024.

Rather than Britain coming close to Truss’s growth target of 2.5% a year, Deutsche Bank said the country’s growth rate would settle at closer to 1.25% a year by the middle of the decade.

“Any tangible impact on the economy will take time to feed through,” Raja added. “And any meaningful boost to supply (labour, capital, productivity) will likely only start to translate into stronger growth in the second half of the decade.”

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2022/oct/07/uk-economy-predicted-to-be-weak-till-2024-despite-truss-growth-agenda>

[Conservatives](#)

Nadhim Zahawi apologises for economic turmoil after mini-budget

Cabinet minister says ‘of course I’m sorry’ during clash with Piers Morgan on BBC One’s Question Time

'Of course I'm sorry': Nadhim Zahawi apologises for mini-budget turmoil – video

[*Jamie Grierson*](#)

[@JamieGrierson](#)

Fri 7 Oct 2022 03.40 EDTLast modified on Fri 7 Oct 2022 09.15 EDT

The cabinet minister [Nadhim Zahawi](#) has apologised for the economic turmoil that followed the government’s mini-budget.

The chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster made the apology after clashing with the Talk TV presenter Piers Morgan on Thursday night’s [Question Time](#) on BBC One. The pair appeared on the political panel show, along with the Succession actor Brian Cox, the farmer Wilfred Emmanuel-Jones and the Labour MP Lisa Nandy.

The pound plummeted in value against the dollar after Kwasi Kwarteng’s announcement of a series of tax cuts, including scrapping the 45p rate of income tax for higher earners, a [move which Liz Truss abandoned](#) in the middle of her party’s conference.

Morgan challenged Zahawi to say sorry to the country for the economic turmoil that followed the mini-budget.

Zahawi said: “Liz said: ‘I’ve listened and I get it,’ which is why 95% of her economic policy, of her growth plan, she wanted to protect and she will

deliver, and the 5% which was damaging she cut, you cut and you move forward.”

The minister attempted to argue that Vladimir Putin would want the country to be divided, which caused the audience to erupt into laughter.

“Ask yourself this question: what would Vladimir Putin want us to do? He would want us to be divided right now, because he’s using energy ...” he said.

Morgan then asked Zahawi again if he was sorry, and the former chancellor said “of course” he was.

“Of course I’m sorry, absolutely,” he said.

Sign up to First Edition

Free daily newsletter

Archie Bland and Nimo Omer take you through the top stories and what they mean, free every weekday morning

Privacy Notice: Newsletters may contain info about charities, online ads, and content funded by outside parties. For more information see our [Privacy Policy](#). We use Google reCaptcha to protect our website and the Google [Privacy Policy](#) and [Terms of Service](#) apply.

He added: “By the way there’s nothing wrong with saying: ‘I get it, I’ve listened, and I’ve acted, and 95% of what I want to do I’m going to deliver, and I’ll drop the 5%’ – that’s a good thing.”

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2022/oct/07/nadhim-zahawi-apologises-economic-turmoil-mini-budget>

2022.10.07 - Spotlight

- ['Laurie Strode is a feminist hero' Jamie Lee Curtis on Halloween Ends](#)
- ['I saw my grandson's name and I fainted' Grief engulfs town after Thailand nursery attack](#)
- [Watchmen author Alan Moore 'I'm definitely done with comics'](#)
- [A Friend of the Family review The most jawdroppingly incredible true-crime story there is](#)

Jamie Lee Curtis on Halloween Ends: ‘Laurie Strode is a feminist hero’

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/film/2022/oct/07/jamie-lee-curtis-on-halloween-ends-laurie-strode-is-a-feminist-hero>

Thailand

‘I saw my grandson’s name and I fainted’: grief engulfs town after Thailand nursery attack

Families tell of the moment they heard about gun and knife attack that killed 37 people, most of them children



Grief-stricken families gathered outside a Thai nursery where an ex-policeman killed 37 people. Photograph: Manan Vatsyayana/AFP/Getty Images

[*Rebecca Ratcliffe*](#) and *Navaon Siradapuvadoli* in *Uthai Sawan*

Fri 7 Oct 2022 10.31 EDTFirst published on Fri 7 Oct 2022 00.26 EDT

On Friday morning, in the baking sun, grieving parents filed in a line to leave flowers outside the Uthai Sawan nursery school in northern Thailand. Women dressed in black and with heads bowed each placed a white rose on the entrance steps.

A mother, standing at the side, clutched her son's red blanket and his milk bottle, still half-full.

A day before, the building was the centre of one of Thailand's most deadly mass killings. [Thirty-seven people, most of them young children](#), were killed in the brutal attack that began at the nursery.

Uthai Sawan, a rural town about 300 miles (480km) north-east of Bangkok, is, like much of Thailand, in a state of shock.

At a hall next to the nursery building, relatives stunned by the events sat in rows, waiting to give their details to officials. Some wept, others leaned on one another's shoulders for comfort.



Mourners have gathered to place white roses on the steps of the childcare centre. Photograph: Manan Vatsyayana/AFP/Getty Images

Pimpa Thana sat in the middle of the hall with her husband. Her two twin boys, Ongsa and Phupa, were killed in the attack. They were three years old. "They liked to dance, they liked to listen to fairytales, they liked to play with each other," she said.

Her family felt numb, she said.

As Thailand struggles to come to terms with the attack, there is a sense of anger as well as disbelief.

Nuankanjana Sola, 49, lost her four-year-old grandson in the killing. When she heard there had been an incident on Thursday, she went to the centre immediately. “I rushed to check the name list, and I saw my grandson’s name and I fainted.”

He was such a lovely kid, she said, chatty and playful, and always pestering her to buy new toys.

“I’m furious that the gunman did this to the children who had no power to protect themselves. It’s such a cruel incident,” she says. His mother, she said, could not sleep or eat.

Nearby, medical workers set up tables to offer mental health support, while monks presented families with donations and robes. The prime minister, Prayuth Chan-ocha, and other government officials also visited the nursery to leave flowers and meet families. Local people brought donations of water and food.

Napaporn Horngan, 44, who lives in the town, said she came to support those who had lost loved ones. “Even if I stayed home I would still cry,” she said.

Her grandson, seven, who sat beside her, went to the same nursery, she said. Most local children go there. “I don’t know what to say. I am speechless.”

The government should crack down on the sale of methamphetamine – many people are addicted, she said.

Others echoed her view. Jeerand Pannaorath, 53, said his granddaughter, who is three years old, usually attends the nursery but stayed home on Thursday because she was sick.

“I am a farmer, I grow rice and sugarcane so I don’t have time to take care of her, so I drop her at the centre from 8am to 2pm, Monday to Friday,” he said.

The centre usually looks after 70 to 80 children, according to reports, but there were fewer at the time of the attack because the term had ended for older children and heavy rain prevented some from travelling.

On Thursday, Jeerand heard two loud bangs but assumed they were firecrackers. “Who would have imagined that it was actually gunshots? This is in the government compound,” he said, referring to the nursery, which is state run.

When he heard there was an incident, he went to see what had happened. Outside the nursery, he saw the body of a dead child, with wounds on his head. “I could not stay longer. It was so sad. I felt tight in my chest. I went home.”

The availability of drugs and the lack of gun control are to blame, he said. “Drugs are so cheap around here. I saw people trading drugs in front of my house.”

Rabieb, a local woman, also heard the loud bang on Thursday, but, like others, assumed it was a firecracker. “I have never experienced anything like this. We lost one teacher who lives in our village. The feeling in the village in the morning, it’s just sad.”

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/oct/07/i-saw-my-grandsons-name-and-i-fainted-grief-engulfs-town-after-thailand-nursery-attack>

Advertisement

US edition

- [US edition](#)
- [UK edition](#)
- [Australia edition](#)
- [International edition](#)

[The Guardian - Back to home](#)[The Guardian: news website of the year](#)

[Alan Moore](#)

[Interview](#)

Watchmen author Alan Moore: ‘I’m definitely done with comics’

[Sam Leith](#)



‘I’m really enjoying just writing prose fiction because, in some ways, to me, that seems the purest medium’ ... Alan Moore. Photograph: Mitch Jenkins/AP

As he releases his first short story collection, the revered writer talks about magic, the problem with superhero movies and why he will never write another graphic novel

Fri 7 Oct 2022 05.00 EDT

I've been enamoured of prose fiction for quite a long while," says [Alan Moore](#). He is speaking to me from his home in Northampton for the launch of *Illuminations*, a short story collection – and, at the age of 68, his first. "But when I started my professional career, it tended to take a bit of a back seat because there were other things going on." "Other things", for those who don't know Moore's work, is his gracefully understated shorthand for a 40-year career in the funny papers that made him probably the most respected comics writer on the planet.

Yet he has always had literary roots: his best-known work, *Watchmen*, took its title from Juvenal, and *The League of Extraordinary Gentlemen* was peopled by the canonical characters of 19th-century adventure stories. So, although Moore avowedly dislikes nostalgia, short fiction is a sort of coming home – back to the library he joined at the age of five and, once he'd outgrown Enid Blyton and *Just William*, where he got his teeth into science fiction and fantasy.

The young Moore tore through Edgar Rice Burroughs, Edgar Allan Poe, Ray Bradbury, HP Lovecraft and, especially, Mervyn Peake. The *Gormenghast* novels, he says, "were probably the first books where I began to understand just what you could do with writing: how he could conjure this entire complex environment and these almost fluorescent characters that stayed in your mind for ever".

The stories in *Illuminations* follow where Peake and those other writers led. Formally and tonally varied, each is a little feat of world-building. Not Even Legend imagines a paranormal being infiltrating a meeting for enthusiasts of the paranormal. *Location, Location, Location* finds a conveyancing solicitor introducing the messiah to his new property (an end-of-terrace house in Bedford; original site, as it turns out, of the Garden of Eden), while the

biblical apocalypse takes place, gaudily, overhead. *American Light*: An Appreciation plays a Pale Fire-style trick with the footnotes to an imaginary beat generation poem tracing a journey through the streets of San Francisco. *The Improbably Complex High-Energy State* imagines a sort-of-civilisation's rise and fall in the first zeptosecond after the big bang. *Cold Reading* is a twist-in-the-tale ghost story with a flavour of WW Jacobs; while the title story – describing a lonely middle-aged man's nostalgic return to the English seaside resort where he spent his childhood holidays, based on a similar trip Moore made to Yarmouth – has a Ray Bradbury vibe.



Jeffrey Dean Morgan in *Watchmen* from 2009. Photograph: Cinematic Collection/Alamy

The longest piece by far is *What We Can Know About Thunderman*, which you could read as Moore's farewell to the comics industry; more of a "good riddance" than "ae fond kiss". In his afterword he describes that story as having "exploded like a lanced boil", and it's a scabrous mickey take of an industry full of crooks, perverts, weirdos and arrested adolescents. One long and memorable scene finds its protagonists going through the flat of a revered industry figure after his death and finding his apartment literally waist-deep in pornographic magazines – and worse.

Yet it also contains a rapturous evocation, with the pulse of memory in it, of a child's encounter with the magical carousel of comic books in a 1950s five-and-dime: "the flimsy miracles that [...] filled the boy's fixed, dilated gaze". Moore himself grew up on the drabber DC Thomson titles such as Beano and Dandy ("The Eagle was for middle-class children, and we didn't really have it around the house"): "It was very easy for me to be seduced by my first glimpse of American comics, which would have been on a market stall in town run by a gentleman called Sid, who very much resembled a late-period Will Eisner. That was where I got my first breathless visions of all of these ... these *colour* comics that were about fantastic characters."

I will always love the comics medium but the comics industry and all of the stuff attached to it just became unbearable

His own career in comics – The Ballad of Halo Jones, Swamp Thing, Watchmen, V for Vendetta, The League of Extraordinary Gentlemen and From Hell are just the highlights – is too well documented, and too long past, to bear much rehashing here. Suffice to say he helped transform the medium, showing a formal command and ambition that few contemporaries matched, but struggled – just as Superman's creators Siegel and Shuster had before him – with the rights over his own creations. His fallings out with DC Comics (among others) are the stuff of industry folklore. "I'm definitely done with comics," he says. "I haven't written one for getting on for five years. I will always love and adore the comics medium but the comics industry and all of the stuff attached to it just became unbearable."

And he now looks with dismay on the way the superhero genre in which he once worked has eaten the culture. "Hundreds of thousands of adults [are] lining up to see characters and situations that had been created to entertain the 12-year-old boys – and it *was* always boys – of 50 years ago. I didn't really think that superheroes were adult fare. I think that this was a misunderstanding born of what happened in the 1980s – to which I must put my hand up to a considerable share of the blame, though it was not intentional – when things like Watchmen were first appearing. There were an awful lot of headlines saying 'Comics Have Grown Up'. I tend to think that, no, comics hadn't grown up. There were a few titles that were more adult than people were used to. But the majority of comics titles were pretty

much the same as they'd ever been. It wasn't comics growing up. I think it was more comics meeting the emotional age of the audience coming the other way."



'Hundreds of thousands of adults are lining up to see characters and situations created to entertain 12-year-old boys' ... Alan Moore.
Photograph: Joe Brown

He thinks that's not just infantile but dangerous. "I said round about 2011 that I thought that it had serious and worrying implications for the future if millions of adults were queueing up to see Batman movies. Because that kind of infantilisation – that urge towards simpler times, simpler realities – that can very often be a precursor to fascism." He points out that when Trump was elected in 2016, and "when we ourselves took a bit of a strange detour in our politics", many of the biggest films were superhero movies.

Superman, the creation of working-class Jewish kids, was originally "very much a New Deal American" – but he got co-opted, just as "the early spiky, anarchic Mickey Mouse was very quickly modified into a suburbanite who wears short-sleeve shirts and has two nephews". Moore is at least cautiously cheered that another of his creations, the Guy Fawkes mask drawn by David Lloyd for V for Vendetta, has been adopted as a symbol of resistance: "I can't endorse everything that people who take that mask as an icon might do

in the future, of course. But I'm heartened to see that it has been adopted by protest movements so widely across the world. Because we do need protest movements now, probably more than we've ever done before." His caution towards the cultural turn we've taken extends to the digital realm. He shuns new tech to the extent that we speak down a landline, so I can't see the lavishly bearded face from which his gentle Northampton burr issues. "When the internet first became a thing," he says, "I made the decision that this doesn't sound like anything that I need. I had a feeling that there might be another shoe to drop – and regarding this technology, as it turned out, there was an Imelda Marcos wardrobe full of shoes to drop. I felt that if society was going to morph into a massive social experiment, then it might be a good idea if there was somebody outside the petri dish." He makes do, instead, with an internet-savvy assistant: "He can bring me pornography, cute pictures of cats and abusive messages from people."

Sign up to Inside Saturday

Free weekly newsletter

The only way to get a look behind the scenes of our brand new magazine, Saturday. Sign up to get the inside story from our top writers as well as all the must-read articles and columns, delivered to your inbox every weekend.

Privacy Notice: Newsletters may contain info about charities, online ads, and content funded by outside parties. For more information see our [Privacy Policy](#). We use Google reCaptcha to protect our website and the Google [Privacy Policy](#) and [Terms of Service](#) apply.



Hugo Weaving in 2005's *V for Vendetta*. Photograph: Maximum Film/Alamy

Moore not only shuns the internet but, which will seem still more eccentric to some, makes no bones about being a practising magician – which he dates with peculiar precision to November 1993. Drunk in a bikers' pub in Northampton on his 40th birthday, he announced “quite forcefully” he was going to be a magician. “The next morning when I woke up I thought: ‘Oh dear, I’m going to have to do that now, aren’t I?’ I didn’t know what it meant to become a magician. But I thought there was a certain power in having made the declaration.” His magical experiments came to chime with a worldview evident throughout his work. Human perception (as cognitive science affirms) is partial: we see the world as it’s adaptively useful to see it, not as it truly is.

Magic, for Moore, is of a piece with his art and politics, and he says the three would have been coterminous in shamanic prehistory: “All of the culture around us that I can see looks to me very much like the dismembered body of magic.” Since the origins of civilisation, he says, we’ve striven to understand the world better by breaking it down into manageable bits. “That process of fragmentation and analysis and reduction has probably gone as far as it can, in that we have fragmented societies, we have fragmented philosophies. Individually, we have fragmented psychologies [...] We could

do worse as a species than to try and put that dismembered corpse back together.”

I didn’t know what it meant to become a magician. But I thought there was a certain power in having made the declaration

One of his early-00s comics, *Promethea*, was an effort to communicate that worldview. “I’ve disowned it now [another casualty of his falling out with DC], but it was, and is, a very good work. I think it does give a taste or a sense of the magical experience – at least some of the issues, just in the neural connectivity that some bits of *Promethea* suggest. I think they can put you into a slightly altered state. Which, I think, all art should do. I’m probably a pretty much unreconstructed member of the psychedelic left from 1970, where the agenda was just: let’s drop LSD in the reservoirs and thus enlighten everybody. Luckily, before I could implement that, I did grow the fuck up and realise [it] would be a terrible idea. But nevertheless the idea of enlightening people as a way of changing society probably remained my strongest directive.”

He’s now serving that directive with a renewed enthusiasm. “I’m really enjoying just writing prose fiction,” he says. “Because, in some ways, to me, that seems the purest medium. You’ve got 26 characters, and a peppering of punctuation. With that, you can describe the entire conceivable universe.”

Illuminations is published by Bloomsbury. To support The Guardian and Observer, order your copy at guardianbookshop.com. Delivery charges may apply.

Advertisement

US edition

- [US edition](#)
- [UK edition](#)
- [Australia edition](#)
- [International edition](#)

[The Guardian - Back to home](#)[The Guardian: news website of the year](#)

[TV review](#)[Television](#)

A Friend of the Family review – the most jawdroppingly incredible true-crime story there is



Jake Lacy as Bob Berchtold and Hendrix Yancey as the young Jan Broberg.
Photograph: Erika Doss/AP

The grooming of the Broberg family – complete with alien tapes and a girl’s double kidnapping – has been told before. But this new drama digs into *how* it happened, then happened again



[Lucy Mangan](#)
[@LucyMangan](#)

Fri 7 Oct 2022 01.00 EDTLast modified on Fri 7 Oct 2022 11.49 EDT

Render it how you will – and so far the [Broberg family’s history](#) has been a memoir, a documentary and a podcast – their story remains one of the most jawdroppingly incredible in the history of true-crime tales. Now there is a dramatisation of it – *A Friend of the Family* (Peacock on Sky and Now) written by Nick Antosca and co-produced with two members of the clan: mother Mary Ann and daughter Jan. The latter appears pre-credits to introduce the endeavour, assuring us all of her blessing. It has an odd effect, possibly counter to the one intended, by implicitly acknowledging the voyeurism inherent in watching (another version of) her extraordinary, baffling story and giving us permission to indulge it. Nevertheless, it may well be that she starts a new trend and it will come to be *de rigueur* for any fictionalised account of a true story to get someone “real” to gloss it and those that don’t will come to look untrustworthy – even though logic would dictate otherwise.

A Friend of the Family unpacks how the entire Broberg family was groomed by neighbour, member of their church and sexual predator Bob Berchtold when he became obsessed with their young daughter Jan (played by Hendrix Yancey in her preteen years, McKenna Grace later). He kidnapped her – twice. The first time was in 1974. Berchtold held her for a month and convinced her through an elaborate setup that they had been abducted by aliens. “They” (a tape recording by Berchtold, played through speakers while a drugged Jan was tied to a bed in his mobile home) told her she was half-alien and had to procreate with a male companion of her choice to save the race and her family. It was a story she would believe for years. When they returned, the Brobergs maintained contact with Bob (the father feared a sex act between him and Berchtold would come to light, the mother had an affair with him) and two years later Berchtold kidnapped Jan again.

The memoir, podcast and especially the documentary – [Abducted in Plain Sight](#), a 90-minute film by Skye Borgman released a few years ago – have given us the what and the malevolent why. The how, though, has been more elusive. In the wake of Borgman’s film, the Broberg parents came in for a huge amount of criticism for not protecting their daughter, for succumbing to Berchtold’s machinations, for exposing her to years of abuse and not, at the very, very least, cutting off all contact after the first kidnapping.

A Friend of the Family gives us the best sense yet of the how. Jake Lacy (continuing the seamless shift from all-American good guy roles to all-American monstrosity that he began in *The White Lotus*) as Berchtold hides his laser-like focus on Jan behind a mass of flirtatious charm, manipulative half-truths, and a browbeaten wife he can send out to defend him when things get tricky despite his careful calculations. And the sharp writing in plentiful scenes of Mary Ann (Anna Paquin) and father Bob (Colin Hanks) being caught in the webs he has woven, paralysed by social convention and embarrassment – and left helpless by their trusting natures – does bring to life what they must have gone through in a way that the documentary could not. At the same time, it leaves space for judgments about how and when naivete shades into denial, and innocence into wilful ignorance.

Above all, however, it is a testimony to the relentless dedication of predators to achieve their own ends. How hard they work, how far they will go, how unswervingly they will pursue their agenda, smiling all the while. Whichever version of Jan's story is told, this is the terrifying constant.

A Friend in the Family is on Peacock on Sky and Now.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2022/oct/07/a-friend-of-the-family-review-the-most-jawdroppingly-incredible-true-crime-story-there-is>

| [Section menu](#) | [Main menu](#) |

2022.10.07 - Opinion

- Now we know for sure that big tech peddles despair, we must protect ourselves
- Energy crisis? It isn't that we have too little oil and gas. It's that we have too much
- Politicians, business titans, hear this: we don't need any more of your 'disruption'
- No child should have to go through the heartache of homelessness

[Opinion](#)[Social media](#)

Now we know for sure that big tech peddles despair, we must protect ourselves

[Zoe Williams](#)



After the Molly Russell case, there can be no doubt about the risk or urgency: our anger must be put to good use



Illustration: Eva Bee/The Guardian

Fri 7 Oct 2022 01.00 EDT Last modified on Fri 7 Oct 2022 02.06 EDT

Now that the inquest into the awful death of Molly Russell in 2017 has [delivered its findings](#), we have a new reality to adjust to. The teenager died from an act of self-harm, “while suffering depression and the negative effects of online content”. Her father described how she had entered “[the bleakest of worlds](#)”: online content on self-harm and suicide was delivered in waves by Instagram and Pinterest, just leaving it to the algorithm. “Looks like you’ve previously shown an interest in despair: try this infinitely replenishing stream of fresh despair.”

Social media platforms deliberately target users with content, seeking attention and therefore advertising revenue: we knew that. This content can be extremely damaging: we knew that, too. But surely now that we’ve struggled, falteringly, towards the conclusion that it can be deadly, there can be no more complacency. These are corporations like any other, and it’s time to build on the consensus that they cause harm by regulating, as we would if they were producing toxic waste and pumping it into paddling pools.

People, parents especially, worry a lot about the digital age and its impact on teenagers, and a lot of those worries are nonsense: are they addicted to Fifa?

Will Minecraft turn them into recluses or sever their connection with the natural world? Does Fortnite stop them reading books (in fact, yes, but some other time for that)? Sometimes you'll get a [useful correction](#) from a specialist in addiction or adolescence but there isn't a coherent pushback from tech giants, because these anxieties create exactly the debate they need, amorphous and essentially luddite in character: what if today's kids are less resilient than yesterday's because they were raised in a world with different stimuli? If the real threat to kids is modernity itself, it can never be addressed, it can only be discussed.

Underneath all that noise is a persistent drumbeat, an agenda now well known, pursued by methods that have been widely studied. Any platform that is free to use exists to maximise its advertising revenue, which means chasing watchers and watch-time. The algorithms suggesting content are not designed to prioritise quality or relevance, but rather to take an existing interest in any given user and direct them, in Molly Russell's case, to more extreme versions of it. This had the tragic outcome with Molly that she was bombarded by more and more explicit explorations of misery, such that the coroner, Andrew Walker, said: "[It would not be safe to leave suicide as a conclusion.](#)" We cannot seal off a death from despair as an individual act when there are global corporations unrestrainedly marketing despair.

The problem goes far beyond young people: we can see algorithm impacts in nativist politics all over the world, and in that regard, youth is not the defining factor – indeed, the casual characterisation of youth as a state of vulnerability is its own blind alley. Nevertheless, there are two elements that make social media particularly influential on the young, and the behemoths of the field particularly culpable in their failure to address the problem. As Laura Bates notes in [Men Who Hate Women](#), her detailed research into the "manosphere", the social media coverage of Gen Z is astronomical: 85% of US teens use YouTube, 72% use Instagram, 51% still use Facebook. People spend significantly more time watching content that's been recommended than stuff they've gone looking for: on YouTube, 70% of everything watched has been suggested by the site.

Adolescence is also, manifestly, a time of great intellectual as well as neurological plasticity, when you might easily want to know [what an incel is](#) without wanting to become one, or feel very keenly that the world is doomed

one day, without being ready for your entire feed to be about variations of the apocalypse. We can, and do, debate ad nauseam how a mature society supports the outer edges of youthful turbulence, from eating disorders to toxic masculinity, yet we allow the main media consumed by that generation to operate, not just without any sense of responsibility or duty, but with a business model that foments every problem for profit.

The standards that social media companies set for themselves are curiously duplicitous, as well as being demonstrably insufficient. Last year, the staff of Connecticut senator Richard Blumenthal [set up a fake Insta account](#) posing as a 13-year-old girl interested in “extreme dieting”; it was immediately directed towards user accounts called “I have to be thin”, “Eternally starved”, “I want to be perfect”: evidence, the senator said, that the algorithm amplified harmful content by design. The platform’s response was that it was a sifting error – the site already had rules against the promotion of extreme dieting, and these accounts slipped through it. But this doesn’t answer the central charge, which was not that their rules weren’t executed well enough, but that they were actively advertising eating disorders to kids who showed an interest. CNN repeated the sting the following week, with the same results.

The [online safety bill](#), expected to progress through parliament – although it [may not be enacted until 2024](#) – addresses content that promotes self-harm and suicidal ideation, and would put it in Ofcom’s hands to evaluate what is appropriate for under-18s. It’s a useful waypoint, away from tech giants just regulating themselves, but insufficient both practically and in spirit. There’s no point countries regulating one by one, the response needs to be international: and we should not waste time discussing what kind of suicidal ideation is appropriate for what age group. We need to ask more fundamental questions, starting further up the pipeline, about what the moral responsibilities of mass publishing are.

All this takes time, youth is short, parents will be thinking they should control incoming influence themselves, that they don’t have time to wait for international initiatives, bills to progress. You can micromanage your kids’ consumption, be aware of the triggers everywhere – YouTube for toxic masculinity, TikTok for overwhelming climate anxiety, [Instagram](#) for eating disorders – try to control it all yourself, and this will work for some. But it

also corrodes your relationship with your children to be constantly policing them, destroying their trust and openness. I don't want to turn into the internet jailer just so that Mark Zuckerberg can enjoy unfettered profit.

An air of pre-emptive defeatism hangs over this debate: a sense that it is too late to regulate social media, that the lie has travelled all the way round the world, and there is now no point in the truth getting its pants on. But that is a counsel of despair. We cannot afford despair.

