

# The Guardian

卫报

2022.11.14 - 2022.11.20

- [Headlines saturday 19 november 2022](#)
- [2022.11.19 - Spotlight](#)
- [2022.11.19 - Opinion](#)
- [2022.11.19 - Around the world](#)
- [Headlines](#)
- [2022.11.17 - Spotlight](#)
- [2022.11.17 - Opinion](#)
- [2022.11.17 - Around the world](#)
- [Headlines friday 18 november 2022](#)
- [2022.11.18 - Spotlight](#)
- [2022.11.18 - Opinion](#)
- [2022.11.18 - Around the world](#)
- [Headlines monday 14 november 2022](#)
- [2022.11.14 - Spotlight](#)
- [2022.11.14 - Opinion](#)
- [2022.11.14 - Around the world](#)
- [Headlines tuesday 15 november 2022](#)
- [2022.11.15 - Spotlight](#)
- [2022.11.15 - Opinion](#)
- [2022.11.15 - Around the world](#)

## **Headlines saturday 19 november 2022**

- ['I feel like a migrant worker' Gianni Infantino hits out at World Cup criticism](#)
- [World Cup Multiple sponsors concerned over contracts after Qatar's alcohol ban](#)
- [Qatar Fans paid to attend World Cup have daily allowance cancelled](#)
- [Robbie Williams Singer defends decision to perform in Qatar during World Cup](#)

[The Observer](#)[World Cup 2022](#)

## ‘I feel gay, disabled ... like a woman too!’: Infantino makes bizarre attack on critics

- ‘Don’t criticise Qatar,’ Infantino tells press conference in Doha
- Fifa president accuses western critics of hypocrisy and racism

Fifa president Gianni Infantino defends Qatar World Cup in bizarre speech – video

Supported by



[About this content](#)

[Sean Ingle](#) in Doha

[@seaningle](#)

Sat 19 Nov 2022 06.18 ESTFirst published on Sat 19 Nov 2022 03.58 EST

The Fifa president, [Gianni Infantino](#), has accused critics of Qatar's human rights record of staggering hypocrisy and racism in a bizarre and incendiary attack on the eve of the 2022 World Cup finals.

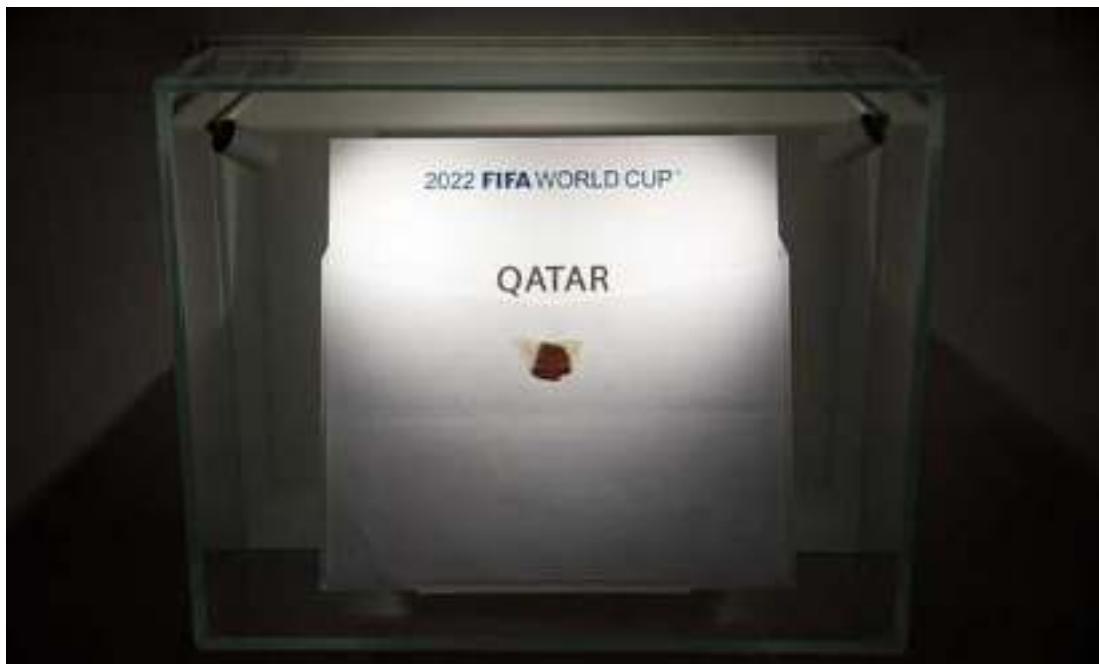
In an 57-minute diatribe which frequently drew gasps of astonishment, Infantino claimed that western nations were in no position to give morality lessons to Qatar given their past and current behaviour.

“We have been told many, many lessons from some Europeans, from the western world,” he said. “I think for what we Europeans have been doing the last 3,000 years we should be apologising for the next 3,000 years before starting to give moral lessons to people.”

## Quick Guide

### **Qatar: beyond the football**

#### Show



This is a World Cup like no other. For the last 12 years the Guardian has been reporting on the issues surrounding Qatar 2022, from corruption and human rights abuses to the treatment of migrant workers and discriminatory laws. The best of our journalism is gathered on our dedicated [Qatar: Beyond](#)

[the Football](#) home page for those who want to go deeper into the issues beyond the pitch.

Guardian reporting goes far beyond what happens on the pitch. Support our investigative journalism [today](#).

Photograph: Tom Jenkins

Was this helpful?

Thank you for your feedback.

Infantino also played down concerns over whether LGBTQ+ fans faced danger in a country where gay people risk torture and imprisonment, and insisted that Qatar – with Fifa’s help – had reformed workers’ rights beyond all recognition.

The speech began, though, with Infantino appearing to suggest that his own experiences as a son of Italian immigrants in Switzerland gave him a deep understanding of migrant workers and other minorities in Qatar.

“Today I feel Qatari,” he said. “Today I feel Arabic. Today I feel African. Today I feel gay. Today I feel disabled. Today I feel [like] a migrant worker.”

He added: “Of course I am not Qatari, I am not an Arab, I am not African, I am not gay, I am not disabled. But I feel like it, because I know what it means to be discriminated [against], to be bullied, as a foreigner in a foreign country. As a child I was bullied – because I had red hair and freckles, plus I was Italian, so imagine.”

Later it was pointed out that in his opening monologue, he had missed out half the world’s population. “I feel like a woman too!” Infantino added.

The 52-year-old then claimed that just as Switzerland as a country had progressed on many issues, Qatar could too. Indeed, he noted that Fifa had been a guiding light in helping it improve the situation for migrant workers by scrapping the *kafala* system that tied workers to employers, introducing a minimum wage and heat protections.

Last year the Guardian reported that [at least 6,500 migrant workers have died](#) in Qatar since preparations for the World Cup began. However Infantino said such criticisms were hypocritical given that 25,000 migrants had actually died trying to get into Europe since 2014.

“Qatar is offering them this opportunity,” he said. “They do it in a legal way. We in Europe, we close our borders. We don’t allow practically any workers from these countries who are trying to come to work legally in our countries.