But at the same time, the solution is not individual. The answer isn't for a billion parents to surveil their children's Instagram and Pinterest feeds. It is to build a consensus, which is as global as the platforms themselves, that some things are more important than profit, and regulate accordingly.

- Zoe Williams is a Guardian columnist
- *In the UK and Ireland, Samaritans can be contacted on 116 123, or email jo@samaritans.org or jo@samaritans.ie. In the US, the National Suicide Prevention Lifeline is [1-800-273-8255](tel:1-800-273-8255). In Australia, the crisis support service Lifeline is 13 11 14. Other international helplines can be found at befrienders.org.*
- ***Do you have an opinion on the issues raised in this article? If you would like to submit a letter of up to 300 words to be considered for publication, email it to us at guardian.letters@theguardian.com***

[Opinion](#)Climate crisis

Energy crisis? It isn't that we have too little oil and gas. It's that we have too much

[Caroline Lucas](#)



We have green, cheap alternatives ready and waiting – but first we have to commit to keeping fossil fuels in the ground

- Support urgent, independent climate journalism [today](#).



‘We need a global solution to end this stitch-up, with fairness and security at its heart.’ Photograph: Amer Ghazzal/Shutterstock

Fri 7 Oct 2022 03.00 EDTLast modified on Fri 7 Oct 2022 09.01 EDT

Hurricane Ian has just swept across the Caribbean and the US east coast. It’s likely to become the deadliest hurricane in Florida’s history. The entirety of Cuba [lost power](#) for several days; homes have been flattened; and repairing the devastation could cost billions.

Hurricanes are a natural meteorological phenomenon, but one study has already found that the climate emergency directly added [10% more rainfall](#) to Hurricane Ian. Arguably, we are already in the eye of an even bigger, global storm – and with every fraction of a degree of global heating, the damage escalates.

Yet as politicians are preoccupied by the global energy price crisis, they are deliberately failing to join the dots. It is the soaring cost of gas, precipitated by Russia’s devastating war in Ukraine, that has tipped us over into eye-watering energy bills, and put supply volatility under the microscope. We know that fossil fuels are the root cause, and we know that breaking our dependence and keeping them in the ground is our only way out. Yet for some reason, we haven’t stopped digging.

Why? Because major fossil fuel giants, and the nations propping them up, are acting like tobacco companies, stonewalling any efforts to reduce – let alone end – global fossil fuel production. Global climate diplomacy has now become an anti-smoking campaign which is too afraid to mention the word “cigarettes”.

Why is Africa bearing the brunt of the climate crisis? – video explainer

The landmark 2015 [Paris agreement](#) failed to contain a single reference to fossil fuels, and the Cop26 [Glasgow climate pact](#) agreed last year could only “call upon” countries to phase out “inefficient fossil fuel subsidies” – as if they are ever efficient. Even the language on coal was [diluted](#) to a thin gruel, from “phase out” to “phase down”.

No wonder the fossil fuel industry is thriving, and we’ve not yet ditched our deadly 40-a-day habit.

We need a global solution to end this stitch-up, with fairness and security at its heart to ensure no country is left behind in the energy transition – and this is why the [fossil fuel non-proliferation treaty](#) is so significant. Modelled on the nuclear non-proliferation treaty which has been signed by [191 countries](#) worldwide, it complements existing UN frameworks with three new specific goals: to end to all new fossil fuel exploration and production; to phase out existing fossil fuel production in line with 1.5C; and to adopt a just transition for every worker, community and country.

[Climate journalism, open to all](#)

The treaty has so far been backed by more than 65 cities and sub-national governments across the world. And just a matter of days ago, the island state of [Vanuatu](#) became the first country to throw its weight behind the treaty. The global south is at the sharp end of the climate emergency – countries such as Vanuatu understand that every fraction of a degree matters to the very survival of their people, and every drop of oil makes a difference.

Any successful global agreement to shift away from fossil fuels for good will rely on knowing what the fossil fuel giants are planning when it comes

to future drilling and pumping. That's where the [global registry of fossil fuels](#) comes in.

The world's first public database of fossil fuel production, reserves and emissions, developed by Carbon Tracker and Global [Energy](#) Monitor, contains data for more than 50,000 fields in 89 countries, covering 75% of global production. And it's already found that producing and burning the world's proven fossil fuel reserves would bust our remaining carbon budget for 1.5C more than seven times over.

This reality exposes the absurdity of countries like ours, which are ploughing ahead with new production and infrastructure – such as major North Sea oil and gas fields including [Cambo](#) and [Jackdaw](#) – fuelling our toxic fossil fuel habit and leading to a vicious cycle of locked-in emissions.

The need to keep fossil fuels in the ground is undeniable. But in this energy crisis, a clean, green, cheap and long-term alternative is needed in their place – and fortunately, it's ready and waiting.

Here in the UK, renewables are now a staggering [nine times cheaper than gas](#); and on a global scale, solar and wind has the potential to meet our planet's energy demand [100 times over](#). It just needs the political will to adopt the infrastructure at speed and scale.

And it's starting to happen. Joe Biden's [Inflation Reduction Act](#), passed in August, has been labelled “the biggest step forward on climate ever” – it directed \$369bn of investment towards renewable energy and reducing the US's current astronomical emissions.

Even here in the UK, the one tiny silver lining from Kwasi Kwarteng's omnishambles mini-budget was the [unblocking of onshore wind](#) – one of the cheapest and most popular forms of energy generation.

But no matter how many new renewables we bring online, our security will continue to be undermined unless they are a replacement for, rather than simply an addition to, the fossil fuels in the global registry.

When the storm is rapidly gathering, and the window of a safe and liveable future is rapidly closing, we must unite to keep fossil fuels in the ground for good.

- Caroline Lucas is the Green MP for Brighton Pavilion

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/oct/07/energy-crisis-it-isnt-that-we-have-too-little-oil-and-gas-we-have-too-much-lucas>

| [Section menu](#) | [Main menu](#) |

[Opinion](#)[Economic policy](#).

Politicians, business titans, hear this: we don't need any more of your 'disruption'

[Stefan Stern](#)



Beloved by policy wonks and embraced this week by Liz Truss, what began as dry business theory has become the plague of our lives



‘Homeowners are facing an interest rate of 6% for a two-year fixed mortgage, the highest rate for 14 years.’ Photograph: Adam Vaughan/EPA

Fri 7 Oct 2022 04.30 EDT Last modified on Fri 7 Oct 2022 15.08 EDT

They looked a picture of respectability and restraint. But on Wednesday, when [Rebecca Newsom and Ami McCarthy](#) held up their Greenpeace banner with the words “Who voted for this?” on it, their neighbours in the Birmingham conference hall were not impressed. Conservative party members may have applauded the prime minister’s words about the value of disruption. But this was not the sort of disruption they had had in mind.

Why does this D-word hold such an allure for the shiny-eyed advocates of a bracing future? The story begins 25 years ago, with the publication of a book called *The Innovator’s Dilemma* by a Harvard Business School professor, Clay Christensen.

Christensen argued that businesses can go wrong when they persist with plausible and incremental development (“sustaining innovation”) when in fact something cheaper, scrappier but more radical might uncover new and untapped demand for something (“disruptive innovation”). Disruptive innovators would conquer new markets and win out over steadier but more cautious rivals.

As ever, when the nugget of something new and interesting emerges in the business world, followers took up the idea, spread it and inevitably distorted it. So it was that “disruption” became the almost unquestioned goal for many business startups, and a label to dangle in front of venture capitalists. Uber was disruptive to the taxi business. So now the aim was to find “the Uber” for a range of other activities. “Disrupt or be disrupted” ran the mantra.

The historian Jill Lepore, also a professor at Harvard, pointed out how the yearning for disruption had got out of hand in a [New Yorker essay](#) in 2014. “[Christensen’s] acolytes and imitators, including no small number of hucksters, have called for the disruption of more or less everything else,” she wrote. The financial crisis of 2008 had been caused in part by reckless innovation. “These products of disruption contributed to the panic on which the theory of disruption thrives.”

On Wednesday, Liz Truss [told her audience](#): “The scale of the challenge is immense. War in Europe for the first time in a generation. A more uncertain world in the aftermath of Covid. And a global economic crisis. That is why in Britain we need to do things differently. We need to step up. As the last few weeks have shown, it will be difficult. Whenever there is change, there is disruption. Not everyone will be in favour. But everyone will benefit from the result – a growing economy and a better future.”

But who really wants more disruption in their lives? Not the homeowner, who is now facing an interest rate of 6% for a two-year fixed mortgage, the highest rate for 14 years. Not the taxpayer, now on the hook for the repayment over many years of the cost of the government’s unfunded tax cuts. These market moves, described by [Kwasi Kwarteng](#) as “a little turbulence”, will have big and lasting consequences.

Truss’s words were also an oblique homage to the notion of “creative destruction”, a phrase popularised by the Austrian-born economist Joseph Schumpeter. While he had an even-handed and grounded view of the value of this concept, subsequent enthusiasts for creative destruction tend to emphasise the first word while underplaying and underappreciating the implications of the second.

Business language and ideas often spill over into politics, influencing the decision-making process and the vocabulary used to explain and justify it. “Choice” has long been held up as an uncontroversially good thing, as if public policy measures were akin to the actions of a supermarket adjusting its display of fruit and veg. But who has genuine choice and the capacity to choose? Not everybody.

We should know by now to beware of leaders with a glint in the eye who tell us that if we are simply tough enough and brave enough a glorious future awaits – as long as we stick with them through the “inevitable” rough times. Disruption may be OK for the very comfortably off. It may hold few terrors for those whose futures are assured. But when people tell you that tough decisions are sadly going to have to be made, remember who will be on the receiving end of those decisions. It probably isn’t the person making them.

- Stefan Stern is co-author of *Myths of Management* and the former director of the High Pay Centre

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/oct/07/politicians-business-titans-disruption-liz-truss>

OpinionHomelessness

No child should have to go through the heartache of homelessness

Clarissa

When our lives were turned upside down by a no-fault eviction, we found how little help was available to struggling families



‘It was hard for the girls to distinguish between bedtime or playtime because we were living in one room.’ Photograph: Channel 4

Fri 7 Oct 2022 05.00 EDTLast modified on Fri 7 Oct 2022 05.13 EDT

On the day we were evicted from our flat and made homeless, it wasn’t until late afternoon that the council told us where we could go – a hotel in a town an hour and a half by bus away, where we didn’t know anyone, and where I’d never even been before. I would never have been able to get my eldest daughter, Bella, to school and, even though I was heartbroken, I made the decision to let her move in with my mum, who lived near our old flat.

She was seven and I had never been apart from her before. We had been evicted from our rented two-bedroom flat in Birmingham, where we'd lived since Bella was a baby. It was the only home she'd ever known and I'd never missed a rent payment – our landlord simply wanted to sell the flat, and we were out in April.

Because we couldn't find anything else we could afford, we became one of many homeless households with children living in temporary accommodation, up by 23% in the last five years. We were also one of the homeless households put in accommodation outside of their borough – in the first three months of this year, 26,000 households were housed this way, more than three times the number 10 years ago. At the end of September 2021, [27.2%](#) of households in England in temporary accommodation had been placed in a different local authority district.

My partner Theo struggled to get to his job at the hospital. The routines of my two younger children, Nylah and Macie, were completely disrupted. Meanwhile, we were stuck in a hotel, living in one room, with nothing to do, not knowing anyone, and missing Bella so much, it was painful. We didn't know how long we would be there for, but we were told it could be several weeks.

Luckily, we were only there for a week. We were moved to a nearer budget hotel, and given two rooms – one became our storage and food preparation area, and the other our living space. Although it was great to be closer to Bella's school, which meant she could be back with us, it was hard. I'm studying to be a midwife, but I couldn't do any of my work because I had no space, or quiet. I felt like we were all trapped, and on top of each other. It was hard for the girls to distinguish between bedtime or playtime because we were living in one room.



Clarissa and Nylah. Photograph: Channel 4

In the other room, our “kitchen” was a microwave and toaster. We ate a lot of beans on toast and supermarket meal deals, but most of the time we had to order food because there’s only so much you can cook with only a microwave and a toaster. My mum helped a lot – we used to go there for food. The hotel had a rule that no rooms could be occupied for more than 28 days, so every four weeks we’d have to move all our things to other rooms. We had to replace so much stuff, like Macie’s cot, because it got broken with all the moves.

We were in the hotel for three months, even though the maximum time for temporary bed and breakfast accommodation to be used is six weeks. The housing charity [Shelter](#) helped us put pressure on the council, which eventually moved us to a flat, where we have now been since July. It’s not permanent, and we don’t know how long we can be here. The council could call us at any time and say we’ve got to move on.

Throughout all this time, I had been looking on property websites to find another flat to rent privately, but there is nothing we can afford. In July, the month we moved into our temporary flat, research showed just one in 50 properties were affordable for people on housing benefit. The month’s rent of one of the cheapest I saw would have taken Theo’s entire salary. There

was a moment, when I was facing weeks away from Bella, that I thought we should just rent a flat, knowing that within a month or two we would be in arrears – that’s if we even got accepted in the first place.

We need more affordable housing. Nobody on a low income can afford rents at the minute, and the amount you can get in housing benefit has been frozen since last year. The government’s plan to cut taxes for the richest, since reversed, annoyed me so much – there are people like us, and worse off than us, who need the extra help because life is harder with all the price rises.

Our housing situation has affected us all. I’m behind with my studying and I cry every time I think about how we lost our home, and had to be separated from Bella. I didn’t think it would have affected my younger two children that much, but when I took Nylah to nursery, she saw our old flat and said, “Look, there’s home!” I said, “It’s not home any more, we live at the hotel”, and it just sounded so strange to say that. I wouldn’t say we were settled now in our flat, even though we’ve done what we can to make it homely. Bella asks: “Can we stay here?” But I don’t know.

- As told to Emine Saner. Clarissa and her family are featured on [Britain’s Evicted Kids: Dispatches](#), on at 7.30pm on Friday 7 October on Channel 4
- ***Do you have an opinion on the issues raised in this article? If you would like to submit a letter of up to 300 words to be considered for publication, email it to us at guardian.letters@theguardian.com***

2022.10.07 - Around the world

- [Thailand Nation mourns after children killed in mass stabbing and shooting](#)
- [New Zealand Court quashes child sexual abuse conviction in landmark ruling](#)
- [South Korea Outcry as president tries to scrap gender equality ministry to 'protect' women](#)
- [Indonesia football disaster Six face criminal charges over deadly stadium crush](#)
- [Argentina Football fan dies after police use teargas at Gimnasia v Boca](#)

Thailand

Thailand in mourning after children killed in mass stabbing and shooting

Nation in shock after 37 people, mostly children, killed by former police officer who was due in court on drug charge

Thailand: children killed in mass shooting and stabbing at preschool – video report

[Rebecca Ratcliffe](#) and Navaon Siradapuvadol in Uthai Sawan

Fri 7 Oct 2022 11.40 EDTFirst published on Thu 6 Oct 2022 21.13 EDT

Thailand was in a state of mourning on Friday after a gun and knife attack at a nursery left dozens dead and prompted calls for gun control and a crackdown on illicit drugs.

[Thirty-seven people were killed](#) when a former police officer opened fire and stabbed children as they slept at the preschool in Uthai Sawan, a town 310 miles north-east of Bangkok on Thursday.

After the attacker left the nursery he drove his car towards and shot at bystanders, then returned home where he shot his wife, child and himself.

On Friday, the relatives of those killed gathered at the nursery, where they lay white roses on the building's entrance steps before travelling to local temples to receive their loved one's coffins. Twenty-three children were killed in the attack.

The Thai government ordered all Thai flags to be lowered to half mast while the prime minister, Prayuth Chan-ocha, visited the nursery and laid flowers outside. Afterwards, he met families of the victims and handed out compensation cheques.



Police said the perpetrator was a former police officer. Photograph: Thailand's Central Investigation/AFP/ Getty Images

On Friday evening, King Maha Vajiralongkorn and Queen Suthida were also expected to meet victims and their families. Crowds gathered outside a local hospital to see the motorcade pass by.

The attacker, identified by police as Panya Khamrab, a 34-year-old former police lieutenant colonel, was dismissed from the force in January for methamphetamine possession and was officially fired in June. He had appeared in court earlier on Thursday on a drug charge and was due to appear again on Friday.

His mother told Nation TV that he was in debt and had drug addiction problems. "I don't know [why he did this], but he was under a lot of pressure," she said.

Thai media reported that autopsy results indicated he had not taken drugs in the 72 hours prior to his death. However, the mass killing has prompted calls for a tougher stance on drugs, including methamphetamine, supplies of which have grown rapidly across south-east Asia over recent years.

The opposition Pheu Thai party said it is preparing to open an extraordinary session of the House of Representatives after the tragedy.

'He used a knife, he kept slashing': Thailand daycare attack survivor – video

“I blame the government for neglecting the problem of drugs that caused this tragic event,” said Prasert Chantararungthong, secretary-general of Pheu Thai, the party formed of loyalists to exiled former prime minister Thaksin Shinawatra, whose infamous “war on drugs” left 2,500 people dead.

More than 1bn methamphetamine tablets were seized in east and south-east Asia in 2021 – seven times higher than 10 years ago. Analysts say the cartels, whose production is centred in south-east Asia’s Golden Triangle along the borders between Thailand, Myanmar and Laos, continue despite police raids.



Emergency service workers arrange coffins containing the bodies of victims. Photograph: Athit Perawongmetha/Reuters

A recent UN report said that the price of tablet and crystal methamphetamine had fallen to all-time lows due to a surge in supply.

According to local reports, a tablet costs 10 baht (£0.24) for wholesale, about the same as a bottle of water. The street price for the pills is between 20 and 25 baht.

Mass shootings are rare in Thailand, though gun ownership rates are high. In 2020, a soldier killed at least 29 people and wounded 57 after opening fire in four locations, including a busy shopping mall in north-east Thailand.

In Uthai Sawan, local people and grieving families struggled to come to terms with what had happened.



The daycare centre sits empty a day after it was attacked. Photograph: Sakchai Lalit/AP

“I cried until I had no more tears coming out of my eyes. They are running through my heart,” Seksan Sriraj, 28, told Associated Press. He lost his pregnant wife, who was due to give birth this month.

“My wife and my child have gone to a peaceful place. I am alive and will have to live. If I can’t go on, my wife and my child will be worried about me, and they won’t be reborn in the next life,” he said.

The attacker first opened fire outside the nursery, according to witness accounts given to local media. Teachers had tried to lock the front door to keep him out, but he shot and kicked his way into the building.

In an interview with Amarin TV, Satita Boonsom, who worked at the daycare centre, said she and three other teachers climbed the centre’s fence

to escape and call for help. By the time she returned, the children were dead. She said one child who was covered by a blanket survived the attack, apparently because the assailant assumed he was dead.

Sumate Uthathit, of Ruamjai Kupai Naklang rescue team, who recovered victims on Thursday, said the atmosphere was one of chaos. “When we entered, we saw a lot of bodies. We were shocked because we only got information about four bodies, but it was more than 20 bodies,” he said. “Their families tried to get in. They were panicking.”

Some families stayed outside the nursery until late on Thursday evening, Thai media reported, with trained staff giving mental health support.

On Friday, relatives gathered again at the nursery, many wearing black, where they were given government assistance.

In the afternoon, coffins bearing the bodies of the victims were taken to local families, to be handed over to relatives. Some fainted as the small coffins were opened. Paramedics revived them with smelling salts.

Politicians across the world offered their condolences, while the UN secretary general, António Guterres, said he was “profoundly saddened by the heinous shooting”.

[New Zealand](#)

New Zealand court quashes child sexual abuse conviction in landmark ruling

Case of Peter Ellis marks first time a court in the country has overturned a conviction posthumously



Peter Ellis, who died in 2019, spent seven years in jail on charges of child sexual abuse. Photograph: Nick Perry/AP

[Tess McClure](#) in Auckland

[@tessairini](#)

Fri 7 Oct 2022 03.35 EDTLast modified on Fri 7 Oct 2022 05.40 EDT

New Zealand's supreme court has quashed the convictions of Peter Ellis, a Christchurch creche worker convicted of child sexual abuse in 1993 in a highly controversial case that included allegations of large-scale ritual abuse.

On Friday, the court found a “substantial miscarriage of justice” had occurred. It is the first time in New Zealand's history that a conviction has

been quashed posthumously – Ellis died from cancer in late 2019.

Until now, a person's legal proceedings have died along with them, but Ellis's appeal continued after his lawyers argued that under *tikanga* (Māori customary law), a person's *mana* (honour) is as important in death as in life. The majority of judges ruled that the public interest factors of the case meant it was in the interests of justice to allow the appeal to go ahead.

Ellis spent seven years in jail after being convicted in a 1993 jury trial on 16 counts of sexual offending against seven children who had attended the Christchurch Civic childcare centre, where he had been a teacher. The investigation began shortly after a series of similar trials investigating allegations of satanic ritual abuse at childcare centres in the US, in an era now known as the “satanic panic”.

Some of the children's allegations against Ellis and other childcare workers were extreme, including references to cages attached to the ceiling of the creche and large-scale rituals.

The case against Ellis relied on the recollections of very young children, and many questioned its merits from the outset. Some believed the fact he was gay worked against him.

While one of the children later recanted their allegations, others maintained they had been abused by Ellis for years after the trial. The court noted that the judges “were conscious of the very high level of stress and public scrutiny already suffered by the complainants and their *whānau* [family] over such a long period”.

Ellis, who always maintained his innocence, had appealed unsuccessfully a number of times, including two failed attempts via the court of appeal and a ministerial inquiry.

In 2019, the supreme court granted permission to appeal again, but Ellis died a few months later, before the hearing. In 2020, the court ruled the appeal be allowed to continue.

On Friday, the court ruled the miscarriage of justice was a result of inadmissible or unbalanced expert evidence, and contaminated evidence from children, including potentially suggestive parental questioning before the complainants' evidential interviews.

Ellis's brother, Mark, said the decision had been a long time coming. "I wish my brother was here, because it was really what he deserved," he said.

However, the parents of some of the children Ellis was accused of abusing said in a statement to the New Zealand Herald that they were "shocked and saddened" by the decision.

"The trauma of not being believed over the years takes its toll. The court of public opinion is often ill-informed and the facts are lost," they said.

The court said the judgment's release "marks the end of a long and painful journey through the courts for the many people involved in this case", and that "its judgment was not to be read as a criticism of the parents, the complainants or those involved in the investigation and trial".

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/oct/07/new-zealand-court-quashes-peter-ellis-child-sexual-abuse-conviction>

South Korea

Outcry as South Korean president tries to scrap gender equality ministry to ‘protect’ women

Yoon Suk-yeol courted ‘anti-feminist’ male voters during election, and opponents say latest move threatens to be a major setback for women’s rights



Yoon Suk-yeol, left, faces opposition from the Democratic party led by Lee Jae-myung, right, to his plan to abolish South Korea’s gender equality ministry. Photograph: YONHAP/EPA

[Justin McCurry](#) in Tokyo

Fri 7 Oct 2022 00.36 EDTLast modified on Fri 7 Oct 2022 23.29 EDT

South Korea’s president, Yoon Suk-yeol, has defended his plan to abolish the country’s [gender equality](#) ministry, insisting it will lead to an improvement in women’s rights.

Yoon, a conservative who took office in May, is expected to encounter fierce opposition to the move, which will have to be approved by the national assembly, where the liberal opposition Democratic party has a majority.

Yoon has accused the ministry of treating men like “potential sex criminals” and promised to introduce tougher penalties for false claims of sexual assault – a step campaigners say will deter even more women from coming forward.

On Friday, he attempted to dismiss fears that abolishing the ministry would set back the cause of women’s rights in [South Korea](#) as it struggles to address its poor record on gender equality.

“Abolishing the gender ministry is about strengthening the protection of women, families, children and the socially weak,” he told reporters, according to the Yonhap news agency.

Yoon defeated his liberal opponent, Lee Jae-myung, with [strong support among young “anti-feminist” men](#) who believed their grievances were being ignored by a new focus on [gender issues generated by the #MeToo](#) movement.

While there have been modest improvements in women’s rights – including the [decriminalisation of abortion](#) in early 2021 and better enrolment rates in higher education – South Korea has the highest gender wage gap among OECD countries, with women paid on average a third less than their male counterparts.

Women are poorly represented in boardrooms and in the national assembly, while campaigners have demanded authorities take action against an epidemic of spy cam crime, [known as molka](#).

The 2022 World Economic Forum global [gender gap report](#) ranks South Korea 99th out of 146 countries in an index that examines jobs, education, health and political representation.

In September, the government faced calls to strengthen punishments for stalkers after a woman was [murdered at work](#) by a male ex-colleague who had been stalking her for three years.

The interior and safety minister, Lee Sang-min, said this week that government policies should aim to secure equal rights for both men and women, and criticised the current focus on inequality experienced by women.

Lee said the gender ministry's duties would be shifted to the health and employment ministries, adding that the government planned to establish a new agency in charge of population, family and gender equality issues.

Democratic party MPs said the ministry's abolition would undermine South Korea's commitment to gender equality.

“It is obvious that government programmes related to family, youth and gender equality that the gender ministry has been in charge of will be reduced,” they said in a statement. “It is time to strengthen the gender ministry's role and function, not weaken them.”

The Korea Times accused Yoon and his conservative People Power party of “taking advantage of the gender divide for political gain” by keeping his campaign promise to abolish the ministry.

Calling on Yoon to rethink his “ill-conceived plan”, the newspaper said the move could “do more harm than good” and “goes against the global trend of advocating women's empowerment”.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/oct/07/outcry-as-south-korean-president-tries-to-scrap-gender-equality-ministry-to-protect-women>

Indonesia

Indonesia stadium disaster: six face criminal charges over deadly crush

Police and match organisers among those to be charged after 131 were killed in one of the worst sports disasters in history



Indonesian police say they are bringing criminal charges against three officers and three civilians. Photograph: Dicky Bisingslasi/AP

Associated Press

Thu 6 Oct 2022 22.59 EDT

Six people, including police and match organisers, are facing criminal charges in Indonesia after a crowd crush at a football game [killed at least 131 people at the weekend](#).

Saturday's tragedy in the Malang region of East Java was among the worst sporting disasters ever, as hundreds of fans tried to flee a riot in the stadium

and teargas being fired by police, leading to a crush [worsened by several locked exits](#).

Police chief Listyo Sigit Prabowo told a news conference that the suspects include the administrator of the country's top professional football division, who is responsible for ensuring that stadiums have proper operating certificates. He said the stadium in Malang city did not meet the requirements for certification and had not been properly verified.

Also facing charges are three police officers over their use of teargas, the head of the organising committee and the chief security officer of the home club, Arema FC.

They are charged with criminal negligence causing death, which carries a maximum five-year prison sentence if found guilty.



Candlelit vigils for the victims were held in Sleman, Indonesia. Photograph: Slamet Riyadi/AP

Police said the club's officials had not complied with safety requirements and had allowed a crowd larger than the stadium's capacity, while stewards had abandoned exits.

Police have said the exits that people fled to were too narrow to pass through, while the country's football association said some exits were locked.

According to recommendations by football's international governing body FIFA and the Asian Football Confederation, exits at stadiums must be unlocked at all times during a game for safety purposes. Those rules don't necessarily apply to domestic or national leagues. FIFA has also advised against the use of teargas in stadiums as a crowd control measure.

The government has created a fact-finding team to look into the disaster, which is one of the deadliest football-related tragedies since a crush in Peru in 1964 killed more than 300.

President Joko Widodo has also ordered an audit of stadiums across the country to make sure their security was up to code, adding that "locked doors and steep stairs" were key factors in the incident.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/oct/07/indonesia-stadium-disaster-six-face-criminal-charges-over-deadly-crush>

Soccer

Football fan dies after Argentinian police use teargas at Gimnasia v Boca

- Teargas used outside stadium leads to abandonment
- Security minister says fan died of heart problem while leaving



Fans of Gimnasia de La Plata react on the pitch to teargas fired by the police outside the stadium. Photograph: Gustavo Garelo/AP

Reuters

Fri 7 Oct 2022 05.41 EDTLast modified on Fri 7 Oct 2022 06.07 EDT

A football fan died in Argentina and the match between Gimnasia La Plata and [Boca Juniors](#) was abandoned on Thursday after teargas fired by police outside the venue drifted into the stadium and made it difficult for players and spectators to breathe.

The circumstances surrounding the death were unclear but Sergio Berni, security minister for Buenos Aires province, told local television that the fan died of a heart problem as he was leaving the Juan Carmelo Zerillo Stadium in La Plata.

The incident comes five days after [a stampede](#) at a football game in Indonesia killed at least 131 people when fans tried to flee a riot and teargas fired by police in one of the world's worst sporting disasters.

According to authorities in [Argentina](#), Gimnasia fans were trying to force their way into the stadium, which was full, and police used rubber bullets and teargas to force them back. Players were seen covering their faces and supporters entered the field as they tried to escape the teargas. The top-flight match was stopped after nine minutes.

ESPN quoted the Gimnasia player Leonardo Morales as saying: "My two-year-old son couldn't breathe. We feel desperate and worried about all the people in the stands. We were playing a normal football game and it turned it into this and the feeling that our relatives almost died."

Berni said his ministry would open an investigation, adding that too many tickets might have been sold, but Gimnasia said that was not the case and they had complied with security protocols. "We will demand an investigation into what happened until those responsible for this tragic day ... are known," the club said.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/football/2022/oct/07/football-fan-dies-after-argentinian-police-use-teargas-at-gimnasia-v-boca-juniors>

Headlines tuesday 4 october 2022

- [Live Liz Truss refuses to commit to raising benefits in line with inflation](#)
- [Benefits Liz Truss refuses to rule out real-terms cuts](#)
- [Economics Kwarteng bringing forward debt plan could calm markets, says top Tory MP](#)
- [Live Business: pound hits two-week high of \\$1.14 as Kwarteng brings forward debt-cutting plan](#)

[Politics live with Andrew Sparrow](#)Conservatives

Liz Truss says she wants to cut top rate of tax eventually and says she does trust Kwasi Kwarteng as chancellor – as it happened

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2022/oct/04/liz-truss-benefits-inflation-kwasi-kwarteng-conservative-party-conference-live-updates>

[Liz Truss](#)

Liz Truss refuses to rule out real-terms benefits cuts

PM facing fresh battle with MPs as she declines to commit to raising benefits in line with inflation

- [Politics live – latest updates](#)



Liz Truss said ministers were ‘going to have to make decisions about how we bring down debt as a proportion of GDP in the medium term’. Photograph: Hannah McKay/Reuters

[Jessica Elgot](#) Deputy political editor
[@jessicaelgot](#)

Tue 4 Oct 2022 03.59 EDTLast modified on Tue 4 Oct 2022 04.14 EDT

Liz Truss has refused to commit to raising benefits in line with inflation, amid a fresh battle with MPs over cuts to spending including concern from

among her cabinet.

The prime minister said pensions would rise in line with inflation, having committed to the pensions “triple lock” during the leadership campaign. But she said people on welfare benefits were in a “different situation” and said they were more able to look for more work.

“When people are on a fixed income, when they are pensioners, it is quite hard to adjust. I think it’s a different situation for people who are in the position to be able to work,” she told LBC. “What I want to do is make sure that we are helping more people into work.”

She told BBC Radio 4’s Today programme ministers were “going to have to make decisions about how we bring down debt as a proportion of GDP in the medium term ... I am very committed to supporting the most vulnerable.”

Truss also said she was prepared to listen to colleagues in the party, after dozens warned the prime minister over the weekend they would not accept the abolition of the top tax rate of 45%, [forcing a U-turn by the chancellor, Kwasi Kwarteng](#).

“I love all of my parliamentary colleagues in the Conservative party and I love hearing their opinions and talking to them,” she said. “I want to win over hearts and minds in the country, but also amongst my parliamentary colleagues, to make sure that we are able to deliver for the people of Britain.”

Penny Mordaunt, the leader of the Commons, has told Times Radio she backed benefits rising in line with inflation, rather than changing the formula to make them keep pace with wages – in effect a real-terms cut.

“I’ve always supported – whether it’s pensions, whether it’s our welfare system – keeping pace with inflation. It makes sense to do so. That’s what I voted for before,” Mordaunt told Times Radio.

Others who have criticised the potential cut and warned of an MPs' rebellion include the former cabinet ministers Damian Green, Michael Gove and Esther McVey, as well as John Glen, the former Treasury minister, and Robert Halfon, the chair of the education select committee.

Mel Stride, the chair of the Treasury select committee, told Today those on benefits were already feeling the squeeze. "They're pegged against the previous September's inflation, and the way it worked last time was the uprating was just 3.1% because inflation was low the previous September, but of course inflation was much higher than that [in April].

"So we're coming off the back actually of a kind of quite a strong real-terms squeeze on those benefits already so I think that will be a really tough call to make."

Sign up to First Edition

Free daily newsletter

Archie Bland and Nimo Omer take you through the top stories and what they mean, free every weekday morning

Privacy Notice: Newsletters may contain info about charities, online ads, and content funded by outside parties. For more information see our [Privacy Policy](#). We use Google reCaptcha to protect our website and the Google [Privacy Policy](#) and [Terms of Service](#) apply.

Green said Truss probably did not have enough support in the Commons to prevent an inflation-linked rise to benefits.

In her interviews, Truss said she was not keen on the word "austerity" but suggested there would be further public spending cuts.

"What I'm talking about is fiscal responsibility. I'm talking about getting debt down as a proportion of GDP," she told LBC. "After we've had this extraordinary crisis, you know, after Putin invaded Ukraine, we've seen energy bills rise up ... Within a week of becoming prime minister, I took urgent action to help people with those energy bills. That's cost us money in the short term.

“We do need to pay it down over the longer term, but it’s also why we’ve taken all these decisions to boost economic growth.”

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2022/oct/04/liz-truss-real-terms-benefits-cuts-inflation>

| [Section menu](#) | [Main menu](#) |

Economics

Kwarteng bringing forward debt plan could calm markets, says top Tory MP

Mel Stride, chair of Treasury committee, says move could also mean smaller interest rate rises

- [Business live – latest updates](#)



Kwasi Kwarteng is to move the government's announcement of its fiscal statement to October from 23 November, according to reports. Photograph: Anadolu Agency/Getty Images

[*Joanna Partridge*](#)

Tue 4 Oct 2022 04.01 EDTLast modified on Tue 4 Oct 2022 04.38 EDT

Kwasi Kwarteng's decision to [bring forward his debt-cutting plan](#) could help to calm markets and mean smaller future interest rate rises than would

otherwise have been the case, according to the Conservative chair of parliament's influential Treasury watchdog.

Mel Stride, a Tory MP and the chair of the Treasury committee, said moving the government's fiscal statement to October from 23 November could restore some confidence, depending on the content of the plan and the detail of the new forecasts from the Office of Budget Responsibility.

The pound rose to a two-week high above \$1.14 on Tuesday as Kwarteng prepared to announce an earlier date to set out his plans to cut debts. Stride said that if the plans were well-received, the Bank of England might opt for a smaller rate rise at its next meeting on 3 November.

The role of the fiscal statement is to “answer a critical question which is do all those proposals add up in terms of meeting some credible fiscal rules”, Stride said.

“If the forecast stacks up, then that will be critical in calming the markets, and the implications of that clearly are things like lower interest rate rises than would otherwise occur, which of course is going to matter to millions of people around the country when it comes to their mortgages,” Stride told BBC Radio 4's Today programme.

The chancellor is bowing to pressure to bring forward his fiscal plan, after sweeping tax cutting plans in his mini-budget were uncoded, triggering market panic and widespread dismay within the Tory party. It is a second U-turn after he was forced to [abandon plans to scrap the 45% top rate of income tax](#).

The price of UK government bonds also recovered on Monday, as the yield – or interest rate – on 10-year bond dropped below 4% to a one-week low.

[Government bond chart](#)

The new timing of Kwarteng's fiscal statement was also crucial, Stride said, as it should come ahead of the next meeting of the Bank of England's rate-setting monetary policy committee.

If the statement is well-received by the financial markets, “then one would expect that to lead the monetary policy committee possibly to conclude that the pressures of inflation due to these currently unfunded tax cuts might be expected to ease a bit”, Stride said.

He added: “In those circumstances, you might expect the committee to come up with a lower level of interest rate rises, which of course will be very helpful for those with mortgages, and business borrowing and indeed for the cost of the government servicing its own debt.”

Sign up to Business Today

Free daily newsletter

Get set for the working day – we'll point you to the all the business news and analysis you need every morning

Privacy Notice: Newsletters may contain info about charities, online ads, and content funded by outside parties. For more information see our [Privacy Policy](#). We use Google reCaptcha to protect our website and the Google [Privacy Policy](#) and [Terms of Service](#) apply.

The government has so far declined to rule out reductions in public spending, or a real-terms cut in benefits, to pay for its tax-cutting plans.

Stride said he would have to “think long and hard” about whether to vote for only increasing benefits by less than inflation.

“We’re coming off the back of quite a strong real-term squeeze on those benefits already, so I think that will be a really tough call to make,” he added.

Senior Tory MPs have warned of [further rebellions](#) over the government’s plans to reduce public spending, especially on benefits.

| [Section menu](#) | [Main menu](#) |

[Business live](#)Business

Pound at two-week high as FTSE 100 posts best day since June – as it happened

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2022/oct/04/pound-chancellor-kwasi-kwarteng-debt-cutting-fiscal-plan-inflation-stock-markets-business-live>

2022.10.04 - Spotlight

- [The long read Ransomware hunters: the self-taught tech geniuses fighting cybercrime](#)
- [Hardcore pawn Cheating, groupies, big money and drunken brawls: how chess went rock'n'roll](#)
- [Hope amid climate chaos 'We are in a race between Armageddon and awesome'](#)
- ['Damage is done' What the papers say after Truss and Kwarteng's tax U-turn](#)

Ransomware hunters: the self-taught tech geniuses fighting cybercrime

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2022/oct/04/ransomware-hunters-the-self-taught-tech-geniuses-fighting-cybercrime>

Chess

Cheating, groupies, big money and drunken brawls: how chess went rock'n'roll

Chess's fusty image has been shaken by recent allegations of underhand tactics. But as any fan or player can tell you, it has long been younger, hipper – and wilder – than most outsiders realised



Illustration: Edward Carvalho-Monaghan/Outline Artists/The Guardian



[Sean Ingle](#)
[@seaningle](#)

Tue 4 Oct 2022 01.00 EDT Last modified on Fri 7 Oct 2022 15.19 EDT

One of chess's best-known grandmasters is considering a theory so outlandish that, until three weeks ago, it lurked only in the murkiest corners of the internet. "Vibrating anal beads?" says Simon Williams, a popular commentator known as Ginger GM. He pauses to consider the claims, amplified by Elon Musk, that a remote-controlled sex toy could help a player cheat. And then he delivers a withering dismissal. "It's completely surreal," he replies. "Laughable. Monty Pythonesque. It's an interesting idea. But it's not going to work."

Tell that to the world's media, who have reported every juicy twist and sordid allegation of chess's cheating scandal ever since the world champion, Magnus Carlsen, quit the prestigious \$500,000 (£447,000) Sinquefeld Cup [last month after losing to an American teenager](#), Hans Niemann.

Seemingly overnight, chess has become part soap opera, part whodunnit. Niemann, 19, insists he is willing to play naked to prove he is now "clean", after admitting to cheating online when he was 12 and 16. However, Carlsen

doesn't believe him, and resigned after just one move when they faced each other again in a recent online tournament.

But as the story rumbles on, it tells something else too. [Chess](#) has radically changed. The fusty stereotype of a game played by socially awkward men and boys in draughty church halls and in pub rooms cloistered away from regular punters is no longer the norm. Instead we have entered a new era of chess: younger, hipper – even a little rock'n'roll.



Magnus Carlsen in 2020. Photograph: Tom Jenkins/The Guardian

Online, a new breed of glamorous chess “streamers” has sprung up, some of whom earn hundreds of thousands of pounds a year. Millions more are now playing and watching. Meanwhile, at the top level, stories abound of cheating, excessive drinking, groupies, even death threats – if not yet at the same time.

Much of this is down to Carlsen. The world's best player for more than a decade, he is young (31), witty and whip-smart – and he has a hinterland outside the game. Carlsen used to model for G-Star Raw, came 10th out of 7.5 million players in the 2019 Fantasy Premier League competition, and is also a decent poker player. His company, Play Magnus Group, [was recently sold for about \\$82m](#).

“During the pandemic [Chess.com](#) was also incredibly smart in recruiting esports stars to play in a series of amateur tournaments called PogChamps,” says the grandmaster Daniel King, who also runs the [YouTube channel Power Play Chess](#). “They became absolutely massive, and chess really crossed over.”



Suddenly, players such as 34-year-old Hikaru Nakamura, who was once ranked second in the world behind Carlsen in classical chess (which takes hours to play), were spending far more time streaming their online “blitz” or “bullet” games, where they have just three minutes to make all their moves. Nakamura would do this while answering questions on chat and giving blow-by-blow accounts of the latest chess drama.

“Nakamura was noted for being fantastically strong at bullet chess long before it was sort of hip to play online, and he has turned into the perfect chess streamer, making millions,” says King. “He’s gobby. He’s opinionated. He doesn’t care about upsetting people. He’s basically just hacked an online algorithm that means you’re going to be successful.”

Nakamura aside, most chess content producers are not among the world’s elite. But, as Jennifer Shahade, the two-time US chess champion and author of Chess Queens, points out, they have found a way to connect with new chess audiences – and they work hard to maintain it. “A lot of the superstar streamers are incredibly talented, academically and socially,” she says. “Alexandra Botez was the CEO of a tech startup in Silicon Valley before she decided to try streaming.”

Among the new breed of female streamers is 20-year-old Anna Cramling from Sweden. Two years ago, she was planning to study international relations or politics at university. Instead, she has become a popular chess personality, despite being ranked about 17,000th in the world.

Cramling has succeeded because she produces content that is creative, universal and very watchable. A video of her playing a [street game against Carlsen](#) in July has attracted 3m views on YouTube. Another, entitled [I Trolled This Chess Hustler Into Thinking I Was a Beginner](#), has been watched 2.4m times.

Cramling is probably now better known than her mother, Pia, a grandmaster who has been one of the top female players for nearly 40 years. “She was really known during her time,” Cramling says of her mother. “But now there’s a new way of being known in chess, and it doesn’t mean you have to be the best in the world. It’s a sign of the times.”



Anna Cramling plays the secretive player Rey Enigma in a tournament in Madrid. Photograph: Miguel Pereira/Getty Images

Cramling says that most of her audience is between 18 and 25 and overwhelmingly male – about 95%, according to YouTube stats. Crucially, they are willing to pay subscriptions or watch advertising to support chess players. Levy Rozman, AKA GothamChess, is said to make more than \$1m a year from YouTube. [A leak of Twitch subscriptions](#) last year suggested that Nakamura earned \$773,000 from that platform alone, while Botez and her sister, Andrea, made \$400,000.

Last year, Fide, the chess governing body, tried to capitalise on the growing interest from women in chess by [signing a sponsorship deal](#) with the breast enlargement company Motiva, which was immediately criticised as “gross” and “misogynistic”. The renowned chess photographer Maria Emelianova says many are still unhappy and it remains “a running joke” behind the scenes on the women’s circuit.

How to cheat at chess: the theories and fallout of a huge scandal – video explainer

There has been plenty of other drama off the board too: grandmasters regularly sniping at each other on social media, players falling out over

rogue chess moderators, or even, in Dutch grandmaster Anish Giri's case, having their private messages hacked and leaked. Last year a video emerged of Nakamura [wrestling in the street with another grandmaster](#), Eric Hansen, after a drunken blitz game turned sour, watched on by other bemused players.

The combination of alcohol and being on the road can also make relationships between players – and even chess groupies – more common than you might think. “People often end up getting together,” says one source, who preferred not to be named. “It’s not that unusual. We even joke about the ‘B tournament’, meaning: ‘Are you with anyone? Are you seeing anyone?’ And then the groupie side of it has always been there, although not as much as rock bands.”

Old-timers will tell you some of this happened back in the day, too, although with no social media, it usually remained in the shadows. At the 1986 Chess Olympiad, for instance, the British player Nigel Short was furious that his rival Tony Miles had been put on board 1 instead of him. But it was only when Miles died in 2001 that Short revealed how he had got his own back. “I obtained a measure of revenge not only by eclipsing Tony in terms of chess performance,” he wrote, “but also by sleeping with his girlfriend, which [was definitely satisfying but perhaps not entirely gentlemanly](#).”

Meanwhile, the grandmaster and philosopher Jonathan Rowson remembers how alcohol affected the response of a Russian grandmaster, whom he beat in a prestigious tournament in 2004. “It was a perfectly straightforward game, without any reason to think that cheating was involved,” he says. “But when he saw me later, to my surprise, he said: ‘I see you on the street, I kill you. Understand?’ I was really shocked, even though he was a bit of a lunatic and might have been drunk at the time, because it was still a kind of death threat.”



Hikaru Nakamura. Photograph: Andrew Halseid-Budd/Getty Images

Unsurprisingly, alcohol and chess still mix. “A lot of players are heavy drinkers,” says Emelianova. “Some have to go into this dry state for the entirety of the tournament just to be able to finish it on the same level. One chess player is famous for finishing his final game, and 10 minutes later, coming back with his eyes being like glass. And you know that he doesn’t see you any more.

“It shows how stressful the game is,” she adds. “Sometimes afterwards, a player can’t fall asleep the entire night because they keep replaying moves in their head.”

There is sometimes a darker side too. In 2020, Botez warned it was still common for male players to use their age and position to go on the “hunt” for women and girls. “It has been going on for so long and no one blinks an eye,” she said. “The extent to which people never say anything and find things OK is pretty spooky.” Other women echoed similar concerns to the Guardian, but none wanted to go public.

In recent years many newcomers have become hooked on the addictive thrill of seeing their rating rise after they win a game, as well as the jolts of

adrenaline they get as they take multiple decisions while their clock ticks down.

But if they hang around long enough on a chess website, they will find out what it's like to face a cheat. In March 2020 alone, Chess.com [closed nearly 10,000 accounts for fair play violations](#), including seven titled players. "Cheating is a chess players' curse," admits Rowson, whose book *The Moves That Matter* deftly explores the relationship between the game and life. "Because you are always asking: 'How is this adversary trying to get me?' There is this inherent necessity for vigilance that can spill over into paranoia.

"People forget chess is also a sublimation of war and a ritual encounter with death," he adds. "Because in effect, your life's on the line. So the stakes are high. People feel it."

Those stakes are even higher at elite level, where big money is at stake, suspicion is rampant and slam-dunk proof with computer analysis is possible. Fide's chief anti-cheating expert, Dr Kenneth W Regan, believes Niemann has not cheated in the past two years. However some, such as the Fide master Yosha Iglesias, have raised concerns over the American's incredible accuracy in some games, using the website ChessBase's Let's Check analysis, which compares a player's moves with the best computer ones.

Chess.com and Carlsen also both believe that Niemann has cheated more recently than his last indiscretion in 2020. In a [statement tweeted](#) last week, Carlsen made his feelings clear: "When Niemann was invited last minute to the 2022 Sinquefeld Cup, I strongly considered withdrawing prior to the event," he said. "I ultimately chose to play. I believe that Niemann has cheated more – and more recently – than he has publicly admitted.



Hans Niemann (right) playing Carlsen in the Sinquefeld Cup. Photograph: Crystal Fuller/Saint Louis Chess Club

“His over-the-board progress has been unusual, and throughout our game in the Sinquefeld Cup I had the impression that he wasn’t tense or even fully concentrating on the game in critical positions, while outplaying me as black in a way I only think a handful of players can do. This game contributed to changing my perspective.”

For now, though, there is no hard proof being offered by Carlsen. Only an intuition that something is not quite right. For many that is unfair on Niemann, who says his improvement has come from studying 10 hours a day.

Other players have waded into the controversy. Perhaps the 2018 world title challenger Fabiano Caruana put it best [when he analysed one of Niemann’s matches](#) from earlier this year. “This game to me is quite extraordinary,” he said. “It is either a genius or it’s fishy. Incredible game. To win so flawlessly without any mistakes, against a strong opponent with not entirely natural play in a complicated position. I’d be so proud to win this game.”

So where does all this leave chess? In a fug of suspicion that seems unlikely to lift any time soon. Carlsen’s critics maintain that he was unfair and

reckless to damn Niemann, which could lead to the teenager, in effect, being “cancelled”, by getting fewer invitations to major events. Others, though, believe that the Norwegian is right to shine a light on an issue that blights the game and has festered for far too long.

“People are paranoid,” admits the US grandmaster Robert Hess. “Because when they play they know there may be cheaters amongst their midst. Everyone is on edge. And because there is no players’ association within chess, there is nowhere to speak to and say, ‘Hey we need to have a forum and talk about this’.”

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2022/oct/04/cheating-groupies-big-money-and-drunken-brawls-how-chess-went-rock-n-roll>

[Guardian climate pledge 2022](#)Climate crisis

Hope amid climate chaos: ‘We are in a race between Armageddon and awesome’

Renewables, decarbonisation, activism, cooperation ... The challenge is immense, but the situation is far from hopeless

- Support urgent, independent climate journalism [today](#).



Bernice Lee, an expert on climate politics at Chatham House, says: “Good results at a global level are built on strong domestic, local and regional action.” Illustration: Nathalie Lees



[Damian Carrington](#) *Environment editor*

[@dpcarrington](#)

Tue 4 Oct 2022 03.00 EDT Last modified on Tue 4 Oct 2022 09.16 EDT

Every one of us will love someone who is still alive in 2100, says climate campaigner Ayisha Siddiq. That loved one will either face a world in climate chaos or a clean, green utopia, depending on what we do today.

It's a powerful reason for action, providing hope that the will for transformative change can be found. But are there more tangible reasons for optimism in fighting the climate emergency? The challenge is undoubtedly immense: carbon emissions have yet to start falling and must plummet by half by 2030 to avoid the worst outcomes.

[Climate journalism, open to all](#)

Yet the situation is far from hopeless. From the exponential growth of green solutions to the power of protest, experts say there is a clear path to limiting the damage. The question is how fast we can travel along it.

“We have everything we need in terms of technology and, in terms of the actual physics, we know what we need to do,” says Solitaire Townsend, co-founder of change agency [Futerra](#). “The vast majority of solutions have a

really significant benefit to our health and wellbeing, income and standard of living around the world. We are in a race between Armageddon and awesome.”

The shining light of climate hope is the exponential growth of ever-cheaper renewable energy, which now delivers [75% of all new power](#) – coal has plummeted to just 4%. An important recent [study found that a swift transition](#) to clean energy would save trillions of dollars, even without accounting for the enormous damage continued fossil use would cause. Even climate deniers should be on board with that, [says study author Prof Doyne Farmer](#) at the University of Oxford.

Electric vehicle sales are also rising exponentially. Sales in China [doubled year-on-year in August](#), to more than 500,000. Both of these green technologies have passed tipping points in many places – they are now simply so good and cheap that a runaway takeover is inevitable.

Such positive tipping points are crucial, says Prof Tim Lenton at the University of Exeter: “We need to go more than five times faster than we are at decarbonising the global economy. So finding and triggering positive tipping points is a way to create the necessary acceleration of change.” Pushing important sectors more quickly towards tipping points is the aim of a little-reported but potentially very powerful initiative launched at the UN climate summit in Glasgow in 2021 – [the Breakthrough Agenda](#), supported by 45 nations including the US, China, India and the EU.

“We’ve got to change massive chunks of the global economy and do that really fast,” says Simon Sharpe, director of economics for the UN’s climate champions. “It’s obvious you’ll manage that better if countries work together and they are focusing on making clean technologies and sustainable solutions the most affordable, accessible and attractive option.”

For example, he says, a global tipping point for electric vehicles could arrive years earlier if the biggest markets coordinate the date when all new car sales must be zero emission. Similar efforts could also clean up the vital but high emission sectors of steel and cement.

Bernice Lee, an expert on climate politics at Chatham House, says: “Good results at a global level are built on strong domestic, local and regional action and, that being the case, there are reasons for some optimism.” The “big four” of the [US](#), [China](#), [India](#) and [the EU](#) are all taking action, she says.

Furthermore, the increasing number of [climate-driven extreme weather disasters](#) hitting the world now, such as vast floods in Pakistan, is an important catalyst for change. “It’s quite clear that climate impacts will do a fair amount of lifting as an incentive,” Lee says.

The energy bills crisis in Europe caused by the war in Ukraine has emboldened fossil fuel interests to push for new oil and gas exploitation. But senior figures say the [war will ultimately boost climate action](#), not block it. “The case for a global energy transition is more solid now than before the invasion,” says Christiana Figueres, formerly the UN’s top climate official. “Once we are on the other side of the current Russian blackmail, no one will want to be [held] hostage again.” Norway’s prime minister [Jonas Gahr Støre](#) [says](#): “The war is pushing significant speed-up of the installation of solar, offshore wind, hydrogen, and the rest of it.”

Geopolitics is also the key to an issue now at the heart of the climate challenge: climate finance. The nations of the global south, which did not cause global heating, want funding for cutting emissions, adapting to inevitable impacts and recovering from damage wrought by supercharged extreme weather.

The issue could dominate the next UN climate summit in Egypt in November.

“What needs to happen at COP27 is for finance facilities for loss and damage and for adaptation to be established,” says Siddiq, a campaigner with Fridays For Future Pakistan. “It is central to the whole thing.”

For years, major nations like the US have blocked such funding, fearing unlimited liability. But there is movement, with Denmark this month becoming the [first national government to commit loss and damage funds](#). There is also movement in funding green energy transformations in specific countries, with [European nations providing \\$8.5bn to South Africa](#).