“Those who reach Europe, or those who want to come to Europe, they have to go through very difficult journeys. Only a few survive. So if you really care about the destiny of these people – these young people – Europe can do as Qatar did. Create some channels, some legal channels, to increase the percentage of these workers to come to Europe. Give them some work. Give them some future.”

Even more controversially, Infantino insisted that LGBTQ+ rights would be protected in Qatar during the [World Cup](#). “They have confirmed and I can confirm that everyone is welcome. If you have a person here and there who says the opposite, it’s not the opinion of the country, it’s certainly not the opinion of Fifa,’ he said.

“You want to stay at home and say how bad they are, these Arabs, these Muslims, because it’s not allowed to be publicly gay. I believe it should be allowed. But it is a process. If someone thinks that hammering and criticising will achieve something, well I can tell you it will be exactly the opposite. It will close more doors.”

Fifa president defends Iran playing at World Cup amid women's rights concerns – video

Infantino also accused journalists who have questioned whether there are “fake fans” supporting England at this World Cup of racism. “Can someone who looks maybe like an Indian not cheer for England, or for Spain or Germany?” he asked. “You know what this is? This is racism. This is pure racism. And we can stop that.”

Sign up to Football Daily

Free daily newsletter

Kick off your evenings with the Guardian's take on the world of football

**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.

Incredibly, he also brushed off [the ban on alcohol from stadiums](#) introduced two days before the tournament kicks off, which on Friday sent Fifa officials and sponsors into a panic. “If this is the biggest issue we have for the World Cup then I will resign immediately and go to the beach to relax,” he joked. “I think if for three hours a day you cannot drink a beer, you will survive.

“The same rules apply in France, Spain, Portugal and Scotland. Here it has become a big thing, because it is a Muslim country? I don’t know why. We tried and that is why I give you the late change of policy. We tried to see if it was possible.”

Infantino also maintained that any criticism of this World Cup should be directed at him and not Qatar. “You can crucify me, I’m here for that,” he said. “But don’t criticise Qatar. Let people enjoy this World Cup.”

He added: “Do we want to continue to spit on the others because they look different, or they feel different?. We defend human rights. We do it our way. We obtain results. We got women fans in Iran. The Women’s League was created in Sudan. Let’s celebrate. Don’t divide.”

Infantino’s speech drew immediate criticism from human rights groups. Nicholas McGeehan, director of FairSquare, said: “Infantino’s comments were as crass as they were clumsy and suggest that the Fifa president is getting his talking points directly from the Qatari authorities. Deflection and whataboutery have always been at the core of Qatar’s PR efforts to defend its rank failures, and now they have the Fifa president doing their work for them.”

Amnesty International also released a statement, saying: “In brushing aside legitimate human rights criticisms, Gianni Infantino is dismissing the enormous price paid by migrant workers to make his flagship tournament possible – as well as Fifa’s responsibility for it.

“Demands for equality, dignity and compensation cannot be treated as some sort of culture war – they are universal human rights that Fifa has committed to respect in its own statutes.”

The media conference ended with the Fifa director of media relations, Bryan Swanson, addressing the room. Swanson, a former Sky Sports reporter, said: “I am sitting here as a gay man in Qatar. We have received assurances that everyone will be welcome and I believe everyone will be.

“Just because he [Infantino] is not gay, does not mean he does not care. He does. You see the public side and I see the private side. I have thought long and hard about whether I should say this. I do feel strongly about it.”

Swanson continued: “We care about everyone at Fifa. I have a number of gay colleagues. I am fully aware of the debate and fully respect people’s opinions. When he says we are inclusive, he means it.”

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/football/2022/nov/19/fifa-gianni-infantino-world-cup-qatar>

## World Cup 2022

# Multiple World Cup sponsors concerned over contracts after Qatar's alcohol ban

- U-turn on selling beer could affect £63m Budweiser contract
- Partners feel 'let down by Fifa' according to another sponsor



Adverts for Budweiser in Doha but alcoholic beer will not be on general sale inside stadiums. Photograph: Jon Gambrell/AP

Supported by

# Paramount+

## About this content

Exclusive by [Sean Ingle](#) in Doha  
[@seaningle](#)

Fri 18 Nov 2022 16.00 EST Last modified on Fri 18 Nov 2022 16.35 EST

Multiple sponsors have raised concerns or issues with Fifa about their contracts at the Qatar World Cup, the Guardian can reveal. It gives football's governing body another headache hours after it was forced to [ban alcohol from stadiums](#) by the Qatari authorities, a decision that complicated its \$75m (£63m) contract with the brewer of Budweiser, Anheuser-Busch InBev.

One representative of another major sponsor, speaking on condition of anonymity, said that many partners had felt "let down by Fifa in lots of ways". They also indicated there had been informal discussions about potential contractual breaches and reneging on deliverables.

"Everyone has a gripe in some way or form," they added. "There is a lot of 'regrouping' going [on] to understand what the options are contractually speaking."

Quick Guide

**Qatar: beyond the football**

Show



This is a World Cup like no other. For the last 12 years the Guardian has been reporting on the issues surrounding Qatar 2022, from corruption and human rights abuses to the treatment of migrant workers and discriminatory laws. The best of our journalism is gathered on our dedicated [Qatar: Beyond the Football](#) home page for those who want to go deeper into the issues beyond the pitch.

Guardian reporting goes far beyond what happens on the pitch. Support our investigative journalism [today](#).

Photograph: Tom Jenkins

Was this helpful?

Thank you for your feedback.

Earlier Fifa confirmed in a terse statement that alcohol would not be sold inside or around the perimeter of [World Cup](#) stadiums.

“Following discussions between host country authorities and Fifa, a decision has been made to focus the sale of alcoholic beverages on the Fifa Fan Festival, other fan destinations and licensed venues, removing sales points of beer from Qatar’s [World Cup 2022](#) stadium perimeters,” it said.

“There is no impact to the sale of Bud Zero, which will remain available at all Qatar’s World Cup stadiums.”

However it will now be looking nervously over its shoulders at the prospect of legal action from Budweiser, unless some sort of compensation can be agreed with Qatar.

Shortly before the announcement the US beer brand sent a tweet – since deleted – that said: “Well, this is awkward...”

The sale of alcohol is strictly controlled in Qatar, a conservative Muslim nation, but organisers had promised it would be available in match venues and fan zones – and would be reasonably priced.

However it has now decided that alcohol will be available at matches only in hospitality boxes, where the cheapest suites are nearly £20,000 a match, and in some fan zones after 7pm, where it will cost nearly £12 for 500ml of Budweiser.

According to the New York Times, staff members were told the move had followed security advice but that the change had originated with Sheikh Jassim bin Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani – the brother of Qatar’s ruling emir and the royal most active in the day-to-day planning of the tournament.

The Guardian also understands another consideration was wanting to make sure the large number of supporters from Gulf and Asian countries, where drinking alcohol is not part of the culture, felt comfortable.