New [ideas for raising the required money](#) are coming forward too, from the [\\$500bn in IMF finance](#) proposed by Mia Mottley, the prime minister of Barbados, to a [global tax on fossil fuels](#) put forward by the most vulnerable countries.

UN secretary general Antonio Guterres backs the latter idea, particularly targeting the colossal profits being reaped by the oil and gas industry at the moment. “The fossil fuel industry is feasting on subsidies and windfall profits, while household budgets shrink and our planet burns,” [he said last week](#). “I call on all developed economies to tax the windfall profits.”

Guterres has become extraordinarily blunt: “The fossil fuel industry is killing us.” Another leader speaking out [against fossil fuels is Pope Francis](#). Such attacks provide hope by eroding the legitimacy of the powerful sector, which has continually worked to block climate action.

Perhaps the most powerful voice for action has been that of youth activists, whose future is at stake. Lee says they represent our conscience: “They do a very important job in helping hold politicians to account for the future.”

Siddiqi says: “We do have the power at our disposal. We have the ability to change popular opinion and culture – we have done it.”

Pressure for action is also building from consumers in the commercial sphere, according to Townsend, demanding change from the big companies and advertisers that are so expert in shaping what we buy and how we live.

“Online searches for plant-based diets have had a 90% increase over the last year,” she notes. “It’s one of the biggest Google search jumps.”

Another bright spot in climate action, often overlooked, is the global [progress on reducing HFC coolants](#), which are powerful greenhouse gases as well as destroyers of the ozone layer. This action alone could reduce global heating by 0.5C. A global pledge to [slash methane](#), another powerful greenhouse gas, has been made by world leaders, as has [one to halt deforestation](#), though previous efforts to protect forests have delivered little.

It will [never be too late to act](#). However high global temperature rises, every tenth of a degree that is avoided means someone somewhere suffers less. “We need to knuckle down as much as we can to prevent every 0.1C rise,” [says Prof Bill McGuire](#), at University College London.

Youth activist Siddiqa says: “We need to make sure that [our loved ones alive in 2100] have access to all the beauty of the world that we had access to and that we leave behind a better world. We need to be good ancestors. That’s the thing that keeps me going.”

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2022/oct/04/hope-climate-chaos-renewables-science>

| [Section menu](#) | [Main menu](#) |

Newspapers

‘Damage is done’: what the papers say after Truss and Kwarteng’s tax U-turn

The UK newspaper front pages pull no punches after PM and chancellor perform reversal over 45p tax rate for high earners



UK newspaper front page composite Composite: Metro/Daily Mirror/The Daily Telegraph/Daily Mail/The Guardian/The Times/Financial Times/I

[Warren Murray](#)

Mon 3 Oct 2022 21.31 EDT Last modified on Tue 4 Oct 2022 04.59 EDT

Liz Truss and [Kwasi Kwarteng](#) pay the price for their 45p U-turn on the cover of the major papers this morning.

The **Guardian** front page says “Tory plot to halt benefit cuts after U-turn over top tax rate”. It says Kwarteng stands “humiliated” and has also been forced to bring forward to this month a new mini-budget that wasn’t due until late November.

Guardian front page, Tuesday 4 October 2022: Tory plot to halt benefit cuts after U-turn over top tax rate pic.twitter.com/0FMq0TiiUh

— The Guardian (@guardian) [October 3, 2022](#)

The **Telegraph** has “PM takes on rebels in battle to rein in benefits”. It says Truss now faces opposition to universal credit cuts.

The front page of tomorrow's Daily Telegraph:

'PM takes on rebels in battle to rein in benefits'[#TomorrowsPapersToday](#)

Sign up for the Front Page newsletter<https://t.co/x8AV4O6L2Y>
pic.twitter.com/maO98V74u8

— The Telegraph (@Telegraph) [October 3, 2022](#)

There is similar treatment in the **i**, which says “Truss faces new Tory rebellion on benefits cuts”. It says tensions are mounting over her leadership and there is a “powerful new awkward squad” on the block that includes Michael Gove and Grant Shapps.

Tuesday's front page: Truss faces new Tory rebellion on benefits cuts[#TomorrowsPapersToday](#)

Latest by [@singharj](#) [@RichardVaughan1](#) [@ChaplainChloe](#):
<https://t.co/IIIPUSMakX> pic.twitter.com/fgMF34X7Hy

— i newspaper (@theipaper) [October 3, 2022](#)

The **Financial Times** splashes with “Kwarteng quickens debt cut plans after U-turn on tax”. Medium-term fiscal aims and forecasts are expected to be published this month, it says. Meanwhile, “sterling and gilts rally” after the 45p U-turn.

Just published: front page of the Financial Times, UK edition, Tuesday 4 October <https://t.co/QsHV7t9BWO> [pic.twitter.com/BdEXMeY65V](https://t.co/BdEXMeY65V)

— Financial Times (@FinancialTimes) [October 3, 2022](#)

Others step back to take in the sheer spectacle. “Calamity conference” – that’s the **Mirror**, which says “Damage is done” and despite U-turns “Budget chaos will still cost billions”.

Tuesday's front page: Damage is done.

- Chancellor laughs off his top tax U-turn
 - But budget chaos will still cost billions
- <https://t.co/CdobkgGjUJ#TomorrowsPapersToday>
[pic.twitter.com/fBXp5pt9e3](https://t.co/fBXp5pt9e3)

— The Mirror (@DailyMirror) [October 3, 2022](#)

“What a day!” – some understatement in the **Metro**. It says Kwarteng still insists he can turn round the economy.

Tomorrow's Paper Today ☐

WHAT A DAY!

☐ CHANCELLOR U-TURNS ON HIS CUT IN 45P TAX RATE
☐ LAYS INTO TORIES' PREVIOUS HANDLING OF ECONOMY
☐ SAYS HE CAN BE TRUSTED WITH 'FISCAL DISCIPLINE'
☐ NEW POLLS PUT LABOUR 25 AND 28 POINTS AHEAD
[#TomorrowsPapersToday](#) [pic.twitter.com/CgIYa9bTgs](https://t.co/CgIYa9bTgs)

— Metro (@MetroUK) [October 3, 2022](#)

“Get a grip!” says the **Mail** ominously, echoing Tory MPs after the “screeching late-night reversal” on the top tax rate and now the “threat of new revolt on benefits”.

Tuesday's [@DailyMailUK](https://twitter.com/M7InnXoUAo)
pic.twitter.com/M7InnXoUAo

[#MailFrontPages](#)

— Daily Mail U.K. (@DailyMailUK) [October 3, 2022](#)

“Tories will live or die by economy, warns Patel” – the **Times** calls this a warning shot over Truss’s head from the back benches.



Photograph: The Times

The **Express** provides today’s laughs: “PM: stick with us and we WILL reward your trust”. It turns Truss’s reversal into “listening to people’s concerns”.

PM - stick with us and we will reward your trust
[#TomorrowsPaperToday](#)

Truss: <https://t.co/v6hmb645xr> pic.twitter.com/YxAeS3xenc

— Daily Express (@Daily_Express) [October 3, 2022](#)

| [Section menu](#) | [Main menu](#) |

2022.10.04 - Opinion

- Kwasi Kwarteng may have U-turned, but huge spending cuts are still coming
- Squid Game, Blackpink, kimchi pancakes ... How did South Korea become such a world power?
- I yearned for my mother, but I settled for the next best thing: her home
- We are at a crossroads in history: Africa can and must be a leader in clean energy.

[Opinion](#)[Economic policy](#).

Kwasi Kwarteng may have U-turned, but huge spending cuts are still coming

[Gordon Brown](#)



Despite scrapping the 45p tax rate, the government is clinging to £43bn of tax cuts. Public services and those on benefits will feel the pain



Kwasi Kwarteng and Liz Truss at the Conservative party conference in Birmingham, 2 October. Photograph: Oli Scarff/AFP/Getty Images

Tue 4 Oct 2022 01.00 EDTLast modified on Tue 4 Oct 2022 08.27 EDT

After the right turn, the U-turn. Despite abandoning his top rate tax cut, the chancellor, Kwasi Kwarteng, has left £43bn of his £45bn tax cuts intact. A panicked [overnight climbdown](#) does not add up to a change in strategy. He is still doubling the tax-free giveaways to those with share options, cutting £1bn from tax on dividends and sanctioning a [free-for-all in bankers' bonuses](#). He is also going ahead with his tax avoiders' charter: £2bn for employees who are able to declare themselves self-employed. Still in place is the £2bn he set aside for [tax-free shopping](#) for foreign tourists and the £19bn of corporation tax cuts, which [Rishi Sunak claimed](#) did nothing for investment; and by continuing to reject a new windfall tax, the chancellor might as well be handing over billions to the oil and gas tycoons.

[Kwarteng's meeting](#) with the Office for Budget Responsibility on Friday will have killed off his belief that he could pay for his tax cuts by conjuring up [2.5% annual growth](#). So after the crash comes the bloodbath: an onslaught of public spending cuts bigger than Osborne's austerity or the IMF cuts of 1976 – so severe that they will impede rather than spur growth, ruin education and undermine our most precious asset, the NHS. Lying ahead, as inflation erodes the value of departmental budgets is, according to the

[Resolution Foundation](#), a public spending cut by 2026 of between £37bn and £47bn, the equivalent of closing every English school. While the prime minister has ruled out changes to the triple lock on pensions, the typical family on universal credit – already [around £1,500 short](#) as a result of last October's £20 a week cut and April's lower-than-inflation uprating – will now see their losses rise to [£2,000 a year](#) if benefits are linked to earnings and not prices. No family I know can afford to lose so much.

The previous financial crisis taught me that leaders must be three steps ahead of events and never behind the curve. Today's national emergency demands proper coordination of monetary and fiscal policy to give us a convincing pathway out of stagflation; a national economic dialogue with business and workforces if there is to be any chance that people will feel “we are all in this together” and there is equality of sacrifice; and, as in 2009, when also dealing with global problems that require global solutions, coordinated international action to avoid the danger of excessive currency volatility and perhaps monetary overkill and to counter the very real threats to stability from a poorly regulated shadow banking sector.

So why, when the country is threatened with a [one-dollar pound](#), a £3tn debt burden and a million more unemployed, do ministers ride roughshod over mechanisms for accountability, [sack trusted public officials](#) and pile disorder in politics on top of dysfunction in the markets, lighting fires precisely at the moment when they should be putting them out?

To discover why, you have to go back to 2012 to [Britannia Unchained](#), a book that counted Liz Truss and Kwarteng among its authors. The pound can collapse, borrowing costs can soar, pension funds can teeter on the brink of collapse, the mortgage market can crater, pensioners can freeze, children can go hungry and inequality can further widen and divide. All are, according to them, a price worth paying because the only economy that can succeed is one built around serving the needs of venture capitalists, who have to be induced into staying in Britain, guaranteed freedom from labour, environmental and social standards – and, ideally, exempted from tax.

Yet even successful venture capitalists would have to admit that they don't get rich on their own. They have to hire workers whose education we, the

British people, pay for; travel on roads and railways that the state maintains; invest in innovations that our publicly financed universities incubate; and depend on a public health system that our taxes finance. Venture capital relies on social capital; markets need to be [underpinned by morals](#). Public investment is needed to create the conditions for growth and any [sensible growth strategy](#) has to offer more than tax cuts and deregulation. It has to support science, innovation, infrastructure and skills, with the right powers in the right places to create internationally competitive clusters of industry. And it has to acknowledge an old but recently forgotten truth: that when the strong help the weak it makes us all stronger.

- Gordon Brown was UK prime minister from 2007 to 2010

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/oct/04/liz-truss-kwasi-kwarteng-chancellor-u-turn-tax-cuts-public-services-benefits>

[Opinion](#)South Korea

Squid Game, Blackpink, kimchi pancakes ... How did South Korea become such a world power?

[Zoe Williams](#)



One minute everyone wants a bit of British and American culture; the next you're on the phone desperately trying to get tickets for the latest K-pop sensation



What just happened? Blackpink, whose UK shows are sold out, performing in the US earlier this year. Photograph: Theo Wargo/Getty Images for MTV/Paramount Global

Tue 4 Oct 2022 02.00 EDTLast modified on Wed 5 Oct 2022 13.38 EDT

Two weeks back, while the world was marvelling at the Great British Queue, I was in a queue of a different sort – Ticketmaster’s – trying to get tickets to the South Korean band Blackpink. There was a countdown, there was an app, I had Mr Z on the case trying a different date, and it was completely fruitless, thank God, because I had no idea when I started how expensive they were.

My kid, along with my niece, is a “blink”, which means a fan of [Blackpink](#), [a girl band](#) that US and UK media always call the most successful “South Korean” act of all time, omitting to mention that – as the most followed music act on YouTube – they really don’t need the national qualifier. The second most followed act, incidentally, is BTS – AKA the Bangtan Boys, also South Korean.

Likewise, people often call Squid Game Netflix’s most successful South Korean show of all time, when it is actually Netflix’s most successful show, full stop: anglophone fragility, I guess. You plough on for all this time with

the dominant language, assuming it will therefore dominate culture. You witness culture getting increasingly global, and still figure: not to worry – other people can simply learn English.

Then, one day, wham. The Anglosphere lost the worldwide popularity crown, and you didn't even notice until one of your kids wants £400 to go to a concert, another one knows how to make kimchi pancakes (but how? And why do we even own tapioca flour?) and the third is trialling the new opinion that [K-pop](#) is for “neeks”. (I want to translate that, but nobody will tell me what it means. I'll take a punt – “something bad”.)

I've been expressly barred from cod-sociological inquiry as to why this all should have happened: I'm not allowed, by order of the household adolescents, to wonder such things as: “Is this heavily indebted but intellectually liberated and entrepreneurial society speaking to the ‘yoot’ on a wavelength that nations in decline no longer can?”

Nor am I allowed to make cheerleader statements such as: “It's great that you're trying something so, erm, challenging on Duolingo – much more useful than, say, doing your French homework.” I just have to accept it without comment, and mark the first anniversary of Squid Game with a simplified bibimbap I found on BBC Good Food.

Who does that, though? Who marks a TV programme's first birthday? Everyone now, apparently.

- Zoe Williams is a Guardian columnist

Why I quit Family.

I yearned for my mother, but I settled for the next best thing: her home

[Ammar Kalia](#)



When my mum died I was drawn back to the place filled with memories of her. But then I realised home is a state of mind



Ammar Kalia at his family home in 2020. Photograph: Courtesy of Ammar Kalia

Tue 4 Oct 2022 03.00 EDTLast modified on Tue 4 Oct 2022 04.07 EDT

The family home isn't typically something you quit. The leaving is brought upon you. It is a right of passage to make your own way in the world when the time comes – or when your parents kick you out.

Growing up, my parents never forced me and my older brother out of our bungalow in Hounslow, but we weren't encouraged to live there for ever either. Accordingly, when my older brother turned 18, he went off to university and never moved back.

Yet, the family home always had a special pull for me. Our parents encouraged us to spend time together when we were there: mealtimes were eaten as a family, TV viewing was communal and doors were rarely closed. When I went to university at 18, I knew that my filthy and often isolated student digs were temporary – my real home was back in London and I was grateful that I could return whenever I wanted to.

It was my mum who made our home special. Her presence was felt everywhere – in the mosaic shower tiles she painstakingly laid, in the airy

conservatory where she would paint, in the wonky topiary hedge she cut and in the fully stocked fridge.

When I was 19 and she died, I came home. She had been ill for the past four years, going through cycles of cancer treatment and remission, and the house felt as if she was still living there, even if she could never set foot in it again. Her artist's palette was still wet with oil paint from before she had been moved into the hospice; her favourite red leather shoes were by the front door; I could smell a waft of her perfume when I opened the bathroom cabinet.

I yearned for her and because I would never see her again, I settled for the next best thing: her home. In the months following her death, I would come back regularly, checking in on my dad and urging him to go shopping and start cooking proper meals. Three years after her death in 2016, I was unemployed and I moved back permanently. As I looked for work, I would make sure the fridge was full, that the meals were eaten together and that there was a family presence in this home again.

Unfortunately, two sad men living in a bungalow are less of a family and more of a sitcom setup. I could feel my personal life faltering – social dates were easy to flake on when I could just stay in, clinging on to these last vestiges of feigned comfort – and I knew my dad wanted me to get on and live my life, rather than stay trapped in a sense of loyalty to our grief.

Eventually, in 2018, I got a job I actually enjoyed. The daily rhythms of commuting and colleagues took me out of the house and after a year's worth of therapy giving me confidence, I knew it was time for me to gain proper independence. I started saving to rent my own place and in December that year, I packed up my bedding, the kitchen cutlery that I had stolen from old housemates, a handful of family pictures, and left.

I opted to live alone – a fiscal catastrophe but I couldn't bear to wash up anyone else's dishes again. The first few months were hard. Every morning, as I got ready for work and looked at the pictures of my mum I had put up, she stared back blankly. Still, I invited my friends over for housewarming dinners, I had a birthday party in my little living room, and as summer

arrived in 2019, the flat was holding its own memories and had started to feel like home.

Next year will be 10 years since my mum died. My dad has met a wonderful partner and our family home is changing. The pictures of my mum have largely come down and have been replaced with new snapshots; her clothes and scent are gone. Only the fixtures remain, and even they are starting to look worn.

But, I am glad that things have changed. No one should be made to live in a mausoleum. My dad deserves to make and celebrate new memories, just as my brother and I do. Since leaving, I have realised that the sense of home my mum created isn't just a place, it is something she instilled in us. I can make it in my flat now and wherever I move to next. Home is in places and it is in people, just as my mum is in pictures she will always live on in me.

- Ammar Kalia is the Guardian's global music critic

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/oct/04/my-mother-her-home-memories>

| [Section menu](#) | [Main menu](#) |

Global development

We are at a crossroads in history: Africa can and must be a leader in clean energy

William Ruto

Several African leaders at last month's UN general assembly left dismayed after their calls for action on the climate crisis were overshadowed by the Ukraine war. One was Kenya's new president, who writes here about why priorities must change



A windfarm in the Ngong Hills, near Nairobi, Kenya. Photograph: Joerg Boethling/Alamy

Global development is supported by



[About this content](#)

Tue 4 Oct 2022 03.00 EDT Last modified on Fri 7 Oct 2022 12.33 EDT

There is almost no facet of society that will be left untouched by the ravages of the climate crisis and how we respond to it. The crisis poses fundamental questions for the economy; it affects public health and jobs, and its threats range from food security to national security. That is why [it will be among the central concerns of my government](#) and why I believe any responsible world leader must make it a priority.

Climate change drives the droughts that affect the provision of water; destroys lives and livelihoods; cripples food production, and destroys our homes and infrastructure. Extreme temperatures affect migration patterns and exacerbate conflicts as hundreds of thousands flee to seek alternative livelihoods for survival.

Our response to this crisis cuts across every issue, from the sources of our energy, to how we transport ourselves, from the jobs that will sustain us in the future, to the quality of the air we breathe, the food we eat and the water we drink.

The climate emergency is here and now. Across Kenya, communities today are suffering the consequences. Millions of Kenyans and millions more from

the Horn of [Africa](#) are on the brink of famine due to devastating drought.

It is not too late to respond, but to tackle this threat we must act urgently to keep the increase in global heating to below 1.5C (2.7F), help those most in need, and end our addiction to fossil fuels.

Africa is the continent most affected by climate change and yet the least responsible for it. Despite this, the continent has the opportunity to lead the world and show that we do not need to destroy the climate to prosper.

We have immense potential for renewable energy, and this abundance of wind and solar energy can power the development of Africa. Rather than trudging in the fossil-fuel footsteps of those who went before, we can leapfrog this dirty energy and embrace the benefits of clean power.

Clean energy will create jobs, protect local economies and accelerate the sustainable industrialisation of Africa

Kenya is home to the continent's largest windfarm and our electricity supply is already 92% renewable, with 74% of our overall energy use powered by clean energy. I am reaffirming our commitment to move this to 100% clean energy by 2030. We call on all African states to join us in this journey.

Plummeting costs make clean energy the most economical choice. A [report by the International Energy Agency](#) published last month showed that there are already more jobs globally in clean energy than fossil fuels, and its forecasts are for this gap to grow as more countries decarbonise. A transition to clean energy is a no-brainer. It will create jobs, protect local economies and accelerate the sustainable industrialisation of Africa.

As Africans, we will call for a rapid and just transition – delivering on the commitment by heads of state to double Africa's installed energy capacity through renewables by 2030. Together, we can deliver energy access to almost half of Africa's people, who remain underserved by the dirty energy systems of yesterday, by transitioning rapidly to the clean energy systems of the future.

As members of the international community, we will support a successful [Cop27](#) international climate summit in Africa this November by demanding delivery of the finance and technology needed by Africa to adapt to climate impacts, support those in need, and manage the energy transition. At this meeting, we must move decisively from talk to on-the-ground action that benefits every African.

Among the outcomes from this global gathering must be a financing framework that enables Africa's planned and orderly transition from fossil fuels; supports our workers, communities and national economies; and advances our development. Finance and technology must be provided to our developing countries while enabling all African countries to accelerate our transition to clean energy.

The global transition to clean energy is now more urgent than ever. The current energy crisis, partly caused by the war in Ukraine, underlines the need for less reliance on fossil fuels and much greater investment in renewables. As the German finance minister, Christian Lindner, said, renewables are "the energy of freedom". The wind cannot be stockpiled to drive up its price; the sun's rays cannot be switched off by a single person wishing to weaponise energy. Wind turbines and solar panels are quick to construct and can generate and deliver power far more quickly and easily than a new oil rig, and with much less harm to our fragile climate. Already renewables are the world's cheapest form of new energy.

The energy crisis is a wake-up call that fossil fuels are the opposite of freedom, yet the world has become shackled to them. We need to break free from those chains, to accept there is a better way to power the world's economy. It is one that is fairer, cheaper and less destructive to ourselves and our communities, to our families' future, and to the natural environment on which we all depend.

This is a crossroads in history. Kenya is ready to rise to the challenge and help build a better world for Kenyans and all of humanity.

William Ruto is the president of Kenya

[Sign up for a different view with our Global Dispatch newsletter](#) – a roundup of our top stories from around the world, recommended reads, and thoughts from our team on key development and human rights issues, delivered to your inbox every two weeks:

Sign up for Global Dispatch – please check your spam folder for the confirmation email

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2022/oct/04/we-are-at-a-crossroads-in-history-africa-can-and-must-be-a-leader-in-clean-energy>.

| [Section menu](#) | [Main menu](#) |

2022.10.04 - Around the world

- [Hurricane Ian Son swims half a mile to rescue his double amputee mother](#)
- [Flooding, outages, confusion Florida reels as Hurricane Ian death toll rises](#)
- [Antarctica Newlywed among four women chosen to run outpost](#)
- [Pakistan PM says rival Imran Khan is 'biggest liar on earth'](#)

Hurricane Ian

Son saves mother trapped in flooded home after Hurricane Ian

Johnny Lauder swam through half-mile of flood waters in Naples, Florida, to pull his mother, a double amputee, out of her home



Johnny Lauder in his mother's home flooded by Hurricane Ian on 28 September 2022. Photograph: Via the Lauders' GoFundMe campaign

[Ramon Antonio Vargas](#)

Tue 4 Oct 2022 01.00 EDT

Every time flood waters inundate a community, forecasters admonish their viewers not to swim through them because of countless perils potentially hidden under the surface – but Johnny Lauder ignored those warnings after [Hurricane Ian](#)'s storm surge trapped his mother, a double amputee, inside her Florida home.

Lauder swam through a half-mile of neck-deep, rapidly moving, debris-filled flood waters that swamped his 84-year-old mother's neighborhood in Naples to pull her out of the home that she couldn't flee from ahead of Ian.

While their family lost that house, another home and their cars to the potent category 4 hurricane, Lauder's actions enabled him and the rest of their loved ones to make plans to rebuild their lives together rather than hold a funeral for their matriarch, Karen Lauder.

The ordeal which the Lauder family endured in part illustrates the dilemma perennially faced by people in the crosshairs of a monstrous storm: whether to ride it out or to get out of its path, which for some is cost-prohibitive or overwhelmingly difficult because of medical conditions as well as other factors.

With everyone he loves now physically safe after Ian, Lauder is asking anyone who has the means to evacuate but is reluctant about it – even when ordered – to reconsider.

“Please heed the warnings,” Lauder, 49, told the [Washington Post](#). “I’d still save my mother all over again, but it’s definitely better to not stick around.”

Initially, forecasters thought the worst of Ian's effects would hit more than 160 miles north of Naples, in and around Tampa. But Ian ultimately struck Florida's west coast on 28 September farther south than once anticipated, with its winds of 150mph exposing Naples to a punishing storm surge, or a rise in sea water pushed out in advance of a storm.



Johnny Lauder wades through flood waters in Naples, Florida. Photograph: Via the Lauders' GoFundMe campaign

As Johnny Lauder – a former Chicago police officer and rescue diver – tells it, his mother was reluctant to evacuate partially because she loathed losing her privacy. Karen Lauder, who uses a wheelchair to get around, had resolved to brave Ian in her house while Johnny sheltered at his son's home a few blocks away.

Ian's surge flooded homes in Naples and knocked down power lines, creating a treacherous swamp where streets and sidewalks should be. Water poured into the home where Johnny Lauder took shelter with his two sons and one of his boy's girlfriends as well as their pets, and the group took refuge in the attic.

Then Karen Lauder called panicking, telling him water was up to her chest.

Johnny Lauder told the Post that he jumped out of a window and began wading through the water, navigating mangled power lines and cars and household items that Ian's surge had washed away.

One of those items was a kneeboard that Lauder used to help keep himself afloat.

“It was like an act of God when the kneeboard just floated in front of me,” Lauder said, according to the Post. “There was nothing on the street and it just appeared, like, ‘Wow, OK, someone’s looking out for me.’”



Karen Lauder in her home flooded by Hurricane Ian. Photograph: Via the Lauders’ GoFundMe campaign

Lauder trod through a half-mile of those conditions before finally getting to his mom, who was suffering hypothermia from the cold flood waters. He wrapped a set of dry sheets around her, stacked tables on top of each other to give her a dry spot to rest and waited with her for the water to subside.

One of Lauder’s sons then arrived and helped pull his grandmother out of the home. They started to return to the house from which Johnny Lauder had come from, but then realized one of Karen’s neighbors needed help escaping from her inundated place as night fell.

Lauder’s son pushed his grandma’s wheelchair through water that was now lower than waist-high to the home where the rest of his group was. Lauder rejoined them later after carrying the neighbor to a hotel.

Everyone was safe.

Dramatic rescue stories are almost certainly numerous in Ian's wake. US Coast Guard officials said they had rescued more than 400 people from high waters kicked up by Ian in Florida and nearby South Carolina.

Some, though, didn't survive.

As of Monday afternoon, officials said they had confirmed the deaths of more than 80 people in Florida resulting from Ian, and they were worried the grim toll would climb as a search through the wreckage left behind by the storm continued.

The Lauders themselves weren't wholly spared by Ian. They lacked renter's insurance for their belongings and have asked people to consider donating to an online [GoFundMe](#) campaign to help them rebuild their lives.