Fans outside the England team hotel ahead of the World Cup. Photograph: Martin Rickett/PA

Until recently organisers had always said that they would find a way to find a middle ground between western fans' tastes and Qatar's conservative culture. That message was reiterated most recently by Fatma al-Nuaimi, head of communications for the Supreme Committee, who said: "When it comes to alcohol, hospitality is part of our culture, even if alcohol is not. So it will be in the places where the fans will gather, but not openly on the streets."

The organisation's official fan guide also states that "ticket holders will have access to Budweiser, Budweiser Zero, and Coca-Cola products within the stadium perimeter" for at least three hours before games, and for one hour afterwards.

The news was greeted with frustration by the Football Supporters' Association, which questioned whether the Qatars could now be trusted on their other promises.

"Some fans like a beer at a match and some don't, but the real issue is the last minute U-turn which speaks to a wider problem – the total lack of

communication and clarity from the organising committee towards supporters,” a spokesperson said.

“If they can change their minds on this at a moment’s notice, with no explanation, supporters will have understandable concerns about whether they will fulfil other promises relating to accommodation, transport or cultural issues.”

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/football/2022/nov/18/multiple-world-cup-sponsors-concerned-over-contracts-after-qatars-alcohol-ban>

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

## World Cup 2022

# Fans paid to attend World Cup by Qatar have daily allowance cancelled

- Fan Leader Network money removed as people prepare to travel
- Message blames ‘erroneous misinformed statements’ in media



People gather around the official countdown clock in Doha as the World Cup edges ever closer. Photograph: Hassan Ammar/AP

Supported by



### About this content

Exclusive by [Paul MacInnes](#) in Doha

[@PaulMac](#)

Fri 18 Nov 2022 13.50 EST Last modified on Fri 18 Nov 2022 16.35 EST

Fans who have travelled to Qatar as part of a controversial [paid-for supporters programme](#) have been told by Qatari authorities that their cash has been cut.

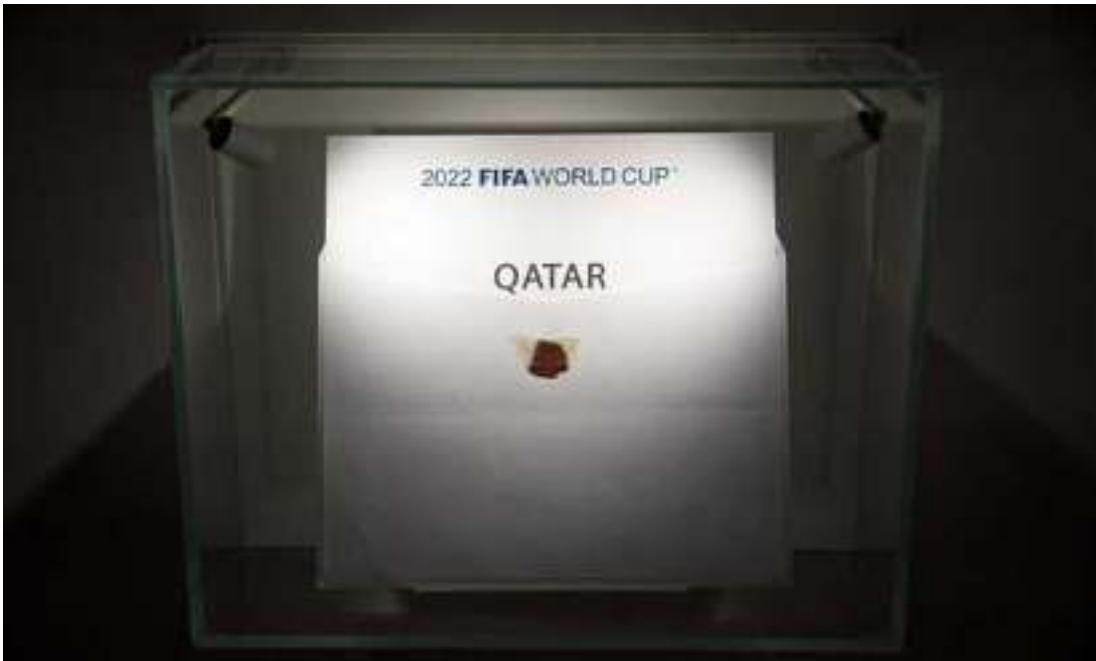
The [Fan Leader Network](#) is a scheme run by the Supreme Committee for Delivery and Legacy, the Qatari agency responsible for the World Cup. It has recruited supporters from around the globe, offering travel and accommodation and a place at the World Cup opening ceremony in return for enthusiasm and positive social media content. But the Guardian can reveal that a per diem payment for food and drink, upon which some supporters were depending, was cancelled just as fans were packing to travel to the Gulf.

Members of the Fan Leader Network from two European countries said their payments had been cancelled three days ago and that authorities had blamed the decision on the bad press which followed the revelation that fans were being paid.

## Quick Guide

### **Qatar: beyond the football**

Show



This is a World Cup like no other. For the last 12 years the Guardian has been reporting on the issues surrounding Qatar 2022, from corruption and human rights abuses to the treatment of migrant workers and discriminatory laws. The best of our journalism is gathered on our dedicated [Qatar: Beyond the Football](#) home page for those who want to go deeper into the issues beyond the pitch.

Guardian reporting goes far beyond what happens on the pitch. Support our investigative journalism [today](#).

Photograph: Tom Jenkins

Was this helpful?

Thank you for your feedback.

Fans were told in a message, seen by the Guardian: “Due to the recent developments in the media, we are keen to protect our visiting fans from the erroneous misinformed statements regarding ‘fans receiving payment for the

trip'. Accordingly, the daily allowance will unfortunately no longer be issued. The allowance was intended as a small uplift on your own personal funds to assist with refreshments during your stay.”

Although the fans the Guardian spoke to said the loss of money had not deterred anyone from travelling, they were concerned about how they would pay for the rest of their stay. One fan said they had paid for maintenance for their car on the assumption that the per diem would be coming.

The email sent to members of the Network said: “We requested from the outset that you brought sufficient funds to cover your own living expenses and we have committed to cover flights, accommodation and opening match tickets.”

The news comes two days before the opening ceremony and follows an announcement by Fifa that it would no longer be possible to buy alcohol at World Cup stadiums. This was a decision widely understood to have been forced on football’s governing body at the last minute by Qatar.

Concerns will now rise that further commitments made by the organisers could yet be ignored too, including the safety of LGBTQ+ fans in a country where homosexuality is illegal.

According to the terms and conditions of the Fan Leader Network, initially revealed by the Dutch broadcaster NOS, travellers have been asked to promote the tournament and the experience as part of the trip. Key to the deal will be “liking” and re-sharing third-party posts”, and fans have reportedly been asked to flag social media content critical of the event.

[Sign up to Football Daily](#)

[Free daily newsletter](#)

Kick off your evenings with the Guardian's take on the world of football

**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.

One of the fans spoken to by the Guardian understood this arrangement to be something easily achieved, simply by posting the kind of material they would have done anyway.

The executive director of Football Supporters Europe, Ronan Evain, said: “Who would have thought that an authoritarian regime with an appalling workers’ rights record was not to be trusted? I suppose that’s what you get for accepting to be paid the equivalent of a Qatari monthly minimum wage every four days for the pleasure of doing absolutely nothing.”

Qatar’s Supreme Committee for Delivery and Legacy has been approached for comment.

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/football/2022/nov/18/fans-paid-to-attend-world-cup-by-qatar-have-daily-allowance-cancelled>

## World Cup 2022

# Robbie Williams defends decision to perform in Qatar during World Cup

Singer said he didn't 'condone any abuses of human rights' but it would be 'hypocritical' not to go



Robbie Williams performing in Hamburg, Germany on 15 November. He said it 'would be hypocritical of me to not go' to Qatar. Photograph: Andreas Rentz/Getty Images

Supported by

# Paramount+

[About this content](#)

[Nadeem Badshah](#)

Fri 18 Nov 2022 16.55 ESTLast modified on Sat 19 Nov 2022 00.12 EST

Robbie Williams has defended his decision to perform in Qatar during the World Cup, arguing that it would be “hypocritical” not to go.

The singer, 48, has been criticised on social media for agreeing to sing during the tournament, which begins on Sunday night, due to the country’s human rights record, stance on homosexuality and treatment of migrant workers.

Other musicians including Dua Lipa and Rod Stewart have recently stated that they will not perform there.

But in an excerpt from Williams’s interview with Italian newspaper [Il Venerdì di Repubblica](#), scheduled to be published next month, the former Take That member said: “Of course, I don’t condone any abuses of human rights anywhere.

“But, that being said, if we’re not condoning human rights abuses anywhere, then it would be the shortest tour the world has ever known: I wouldn’t even be able to perform in my own kitchen.”

He added: “Anybody leaving messages saying ‘no to Qatar’ are doing so on Chinese technology. It would be hypocritical of me to not go [to Qatar] because of the places that I do go to.”

Williams is scheduled to perform at Doha Golf Club in Qatar on 8 December.

He said: “You get this microscope that goes ‘OK, these are the baddies, and we need to rally against them’. I think that the hypocrisy there is that if we take that case in this place, we need to apply that unilaterally to the world.

“Then if we apply that unilaterally to the world, nobody can go anywhere.”

The singer added: “What we’re saying is: ‘You behave like us, or we will annex you from society. Behave like us, because we’ve got it right.’”

Amnesty International has called on Williams to use his concert to publicly address the accusations against Qatar.

Last weekend, Rod Stewart said he refused a substantial offer to perform in the country. He told the Sunday Times: “I was actually offered a lot of money, over \$1m, to play there [Qatar] 15 months ago. I turned it down. It’s not right to go.”

Last week, [Dua Lipa denied reports that she will perform](#) at the opening ceremony of the World Cup. The singer wrote on social media that she will “look forward to visiting Qatar when it has fulfilled all the human rights pledges it made” when it became the tournament’s host.

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/football/2022/nov/18/robbie-williams-defends-decision-to-perform-in-qatar-during-world-cup>

## 2022.11.19 - Spotlight

- Black Panther star Letitia Wright ‘Since Chad died I’m so afraid to lose people’
- Under the surface The resonance of water in Black Panther: Wakanda Forever
- Wednesday Netflix have absolutely smashed this fantastic Addams Family revamp
- Heartstopper author Alice Oseman ‘If you don’t have sex and romance, you feel like you haven’t achieved’

# Black Panther star Letitia Wright: ‘Since Chad died I’m so afraid to lose people’

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/film/2022/nov/19/black-panther-star-letitia-wright-interview-chadwick-boseman>

## Black Panther

# Under the surface: the resonance of water in Black Panther: Wakanda Forever

Ryan Coogler's superhero sequel covers many themes but the one that leaves a lasting impression carries a difficult legacy

**Spoilers ahead**



Angela Bassett in Black Panther: Wakanda Forever. Photograph: Marvel Studios/AP

*[Andrew Lawrence](#)*

*[@by\\_drew](#)*

Sat 19 Nov 2022 02.04 EST Last modified on Sat 19 Nov 2022 02.06 EST

Within [Marvel](#) comic book lore, Wakanda is a nation apart – a vibranium-rich African idyll whose superiority and cunning have kept it safe from

invaders here on Earth or other faraway galaxies. It holds its own militarily, economically – and all while laying claim to an undiluted national identity.

In the 2018 film [Black Panther](#), Wakanda was depicted with clarity and majesty; many across the African diaspora couldn't help but take immense pride, while others remain convinced that Wakanda is a real place. But after watching the 2022 sequel *Black Panther: Wakanda Forever*, these same admirers have now been left to sit with the horror of this seemingly indomitable nation being wiped clean off the map by another equally powerful civilization lurking under water.

*Wakanda Forever* wouldn't be so affecting or so urgent (for repeat watchers especially) if director [Ryan Coogler](#) hadn't gone to such lengths to ground the film in truth. But of the many heady themes the film tackles – Chadwick Boseman's sudden death, the insatiable avarice of the world's superpower nations, the tragic infighting among racial minority groups with common cause – it's the way *Wakanda Forever* handles Black people and their relationship to water that's most resonant. It's fraught territory for any film, much less one meant for kids.

Reducing water to a kryptonite-like metaphor for a superhero film that centers the Black experience isn't so much of a stretch. Sadly water runs through some of the darkest moments in recent Black history – not least the North Atlantic slave trade, which saw some 2 million African people lose their lives during the two-month-long Middle Passage, many of the dead thrown overboard to stanch contagion.

In the 1940s and 50s public pools and beaches became an integration battleground as municipalities fought to keep out Black bodies, fearing the relationships that might flow from so many near naked bodies commingling. Those who marched and protested against Jim Crow laws were doused with fire hoses.

Even today Black people suffer deadly consequences from their relatively limited access to water; according to the CDC, school-aged Black children are still five and a half times more likely to fatally drown than their white

counterparts. (Hispanic children aren't much farther behind.) All of it feeds the stereotype of Black people being genetically incapable of swimming, an easily debunked hypothesis that nonetheless remains as alive in the minds of propagating eugenicists as in a post-civil rights generation who would rather not tempt fate.

It's only recently that these perceptions have somewhat pivoted. The past 15 years alone have seen Americans Cullen Jones, Simone Manuel and Lia Neal score historic triumphs in pools at the Olympics. But even as a new generation of Black and brown kids have followed in their wake, pop culture has lagged woefully behind.

The 2007 film *Pride* tracks the true story of a Black former competitive swimmer who launches an all-Black team from a crumbling Philadelphia recreation center with a rotting pool. Yet even with Bernie Mac and Oscar nominee Terrence Howard in lead roles, it was far from a blockbuster success. On the opposite side of the popularity spectrum there's the song *Water No Get Enemy*, the B-side of Fela Kuti's 1975 EP *Expensive Shit*; in that song Kuti preaches about the power of living in harmony with nature, and how that alloy of power is virtually unstoppable – a parable that plays out in Wakanda, where the oneness between man and vibranium is regularly flaunted in the first *Black Panther* film.