Yet Lauder said he's grateful that what was lost can be replaced. And he said he wouldn't change anything about what happened after the decision to ride out Ian became irreversible.

"If I would've waited, she wouldn't be here," Lauder told the Post about embarking on the mission to rescue his mother. "And that's my mom. I would've done it for anybody's mom or anyone else in that situation. You know – that's what you're supposed to do."

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2022/oct/04/hurricane-ian-son-save-mother-trapped-florida-johnny-lauder>

Advertisement

US edition

- [US edition](#)
- [UK edition](#)
- [Australia edition](#)
- [International edition](#)

[The Guardian - Back to home](#)[The Guardian: news website of the year](#)

[Hurricane Ian](#)

Flooding, outages, confusion: Florida reels as Hurricane Ian death toll rises



Debris scattered on Pine Island Road in the aftermath of Hurricane Ian in Matlacha, Florida, on 1 October. Photograph: Ricardo Arduengo/AFP/Getty Images

Stories of tragedy and delay emerge as search-and-rescue teams discover survivors and fatalities

[J Oliver Conroy](#)

Mon 3 Oct 2022 16.10 EDTLast modified on Mon 3 Oct 2022 16.53 EDT

As Florida continues grappling with the devastating aftermath of [Hurricane Ian](#), the state's death roll mounts and stories of tragedy and delay emerge.

Over 81 people are [confirmed](#) dead and that toll is expected to rise. Rescue crews working brutal shifts – sometimes 20 hours long – are still combing through the wreckage, and flooding continues in many parts of the state.

Florida has mobilized more than 5,200 troops from its national guard. Operating from airboats and helicopters, those troops, the US Coast Guard and local fire, police and search-and-rescue agencies have been scouring afflicted areas for survivors, though their efforts have been slowed by lack of electricity, cellphone service and infrastructure.

After cutting a swath of destruction through Cuba, [Hurricane Ian](#) made landfall in south-west Florida last Wednesday, 28 September, as a potent category 4 storm. Thousands of Floridians evacuated or sought refuge in emergency shelters.



Submerged cars in the Orlovista neighborhood in Orlando, Florida, after the hurricane. Photograph: AFP/Getty Images

Ian brought violent storm surges and 20in of rain, meaning many residents who thought they were safe after surviving the storm's winds then had to face terrifying flooding.

“After a storm has passed, that 48-hour period offers the greatest opportunity to find survivors,” Miami fire department captain Ignatius Carroll Jr [told](#) the New York Times.

As of Sunday, more than 1,600 people had been rescued, the Florida governor's office said.

The situation is an “emotional rollercoaster”, the city manager of Naples, Jay Boodheshwar, [told](#) CNN. “People need to take care of their emotional and mental health, because we're really going to need to work together on this.”

The tense mood in Florida has been heightened by debates over whether local authorities had sufficiently prepared for the storm or reacted quickly enough once it took aim at the state's west coast.

For example, Lee county, which has been especially hard hit, waited to issue an evacuation order until less than 24 hours before Ian made landfall. County officials had initially thought that the area would avoid the storm's direct path.

The county commissioner, Kevin Ruane, has defended the local government's handling of the order. "As soon as we saw the model shift north-east, we did exactly what we could to encourage [evacuation]," Ruane said on Sunday. He said that some residents became "complacent" and didn't seek shelters.

Power line repair workers are laboring around the clock to restore electricity to the hundreds of thousands of homes that are without service. A utility official has said it could be weeks or months before parts of the state are back on the grid.

Ninety-eight percent of Cape Coral's power infrastructure was "obliterated", the city's fire chief and emergency management director told CNN. There are also more than 100 boil-water advisories across Florida, [according](#) to the state's health department.

Adjusted for inflation, Ian may be the second-most-costly storm to ever strike Florida, after 1992's Andrew. A research firm, [CoreLogic](#), has estimated that the storm will incur as much as \$47bn in insured losses – \$22bn to \$32bn in wind damage and \$6bn to \$15bn in flood damage.

"Hurricane Ian will forever change the real estate industry and city infrastructure," an associate vice-president at the firm, Tom Larsen, asserted in a news release. "Insurers will go into bankruptcy, homeowners will be forced into delinquency, and insurance will become less accessible."

The storm was especially devastating in south-west Florida's barrier islands. Ian destroyed the causeway connecting Sanibel Island from the mainland, cutting off residents from immediate supplies and aid.

Local fire and police officials have also expressed trepidation about looting or violence, though so far there have not been any significant outbreaks of lawlessness.

“After three or four days, people are frustrated, aggravated,” Vincent Pangallo, a member of a rescue team working in Fort Myers Beach, [told](#) the New York Times. “They think the power’s supposed to turn back on.”

Pangallo added: “They become agitated. And they start going to see what they can get from their neighbor because their neighbor’s gone. And the next thing you know, looting begins.”

“Do not disaster sightsee,” Florida’s emergency management division director, Kevin Guthrie, said on Monday. “Anyone going into an area just to see the damage needs to leave.”

Joe Biden and first lady Jill Biden are visiting Puerto Rico and Florida this week to show the White House’s support. The Bidens will arrive in Florida on Wednesday.

Climate scientists [have concluded](#) that global heating has strengthened storms, which feed on warm ocean water. Since 1980 there have been an increasing number of powerful category 4 and category 5 storms, the New York Times has [reported](#).

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2022/oct/03/hurricane-ian-death-toll-florida>

[Antarctica](#)

Four women chosen to run Antarctic outpost and count penguins

British women beat 6,000 applicants to spend five months working on Goudier Island



Competition winners Mairi Hilton, wildlife monitor, Natalie Corbett, shop manager, Lucy Bruzzone, base leader, and Clare Ballantyne, postal boss. Photograph: Antarctic Heritage Trust/PA

[Amelia Hill](#)

[@byameliahill](#)

Tue 4 Oct 2022 06.36 EDTFirst published on Tue 4 Oct 2022 04.44 EDT

It was one of the strangest of [job alerts](#): a call to run the world's most remote, coldest post office – on an island with no permanent residents – and count penguins in almost continuous daylight.

But bizarre or not, it struck a chord: 6,000 people applied for the four jobs on Goudier Island in Port Lockroy, and now the winners have been announced: a newlywed, who will leave her husband behind for what she is calling a “solo honeymoon” and three other British women, who are equally thrilled by the adventure ahead.

Mairi Hilton, Lucy Bruzzone, Clare Ballantyne and Natalie Corbett, have been picked by the UK Antarctic Heritage Trust charity to exchange their home comforts for five months spent in subzero temperatures, with no electricity or flushing toilet, sleeping in bunk beds – and they could not be more excited.



There are about 1,500 penguins on the island. Photograph: UK Antarctic Heritage Trust/PA

Hilton, 30, from [Scotland](#), who has spent four years completing a PhD in conservation biology in Australia, will be in charge of monitoring the island’s colony of 1,500 gentoo penguins.

“This will be my first time in [Antarctica](#) and I’m very excited to set eyes on the white continent,” said Hilton, a conservation biologist. “I have no idea what to expect when we get there: how cold it will be, will we have to dig our way through the snow to the post office?”

Bruzzo, 40, from London, previously spent three months in Svalbard as chief scientist on an Arctic expedition. She will be the base's leader and described her new job as a "lifelong dream".

Ballantyne, 23, from Lincolnshire, has just completed a master's in earth science at Oxford University. She will deal by hand with approximately 80,000 cards, which are mailed each year from the site to more than 100 countries.



The site has not had any visitors for more than two years because of Covid. Photograph: UK Antarctic Heritage Trust/PA

"I'm most looking forward to stepping on to Goudier Island and taking in the cacophony and pungent smell of the penguins, the backdrop of the glaciers and Fief mountains, and being able to call it home for the next few months," she said.

Corbett, the 31-year-old newlywed, is from Hampshire, where she runs a pet accessories business. She will be in charge of running the gift shop in the oldest permanent British base on the Antarctic peninsula.

The site has not had visitors for more than two years because of Covid but usually welcomes about 18,000 people a year, between November and March, the Antarctic summer.

Vicky Inglis, 42, from Aberdeenshire, who has previously stayed on the island, will join for 10 weeks as a general assistant.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/oct/04/newlywed-run-world-remote-post-office-antarctica-penguins>

| [Section menu](#) | [Main menu](#) |

[Pakistan](#)

Pakistan's PM says rival Imran Khan is 'biggest liar on earth'

Exclusive: As economic turmoil continues, Shehbaz Sharif accuses predecessor of leaving the country in ruins



Shehbaz Sharif acknowledges he faces challenges ruling Pakistan while Khan mobilises on the streets. Photograph: Mary Altaffer/AP

[Hannah Ellis-Petersen](#) and [Shah Meer Baloch](#) in Lahore

Mon 3 Oct 2022 21.35 EDT Last modified on Wed 5 Oct 2022 00.08 EDT

Pakistan's prime minister, Shehbaz Sharif, has accused the former premier [Imran Khan](#) of being the “the biggest liar on the face of the earth” and injecting poison into society to “dangerously polarise the electorate” after he was toppled from power earlier this year.

Speaking in his first interview from Pakistan since he took over as prime minister in April, [Sharif](#), 70, spoke unsparingly of the “damage” that Khan,

the former cricket superstar who ruled Pakistan from 2018, had done to the country in both domestic and foreign affairs.

Pakistan is currently in the midst of an unprecedented economic crisis, as it grapples with mounting inflation, sky-high foreign debt, declining foreign currency reserves and now more than \$30bn of damage after the country was hit by the [worst flooding in its history](#) in August, a climate crisis-driven disaster that left 1,600 dead and millions without shelter and clean water.

Sharif, who is the younger brother of the former prime minister Nawaz Sharif and part of one of Pakistan's most powerful political dynasties, called Khan "a liar and a cheat" whose policies had left the economy in ruins.

He accused Khan, who ran on an anti-corruption manifesto, of conducting the country's affairs to suit his own personal agenda "in a manner which can be only described as the most inexperienced, self-centred, egotistical, immature politician in the history of this country".

Khan, who still retains huge popularity among swathes of voters, was removed from power in April this year [after a vote of no confidence](#) which saw many of his allies in parliament turn against him. Khan was found to have violated the constitution in an attempt to stop the vote going ahead, and he also threatened to [impose martial law](#) rather than hand over power to the opposition coalition.

Khan made repeated allegations that the vote was a "foreign conspiracy" against him by the US and claimed to have a diplomatic cable to prove it, despite public denials by the US, the military and figures in government, and in private meetings with diplomats.



Imran Khan at a lawyers' convention in Lahore last month. Photograph: Arif Ali/AFP/Getty Images

The issue was further inflamed last week after audio recordings of private informal conversations, held by Khan in his office when he was prime minister, were leaked on to the internet. The audio leaks allegedly captured Khan discussing how to fabricate a conspiracy about a foreign threat, with him heard saying they would “play with the cable”.

Sharif said the leaked audios were “an irrefutable endorsement that he [Khan] is the biggest liar on the face of the earth. I’m not saying this with a sense of glee but a sense of embarrassment and concern. My country’s image has been damaged hugely by these lies told out of mean personal interest.”

Since he was removed from power, Khan, now the leader of the opposition, has been stirring up his millions of loyal supporters at rallies and speeches across the country, peddling conspiracy theories and accusing the Sharif-led coalition government of being a corrupt and “imported” government from the west. He has pledged to fight the next election, and is planning a “surprise” march on the capital, Islamabad, in the coming weeks.

Khan's populist narrative has proved highly effective, and also become a thorn in the side of Pakistan's powerful military establishment who, despite their claims of staying out of politics, gave Khan their tacit backing in 2018 and are seen to have enabled his election. In political and diplomatic circles, Khan's fall from power is widely linked to a disintegration in his relationship with the military top brass. Since he was toppled, Khan has turned his supporters against the army chief, Qamar Javed Bajwa, in particular.

Sharif, who has always worked with the military establishment, acknowledged he faced significant challenges ruling Pakistan while Khan was mobilising on the streets. Several of the economic decisions taken by Sharif's government, such as raising fuel taxes, have proved very unpopular.

"Never before was I concerned about our country's future," said Sharif. "Imran Khan has injected infinite amount of poison in this society and made it hugely polarised as never before ... he is distorting facts and creating hate."

How to deal with Khan has become a major source of contention in the ruling coalition, known as the Pakistan Democratic Movement (PDM). Many close to Sharif have publicly criticised the leadership for not arresting Khan even after warrants have been issued.

Speaking to the Guardian, Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman, the Islamic rightwing politician who is one of the most powerful figures in the PDM government, said: "Our main complaint is that Imran Khan, who has been declared as the violator of the constitution by the court ... why he is not being arrested by the government?" Maryam Nawaz, who is Nawaz Sharif's daughter and vice-president of their party, PLM-N, told reporters on Sunday that Khan should be "behind bars by now".

Khan has appeared to welcome the threats. "I am ready to go to jail and my nation as well. We are not afraid of jail," he told a rally on Sunday.

Sharif would not be drawn into conjecture about Khan's arrest but his cabinet has approved a legal inquiry into the audio leak revelations and

Sharif said Khan “has to be held accountable for all these conscious criminal acts”.

Sharif spoke of his efforts to rebuild relations with several of Pakistan’s foreign allies, which were seen to nosedive after 2018. Sharif said he had been “shocked” at the UN general assembly in New York earlier this month when several world leaders, who he refused to name, had personally raised Khan’s conduct. “Some leaders told me in person about his personality,” said Sharif. “They told me he was rude, he told lies and he is a ‘narcissist’, quote unquote.”

Though anti-American sentiment is still rife on the streets, Sharif’s administration has been actively working to [mend ties with the US](#). The government recently agreed a \$450m (£400m) deal with the US for F-16 military aircraft, despite the country’s dire financial straits, and Biden and Sharif briefly met at the UN in New York, where Biden pledged to support Pakistan in the wake of the devastation of the floods. The foreign minister, Bilawal Bhutto, returned from a US trip this week and Bajwa, the army chief, is currently in Washington.

“Khan has damaged Pakistan’s relations with the United States for no rhyme or reason,” said Sharif.



People displaced by this year's vast floods shelter in a camp at Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan. Photograph: Saood Rehman/EPA

Yet he also made it clear he would be reaffirming Pakistan's close relationship with [China](#), which reportedly suffered under Khan after he stalled on the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), a multibillion-dollar infrastructure project that is a cornerstone of China's belt and road initiative (BRI).

There are concerns CPEC is leading Pakistan into a debt trap with China, and [mounting local opposition](#) has led to CPEC projects and workers being hit by bomb blasts. Yet, despite the security concerns, and China itself said to be rolling back BRI, Sharif vowed to continue with the project, and will visit China in November, describing the country as "one of the most trusted friends of Pakistan".

"Make no mistake, CPEC is a project which is not only good for Pakistan's wellbeing but for the whole region," he said.

Indeed, many of his policies appear to be a direct continuation of those implemented by his elder brother Nawaz Sharif, who served three terms as prime minister from 1990. In 2017, Sharif was disqualified from office and [sentenced to 10 years in jail](#) on corruption charges he said were politically motivated. He was given temporary bail to travel to London for medical treatment in 2021 and never came back. He is now said to control the party from his property in central London, with Sharif making two visits in the past month.

Sharif was open about his brother's involvement in government. "Of course I consult Nawaz, he is my leader and my older brother," he said. "But he has given me completely free rein to make decisions."

Yet the ascension of the Sharifs to power again, ruling in a coalition alongside members of the powerful Bhutto family – former political rivals who came together with 10 other parties in order to defeat Khan – has led some to criticise the return of so-called dynastic politics which has dominated Pakistan for more than four decades.

Maryam Nawaz, who was caught up in her father Nawaz Sharif's corruption case and sentenced to jail in 2018, was cleared of charges this week and is now expected to return to politics. Bilawal Bhutto, the current foreign minister, is the son of former prime minister Benazir Bhutto, who was [assassinated in 2007](#) and grandson of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who was prime minister in the 1970s. Khan has consistently represented himself as the alternative to such dynastic politics, even though many of his top ministers came from political families.

Sharif vehemently rebuffed the criticism. "It's about competence: it's about public support, it's about people's trust," he said. "It's not about dynasty."

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/oct/04/pakistans-pm-says-rival-imran-khan-is-biggest-liar-on-earth>

Headlines saturday 8 october 2022

- [Live Russia-Ukraine war: fire engulfs crucial Kerch bridge between Crimea and Russia as section collapses](#)
- [Analysis Impact of Kerch bridge blast will be felt all the way to the Kremlin](#)
- [Ukraine Key bridge linking Crimea to Russia hit by huge blast](#)
- [At a glance What we know on day 227 of the invasion](#)

[Ukraine war live](#)Ukraine

Three killed as huge explosion causes key Crimea-Russia road bridge to collapse – as it happened

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/live/2022/oct/08/russia-ukraine-war-live-news-fire-engulfs-part-of-kerch-bridge-between-crimea-and-russia>

[Ukraine](#)

[Analysis](#)

Impact of Kerch bridge blast will be felt all the way to the Kremlin

[Peter Beaumont](#) in Kyiv

Vladimir Putin opened road section in 2018 and Moscow had threatened reprisals if it was attacked

- [What we know on day 227 of the invasion](#)
- [Russia-Ukraine war – live news](#)

Kerch bridge blast: CCTV footage appears to show moment of explosion – video

Sat 8 Oct 2022 04.35 EDTLast modified on Sat 8 Oct 2022 07.02 EDT

Twelve miles long and taller than the Statue of Liberty, [the Kerch bridge](#) to the occupied Crimean peninsular was the jewel in the crown of Vladimir Putin’s infrastructure projects – described in the Russian media as the “construction of the century”.

When the Russian president opened its road span on 15 May 2018, driving an orange Kamaz truck across the bridge, he boasted of its significance.

“In different historical epochs, even under the tsar priests, people dreamed of building this bridge. Then they returned to this [idea] in the 1930s, the 40s, the 50s. And finally, thanks to your work and your talent, the miracle has happened.”

Heavily defended since the start of Russia’s full-scale invasion of [Ukraine](#), it was seen as important enough for Moscow to warn of reprisals if the bridge was targeted.

But on Saturday morning, in circumstances that are still unclear, [a huge explosion rocked the Kerch bridge](#), collapsing part of the road carriageway into the Kerch Strait below and setting fire to fuel tankers on a train crossing the second railway span of the bridge.

[Map showing Kerch bridge](#)

The enormous significance of the damage to the bridge, obliquely claimed by a senior adviser to the Ukrainian presidency, will become clear in the coming hours and days – not least whether Moscow feels compelled to retaliate for the attack.

In the immediate aftermath, many analysts were quick to note the timing of the blast, occurring the day after Vladimir Putin marked his 70th birthday amid a series of humiliating recent defeats on the eastern and southern fronts of his war of aggression against Ukraine that has seen large scale Russian retreats.

It comes hard on the heels of Russian nuclear brinkmanship and a barely a week after Putin signed a decree illegally claiming to have annexed four Ukrainian provinces.

But the implied rebuff of the apparent attack is more significant than simply symbolic. The bridge was a key logistical supply line not only for Russian forces in the occupied Crimea but also elsewhere in southern Ukraine where Russian forces have been in retreat in recent days, even as the main supply line from mainland Russia, including a train line to Melitopol, has come under increasing Ukrainian pressure.

That significance has not been lost on residents of Crimea who, as news spread, rushed to petrol stations to fill up their cars.

And while there are other ways of supplying the Crimea, including its ports, damage to the bridge is hugely important to a place that until very recently was seen by Russia as being beyond the reach of Ukraine.

That has changed in recent months, however. An attack on the naval airbase at Saky in August, led Russian tourists to flee Crimea's beaches en masse,

jamming the bridge with miles-long tailbacks. Some Russian naval forces appear also to have been discreetly redeployed as the war has inched ever closer.

How Moscow responds is the big question, but one that had been looming ever more powerfully as Ukraine has successfully pressed its counteroffensive in recent weeks amid mounting disquiet among Russian elites and commentators over the conduct of Putin's war.

In April, Dmitry Medvedev, former Russian president and prime minister, and currently deputy chair of the Security Council of Russia, said: "One of the Ukrainian generals talked about the need to strike at the Crimean Bridge. I hope he understands what the retaliatory target will be."

At the very least it is a huge propaganda victory for Kyiv that will be held up as a sign that not only is it unafraid of Putin's nuclear threats but that it believes it is winning the war.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/oct/08/impact-of-kerch-bridge-blast-will-be-felt-all-the-way-to-the-kremlin>

Ukraine

Key bridge linking Crimea to Russia hit by huge explosion

Section of Kerch bridge collapses after blast, seen as major blow to Russian military prestige

- [Analysis: impact of bridge explosion will be felt all the way to the Kremlin](#)
- [Russia-Ukraine war – live news](#)

Kerch bridge blast: CCTV footage appears to show moment of explosion – video

[Peter Beaumont](#) in Kyiv and [Emma Graham-Harrison](#) in Lviv

Sat 8 Oct 2022 07.35 EDTFirst published on Sat 8 Oct 2022 01.22 EDT

A huge explosion has destroyed part of the Kerch bridge from Russia to Crimea, a hated symbol of the Kremlin's occupation of the southern Ukrainian peninsula, one of Vladimir Putin's prestige projects and a vital logistical link for the Russian military.

A section of the Ukraine-bound road bridge collapsed into the Kerch strait after the blast, and a fierce fire engulfed a train on the parallel railway connection, creating a vast column of black smoke. The parallel road towards Russia still appeared passable in images from the blast site.

The attack, which came the day after Putin's 70th birthday, is a major blow to Russian military prestige and its supply chains for the invasion and the defence of Crimea.

Moscow had claimed the bridge was protected by impenetrable layers of defences, ranging from military dolphins to the latest weapons systems, but

had also threatened harsh retaliation if it was targeted.

Ukraine has not directly claimed responsibility for hitting the bridge, but senior officials publicly celebrated and on Saturday morning the only real question about the attack was not who ordered it, but how it was carried out.

The explosion, which witnesses said could be heard miles away, happened about 6am on Saturday while a train was crossing the bridge. Pictures of the damage began emerging soon after.

Russia set up a committee to investigate the attack and within hours said three people had been killed and blamed a truck bomb for the blast. It added that they identified the driver of the exploded truck as a resident of the southern Russian Kuban region.

Fire engulfs bridge spanning Crimea and Russia after explosion – video

“According to preliminary data, three people died as a result of the incident. These are, presumably, the passengers of a car that was next to the blown-up truck,” Russia’s investigative committee said in a statement.

“At present, the bodies of two dead men and women have already been raised from the water; their identities are being established.”

Footage shared on Russian Telegram channels and news agencies appeared to show the moment of the explosion with two vehicles, a truck and a car, at the centre of the blast, although it was unclear whether either was responsible or simply caught up in the detonation.

The bridge, which was built on the orders of Putin, and inaugurated in 2018, was a key transport link for carrying military equipment to Russian soldiers fighting in Ukraine, especially in the south, as well as ferrying troops there.

[Map](#)

Mykhailo Podolyak, an adviser to the Ukrainian presidency, appeared to suggest Kyiv’s responsibility, tweeting: “Crimea, the bridge, the beginning. Everything illegal must be destroyed, everything stolen must be returned to Ukraine, everything belonging to the Russian occupation must be expelled.”

The chair of Ukraine's national security and defence council, Oleskiy Danilov, tweeted a video of damage to the bridge, spliced with a video of Marilyn Monroe singing "Happy Birthday, Mr President", in a barely veiled dig at Putin.

The blast on the bridge came amid mounting criticism in Russia of the conduct of his war against Ukraine after a series of increasingly devastating setbacks on the battlefield in recent weeks.

In the immediate aftermath of the explosion, reports emerged of residents in Crimea rushing to petrol stations, anxious about fuel shortages.

Kerch bridge blast: CCTV footage appears to show moment of explosion – video

Damage to the road section of the bridge showed one carriageway appearing to have been cleanly severed with no obvious sign of a missile strike, leading some to suggest the attack on the bridge might have been a spectacular act of sabotage. A second carriageway appeared to still be standing, and passable.

Video footage being shared on Russian Telegram channels appeared to show a truck at the centre of the explosion but it was not clear whether the truck itself had exploded or was caught in the blast.

The damage to the railway line leaves Russian forces in the south with a single rail supply line – between Krasnodar and Melitopol – that is now within range of Ukrainian artillery attacks.

Very clear view of the vehicle portion of the bridge that collapsed and the railway portion on fire. pic.twitter.com/fYsLJuHRcE

— Rob Lee (@RALee85) [October 8, 2022](#)

Video of the fire on the railroad portion of the Crimean Bridge. <https://t.co/N8tzlrv0j> pic.twitter.com/CwroM2ScUf

— Rob Lee (@RALee85) [October 8, 2022](#)

A Moscow-appointed official in Crimea said shipping would not be affected: “A cistern carriage is burning with fuel on one of the bridge sections. Shipping arches aren’t affected. Too early to talk about reasons and consequences. Work is under way to put out the fire.”

However, video footage taken from the road span appeared to show fires burning fiercely in several railway trucks along the length of the train, with the train stationary on the bridge.

Commenting on the attack in a thread on Twitter, analyst and retired Australian general Mick Ryan said: “First dropping a bridge span like this would take a lot of ‘bang’ [explosives] and good demolition design. As a sapper, we plan these kinds of things all the time. The hardest bridges to drop are reinforced concrete like this.

“The amount of explosive required would be more than a few SF personnel could carry. A few trucks, or missiles/bombs would do the trick, if aimed at the right points of the bridge span.

“Either way, it presents the Russians with a significant problem. It doesn’t stop resupply to Crimea [there are boats and the route through Melitopol], but it makes holding Melitopol even more important for the Russians.”

It is too early to ascertain the method of attack and the range of implications of this attack on the Kerch Bridge. It is certainly a punch in the face for Putin on his birthday. A couple of thoughts however in this short (for me) thread. 1/9 □ <https://t.co/h8C45CWI2K>

— Mick Ryan, AM (@WarintheFuture) [October 8, 2022](#)

The railway span is part of a pair of parallel bridges, crossing the Kerch strait linking Krasnodar in Russia and Crimea, which was built by Russia after its invasion and annexation of Crimea in 2014.

Some 12 miles (19km) long, the road bridge was opened by Putin in 2018, with the railway bridge opening two years later.

Russia had for months assumed that Crimea – including the Kerch bridge – was beyond the ability of Ukrainian forces to strike. However, in the past two months a series of explosions have hit sites in the Crimea including the Saky naval airbase, [amid mounting confidence in Kyiv that it can retake Crimea](#).

The fire occurred hours after explosions rocked the eastern Ukrainian city of Kharkiv early Saturday, sending towering plumes of smoke into the sky and triggering a series of secondary explosions.

The mayor of Kharkiv, Ihor Terekhov, said on Telegram that the early-morning explosions were the result of missile strikes in the centre of the city. He said the blasts sparked fires at one of the city's medical institutions and a non-residential building. There were no immediate reports of casualties.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/oct/08/crimea-kerch-bridge-explosions-russia-ukraine>

[Russia-Ukraine war at a glance](#)[Ukraine](#)

Russia-Ukraine war latest: what we know on day 227 of the invasion

Blasts rock bridge linking Crimea to Russia; Zelenskiy warns on nuclear weapons; Moscow declares Russian rapper a ‘foreign agent’

- [See all our Ukraine coverage](#)



Ukrainian soldiers take a knee in Lviv as fellow troops carry the coffins of three Ukrainian servicemen killed in combat against Russia. Photograph: Yuriy Dyachyshyn/AFP/Getty Images

[Léonie Chao-Fong](#), staff and agencies

Sat 8 Oct 2022 02.18 EDTFirst published on Fri 7 Oct 2022 21.00 EDT

- **The Kerch bridge from Russia to Crimea – a hated symbol of the Kremlin’s occupation of the southern Ukrainian peninsula – has**

been hit by a massive explosion on the span that carries railway traffic. Images from the bridge showed a fiercely burning fire engulfing at least two railway carriages from a train on the bridge, accompanied by a vast column of black smoke.

- **A series of explosions shook Kharkiv early on Saturday**, sending towering plumes of smoke into the sky and triggering a series of secondary explosions in the eastern Ukraine city. Associated Press reported there were no immediate reports of casualties. The blasts came hours after Russia concentrated attacks on areas it illegally annexed.
- **Volodymyr Zelenskiy says Russian officials have begun to “prepare their society” for the possible use of nuclear weapons** in the war. The Ukrainian president denied having called for strikes on Russia, urging instead that pre-emptive sanctions be imposed on Moscow, in an [interview with the BBC](#).
- **Russia has targeted Zaporizhzhia with explosive-packed “kamikaze drones” for the first time**, as the death toll from [a missile strike on an apartment building](#) in the city rose to 11. The regional governor, Oleksandr Starukh, said Iranian-made Shahed-136 drones damaged two infrastructure facilities in the city. He said other missiles also struck the city again, injuring one person. The Iranian foreign ministry has denied supplying the drones to [Russia](#).
- **The Russian justice ministry has declared one of the country’s most popular rappers to be a “foreign agent”**, a designation that has been used to harass Kremlin critics and journalists. Oxxxymiron – real name Miron Fyodorov – was [added to a list of foreign agents](#) alongside four journalists and Dmitry Glukhovsky, a prominent writer. The rapper has called the Kremlin’s Ukraine offensive a “catastrophe and a crime”.
- **Ukrainian authorities found a mass grave in the recently recaptured eastern town of Lyman** in Donetsk and it was unclear yet how many bodies it held, the regional governor, Pavlo Kyrylenko, said in an online post on Friday. Separately, the Ukrinform news agency cited a senior police official as saying the grave contained 180 bodies.

- **The bodies of 534 civilians including 19 children were found in the north-eastern Kharkiv region** since Russian troops left, Serhiy Bolvinov of the national police in Kharkiv said. That included 447 bodies found in Izium. He also said investigators had found evidence of 22 sites being used as “torture rooms”.
- **Zelenskiy said Ukrainian forces have recaptured nearly 2,500 sq km (965 sq miles) of territory** from Russia in the counteroffensive that began late last month. “This week alone, our soldiers liberated 776 square kilometres of territory in the east of our country and 29 settlements, including six in Lugansk region,” the Ukrainian president said on Friday.
- **Russia has reportedly sacked the commander of its eastern military district, Col Gen Alexander Chaiko**, the news outlet RBC has reported. His reported departure marks the latest in a series of top officials to be fired after defeats and humiliations in the war in [Ukraine](#).
- **Joe Biden has warned the world could face “Armageddon” if Vladimir Putin uses a tactical nuclear weapon to try to win the war in Ukraine.** The US president made his most outspoken remarks to date about the [threat of nuclear war](#), saying it was the closest the world had come to nuclear catastrophe for 60 years, “since Kennedy and the Cuban missile crisis”.
- **The US does not have indications that Russia is preparing to imminently use nuclear weapons, the White House said.** Asked about Biden’s comments, White House spokesperson Karine Jean-Pierre said: “He was reinforcing what we have been saying, which is how seriously ... we take these threats.”
- **[The 2022 Nobel peace prize has been awarded](#) to human rights advocate Ales Bialiatski from Belarus, the Russian human rights organisation Memorial and the Ukrainian human rights organisation Centre for Civil Liberties.** Oleksandra Matviychuk, the centre’s head, said on Facebook after the award that Vladimir Putin as well as the Belarusian leader, Alexander Lukashenko, and other “war criminals” should face an international tribunal, and Russia should be

excluded from the UN security council “for systematic violations of the UN charter”.

- **The International Monetary Fund has announced it will provide \$1.3bn in emergency aid** to Ukraine through its new food crisis assistance program.
- **A member of Putin’s inner circle directly confronted the Russian president over mistakes and failings** in the war in Ukraine, the Washington Post has reported, citing US intelligence.
- **At least five people were killed and as many injured after Ukrainian forces struck a bus** while shelling a strategically important bridge in the Russian-controlled part of Ukraine’s southern Kherson region, Russia’s Tass news agency has reported.
- The armed forces’ headquarters of the self-proclaimed **Donetsk People’s Republic has claimed to have captured three settlements** from Ukrainian forces in Donetsk.
- **The office of Turkey’s president, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, said after a call with Putin** that the pair discussed the latest developments in [Ukraine](#), and Erdoğan repeated Ankara’s willingness to do its part to peacefully resolve the war.
- **The North Korean leader, Kim Jong-un, has congratulated Putin on his 70th birthday**, applauding him for his “distinguished leadership and strong will”. Kim spoke of Putin’s achievements in “building powerful Russia” and said the Russian leader was “enjoying high respects and support from the broad masses of people”.

2022.10.08 - Spotlight

- ['The Russian Bond is on his way' Exclusive extracts from the letters of John le Carré](#)
- ['Each envelope was a treasure' How I became le Carré's friend and reader](#)
- [Greta Thunberg on the climate delusion 'We've been greenwashed out of our senses. It's time to stand our ground'](#)
- ['Stop setting things on fire' Nine great ideas to save the planet](#)

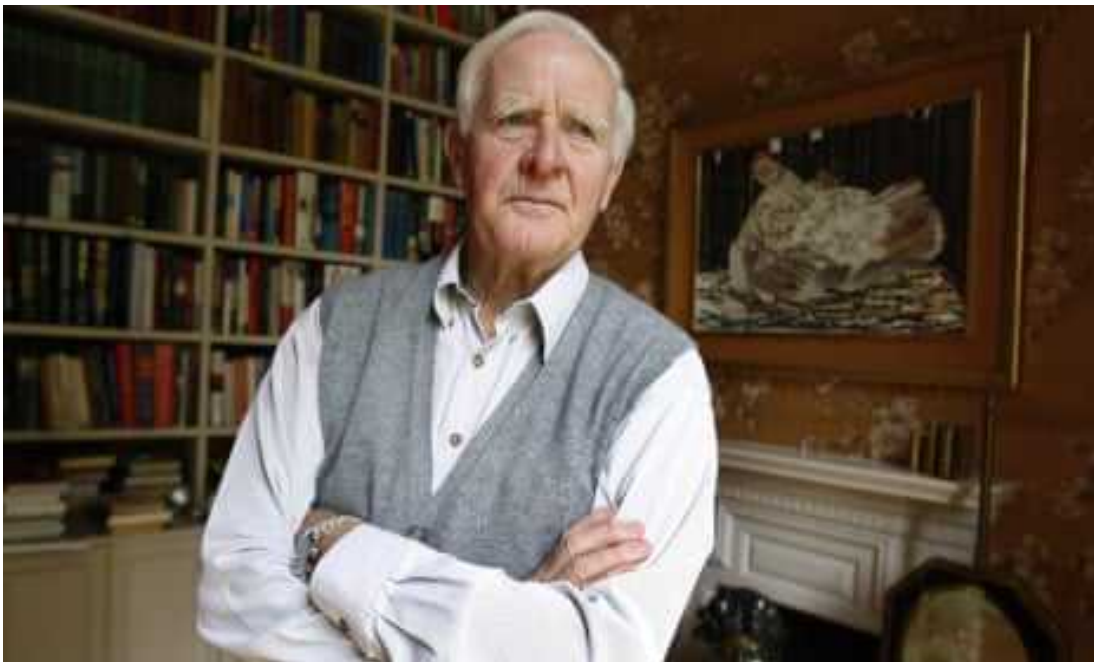
‘The Russian Bond is on his way’: exclusive extracts from the letters of John le Carré

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2022/oct/08/john-le-carre-letters-extracts-david-cornwell>

John le Carré

‘Each envelope was a treasure’: how I became le Carré’s friend and reader

We communicated by hand-delivered letters, occasionally accompanied by a manuscript



John le Carré. ‘Every 18 months or so, a new manuscript in tow, he’d appear at the front door.’

Photograph: Kirsty Wigglesworth/AP

[Philippe Sands](#)

Sat 8 Oct 2022 05.00 EDT

I’d seen the man on several occasions, seated in a corner of my local pub. I was clueless as to who he was. Then, in the aftermath of the Iraq war, I went to the Wells Tavern [in Hampstead] with a journalist, who knew the white-haired, conservatively dressed gentleman who never ate alone.

They engaged in a brief conversation, as I hovered awkwardly. “Who’s that?” I asked as we reached our table. “David Cornwell, otherwise known as [John le Carré](#), with his wife Jane.” Later, as we left, introductions were made, with banter about the illegalities that followed the events of 11 September. Le Carré did not mince his words.

A few weeks later, a cream-coloured sealed envelope was posted through our letter box, my name in black ink with a big loopy “L” and firmly underlined. This was the first of dozens of handwritten letters from David across a decade and a half. He suggested we might have lunch at the pub, equidistant between our homes. “It wd be great to meet again and schmooze.”

For many years, this was how we communicated – letters delivered by hand, occasionally accompanied by an article, magazine or book. In later years we did email but that form never offered the anticipation or excitement of hand-delivery. “A lousy medium”, he called it. Then, every 18 months or so, a new manuscript in tow, he’d appear at the front door, arms extended, hundreds of pages in a box. “Usual procedure?” “Usual procedure.”

Each novel featured a horrendous lawyer; my role was to confirm that said person was depicted, beclothed, spoke and behaved as an abominable legal character might. This was only a few lines in hundreds of pages, but they were never marked with a little sticky or some such thing, so I would have to read through the entire manuscript, always enthralled (a process that informed my own writing style, picking up the techniques le Carré explained he liked to use to “reel in” the readers). Correspondence followed.

“No lawyer I’ve known calls their client ‘darling’,” I would explain. He defended his corner vigorously, insisting that he had, on some unspecified occasion, heard a solicitor use the word. By then I knew he liked to embellish, my scepticism inducing a giant grin as we tucked into the apple crumble prohibited by spousal diktat. The conversation would continue in written form. “As to ‘darlings’, of course they have all gone, to be replaced by a single tic that [the lawyer] has: calling her clients ‘heart’ now and then to remind them that she has one, even if it’s under heavy control.” Heart? Even more absurd, I suggested. He dug his heels in on that one.

The JLC envelopes would address many a subject, from the mundane to the very highest affairs of state. Each was treated with care. A letter might relate to a social engagement, or a local concern (“Let’s ponder it over a better hamburger than the [restaurant] is pushing these days, my last one tasted of cat”) or reflect on a gathering, such as our US election party in 2008 (“A night for the great-grandchildren, when the world actually became a better place, & a whole lot of the excuses for hatred were rendered redundant.”) There might be a reflection on an encounter (“I found Jon [Snow] terrifying – simply because I have for so long admired him, and his gift for inquisition”).

There was, too, quite a bit on the state of modern, lawless Britain, not least if I needed his help on an obscure point being researched. “I have written,” he assured, following a request to be introduced to a retired British spy, “asking whether they wd agree to talk to you off the record, for deep background on the ethics, culture and procedures of the two [intelligence] services.” This often came in with expressions of hope (“that somehow the country will rid itself of the truly wicked influence of Johnson and his gruesome companions”).

There was also much to stiffen my backbone, I now see, as he egged me on in the quest to expose an illegality or other act of horror that exercised us, and really put the boot in. “Excellent idea about war crimes, but how far do you dare go”, he instructed, making it clear he’d be at my back if I exercised too great a restraint.

Each envelope was a treasure, a connection to an antiquated means of communication, one that offered the special intimacy and personal connection of words written by hand on a reassuringly textured sheet of paper. To revisit the letters is to be exhilarated.

How fortunate to have had such a neighbour, one who wrote with a pen, old-style, then walked a couple of hundred yards and delivered it by hand. Every page is alive with energy, ideas and passions, each word a thrill to have and to hold. The precise, unique voice of le Carré (“please note that my pen name is in three words, & that the l is in lower case,” he instructed) is as alive, resonant and fabulous as it was on first being digested.

Philippe Sands' latest book, on themes inspired by conversations with le Carré, is The Last Colony: A Tale of Exile, Justice and Britain's Colonial Legacy (Weidenfeld & Nicolson)

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2022/oct/08/each-envelope-a-treasure-how-i-became-le-carres-friend-and-reader>

| [Section menu](#) | [Main menu](#) |

Advertisement

US edition

- [US edition](#)
- [UK edition](#)
- [Australia edition](#)
- [International edition](#)

[The Guardian - Back to home](#)[The Guardian: news website of the year](#)

[Climate crisis](#)

Greta Thunberg on the climate delusion: ‘We’ve been greenwashed out of our senses. It’s time to stand our ground’



Illustration: Nicolás Ortega/The Guardian

Governments may say they're doing all they can to halt the climate crisis. Don't fall for it – then we might still have time to turn things around

‘Stop setting things on fire’: [nine great ideas to save the planet](#)



[Greta Thunberg](#)

Sat 8 Oct 2022 04.00 EDT

Maybe it is the name that is the problem. Climate change. It doesn't sound that bad. The word “change” resonates quite pleasantly in our restless world. No matter how fortunate we are, there is always room for the appealing possibility of improvement. Then there is the “climate” part. Again, it does not sound so bad. If you live in many of the high-emitting nations of the global north, the idea of a “changing climate” could well be interpreted as the very opposite of scary and dangerous. A changing world. A warming planet. What's not to like?

Perhaps that is partly why so many people still think of climate change as a slow, linear and even rather harmless process. But the climate is not just changing. It is destabilising. It is breaking down. The delicately balanced natural patterns and cycles that are a vital part of the systems that sustain life on Earth are being disrupted, and the consequences could be catastrophic. Because there are negative tipping points, points of no return. And we do not

know exactly when we might cross them. What we do know, however, is that they are getting awfully close, even the really big ones. Transformation often starts slowly, but then it begins to accelerate.

Wildfires, hurricanes, heatwaves, floods ... The weather seems to be on steroids, and natural disasters appear less and less natural

The German oceanographer and climatologist Stefan Rahmstorf writes: “We have enough ice on Earth to raise sea levels by 65 metres – about the height of a 20-storey building – and, at the end of the last ice age, sea levels rose by 120 metres as a result of about 5C of warming.” Taken together, these figures give us a perspective on the powers we are dealing with. Sea-level rise will not remain a question of centimetres for very long.

The Greenland ice sheet is melting, as are the [“doomsday glaciers” of west Antarctica](#). Recent reports have stated that the tipping points for these two events have already been passed. Other reports say they are imminent. That means we might already have inflicted so much built-in warming that the melting process can no longer be stopped, or that we are very close to that point. Either way, we must do everything in our power to stop the process because, once that [invisible line has been crossed](#), there might be no going back. We can slow it down, but once the snowball has been set in motion it will just keep going.



Illustration: Nicolás Ortega/The Guardian

“This is the new normal” is a phrase we often hear when the rapid changes in our daily weather patterns – wildfires, hurricanes, heatwaves, floods, storms, droughts and so on – are being discussed. These weather events aren’t just increasing in frequency, they are becoming more and more extreme. The weather seems to be on steroids, and natural disasters increasingly appear less and less natural. But this is not the [“new normal”](#). What we are seeing now is only the very beginning of a changing climate, caused by human emissions of greenhouse gases. Until now, Earth’s natural systems have been acting as a shock absorber, smoothing out the dramatic transformations that are taking place. But the planetary resilience that has been so vital to us will not last for ever, and the evidence seems to suggest more and more clearly that we are entering a new era of more dramatic change.

Climate change has become a crisis sooner than expected. So many of the researchers I’ve spoken to have said that they were shocked to witness how quickly it is escalating. But since science is very cautious when it comes to making predictions, maybe this should not come as a big surprise. One result of this, however, is that very few people actually knew how to react when the signs started becoming obvious in recent years. And fewer still had planned how to communicate what is happening. It seems like the vast

majority of people were preparing for a different, less urgent scenario. A crisis that would take place many decades into the future. And yet here we are. The climate and ecological crisis is not happening in some faraway future. It's happening right here and right now.

If everyone lived like we do in Sweden, we would need the resources of 4.2 planet Earths to sustain us. And the climate targets set in the [Paris agreement](#) would be but a very distant memory – a threshold that we would have crossed many, many years ago. The fact that 3 billion people use less energy, on an annual per capita basis, than a standard American refrigerator gives you an idea of how far away from global equity and climate justice we currently are.

The climate crisis is not something that “we” have created. The worldview that largely dominates the perspective from Stockholm, Berlin, London, Madrid, New York, Toronto, Los Angeles, Sydney or Auckland is not so prevalent in Mumbai, [Ngerulmud](#), Manila, Nairobi, Lagos, Lima or Santiago. People from the parts of the world that are most responsible for this crisis must realise that other perspectives do exist and that they have to start listening to them. Because when it comes to the climate and ecological crisis – just like most other issues – many people living in rich economies still act as if they rule the world. By using up the remains of our carbon budgets – the maximum amount of CO₂ we can collectively emit to give the world a 67% chance of staying below 1.5C of global temperature rise – the global north is stealing the future as well as the present. It is stealing not only from its own children but, above all, from those who live in the most affected parts of the world, many of whom are yet to build much of the most basic modern infrastructure that others take for granted. And still this deeply immoral theft does not even exist in the discourse of the so-called developed world.



Greta Thunberg at a school strike protest in Sweden in September.
Photograph: EPA

Saving the world is voluntary. You could certainly argue against that statement from a moral point of view, but the fact remains: there are no laws or restrictions in place that will force anyone to take the necessary steps towards safeguarding our future living conditions on planet Earth. This is troublesome from many perspectives, not least because – as much as I hate to admit it – Beyoncé was wrong. It is not girls who run the world. It is run by politicians, corporations and financial interests – mainly represented by white, privileged, middle-aged, straight cis men. And it turns out most of them are terribly ill suited for the job. This may not come as a big surprise. After all, the purpose of a company is not to save the world – it is to make a profit. Or, rather, it is to make as much profit as it possibly can in order to keep shareholders and market interests happy.

This leaves us with our political leaders. They do have great opportunities to improve things, but it turns out that saving the world is not their main priority, either.

Approaching the issues of the climate and ecological crisis inevitably involves confronting numerous uncomfortable questions. Taking on the role of being the one who tells the unpleasant truth, and thereby risking one's

popularity, is clearly not on any politician's wishlist. So they try to stay clear of the subject until they absolutely cannot avoid it any longer – then they turn to communication tactics and PR to make it [seem as if real action is being taken](#), when in fact the exact opposite is happening.

Quick Guide

Corporate climate goals: are they legit or are they spin?

Show

Greenwashing is a form of marketing spin, in which companies persuade the public that their products, aims and policies are environmentally friendly. The term was coined by environmentalist Jay Westerveld in 1986 to refer to the corporate practice of making sustainability claims to cover a questionable environmental record.

An **absolute greenhouse gas emissions target** aims to reduce overall climate pollution by a specific amount.

A **net-zero goal** is meant to offset all greenhouse gas emissions by capturing them, planting trees to absorb them, or paying for the development of cleaner energy.

An **intensity reduction** seeks to cut the rate of planet-heating emissions that accompanies each unit of energy produced.

Was this helpful?

Thank you for your feedback.

It gives me no pleasure whatsoever to keep calling out the bullshit of our so-called leaders. I want to believe that people are good. But there really seems to be no end to these cynical games. If your objective as a politician truly is to act on the climate crisis, then surely your first step would be to gather accurate figures for our actual emissions to get a complete overview of the problem, and from there start looking at real solutions? That would also give you a rough idea of the changes needed, the scale of them and how quickly they need to be put in place. This, however, has not been done – or even

suggested – by any world leader. Or, to my knowledge, by any one single politician.

Journalist Alexandra Urisman Otto describes how she started investigating Swedish climate policies and found that only a third of our actual emissions of greenhouse gases were included in our climate targets and the official national statistics. The rest were either outsourced or hidden in the loopholes of international climate accounting frameworks. So whenever the climate crisis is debated in my “progressive” home country, we conveniently leave out two-thirds of the problem. An investigation by the [Washington Post in November 2021](#) has shown that this phenomenon is far from unique to Sweden. Though the figures vary from case to case, this process and the overall mentality of constantly trying to sweep things under the carpet and blame others is the international norm.

So when our politicians say that we must solve the climate crisis, we should all ask them which climate crisis they are referring to. Is it the crisis that contains all our emissions or the one that contains only a part of them? When politicians go a step further and accuse the climate movement of not offering any solutions to our problems, we should ask them what problems they are talking about. Is it the problem that is caused by all our emissions or just by the ones they didn’t manage to outsource or hide in the statistics? Because these are completely different issues.

If your objective as a politician is to act on the climate crisis, surely your first step would be to gather accurate emissions figures

It will take many things for us to start facing this emergency – but, above all, it will take honesty, integrity and courage. The longer we wait to start taking the action needed to stay in line with our international targets, the harder and more costly it will get to reach them. The inaction of today and yesterday must be compensated for in the time that lies ahead.

For us to have even a small chance of avoiding setting off irreversible chain reactions far beyond human control, we need drastic, immediate, far-reaching emission cuts at the source. When your bathtub is about to overflow, you don’t go looking for buckets or start covering the floor with

towels – you start by turning off the tap, as soon as you possibly can. Leaving the water running means ignoring or denying the problem, delaying doing anything to resolve it and downplaying its consequences.

Our politicians do not need to wait for anyone else in order to start taking action. Nor do they need conferences, treaties, international agreements or outside pressure. They could start right away. They also have – and have had for a long time – endless opportunities to speak up and send a clear message about the fact that we must fundamentally change our societies. And yet, with very few exceptions, they actively choose not to. This is a moral decision that will not only cost them dearly in the future, it will put the entire living planet at risk.

Sign up to Inside Saturday

Free weekly newsletter

The only way to get a look behind the scenes of our brand new magazine, Saturday. Sign up to get the inside story from our top writers as well as all the must-read articles and columns, delivered to your inbox every weekend.

Privacy Notice: Newsletters may contain info about charities, online ads, and content funded by outside parties. For more information see our [Privacy Policy](#). We use Google reCaptcha to protect our website and the Google [Privacy Policy](#) and [Terms of Service](#) apply.

According to the [United Nations' emissions gap](#) report, the world's planned fossil fuel production by the year 2030 will be more than twice the amount that would be consistent with keeping to the 1.5c target. This is science's way of telling us that we can no longer reach our targets without a system change. because meeting our targets would literally require tearing up contracts, valid deals and agreements on an unimaginable scale. This should, of course, be dominating every hour of our everyday news feed, every political discussion, every business meeting and every inch of our daily lives. But that is not what is happening.

The media and our political leaders have the opportunity to take drastic and immediate action, and still they choose not to. Perhaps it is because they are

still in denial. Maybe it is because they do not care. Maybe it is because they are unaware. Maybe it is because they are more scared of the solutions than of the problem itself. Maybe it is because they are afraid of causing social unrest. Maybe they are afraid of losing their popularity. Maybe they simply did not go into politics or journalism to uproot a system they believe in – a system they have spent their lives defending. Or maybe the reason for their inaction is a mixture of all these things.

We cannot live sustainably within today's economic system. Yet that is what we are constantly being told we can do. We can buy sustainable cars, travel on sustainable motorways, powered by sustainable petroleum. We can eat sustainable meat and drink sustainable soft drinks out of sustainable plastic bottles. We can buy sustainable fast fashion and fly on sustainable aeroplanes using sustainable fuels. And, of course, we are going to meet our short- and long-term sustainable climate targets, too, without making the slightest effort.

Our so-called leaders still think they can bargain with physics and negotiate with nature. They speak to flowers in the language of economics

“How?” you might ask. How can that be possible when we don't yet have any technical solutions that can fix this crisis alone, and the option of stopping doing things is unacceptable from our current economic standpoint? What are we going to do? Well, the answer is the same as always: we will cheat. We will use all those loopholes and all the creative accounting that we have conjured up in our climate frameworks since the very first [conference of the parties, the 1995 Cop1](#) in Berlin. We will outsource our emissions along with our factories, we will use baseline manipulation and start counting our emission reductions when it suits us best. We will burn trees, forests and biomass, as those have been excluded from the official statistics. We will lock decades of emissions into fossil gas infrastructure and call it green natural gas. And then we will offset the rest with vague afforestation projects – trees that might be lost to disease or fire – while we simultaneously cut down the last of our old-growth forests at a much higher speed.

Don't get me wrong. Planting the right trees in the right soil is a great thing to do. It eventually sequesters carbon dioxide from the atmosphere and we should do it wherever it is suitable for the soil and suitable for the people living there who care for that land. But afforestation should not be confused with offsetting or climate compensation, because that is something completely different. You see, the main problem is that we already have at least 40 years of carbon dioxide emissions to "compensate" for. It is all up there, in the atmosphere, and that is where it will stay, probably for many centuries to come. This historic CO₂ is what we should be focusing on when we are using our present – very limited – ways of removing CO₂ from the atmosphere, in various projects such as planting trees. But offsetting, as we have conceived it, is not meant to do that. It was never created for us to clean up our mess. Far too often it has been used as an excuse for us to continue emitting CO₂, maintain business as usual and meanwhile send a signal that we have a solution and therefore we do not have to change.

Words matter, and they are being used against us. These are lies. Dangerous lies that will cause further, disastrous delay. Predictions by the UN conclude that our CO₂ emissions are expected to rise by another 16% by 2030. The time we have left to avoid creating increasing climate catastrophes in many places around the world is rapidly running out.



Illustration: Nicolás Ortega/The Guardian

We are currently on track to have a world that is 3.2C hotter by the end of the century – and that’s if countries fulfil all the policies they have in place, policies that are often based on flawed and under-reported numbers. But in many cases they are nowhere near doing even that. We are “seemingly light years away from reaching our climate action targets”, to quote UN secretary general [António Guterres](#) in the autumn of 2021. And there is also the matter of our previous track record of failure when it comes to delivering on all those non-binding pledges and promises. Let’s just say it is not so impressive or convincing.

Even if we carried out all of our climate action plans, we’d still be in trouble. *Net zero by 2050* is simply too little, too late. There is just too much at stake for us to place our destiny in the hands of [undeveloped technologies](#). We need real zero. And we need honesty. At the very least, we need our leaders to start including all our actual emissions in our targets, statistics and policies. Before they do that, any mention of vague, future goals is nothing but a distracting waste of time. They say that we should not let the perfect be the enemy of the good. But what exactly do we do when the “good” not only fails to keep us safe but is also so far away from what is needed that it can only be described as comedy material. Very dark comedy, but still.