Initially in the sequel we see water as a source of serenity when Shuri and Queen Ramonda slink away to a literal watering hole, complete with grazing elephants. It isn't until the elephants begin stirring that the royals realize there's an intruder in their midst, a feathered serpent god called Namor who eluded their best defenses and is now threatening to take them down. And with that, the tone is set – as Kuti himself sang: "Nothing without water."

From then on the symbolism becomes impossible to escape. Water meant everlasting life for one civilization (the Mesoamerican-inspired inhabitants of an Atlantis-like nation called Talokan), certain death for the Wakandans. Throughout the film, Black protagonists were forced to reckon with their literal place in water. Nakia, the shape-shifting spy, thrives. Okoye, the stony Dora Milaje general, barely survives. Riri, the impulsive kid, nearly gets herself killed twice. In one critical scene, Shuri emerges from the deep in white, newly baptized.

The second time it's Queen Ramonda who comes to her rescue, and the camera lingers as she pulls Riri to safety – as if to say: "See, we can be *actual* lifeguards, too!" Even the choice to show the queen's natural gray locks bobbing in the blue seems directed at the legion of Black women whose concerns about their hair keep them from testing water. When the queen's heroic act winds up killing her anyway, it hits like a Namor punch to the chest.



Winston Duke in Black Panther: Wakanda Forever. Photograph: Marvel Studios/AP

But for me the hardest scene to watch was Wakanda being inundated with water as the Talokan invaded. It was too close to my memories of the devastation that followed in the wake of Hurricane Katrina. What's more, the scenes shot in Haiti didn't give me much rest, as they were clearly intended to tie the film to the community that had been devastated by Hurricane Matthew.

Even Coogler was forced to confront his own relationship with water, recently telling [Variety](#) how he learned to swim explicitly to direct Wakanda Forever. "If the camera is in the water, actors are in the water, I've got to be in there, too," he said; 64-year-old Angela Bassett, who plays Ramonda, was motivated to improve her less-than-average swimming ability as well.

“Almost to the point that I was going to get a complex,” she told Variety. “Like, am I going to be able to deliver what you’re asking for? She had to be strong. She had to be a mother. She had to be a leader. [Coogler] was just throwing all of this at me. And then on top of that: ‘Can you swim? Can you put your head in water?’”

Ultimately, the film lands on the balance that Kuti sings about – and even seems to draw further inspiration from the Afrobeat star by taking its sweet time to get there. Of course it’s likely much of these surging cultural undercurrents will wash over the viewer who only signed up to see how this film relates to the rest of the Marvel Cinematic Universe. But for the rest of us who are attuned to the bittersweet nature of water and take to it anyway despite deeply entrenched fears, Wakanda Forever’s go-with-the-flow allegory is too strong to drown out.

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/film/2022/nov/19/water-black-panther-wakanda-forever>

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

Advertisement

[Print subscriptions](#)

[Sign in](#)

[Search jobs](#)

[Search](#)

US edition

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

[The Guardian - Back to home](#)[The Guardian](#)

[The watcher](#)[Television](#)

**Wednesday: Netflix have absolutely smashed this fantastic Addams Family revamp**



The kind of thing we need to see more of on TV ... Thing and Jenna Ortega as Wednesday Addams in Wednesday. Photograph: Netflix

From Tim Burton's gothic direction to casting that is absolutely perfect (Catherine Zeta-Jones as Morticia!), this series focusing on the creepy clan's daughter is an utter joy

[Joel Golby](#)

Sat 19 Nov 2022 02.00 EST

Done right, The Addams Family has the potential to be one of the most pure-fun franchises that Hollywood has. It's a joyously macabre antidote to the white-picket-fence American dream, with a good old-fashioned gothic tradition and all the best bits of modern Halloween – severed limbs as a joke, big spiders, being very horny in a slightly weird way – thrown in.

In the 90s, the films [The Addams Family](#) and Addams Family Values took Charles Addams's source material and played it along perfectly spooky lines, with Anjelica Huston and Christopher Lloyd vamping it up to the maximum and Christina Ricci playing a wonderfully psychotic little Wednesday. The question is, do you trust Netflix – the people who made both Tall Girl and Tall Girl 2, may I remind you – to carry on that fine tradition?

Well, they've smashed it. The first perfect choice [is the format](#) – Wednesday (from Wednesday 23 Nov, Netflix) casts [Jenna Ortega](#), an Aubrey Plaza re-gen who is primed for stardom, as the titular Addams child, sending her to spooky boarding school Nevermore Academy after an incident involving piranhas, a swimming pool full of jocks and a lost testicle. There are sirens and lycans and vampires, but not in a Twilight way, and Wednesday is considered the weirdest weirdo at a school where a lot of the students legitimately feast on blood. What made Addams Family Values so funny almost 30 (What!) years ago was the contrast of the idiosyncratic vaudeville goth family (with an undead chauffeur and a pet severed hand) with cul-de-sac-and-prom-queen America. Here, they've tweaked the formula in a satisfying way: Wednesday's sparkingly colourful roommate, Enid, could so

easily have been written as a cheerful airhead who doesn't "get" her new companion. Instead, she's more than equipped to deal with her goth posturing while having a story of her own.

Second is the casting, which I think would be impossible to get more right. As Morticia, [Catherine Zeta-Jones](#) is less chewing the scenery than ravishing it at every glance, and Luis Guzmán is playing Gomez less as a frenzied lothario and more as a man who has been so agonisingly horny for so long it has sent him stupid. Gwendoline Christie's in it being great, as ever, and it's hard to overstate how perfect a Wednesday Ortega is: unblinking, unsmiling, po-faced and odd. There are a load of teenage hunks whirring around who are in love with her, and somehow in this world it all makes sense. There is an intense and completely unnecessary scene where she plays a jet-black cello. This is the kind of thing we need to see more of on TV.

Then there's the mystery, of which there seem to be a couple: Wednesday keeps getting agonising visions of people's deaths every time she touches them, which is not ideal, gargoyles keep toppling over and fires keep roaring out of control. There's some deep unspoken history involving Gomez and Morticia, who met at the school, a monster on the loose and a crayon drawing that possibly predicts the future. In a way, Wednesday has taken the central idea of [Harry Potter](#) – what if there were a magical school that was haunted by one monster every year? – and exchanged the epic drama of Hogwarts for wry laughs. It's really, really fun.

It is also just the right level of darkly horrible: [Tim Burton](#), Hollywood's goth-in-chief, has directed the series, and you can tell – every not-quite-in-focus severed limb, every cut-just-right off-camera scream, every piranha attack is poised to be just grim enough to be sickly enjoyable, but just kitschy enough not to be overwhelming. Every extra looks a little deliberately weird and there are a lot of grizzly scenes where people get their throats bitten out.

I think if Wednesday does the usual Netflix thing that happens to a series when it starts out good and people like it – ie runs for two seasons longer than it needs to and it becomes very clear that producers are reading fan threads on Reddit – then I'll come back and write a critical re-evaluation, but

for now: Wednesday is fantastic. I cannot wait to see what weird goth direction all the other streaming platforms go in as a result of it.

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2022/nov/19/wednesday-netflix-have-absolutely-smashed-this-fantastic-addams-family-revamp>

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

Advertisement

[Print subscriptions](#)

[Sign in](#)

[Search jobs](#)

[Search](#)

US edition

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

[The Guardian - Back to home](#)[The Guardian](#)

[Books](#)

[Interview](#)

## **Heartstopper author Alice Oseman: ‘If you don’t have sex and romance, you feel like you haven’t achieved’**

[Lucy Knight](#)



Alice Oseman. Photograph: Rebecca Gannon

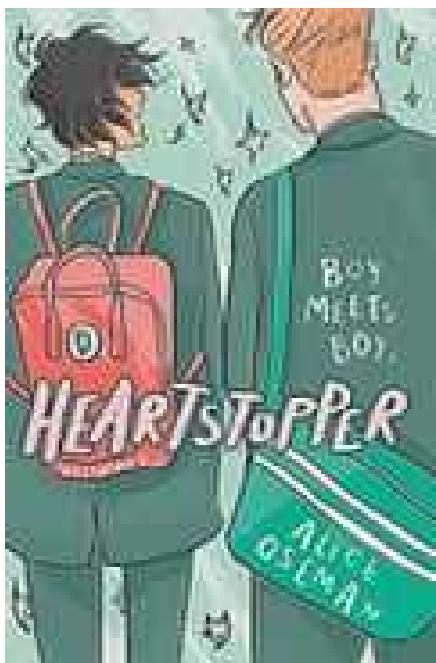
The writer and illustrator on turning her ‘weird hobby’ into a bestselling YA series and Netflix hit, the importance of asexual representation and lessons from her fans on love bites

Sat 19 Nov 2022 04.00 EST

At 28, the author and illustrator Alice Oseman recently achieved what so many of her peers cannot: she bought a flat. But instead of [giving up Netflix so she could save for a deposit](#), as Kirstie Allsopp notoriously recommended, she sold the streaming service the rights to her gay romance comic book series.

The series in question is of course Heartstopper, the web comic turned graphic novel turned Netflix show that [this paper’s reviewer](#) described as “completely lovely” when it aired earlier this year. The boy-meets-boy tale, set in a British secondary school, sees rugby captain Nick and socially awkward Charlie navigate friendships, bullying, coming out – and falling in love. It’s not hard to see why the TV adaptation won over teenagers and adults alike, with its lovable characters, quirky nods to its comic book origins – for example, tiny animations of hand-drawn flowers form a circle

round the actors when Nick and Charlie share their first kiss – and an injection of starriness in the shape of Olivia Colman (Nick's mum) and Stephen Fry (headmaster Barnes). The show's success resulted in a huge increase in book sales for Oseman: the Heartstopper series has now sold more than 6m copies worldwide. Volume One recently won the Books Are My Bag readers' choice award and is a contender for the 2022 Waterstones book of the year.



Oseman, who is also the author of four prose novels for young adults, knows her experience in the publishing world has been a rare one. “Very few creators achieve this level of success, and I’m very aware of that. I feel really lucky and grateful to be in this position.”

She may put it down to luck, but there is a quiet determination in the way the writer talks about her work. At just 18, she made headlines after bagging a six-figure deal for her first book, *Solitaire*, which tells the story of 16-year-old Tori Spring, a sardonic introvert who is reluctantly persuaded by her new friend Michael to help discover the identity of a hacker who is disrupting the school computer network. What motivated her to send out her writing to publishers at such a young age? “I thought it was good,” she says simply.

Clearly she wasn't the only one – publishing houses tussled for the novel, which HarperCollins bought after a bidding war. The announcement was made during Oseman's freshers' week at Durham University, when commissioning editor Elizabeth Clifford called the novel “the perfect story for the Instagram Tumblr generation”. From Solitaire grew Heartstopper: Nick and Charlie, who are 16 and 15 at the start of the comic, began as supporting characters in the novel, which is set roughly a year after the pair began their relationship. Oseman had always loved them as characters, and “knew that they had some kind of backstory”. Initially, she wanted to tell that story in another novel, but “just couldn't get it to work”.

“Nick and Charlie’s story didn’t have that beginning, middle and end structure that you have in a novel,” she says. The episodic nature of the web comic format allowed her to zoom in on specific periods in the teenagers’ lives without the need for an overarching narrative.

Oseman grew up in Rochester, Kent, with a dance teacher mother and a father who works for an electronics company. She “hated” the local grammar school that she attended, always wanting “to be at home writing stories and doing creative things”. She started working on Heartstopper during the final year of her English degree (“I skipped a lot of lectures”), at which point drawing the comic strip felt like “a very weird hobby”, rather than something that could actually be lucrative. The first instalment went live the September after she graduated, and a dedicated group of readers began to grow.

It is arguably the writer’s first-hand knowledge of how fandoms and online communities operate that has been the key to Heartstopper’s success. From the very start of the web comic, Oseman engaged directly with her fans, responding to their comments and fan art online. Due to the sheer number of messages, she can no longer reply to all her readers, but her latest book, *The Heartstopper Yearbook*, is evidence that she still wants to cultivate that fandom. The yearbook, “a cross between an annual and an art book”, is aimed at the comic and TV show’s fans, complete with quizzes, drawing guides, and behind-the-scenes information about the characters.



Kit Connor (Nick) and Joe Locke (Charlie) in the Netflix adaptation of *Heartstopper*. Photograph: See-Saw Films

Oseman understands this world because she was – and still is, though to a lesser degree – part of it. She is a self-proclaimed “Tumblr veteran”, having joined the blogging site in 2010, using it, alongside Tapas and Webtoon, to post the original *Heartstopper* web comic. Tumblr “very much shaped the person that I’ve become, in good ways and bad ways,” Oseman says. Seeing other people’s blogs “opened my eyes to queerness in a way that the real world was just not giving me,” she says; a digital coming-out experience she tried to replicate through *Heartstopper*’s Nick, who questions his sexuality via YouTube videos and BuzzFeed quizzes.

The author’s gender is “an ongoing journey” – she has recently started using they/them pronouns alongside she/her, but isn’t “tied to any specific labels”. She identifies as asexual and aromantic – something she explores in her 2020 novel *Loveless*, which is “not an autobiographical book, but it does draw on a lot of experiences”. Like Oseman, *Loveless*’s protagonist Georgia went away to university feeling something of an outsider, having never had a crush on anyone, despite enjoying fictional romance stories. Oseman remembers taking online quizzes to work out where she fell on the Kinsey scale, a method of identifying a person’s sexuality on a scale of zero to six.

The quizzes would return her result not as a number, but as an X. “Well, that’s not helpful to me,” she would think.