They say we must be able to compromise. As if the Paris agreement were not already the world’s biggest compromise. A compromise that has already locked in unimaginable amounts of suffering for the most affected people and areas. I say: “No more.” I say: “Stand your ground.” Our so-called leaders still think they can bargain with physics and negotiate with the laws of nature. They speak to flowers and forests in the language of US dollars and short-term economics. They hold up their quarterly income reports to impress the wild animals. They read stock-market analysis to the waves of the ocean, like fools.

[We are approaching a precipice](#). And I would strongly suggest that those of us who have not yet been greenwashed out of our senses stand our ground. Do not let them drag us another inch closer to the edge. Not one inch. Right here, right now, is where we draw the line.

This is an edited extract from The Climate Book created by Greta Thunberg and published on 27 October by Allen Lane (£25). To support the Guardian and Observer, buy your copy from guardianbookshop.com. Delivery charges may apply

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2022/oct/08/greta-thunberg-climate-delusion-greenwashed-out-of-our-senses>

| [Section menu](#) | [Main menu](#) |

Advertisement

US edition

- [US edition](#)
- [UK edition](#)
- [Australia edition](#)
- [International edition](#)

[The Guardian - Back to home](#)[The Guardian: news website of the year](#)

[Environment](#)

‘Stop setting things on fire’: nine great ideas to save the planet



‘The status quo simply isn’t working.’ Photograph: Getty Images

Writers and activists including Thomas Piketty, Naomi Klein and Bill McKibben suggest positive steps we can take now

Read [Greta Thunberg on why we need to act now](#)

Sat 8 Oct 2022 04.00 EDTLast modified on Sat 8 Oct 2022 13.34 EDT

‘Take the money out of politics’

[Naomi Klein](#), *author*



Photograph: Adrienne Grunwald/The Guardian

There is no one thing that would stop the planet’s warming – but what would make all kinds of other things possible is reining in the power of transnational capital over our governments. It is the power to financially reward (and punish) lawmakers, in various ways, that is the single biggest barrier to progress. We need to ban corporate campaign donations, direct and indirect, and we need to stop the revolving door between corporate lobbyists and lawmakers from spinning so a cushy job in the sector you are regulating isn’t an enticement to adopt pro-pollution policies.

‘Put out the sparks in cars and boats and buses’

[Bill McKibben](#), *environmentalist*



Photograph: Graeme Robertson/The Guardian

It's now possible – and necessary – for human beings to end their 200,000-year-old habit of combustion. Flames served us well in prehistoric times, and made some of us rich during the Industrial Revolution. But now we need to stop setting things on fire, and rely instead on the fact that the good Lord put a large ball of burning gas 93m miles up in the sky, which we now have the wit to make full use of. Keep firing up joints and barbecues, but put out the sparks in kitchens, in furnaces, in powerplants, in the engines of cars and boats and buses. And do it fast.

‘Make healthcare green’

[Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus](#), *director general of the World Health Organization*



Photograph: Rex/Shutterstock

The health sector deals with many of the consequences of climate change. At the same time, it is responsible for about 5% of carbon emissions, making it a significant contributor to climate change, while hundreds of millions of people are still served by hospitals and clinics without electricity. After Cop26 last year, 60 countries committed to making their health systems more climate resilient, and to lowering carbon emissions from healthcare. The WHO is calling on every country to make the same commitment, and to provide clean and reliable electricity to every health facility.

‘Shift to reusables’

Nina Schrank, senior campaigner, [Greenpeace](#) UK



Photograph: Will Rose/Greenpeace

In our throwaway society, it feels as if we're facing an avalanche of disposable plastic. One simple idea holds the key to turning this around: reuse. The practice was embedded for generations in so many cultures across the globe, yet the corporate world has made us forget those traditions and the value we place in objects that have taken natural resources and energy to produce. We need to shift to reusable packaging that stays in circulation – used, washed, reused and, crucially, out of the environment. The status quo simply isn't working: we need to embrace the innovations that will allow reuse to flourish in the modern world.

'Tax the wealthy properly'

[Thomas Piketty](#) (pictured) and [Lucas Chancel](#), economists



Photograph: AFP/Getty Images

To combat climate change we must massively invest to decarbonise our transport, energy and production systems: we need billions of euros for that, representing 2% of global GDP every year. The wealthy should pay their fair share of taxes to finance such efforts. This is all the more legitimate when we know that the wealthy contribute a disproportionate share to climate change. At the global level, 10% of the population contributes to about [half of all emissions](#) and there are also large pollution inequalities within each country.

‘Empower poor nations’

Sunita Narain, environmentalist



Photograph: AFP/Getty Images

We can save the planet if we can save our common humanity. We have to move from being a divisive, deeply hateful and unequal society to one that truly understands the interdependence that our common future needs. We have for too long neutered the politics of inclusion and equality because we believed that environmentalism was about finding the next disruptive technology. This will not work. We need nimby – not in my back yard – not for the rich but for the very poor, so that they can say no to the next polluting project; so that communities and developing nations in the world can say no to the over-consumption that is driving our fossil fuel addiction. We need climate justice to be at the core of climate action.

‘Clean up public life’

[Mike Berners-Lee](#), *author*



Photograph: Alamy

While the science and technology for saving the planet is challenging, it is not the bottleneck. But to deal with these complex systemic challenges requires high-quality, clear decision making. At the moment, that process is largely disabled by hidden agendas, dishonesty and greed. So my planet-saving idea is to cultivate and insist on much higher standards of honesty and compassion among our political and business decision-makers. Without it, nothing will work.

‘Rewild the planet’

Rebecca Wrigley, chief executive of Rewilding Britain, and [George Monbiot](#), author



Rewilding – the mass restoration of life on Earth – can mend not only our living systems but also our relationship with them. By allowing forests, wetlands, savannahs, reefs and other depleted ecosystems to return and regenerate, rewilding could simultaneously help stop the sixth great extinction and draw down much of the carbon we have released into the atmosphere. This positive environmentalism could be our best defence against despair.

‘Give power back to the people’

Jacqueline Patterson, founder and executive director of the Chisholm Legacy Project



The US is one of the biggest polluters in the world. It also has a major influence on climate negotiations, which, up until now, has been obstructive, with corporate interests serving as puppet masters. A major shift in our global political and economic situation would be to de-link the outsized influence that corporations have over US legislatures, courts, regulatory systems, and therefore the amount of greenhouse gases the US emits domestically, as well as its influence over global negotiations and commitments from other nations. In sum, to achieve climate justice, we must ensure that power rests in the hands of the people.

These nine writers are featured in The Climate Book created by Greta Thunberg is published on 27 October by Allen Lane (£25). To support the Guardian and Observer, buy your copy from guardianbookshop.com. Delivery charges may apply

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2022/oct/08/nine-great-ideas-save-planet-thomas-piketty-naomi-klein-bill-mckibben>

2022.10.08 - Opinion

- Putin's war is illegal – and Russians fleeing the draft may have the right to asylum
- His white lives matter shirt and Tucker Carlson appearance prove it: Kanye West doesn't want a way back
- Liz Truss has found her feet – as a leading UK conspiracist and No 10 whiner-in-chief
- Confessions of a serial chess cheat: I'm quite enjoying the Carlsen v Niemann fallout

[OpinionUkraine](#)

Putin's war is illegal – and Russians fleeing the draft may have the right to asylum

[Nicole Stybnarova](#)

The 1951 refugee convention should be upheld by Russia's neighbours as people refusing to fight in Ukraine seek safety



Cars queuing at the border crossing at Verkhny Lars between Russia and Georgia on 29 September 2022. Photograph: AP

Sat 8 Oct 2022 05.00 EDTLast modified on Sat 8 Oct 2022 23.20 EDT

Russian software architect “AA” was one of [17,000 people](#) who fled Russia for Finland last weekend. This was before Finland closed its border with Russia, which was the last direct route from Russia to the European Union. AA told Finnish journalists that Russia was establishing “call-up centres or contact points” on the other side of the border, preventing people from

leaving and funnelling them into the armed forces. Apparently, no authority on either side of the borders between Russia and the EU is now interested in the fate of ordinary Russians who refuse to fight in the criminal invasion of Ukraine.

Other EU countries bordering Russia have also recently closed their eastern borders and suspended Russian tourist visas. Certain countries have explicitly said that they will not recognise Russians fleeing conscription as refugees, with Estonian foreign minister Urmas Reinsalu [telling Reuters](#) in September: “A refusal to fulfil one’s civic duty in Russia or a desire to do so does not constitute sufficient grounds for being granted asylum in another country”.

From the perspective of international refugee law, this statement does not really fly. While each state does have its own [laws on asylum](#), which specify who can be afforded refugee status, all these states are parties to the [1951 refugee convention](#), and so have committed to adhere to its definition of a refugee. For those fleeing a military draft for a war that is considered unlawful under [international law](#), two conditions are key: first, a person must have a well-founded fear of being persecuted, and second, this feared persecution would take place because of the person’s political objection to the war (or other grounds listed in the convention). “Persecution” is established if the individual is at risk of threat to life or freedom.

Since [evading the current military draft in Russia](#) can lead to prosecution and up to 10 years’ imprisonment and other types of persecution, the first condition does apply to many people fleeing Russia to avoid conscription. Since lots of [people are evading the draft](#) because they do not support the illegal war in Ukraine, this potential persecution is linked to their political objection, meaning they fulfil the second condition too. While political indifference to the war or a mere interest in self-preservation would not protect people under the convention, these genuine political or conscientious justifications would. Therefore, any wholesale attempt to rule out the refugeehood of those fleeing Russian conscription is likely to violate the refugee convention (and EU law).

This is the legal side of the story. But sweeping statements made recently by leaders are not primarily concerned with strict legal conformity. History is full of examples of blanket improvised redefinitions of “refugees” based on prevailing governmental preferences within international politics. For example, people who have revolted against imperial rule in colonies have been continually labelled as “deportees” rather than refugees.

The current arguments against fleeing Russians in the Baltic states are partly centred around security concerns, and partly fuelled by the notion that Russians bear some collective responsibility for sustaining Putin’s regime. Therefore, we expect Russians to stay and resist the authoritarian regime, even though we do not ask refugees from North Korea or Iraq why they did not become dissidents. Intellectually, refugee law centres the notion of fear of persecution, and so does not expect people to revolt against their government before leaving for a safe country. The Baltic states, hoping that Russians would boycott the draft rather than flee it, seem to forget that many communist regimes before the fall of the Soviet Union were sustained by longstanding silent tolerance by the majority, however unpleasant and suffocating this could be. People were scared, and communication between themselves and with the west was inhibited.

Each oppressive regime collapses in its own time. But citizens of authoritarian regimes need to know they can rely on external support to build a resistance. How can Russians believe in such support? For decades, Czechoslovakian people (failed by western superpowers at the outset of the second world war) felt that they could not rely on international support for their revolution. Instead, establishing dissident structures abroad – journalists and political activists translating western news and facilitating access to foreign information – was key to galvanising resistance. Although many people in the west today hope that a homegrown resistance in Russia will solve the current crisis, ordinary Russians can hardly be blamed for not curbing the Russian war. People in authoritarian regimes are usually unlikely to choose a moment of extraordinary militarisation as a convenient time for civil disobedience.

The choice not to recognise Russians as refugees is a political one, and may not comply with international law. Accordingly, many western European governments continue to accept Russian applications for refuge. The

implemented national bans on visas are, however, effectively limiting the number of asylum applications, and therefore the number of potential appeals to courts. The extraordinary moral demands imposed on Russians by certain politicians are largely informed by how the Russian regime is perceived – as an equal contender to western power, unlike other authoritarian regimes around the world.

The argument that Russians are responsible for resisting the draft at home lies behind neighbouring governments' proclamations about the ineligibility of Russians to become refugees. These are informed by political and security reasoning. By legitimising the potential blanket exclusion of Russian refugee applications and demeaning ordinary Russians who refuse to join a criminal invasion, these governments shift focus from the real causes of the war.

- Nicole Stybnařova is a lecturer in public international law and refugee law at the Refugee Studies Centre at the University of Oxford
- ***Do you have an opinion on the issues raised in this article? If you would like to submit a letter of up to 250 words to be considered for publication, email it to us at observer.letters@observer.co.uk***

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/oct/08/vladimir-putin-war-russia-draft-asylum-refugee-ukraine>

[Opinion](#)[Kanye West](#)

His white lives matter shirt and Tucker Carlson appearance prove it: Kanye West doesn't want a way back

[Andrew Lawrence](#)

The musician's latest controversies remind us who he's been this whole time: a guy who will do anything to be relevant



Kanye West at Paris fashion week in January. Photograph: Pascal Le Segretain/Getty Images

Sat 8 Oct 2022 01.00 EDTLast modified on Sat 8 Oct 2022 09.28 EDT

Tucker Carlson went to great lengths to remix [Kanye West](#) for his large conservative audience on Thursday night, calling him “an artist”, describing his erratic tweetstorms as “freeform social media posts”, and introducing him as a “Christian evangelist”. If you hadn't been watching Fox News for

the past 20 years, you'd never suspect this was the same network and time slot on which Bill O'Reilly once dismissed West as "the dopey little rapper".

But the network's view on West, who now goes by Ye, has shifted markedly in the six years since the rapper-fashionista has made a hard right turn towards conservative libertarianism. Carlson was warming his viewers up to West as a lead-in to an exclusive, two-part one-on-one interview, shot at West's Yeezy fashion brand headquarters in Los Angeles.

For the better part of an hour, West was unsmiling and long-winded; among many other things, he likened his choice to debut a "white lives matter shirt" at Paris fashion week to Tonya Harding attempting a triple axel ("It's using a gut instinct"), attributed the fashion-industry backlash against the shirt to a campaign orchestrated by Anna Wintour ("All her dolls had something to say"), and compared Donald Trump to Ralph Lauren ("He has his own buildings. He made Ivanka"). In Friday night's part two, West took umbrage at public speculation over his mental health ("That hurts my feelings") while also suggesting the Gap knew about the Uvalde shootings before they happened ("Have I reached Alex Jones territory yet?").



West performs at the 2005 MTV Video Music Awards. Photograph: Mike Blake/Reuters

And as he unspooled these dark, twisted fallacies with a lanyard showing an ultrasound draped around his neck, a visibly perplexed Carlson nonetheless nodded and smiled along while taking great pains to assure his viewers that the man he was humoring was definitely worth listening to. “You can judge for yourself,” Carlson said to the camera.

The tete-a-tete reminded me of another watershed moment in West’s career. In 2002, Dame Dash, head of the Roc-A-Fella label, bestowed his gold chain on West during a 2002 concert. It was the moment West – a knapsack-toting, retainer-wearing geek whom many struggled to take seriously as a beat maker – was officially recognized for his burgeoning talent as a rapper. And, verily, a superstar was born.

West had only been invited on [Fox News](#) because of his controversial show at Paris fashion week. West turned up to the “secret” runway presentation for his ninth Yeezy collection in a long-sleeve T-shirt; printed on the back were the words “white lives matter” – which the Anti-Defamation considers a hate slogan, used by the KKK, the Aryan Renaissance Society and other white supremacist groups.

This tone-deaf fashion statement was amplified by the supermodel Naomi Campbell, the odious rightwing pundit Candace Owens and Selah Marley – granddaughter of Bob Marley and daughter of R&B freedom fighter Lauryn Hill. “You can’t manage me,” West began, per the New York Post’s Page Six. “This is an unmanageable situation.”

Tastemakers recoiled in horror. Jaden Smith walked out of the show. Vogue’s global fashion editor Gabriella Karefa-Johnson denounced the shirts as “pure violence” and West as “dangerous”. The rapper Yasiin Bey, a onetime West collaborator and early believer in his music talent, posted a photo of himself on Instagram wearing a similar shirt, but with the “v” in lives faded out to read “White *Lies* Matter.”

Diddy split the baby in half, branding West a free thinker before warning: “Don’t wear the shirt. Don’t buy the shirt.” But Marley stood by her choice to model West’s T-shirt. “Witnessing someone break free from ‘the agenda’ sends you all into such a panic that you will do whatever it takes to force

them back into the box that you feel they should exist in,” she wrote in an Instagram story.

As West’s star rose, he’d quickly outgrow the Roc-A-Fella label, then hip-hop, then pop music, then the fashion industry

As the shirt remains the talk of fashion week, West revels in the attention. Asked by Carlson why he decided on that message, West said it was “obvious”.

It’s become cliché to point to the 2007 death of his mother, Donda, as the moment West unraveled, reasoning that’s reinforced in the Netflix docu-trilogy *Jeen-yuhs*. In one scene she giddily recalls his schoolyard rhymes and marvels at his golden angel necklace – a new-money splurge. “You need an angel to watch over you,” she quips, adding that he had the rest of his life to use money wisely. Without her unwavering belief, goes the legend, Kanye never becomes the cultural iconoclast he is today.

But in the interview with Carlson, West scorned his mother, a former professor, as a “liberal actress” who ripped him from his conservative-leaning father, Ray West, an ex-Black Panther, laying the foundation for a strained relationship. Since his mother’s death, West said, he and his father had grown closer – to the point of laughing off the noise around the T-shirts; that his father approved of them too seemed an unmistakable point of pride.

To call West’s turnabout dramatic would be putting it mildly. A music industry underdog who beat the odds, West was a staunchly pro-Black pop star who sampled soul music and celebrated Black beauty. He threw his support behind Black causes, launching a foundation to combat dropout and illiteracy rates in Chicago and supporting Barack Obama’s presidential re-election campaign. He declared during a Hurricane Katrina telethon: “George Bush doesn’t care about Black people.”

But as West’s star rose, he’d quickly outgrow the Roc-A-Fella label, then hip-hop, then pop music, then the fashion industry. As he struggled for a new sense of belonging, his values took a backseat to his net worth. In 2016,

he revealed he had \$53m “in personal debt” and called on Mark Zuckerberg and other billionaire friends to bail him out. “I just feel rich people are always too cool to ask for help trying to impress each other at dinner parties,” he tweeted, adding that he wanted “to help the world” and needed “help to do it”.



West at the White House in 2018. Photograph: Kevin Lamarque/Reuters

It was around then that West’s closest confidants (the ghostwriter Rhymefest, the rapper Talib Kweli) began coming forward with stories about how they really couldn’t reach the guy any more. Soon, West was turning up in the lobby of Trump Tower to endorse the Donald’s presidential run. West topping it off with the Maga hat was the coup de grace.

On Thursday, West remained admiring of Trump but he criticized Jared Kushner for what he believes was his heavy-handed management of the former president. He also took aim at Jared’s brother Josh for helping himself to an outsized stake in the Skims fashion brand West co-founded with Kim Kardashian. That’s when West wasn’t scolding his ex-wife for her hypersexual public presentation and for being closely allied with the Clinton family.

Still: even as he embraced Trump and Owens, West pledged \$2m toward the legal fees of George Floyd, Ahmaud Arbery and Breonna Taylor and set up a college fund for Floyd's daughter. Even as West said slavery "sounded like a choice" or announced a presidential run under "the Birthday party", he hosted pop-up gospel music concerts. Even as he attempted to reappropriate the Confederate flag on jackets and tote bags, there was always this sense that someday West would cast aside his theatrical shrouds and reunite with reconnect with his good sense.

After his stunt in Paris, it's clear the old Kanye is gone for good

But after his stunt in Paris, it's clear the old Kanye is gone for good. By doubling down on the politics of false equivalency, West reminds us of who he's been this whole time: a guy who will say and do anything to be relevant – whether that's playing gospel music to hawk haute couture, or repurposing his hard-won cultural clout into a tool for white supremacy.

Worse, he's too lacking in self-awareness to appreciate how often he undermines himself. In the interview with Carlson, he made a whole thing of how 50% of Black deaths in New York City are the result of abortion – a (not true) statement that shows how, despite his T-shirts, West wants to privilege Black lives in the moments it suits his rightwing, anti-abortion agenda. Even the idea that the shirts could be some Trojan horse gambit to siphon money toward the *real* justice movement died on Thursday night.

It's high time we accept West's rants aren't some byproduct of outside forces, internal demons or family-guy evolution. They're about prioritizing contrarianism and the ability to say something controversial over the literal meaning of whatever that thing might be, regardless of the potential consequences. And while the pivot toward arch-conservatism has undoubtedly paid off for West (who went from being \$53m in the hole to a multibillionaire), the true value for him is being accepted again.

The interview with Carlson didn't just mark West's official entry into the mainstream conservative club. It made him a VIP.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/music/commentisfree/2022/oct/07/kanye-west-white-lives-matter-tucker-carlson>

| [Section menu](#) | [Main menu](#) |

[Opinion](#)Conservatives

Liz Truss has found her feet – as a leading UK conspiracist and No 10 whiner-in-chief

[Marina Hyde](#)



Who can blame the prime minister for grumbling? Her party has only had 12 years to set Britain right



‘Liz Truss is like that relative who no longer trusts what the government says about anything, and prefers to ‘do her own research’.’ Photograph: Kirsty Wigglesworth/AP

Fri 7 Oct 2022 07.08 EDTLast modified on Fri 7 Oct 2022 10.04 EDT

The rapturous standing ovation at the end of Liz Truss’s conference speech looked straight out of a future Netflix documentary from the cults strand. Outside the sect’s meeting hall, the party is polling an [average of 25](#) (TWENTY-FIVE) points behind Labour. Inside, the people were clapping like they’d just heard a really charismatic argument about why it’s important to marry teenage girls, shun dissenting family members, and build gun turrets round their compound.

Truss’s government is now too weak to implement its maddest plans and too ideological to implement its most sensible. Last night it emerged that the government [has blocked](#) a public information campaign to help people save money on energy – and, by extension, to conserve usage in the face of suggestions that rolling blackouts could be in the post for this winter.

Apparently Truss regarded it as too nannyish, despite it having been drawn up by her own business secretary, Jacob Rees-Mogg (a 53-year-old who admittedly still *has* a nanny). One cabinet minister reportedly said “the

public is smarter than you think”. Unfortunately, [Liz Truss](#) isn’t. If we do reach the blackout scenario, the failure to plan or use foresight will be blamed on Vladimir Putin.

The Conservatives have been in power for 12 years. In dog years, that’s 304 (and arguably feels longer) – yet you’ll have noticed how every single thing is still someone else’s fault. The government is obsessed with people having to take responsibility for their own lives, but takes none for its own mistakes. Truss, Kwasi Kwarteng and the other authors of [Britannia Unchained](#) deplore the feckless, the useless and the undeserving.

Yet throwing that absolute hot mess of a party conference this week while the country is sliding deeper into its various interlocking crises is surely the last word in fecklessness, uselessness and being undeserving. The salaries of every single person involved in what we saw in Birmingham should be withheld, like a benefit, until they’re at least housebroken. How do you return to functional government after that? It’s like the end of [Deliverance](#), except instead of the characters giving each other haunted looks and saying “I don’t think I’ll see you for a while”, they’ve had to say: “Let’s ... run a country in crisis together?”

You’ll have seen a lot of in-group analysis of Truss’s speech and its esoteric meanings, but what most normal people would have seen if a random clip drifted their way was the PM whining her little heart out. For someone who has always been gratingly keen for everyone to see her as a ray of sunshine, Truss is starting to present as a real Negative Nigel. Honestly, Liz, just stop moaning! Get on your bike and be the prime minister. If all you can do is complain about stuff, then resign and find more appropriate employment – eg hygiene inspector or newspaper columnist.

The other thing anyone normal will have clocked is that we’ve entered the realms of pure gibberish, where pies can be grown and a bunch of witless catchphrases are a placeholder for effective ideas. There’s a problem when the only time you see people using your big catchphrase is when they’re making a joke and it’s fitted with sarcastic air quotes. John Major had this with “back to basics”, which was at least a simple phrase. Expect the clunkfest that is “anti-growth coalition” to go the same way.

Anyway: the anti-growth coalition. This is a shadowy group bent on scuppering our heroine. It includes, but is not limited to: TV pundits, Extinction Rebellion, markets, unions, possibly [Jamie Oliver](#), all other political parties, thinktanks, people who voted remain, podcasters, Twitter users, people who “taxi from north London townhouses to the BBC studio”... the list goes on and on. Liz Truss appears to hate more elements of Britain than the hard left. Worryingly, this was the most popular bit of her speech in the hall.

It’s all very well for politicians to find elegant ways of defining themselves against things in the interests of showing voters who they are. But imagine standing on stage and barking out an actual list of your enemies. It’s a bit [Ernst Röhm](#), isn’t it? And that’s before you get to the eye-catching inclusion of the descriptor “north London”. Does [this phrase, interpreted as a dog whistle in the past](#), no longer mean what it has been seen to before – or are Truss’s speechwriters so devoid of historical and cultural hinterland that they don’t even know what they’ve picked up off the floor and put in her mouth?

In the meantime, you can tell how desperate the gambit is from the fact that Iain Duncan Smith decided it gave the Tories something to unite against. Great to hear advice from him on how to win over the British public. Were [Holly and Phil](#) not available?

Yet the anti-growth coalition is the government’s favourite new conspiracy theory, the mindblowing catch-all cabal which somehow explains it all. Redpilled prime minister Liz Truss is like that relative who no longer trusts what the government says about anything, and prefers to “do her own research”. The trouble is – and I’m sorry if this is one of the many things she doesn’t like to hear – TRUSS IS THE ACTUAL GOVERNMENT. Creating some mad conspiracy to explain your shortcomings really is the last refuge of the loon. On this form, Liz is very close to claiming that paedophiles are using BBC taxis to transport children to remoaner pound-shorters. Watch out for signs of radicalisation, then – we’ve officially entered the era of L-Anon.

- Marina Hyde is a Guardian columnist

What Just Happened?! by Marina Hyde is published by Guardian Faber (£18.99). To support the Guardian and Observer, order your copy at guardianbookshop.com. Delivery charges may apply

- *Do you have an opinion on the issues raised in this article? If you would like to submit a letter of up to 300 words to be considered for publication, email it to us at guardian.letters@theguardian.com*

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/oct/07/liz-truss-no-10-prime-minister-britain>

| [Section menu](#) | [Main menu](#) |

OpinionChess

Confessions of a serial chess cheat: I'm quite enjoying the Carlsen v Niemann fallout

[Stephen Moss](#)



After 40 years out of the spotlight, the game is hot gossip again, thanks to a major beef between two grandmasters



Magnus Carlsen, left, playing Hans Niemann in the Sinquefeld Cup on 4 September. Photograph: Crystal Fuller/Saint Louis Chess Club

Sat 8 Oct 2022 03.00 EDT Last modified on Sat 8 Oct 2022 05.53 EDT

I have a shocking admission to make. I am a chess cheat. Or at least world champion [Magnus Carlsen](#) would brand me a chess cheat. Occasionally, in online games where I have been testing out particular openings, I have used a chess engine (a dedicated computer program) to look for the best moves to try to get an understanding of positions.