At the time she had no language to describe her asexual feelings. “The world is obsessed with sex and romance. And if you don’t have that, you feel like you haven’t achieved something that’s really important,” she says. Oseman tries to highlight the importance of platonic relationships in her own work – even in Heartstopper, an out-and-out love story, friendship is hugely important – and to include [asexual representation](#) in her books. She has even told her online followers that her character Tori, who identifies as straight in Solitaire (largely because Oseman didn’t know about asexuality at the time), is probably somewhere “on the ace/aro spectrums” and that this will “become canon” in Volume Five of Heartstopper. As much as Oseman and others like her are trying to start conversations about asexuality, she doesn’t think it’s going to be a widely talked about subject any time soon. “We’re never really going to see much cultural change in terms of awareness until a big celebrity comes out as being asexual,” she says. “And there’s nothing I can do about that.”

I very much felt like I had to put out everything about myself in order to sell my books

Could she become that big celebrity herself? “I need to do that!” she laughs, but it’s clear that even the small taste of fame that has come with the success of Heartstopper doesn’t suit Oseman. These days, she sets firm boundaries when it comes to social media. “Four years ago, I was perfectly happy to share my whole life online,” she says. “I very much felt like I had to put out everything about myself in order to sell my books.”

The pressure to share personal details with fans is still there, however, and LGBTQ+ celebrities in particular are often expected to come out publicly, sometimes before they are ready. Kit Connor, the 18-year-old star of Heartstopper, recently tweeted that he felt “forced” to come out as bisexual. “I truly don’t understand how people can watch Heartstopper and then gleefully spend their time speculating about sexualities and judging based on stereotypes,” Oseman tweeted in response.

The author herself now “treasures” being able to keep some things private: “I feel like I deserve that.” She also tries very hard not to read or be influenced by fanfiction created about her own work. “You can get caught up in trying to please the fans, but it’s impossible.”

Interacting with her teenage fanbase can be useful, however, especially when it comes to keeping her characters’ language realistic. “In Volume Three of the comics, there’s a whole storyline about Charlie having a love bite. And when I was writing the scripts for season two [of Heartstopper], I suddenly thought, do teens still use the phrase ‘love bite’?”

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.

“Apparently they don’t,” she discovered after checking with some of her fans, so the phrase had to be swapped out for “hickey”, their current word of choice.

Oseman was adamant that she would be involved in Heartstopper’s screen adaptation. As it turned out, production company See Saw offered her the opportunity to write the screenplay straight away, but she would have been “prepared to fight for it” otherwise. “I don’t think I would have allowed someone to just take the book and do what they want with it.”

What she couldn’t control, of course, were people’s reactions to the [Netflix](#) show. While the response has been overwhelmingly positive, she was confused by the way Heartstopper has been labelled by some as “the purest, cleanest, most wholesome show [they’ve] ever seen”.



‘Heartstopper is so positive and joyful, it’s hard to hate without seeming like a horrible person.’ Photograph: Album/Alamy

While the central relationship between Charlie and Nick is undoubtedly, and intentionally, very cute, Oseman felt some viewers were “sort of ignoring” the darker aspects of the story. “Even in season one, you’ve got an emotionally and physically abusive relationship, there’s homophobia, there’s bullying, there are implications of mental health issues,” she says, suggesting that more of these themes will be explored in future episodes. “So it was a strange reaction.”

Perhaps it’s because Heartstopper is being seen in the context of shows such as the US high school drama Euphoria, which was written for an adult audience. So while Nick, Charlie and their friends choose milkshakes over class A drugs and “crap” is as bad as it gets when it comes to expletives, this is largely because the show is specifically aimed at younger viewers. There was actually “loads of swearing” in the first draft of the script, Oseman tells me, as there is in the original comic, but the words were taken out after an executive producer explained it would mean an automatic 15 rating. “It was important to us” that the show would be “accessible to younger teens”, Oseman says, since the number of programmes aimed at this age group that depict positive queer relationships is still small.

Oseman has been pleasantly surprised by the lack of transphobic responses to the show. One of the main characters in season one, Elle, is a trans girl who has just moved to an all-girls school, and is played by trans TikTok star Yasmin Finney. The author had assumed this storyline would be criticised by some viewers, since transgender identities, particularly when it comes to teenagers, so often come under fire online. “I like to think [the lack of negativity] is because Heartstopper is so positive and joyful and full of love, so it’s hard to actively hate without seeming like a horrible person,” she says. “But that’s not how bigots work, so I’m not sure how it’s avoided that. But I’m glad that it has.”

Perhaps there has been some pushback “deep in the forums”, but it certainly hasn’t stopped the show and the comics from becoming hugely popular. Since season one aired, anyone walking into the young adult section of their local Waterstones branch is likely to be met by a barricade of Heartstoppers. Within the last year, “everything has skyrocketed in a really massive way,” Oseman says. It has “kind of changed my life”. When it all becomes overwhelming, she turns to her parents, who live near her flat in Kent. “I tell them everything,” she says, citing their support as what has got her through the more surreal moments of her career.

Right now she feels too “burnt out” to work on anything else. “I have no creativity left in my brain,” she says, with obvious frustration. It is clear there is part of her that wishes she could be back in her teenage bedroom, writing uninterrupted. “I miss having a new story to write,” she admits. “But I just don’t have the time or energy. So I’ll have to wait.” Volume Five of Heartstopper, due out in February, will be the last, at least for now, though Oseman can feel the weight of her readers’ expectation. “It’s going to be impossible to please everyone,” she says. “That’s something that I’m trying to come to terms with.” Whatever she comes up with next, it will be written in Oseman’s own time, on her own terms – and, of course, in her own flat.

- The Heartstopper Yearbook by Alice Oseman is out now (Hodder).

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

## 2022.11.19 - Opinion

- [Beer ban, Beckham and a vagina stadium: the World Cup in inglorious technicolor](#)
- [In liberated Kherson, Ukrainians are glimpsing victory after dark days](#)
- [A stark lesson for Keir Starmer from the budget: the Tories won't just lose, you have to beat them](#)
- [The Elon Musk effect: have we reached our limit with awful bosses?](#)

## World Cup 2022

# Beer ban, Beckham and a vagina stadium: the World Cup in inglorious technicolor

[Marina Hyde](#)



In some ways it's a shame not to be in Qatar to see how this all pans out ... in others, not so much



‘Some estimates place David Beckham’s promotional fee at £150m over 10 years, which is about £12m for every hour he did earning PR points in the queue for the late Queen’s lying-in-state.’ Illustration: David Humphries

Supported by

*Paramount+*

[About this content](#)