Strictly speaking, that is cheating and if the chess platforms on which I play found out, I would be banned. But they never have, because after the first 15 or so moves I abandon the engine and just play on my wits, usually making the litany of blunders for which my chess is noted. Any suspicions anti-cheating systems have about my perfect play up to move 15 are allayed by my decidedly imperfect play over the next 30 or 40. I am a cheat who has got away with it.

The 19-year-old American grandmaster Hans Niemann has not been so fortunate. The world's biggest chess platform [chess.com](#), which recently [bought Carlsen's Play Magnus company](#), has exposed Niemann as an online cheat – it reckons he cheated in [more than 100 games](#).

Niemann has admitted to cheating in online games as a 12- and 16-year-old. Mostly he says they were “random” games, but money was at stake in some. He had to pay rent and was also keen to win by any means to boost his chess profile and draw people to his internet stream, [which he was seeking to monetise](#). It is all very unedifying, and the world chess governing body, Fide, has [convened an inquiry](#).

There had clearly been gossip in elite chess circles about Niemann’s behaviour because when [Carlsen lost to Niemann](#) in an over-the-board tournament last month the world champion immediately withdrew, dropping dark hints that Niemann had been getting computer assistance. Carlsen [shared a short clip](#) in which football coach José Mourinho says: “If I speak I’m in big trouble.” His supporters were only too eager to join the dots and accused Niemann of using artificial assistance. Elon Musk, with zero evidence, repeated speculative claims that Niemann might be [employing vibrating anal beads](#) to alert him to moves. Niemann countered by offering to play naked.

The plot thickened late last month when Carlsen and Niemann played again, this time in an online tournament, and Carlsen [resigned after just one move](#). A few days later, the world champion went public [with his suspicions](#). He said Niemann’s demeanour at the board during their previous encounter had been strange, that he had barely been concentrating, and also drew attention to the “unusual” trajectory of Niemann’s career: he was good but no world-beater in his early teens, an age when most top players are already grandmasters, but has enjoyed a meteoric rise over the past two years.

None of Carlsen’s claims, however, would stand up in court. Lots of players behave oddly at the board and don’t appear to be concentrating: the strongest player at my club has been trying to teach the rest of us to look away from the board while playing – stare at the ceiling instead, he suggests, and try to visualise all the possible moves instead, as [Beth Harmon does in The Queen’s Gambit](#). As for the trajectory of Niemann’s career, well maybe he’s just a late developer.

The onus is on Carlsen to produce proof that Niemann is an over-the-board cheat, and he needs to do it soon, because the young American is suffering what former world title contender Nigel Short has called “[death by](#)

[innuendo](#)". How can Niemann, who is currently competing in the [US championship](#), be expected to play well when he is subjected to this kind of pressure?

It may be that I am hopelessly naive, but for the moment I am siding with Niemann. Carlsen, [whom I once played](#) in a blitz (very short) game that I lost in embarrassing fashion, would perhaps say that cheats stick together. But Niemann was young, [rebellious](#), and says he was living alone and needed money when he cheated online. "This is the single biggest mistake of my life, and [I am completely ashamed](#)," he says now.

I am willing to take him at his word and accept he has learned his lesson. Cheating over the board in elite events is almost impossible. Cheating does occur in big tournaments – even grandmasters have been exposed – but it would be incredibly difficult in the rarefied events in which Carlsen and Niemann play. Fields are small and anti-cheating protocols virtually watertight. Even if you got away with it once, you would eventually get found out. Over time, it will become clear how good a player Niemann is and whether the win against Carlsen was a one-off.

The bigger picture for chess is an odd one: it may have hit the headlines for all the wrong reasons, but for a sport that has spent the past 40 years in the doldrums the sudden attention is energising. The tousle-haired Niemann is on his way to becoming a global superstar, and chess, we were told in the Guardian this week, is [hip and happening](#). The Guardian reporter even said there were now "chess groupies", though none has yet made an appearance at Kingston or Surbiton, where I play alongside other ageing aficionados of the 64 squares.

Chess is a beautiful game, but for the most part it has not been played by beautiful people. That could, it seems, be about to change, and how bizarre that a cheating scandal may be one factor in bringing it back into the cultural mainstream. The odd couple of Carlsen and Niemann, with a bit of help from Beth Harmon, have made chess fashionable again, and pot-bellied soddos like me, lurking in draughty church halls and the sticky-floored upstairs rooms of pubs, can once more speak openly of our obsession with the [Nimzo-Larsen](#) and the [Göring Gambit](#). Paradoxically, despite the occasional use of dodgy devices, we are respectable again.

- Stephen Moss is author of [The Rookie: An Odyssey through Chess \(and Life\)](#)
 - *Do you have an opinion on the issues raised in this article? If you would like to submit a letter of up to 250 words to be considered for publication, email it to us at observer.letters@observer.co.uk*
-

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/oct/08/chess-cheat-magnus-carlsen-hans-niemann>

2022.10.08 - Around the world

- [Donald Trump Ex-president seeks to withhold two folders seized at Mar-a-Lago](#)
- [Lindsey Graham Trump ally said US Capitol rioters should be shot in head, book claims](#)
- [Arizona Phoenix could see deadliest year for heat deaths after sweltering summer](#)
- [Haiti Government prepares to ask for 'specialized armed force' from abroad](#)

[Donald Trump](#)

Donald Trump seeks to withhold two folders seized at Mar-a-Lago

The former US president is trying to exclude a specific set of seized documents from an inquiry into his handling of government records



Former US president Donald Trump asked the supreme court on 4 October 2022 to intervene in the legal tussle over classified documents seized in the FBI raid of his Florida home. Photograph: Ed Jones/AFP/Getty Images

[Hugo Lowell](#) in Washington

Fri 7 Oct 2022 14.57 EDTLast modified on Sat 8 Oct 2022 13.16 EDT

Donald Trump is seeking to withhold from the justice department two folders marked as containing correspondence with the National Archives and signing sheets that the FBI seized from his Mar-a-Lago resort, according to court filings in the special master review of the confiscated documents.

The former US president's privilege assertions over the folders, which appear to have direct relevance to the [criminal investigation](#) into whether he retained national defense information and obstructed justice, are significant as they represent an effort to exclude the items from the inquiry and keep them confidential.

Most notably, [Trump](#) asserted privilege over the contents of one red folder marked as containing "NARA letters and other copies" and a second, manilla folder marked as containing "NARA letters one top sheet + 3 signing sheets", a review of the court filings indicated.

The former president also asserted privilege over 35 pages of documents titled "The President's Calls" that included the presidential seal in the upper left corner and contained handwritten names, numbers, notes about messages and four blank pages of miscellaneous notes, the filings showed.

Other things Trump is seeking to withhold include a 2017 letter concerning former special counsel Robert Mueller, emails about election fraud lawsuits in Fulton County, Georgia, and deliberations about clemency to a certain "MB", Ted Suhl and former Illinois governor Rod Blagojevich.

A person close to the legal team referred questions about whether Trump was claiming attorney-client or executive privilege over the folders with the National Archives letters to a spokesman. The spokesman could not immediately be reached for comment.

The documents the former president is attempting to withhold from the criminal investigation by asserting some sort of privilege – it was not clear whether he asserted executive or attorney-client privilege over the two folders, for instance – became clear after a Friday ruling by the special master.

In [the three-page order](#), US district court judge Raymond Dearie – appointed as the special master with a mandate to screen the seized materials for potential privilege issues – made public the unique identifier numbers for documents for which Trump is not claiming privilege.

Ordinarily, the exact nature of the documents being claimed as protected would remain private. But an apparent docketing error by the court earlier in the week revealed the seized materials that the justice department’s “filter team” identified as potentially privileged.

By comparing the unique identifier numbers for which Trump was not claiming privilege with the inadvertently unsealed list of potentially privileged documents, the Guardian was able to identify which documents the former president was seeking to withhold from the department.

The [special master](#) directed that the “filter team” should transfer the documents not deemed to be privileged by Trump to the “case team” conducting the criminal investigation before 10 October, the ruling showed.

Once the documents are transferred, the special master wrote, Trump’s lawyers and the department should confer and attempt to resolve any disputes about executive privilege over the remaining records before 20 October – and then submit any outstanding issues to him to decide.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2022/oct/07/trump-exclude-documents-inquiry-mar-a-lago-fbi-special-master>

[Books](#)

Trump ally Lindsey Graham told ex-cop Capitol rioters should be shot in head

Michael Fanone recounts meeting with South Carolina Republican senator in book to be published next week

Capitol riot police officer: 'I was at risk of being killed with my own firearm' – video

[Martin Pengelly](#) in New York

[@MartinPengelly](#)

Sat 8 Oct 2022 01.00 EDT Last modified on Sat 8 Oct 2022 08.46 EDT

Republican senator and Trump ally Lindsey Graham told a police officer badly beaten during the Capitol attack that law enforcement should have shot rioting Trump supporters in the head, according to a new book.

“You guys should have shot them all in the head,” the now ex-cop, Michael Fanone, says the South Carolina Republican told him at a meeting in May 2021, four months after the deadly attack on Congress.

“We gave you guys guns, and you should have used them. I don’t understand why that didn’t happen.”

On January 6, Fanone was a Metropolitan police officer who came to the aid of Capitol police as Trump supporters attacked. He was severely beaten, suffering a heart attack and a traumatic brain injury.

He has since resigned from the police, testified to the House January 6 committee and become a CNN analyst. His book, [Hold the Line](#), will be published next week.

Politico [reported](#) the remarks Fanone says were made by Graham. The site also said Fanone secretly recorded other prominent Republicans, among them Kevin McCarthy, the House minority leader and possibly the next speaker, who has also stayed close to Trump.

Politico said Fanone told McCarthy efforts to minimize the Capitol insurrection were “not just shocking but disgraceful”. McCarthy reportedly offered no response.

Last week, Rolling Stone published [an extraordinarily frank interview](#) in which Fanone, a self-described lifelong Republican, [called McCarthy](#) a “fucking weasel bitch”. McCarthy did not comment.

[According](#) to Politico, Fanone told Graham he “appreciated the enthusiasm” the senator showed for shooting rioters “but noted the officers had rules governing the use of deadly force”.

Fanone says the meeting with Graham was also attended by Harry Dunn, a Capitol police officer who has also [testified in Congress](#), and Gladys Sicknick and Sandra Garza, the mother and partner of Brian Sicknick, an officer who [died](#) after the riot.

Fanone [says](#) Graham snapped at Gladys Sicknick, telling the bereaved mother he would “end the meeting right now” if she said more negative things about Trump.

Nine deaths, including officer suicides, have been [linked to the Capitol attack](#). The riot erupted after Trump told supporters to “fight like hell” to overturn his defeat by Joe Biden, which he maintains without evidence was the result of electoral fraud. Rudy Giuliani, Trump’s attorney, urged Trump’s supporters to stage “trial by combat”.

Testimony to the House January 6 committee [has shown](#) Trump knew elements of the crowd were armed but told them to march on the Capitol and tried to go with them.

Representatives for Graham did not comment to Politico. The senator was previously [reported](#) to have advocated the use of force against Capitol rioters

on the day itself.

That same day, Graham seemed to abandon his closeness to Trump. In [a Senate speech](#) hours after the Capitol was cleared, he said: “Count me out.” Days later, he said he had “never been so humiliated and embarrassed for the country”.

But like most Republicans, McCarthy [literally so](#), Graham returned to Trump’s side. Like all but seven Republican senators, Graham voted to acquit in Trump’s second impeachment trial, for inciting the Capitol attack.

He recently [predicted](#) “riots in the streets” if Trump is indicted for retaining classified documents after leaving the White House.

In their recent book, [The Divider: Trump in the White House, 2017-2021](#), Peter Baker of the New York Times and Susan Glasser of the New Yorker quote Graham as calling Trump “a lying motherfucker” ... but “a lot of fun to hang out with”.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2022/oct/07/trump-lindsey-graham-michael-fanone-capitol-rioters-shot-head-book>

[Arizona](#)

Phoenix could see deadliest year for heat deaths after sweltering summer

With 22 days hitting 110F or higher, suspected heat deaths in the Arizona capital topped 450



Earlier this year, people tried to cool off in Phoenix, Arizona, where extreme heat has proved lethal for hundreds. Photograph: Ross D Franklin/AP

[Nina Lakhani](#) *Climate justice reporter*

[@ninalakhani](#)

Sat 8 Oct 2022 05.00 EDTLast modified on Sat 8 Oct 2022 05.01 EDT

Extreme heat contributed to as many as 450 deaths in the [Phoenix](#) area this summer, in what could be the deadliest year on record for the desert city in Arizona.

The medical examiner for Maricopa county, which includes Phoenix, has so far confirmed 284 heat-related deaths, while investigations into 169 more

suspected heat fatalities are ongoing. The highest number of deaths – and emergency hospital visits – coincided with the hottest days and [nights](#).

The temperature hit 110F or higher on 22 days this year, yet it was only the 20th hottest summer on record, according to the National Weather Service (NWS). It did not drop below 80F on 75% of nights between June and August. Heat effects are cumulative and the body cannot begin to recover until the temperature drops below 80F.

Overall, the [suspected heat death toll is 36% higher](#) than for the same period last year, despite a good rainy season which helped keep temperatures – and heat deaths – down from late July. And while heat will be ruled out in some cases, 2022 totals look to surpass last year's historic high.

[Bar chart of heat-related deaths in Maricopa county.](#)

“Deaths tend to increase during our hottest days, especially when combined with very warm nights,” said Marvin Percha, a meteorologist with the NWS Phoenix. “The long-term increase in summertime temps seems to be playing at least some role in the increasing number of heat deaths over the years.”

Phoenix, the capital of [Arizona](#) and the country's fifth-largest city, with 1.6 million people, is accustomed to a hot desert climate, but temperatures are rising due to global heating and urban development, which has created a sprawling asphalt and concrete heat island that traps heat especially at night.

In recent years, daily temperature highs have been smashed frequently and this year the city broke three daytime and nine night-time records. [911 calls](#) for heat-related medical emergencies rose 13% compared with last year.

Heat deaths are preventable, yet have doubled since 2016, and it's not just down to the heat.

Phoenix is also one of the fastest growing and most expensive cities in the US, with a crippling shortage of affordable housing and a rapidly growing homeless population.

According to the county's annual count, there were 5,029 people sleeping on the streets in January – triple the number of unsheltered people compared with 2016. Being outside without adequate shade and water increases the risk of medical [complications and deadly heat exposure](#).

Despite several new shelters opening this year, the situation has gotten even worse. Across the city, there are men and women sleeping rough in parks, parking lots and shop doorways, and behind dumpsters and along canals.

Last week, outreach workers counted 1,006 people sleeping in tents, under makeshift shelters or on the ground in just one relatively compact downtown area known as the zone, where many of the city's shelters and homeless services are concentrated. On very hot days the temperature can reach 160F on the asphalt where people are camped.

“There's lots of new energy and effort around long-term housing solutions, but big system pieces needed to end homelessness don't move quickly,” said Amy Schwabenlender, executive director of the Human Services Campus in the zone.

[Eviction rates in Maricopa county are higher](#) than pre-pandemic levels, and inflation hit 13% in Phoenix last month – a record for any US city according to data going back 20 years. One in five confirmed heat deaths this year occurred indoors, and initial reports suggest the soaring cost of living may have played a role as 80% of victims did not have functioning air conditioning.

Still, this year's high death toll is alarming given the cooling seasonal rains and the city's first coordinated effort to reduce heat deaths, which involved more than a dozen agencies in addition to a gaggle of non-profits and grassroots activists.

“It's not just about heat, it's a multifactorial problem that requires more coordination and creativity to line up the different pieces of the solutions portfolio,” said David Hondula, who leads the city's – and North America's – first extreme heat office. “Messaging alone won't help, nor will handing out water bottles or investing in housing alone.”

Tackling the complex and interconnected issues that increase the risk of heat emergencies – lack of affordable housing, homelessness, [substance misuse](#), inflation, inadequate shade and rising temperatures – will take time, money and political will.

In the meantime, Hondula’s heat team will be diving into the data from 2022 to figure out which services or interventions saved lives and should be expanded, and which should be reformed or scrapped.

Hondula added: “This is not where we want to be; our goal is zero deaths.”

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2022/oct/08/phoenix-arizona-heat-deaths-record-year>

Haiti

Haiti government prepares to ask for 'specialized armed force' from abroad

Prime minister authorized to ask international community to help end blockade of main fuel port that has led to crippling shortages



A protester carries a piece of wood simulating a weapon during a protest against the prime minister, Ariel Henry, in the Petion-Ville, Port-au-Prince, this week. Photograph: Odelyn Joseph/AP

Staff and agencies

Fri 7 Oct 2022 18.11 EDT

Haiti's government has authorized the prime minister, Ariel Henry, to ask the international community for a "specialized armed force" to address a crisis caused by a blockade of the country's main fuel port that has led to crippling shortages, according to a decree circulating on Friday.

Haiti has ground to a halt since a coalition of gangs blocked the Varreux fuel terminal last month. The lack of gas and diesel has crippled transportation and forced businesses and hospitals to halt operations.

It has also led to a shortage of bottled water, [just as the country confirmed a new outbreak of cholera](#), the spread of which is controlled through hygiene and clean water.

The decree allows Henry to “solicit and obtain from Haiti’s international partners effective support through immediate deployment of a specialized armed force to stop ... the insecurity resulting from the joint actions of armed gangs and their sponsors”.

It was not immediately evident which countries would receive such a request.

Nor was it clear if the request would mean the activation of United Nations peacekeeping troops, whose mission ended five years ago after a troubled 11 years in Haiti.

The international body sent thousands of soldiers and police officers to restore order after a rebellion toppled President Jean-Bertrand Aristide in 2004.

In 2017, the UN withdrew military personnel and said it would focus more on the justice system and the Haitian police.

But Haiti’s national police have struggled to control gangs with its limited resources and chronic understaffing, with only some 12,800 active officers for a country of more than 11 million people.

The gangs have only grown more powerful since [the July 2021 assassination of President Jovenel Moïse](#).

Critics question the extent to which the United Nations achieved its objectives of helping Haiti improve political stability and strengthen its rule of law institutions.

Many Haitians have strongly rejected the idea of another international intervention, noting that UN peacekeepers were accused of sexual assault and sparked a cholera epidemic more than a decade ago that killed thousands.

“I don’t think Haiti needs another intervention,” said Mathias Pierre, Haiti’s former elections minister. “We have been through so many, and nothing has been solved ... If we don’t do it as Haitians, 10 years forward, we’re going to be in the same situation again.”

He called on the US government to help reduce the amount of ammunition and guns flowing to Haiti, and to further equip police officers so they have more weapons and the ability to run intelligence on gangs.

He also worried about the situation that an international security force would encounter.

“It’s not an army they’re facing,” he said. “They’re facing gangs located in poor areas and using the population as shields to protect themselves.”

The United Nations has not received an official request from the Haitian government, the UN spokesman Stephane Dujarric said on Friday.

“That being said, we remain extremely concerned about the security situation in Haiti, the impact it’s having on the Haitian people, on our ability to do our work, especially in the humanitarian sphere,” Dujarric told reporters.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/oct/07/haiti-international-armed-force-decree-blockade>

Table of Contents

[The Guardian.2022.10.09 \[Sun, 09 Oct 2022\]](#)

[Headlines thursday 6 october 2022](#)

[Thailand shooting 22 children among 34 killed in nursery attack](#)

[Live Russia-Ukraine war: more explosions after missile strikes hit residential buildings in Zaporizhzhia](#)

[Live Tory infighting continues as Nadine Dorries accuses Truss of ‘lurching to the right’](#)

[Mortgage market UK banks to raise market fears in Kwarteng meeting](#)

[Live UK five-year mortgage rates hit 6% as Kwarteng meets bank chiefs](#)

[Prague Sceptical Liz Truss attends first meeting of European Political Community](#)

[2022.10.06 - Spotlight](#)

[Peter R De Vries The cartel, the journalist and the gangland killings that rocked the Netherlands](#)

[‘It’s closer now than it’s ever been’ Could there soon be a united Ireland?](#)

[Beverley Knight Suffragettes’ struggle still relevant today](#)

[Blame, threat and clash The war between pickleball and tennis players is escalating in the US – on and off the court](#)

[2022.10.06 - Opinion](#)

[Here’s a plan for green King Charles: sell the family silver and use the cash to save the planet](#)

[Spare a thought for your civil servants, trying to cope with Truss’s malignant cult](#)

[People of colour have been shut out of the climate debate](#)

[Social justice is the key to a greener world](#)

[There is now a way for the UK to rebuild its bridges with the EU – Labour should take the lead](#)

[2022.10.06 - Around the world](#)

[Pakistan PM says he should not have to beg for help after catastrophic floods](#)

[Iran Prosecutors to investigate death of schoolgirl in early days of protests](#)

['For freedom' French actors cut their hair in support of Iranian women](#)

[Mexico Mayor among 18 killed in town hall massacre](#)

[Headlines monday 3 october 2022](#)

[Live Kwasi Kwarteng says he feels 'humility and contrition' after U-turn on plan to cut 45p income tax rate](#)

[Conservatives Liz Truss abandons plan to scrap 45p top rate of income tax amid Tory revolt](#)

[Analysis Kwarteng's tax U-turn was inevitable – and he has already done damage](#)

[Analysis Tax U-turn wins Truss some time but damage to credibility remains](#)

[2022.10.03 - Spotlight](#)

['We gave up so much' How Covid changed young people's lives](#)

['I didn't cry until I knew I was going to live' Monty Python's Eric Idle on surviving pancreatic cancer](#)

[The Bear Forget the food – this kitchen drama is the next great menswear show](#)

[Eliza Carthy 'Folk music is sexy and filthy and at the end of the night you fall over. That's how I live'](#)

[2022.10.03 - Opinion](#)

[Here's the question to define this sorry era: Truss or Johnson, which is worse?](#)

[To all men: can you please make it easier to buy presents for you?](#)

[Who's paying for Britain's disastrous mini-budget? We are, with our health](#)

[When British schools ignore Irish history, is it any wonder Brexit is such a mess?](#)

[2022.10.03 - Around the world](#)

[Sudan Campaigners demand action after alarming rise in 'honour killings'](#)

[Bird flu Europe and UK hit by 'unprecedented' number of cases this summer](#)

[Iran protests Riot police clash with students at Sharif university](#)

[Credit Suisse CEO reassures staff bank has solid balance sheet amid market speculation](#)

[Debt High interest rates paid by poorer nations spark fears of global crisis](#)

[Headlines friday 7 october 2022](#)

['Not a nanny state' Minister says Britons will not be told to use less energy](#)

[Live Government refuses to rule out winter energy blackouts](#)

[Growth UK economy predicted to be weak till 2024 despite Truss agenda](#)

[Nadhim Zahawi Cabinet minister apologises for economic turmoil after mini-budget](#)

[2022.10.07 - Spotlight](#)

['Laurie Strode is a feminist hero' Jamie Lee Curtis on Halloween Ends](#)

['I saw my grandson's name and I fainted' Grief engulfs town after Thailand nursery attack](#)

[Watchmen author Alan Moore 'I'm definitely done with comics'](#)

[A Friend of the Family review The most jawdroppingly incredible true-crime story there is](#)

[2022.10.07 - Opinion](#)

[Now we know for sure that big tech peddles despair, we must protect ourselves](#)

[Energy crisis? It isn't that we have too little oil and gas. It's that we have too much](#)

[Politicians, business titans, hear this: we don't need any more of your 'disruption'](#)

[No child should have to go through the heartache of homelessness](#)

[2022.10.07 - Around the world](#)

[Thailand Nation mourns after children killed in mass stabbing and shooting](#)

[New Zealand Court quashes child sexual abuse conviction in landmark ruling](#)

[South Korea Outcry as president tries to scrap gender equality ministry to 'protect' women](#)

[Indonesia football disaster Six face criminal charges over deadly stadium crush](#)

[Argentina Football fan dies after police use teargas at Gimnasia v Boca](#)

[Headlines tuesday 4 october 2022](#)

[Live Liz Truss refuses to commit to raising benefits in line with inflation](#)

[Benefits Liz Truss refuses to rule out real-terms cuts](#)

[Economics Kwarteng bringing forward debt plan could calm markets, says top Tory MP](#)

[Live Business: pound hits two-week high of \\$1.14 as Kwarteng brings forward debt-cutting plan](#)

[2022.10.04 - Spotlight](#)

[The long read Ransomware hunters: the self-taught tech geniuses fighting cybercrime](#)

[Hardcore pawn Cheating, groupies, big money and drunken brawls: how chess went rock'n'roll](#)

[Hope amid climate chaos 'We are in a race between Armageddon and awesome'](#)

['Damage is done' What the papers say after Truss and Kwarteng's tax U-turn](#)

[2022.10.04 - Opinion](#)

[Kwasi Kwarteng may have U-turned, but huge spending cuts are still coming](#)

[Squid Game, Blackpink, kimchi pancakes ... How did South Korea become such a world power?](#)

[I yearned for my mother, but I settled for the next best thing: her home](#)

[We are at a crossroads in history: Africa can and must be a leader in clean energy](#)

[2022.10.04 - Around the world](#)

[Hurricane Ian Son swims half a mile to rescue his double amputee mother](#)

[Flooding, outages, confusion Florida reels as Hurricane Ian death toll rises](#)

[Antarctica Newlywed among four women chosen to run outpost](#)

[Pakistan PM says rival Imran Khan is 'biggest liar on earth'](#)

[Headlines saturday 8 october 2022](#)

[Live Russia-Ukraine war: fire engulfs crucial Kerch bridge between Crimea and Russia as section collapses](#)

[Analysis Impact of Kerch bridge blast will be felt all the way to the Kremlin](#)

[Ukraine Key bridge linking Crimea to Russia hit by huge blast](#)

[At a glance What we know on day 227 of the invasion](#)

[2022.10.08 - Spotlight](#)

['The Russian Bond is on his way' Exclusive extracts from the letters of John le Carré](#)

['Each envelope was a treasure' How I became le Carré's friend and reader](#)

[Greta Thunberg on the climate delusion 'We've been greenwashed out of our senses. It's time to stand our ground'](#)

['Stop setting things on fire' Nine great ideas to save the planet](#)

[2022.10.08 - Opinion](#)

[Putin's war is illegal – and Russians fleeing the draft may have the right to asylum](#)

[His white lives matter shirt and Tucker Carlson appearance prove it: Kanye West doesn't want a way back](#)

[Liz Truss has found her feet – as a leading UK conspiracist and No 10 whiner-in-chief](#)

[Confessions of a serial chess cheat: I'm quite enjoying the Carlsen v Niemann fallout](#)

[2022.10.08 - Around the world](#)

[Donald Trump Ex-president seeks to withhold two folders seized at Mar-a-Lago](#)

[Lindsey Graham Trump ally said US Capitol rioters should be shot in head, book claims](#)

[Arizona Phoenix could see deadliest year for heat deaths after sweltering summer](#)

Haiti Government prepares to ask for 'specialized armed force' from abroad