Fri 18 Nov 2022 11.03 EST Last modified on Fri 18 Nov 2022 12.57 EST

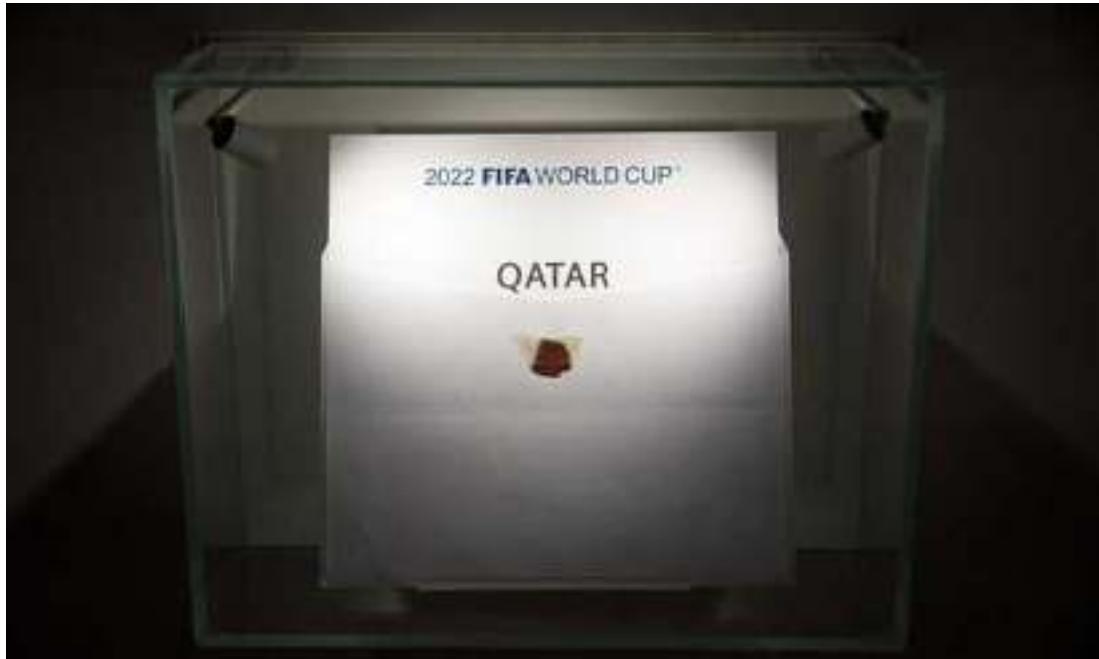
Some of my greatest regrets in life are things I've declined on principle. So in many ways, I'm sorry not to be in Qatar for the World Cup. On reflection, I'd have liked to take a detailed look at the horror show, in situ. I was once extremely close to travelling with Donald Trump's presidential party and some bad boys of Brexit to Mississippi, where the fash-Wotsit was guest of honour at [the opening of a civil rights museum](#), of all things. Insulting? Disgusting? Grotesque? Obviously. But let me tell you: there would have been plenty to write about. I'd have got 5,000 words out of the plane flight alone.

Fast forward to the present day, then, and I am nearly disappointed not to be seeing one of the great horrors of the sporting/geopolitical age in inglorious technicolour. Then again, how many words are honestly available? It's possible Fifa has finally contrived to pull off the genuinely unprecedented: a [World Cup](#) where, two days out from kick-off, there is only one thing to say about it all.

## Quick Guide

### **Qatar: beyond the football**

#### Show



This is a World Cup like no other. For the last 12 years the Guardian has been reporting on the issues surrounding Qatar 2022, from corruption and human rights abuses to the treatment of migrant workers and discriminatory laws. The best of our journalism is gathered on our dedicated [Qatar: Beyond the Football](#) home page for those who want to go deeper into the issues beyond the pitch.

Guardian reporting goes far beyond what happens on the pitch. Support our investigative journalism [today](#).

Photograph: Tom Jenkins

Was this helpful?

Thank you for your feedback.

Even someone as electrifyingly articulate as [David Beckham is reduced to promoting Doha](#) by claiming “it’s one of the best spice markets I’ve ever been to”. Surely not better than the Say You’ll Be There video, [the spice market where he chose his wife](#)? (And which, coincidentally, was also [desert-based](#).) Unfortunately, the only thing anyone now wants to hear from Beckham is an answer to the question “how much money is enough?”. Some estimates place his Qatar promotional fee at £150m over 10 years, which is about £12m for every hour he did earning PR points [in the queue](#) for the late Queen’s lying-in-state. Cynical? Hey – it’s not me who’s a self-marketed metrosexual whose family wealth [was recently estimated at £425m](#), yet who somehow wants even more cash from a regime [that imprisons and brutalises gay people](#).

Given the choice of addressing this or the modern slavery deaths, I see Gianni Infantino has instead taken refuge in some mad diversity-and-inclusion message. The Fifa president recently released a [snippy little open letter](#) to national football associations. “At Fifa,” this ran, “we [try not] to hand out moral lessons to the rest of the world.” Very wise. It would be like Charles Bronson drawing himself up to his full height and explaining that at HMP Woodhill, he tries not to hand out moral lessons to the rest of the world.

The [Fifa](#) boss went on to tell fans to shut up about Qatar and love the World Cup, because: “No one people or culture or nation is ‘better’ than any other ... this is also one of the core values of football.” To which the only decent reply is: what are you talking about, you grasping shitmuncher? The entire point of your tournament is for one nation to be better than any other! That is literally what international sport is! And guess what – the nation that ends up being better at football is not going to be Qatar, who are a) crap and b) treat people like crap.



Fifa president Gianni Infantino tries to keep everyone focused on the football. Photograph: Anne-Christine Poujoulat/AFP/Getty Images

Honestly, can someone mint a participation medal for Gianni – preferably one that weighs 250 kilos, to keep him rooted to the spot for the entire tournament, and able only to contemplate the radioactively sarcastic words of its engraving: “WELL DONE FOR TRYING”.

If not, we’re going to be subjected to weeks of him offering variants of his recent exhortation: “Please do not allow football to be dragged into every ideological or political battle that exists!” OMG, likewise? Can YOU stop also allowing it to be? Fifa voted for the two most recent World Cups to go to Russia and Qatar, which is about as nonpolitical and nonideological as

things screamed off various European balconies during the first half of the 20th century.

Anyway: is there anything to love about the imminent World Cup? Certainly not the sensational last-minute beer ban. (Although let's face it – serving only Budweiser was already a de facto beer ban.) I'm told the tiny geographic scale [offers itinerant fans some “logistical relief”](#). It takes longer to get from Infantino's eyebrows to his hairline than it does to travel between the various host cities. And I like the fact that as part of their attempts to create some kind of fan Stasi, the hosts have reportedly [paid for some of the England Band](#) to attend. That means that every time you hear arguably the nation's most annoying sound (including a reversing Securicor vehicle), you'll forever know that some of its purveyors have shown their arses for coins. Arguably a valuable public service.

[Sign up to Football Daily](#)

[Free daily newsletter](#)

Kick off your evenings with the Guardian's take on the world of football

**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.

But, hand on heart, my favourite thing so far is the Qatar World Cup [stadium that looks like a vagina](#). I feel it says *everything* about what we're dealing with. Consider this: at no point in the design sign-off process did one of the guys on the organising committee – and it will have been all guys – have the balls to say: “Look lads, I might end up taking a lot of stick, but doesn't this ... doesn't this look like a vagina?” I mean, come on – they must have seen one.

More to the point, in a country where you can be [arrested for being gay](#), you'd have thought it a social imperative for these men to publicly show an easy familiarity with the intimate parts of the female anatomy. Yet every single one of them appears to have been too fearful of something to say

anything, which means that they've ended up with THE biggest self-own of a stadium in world sport. And so it is that – game after game – “dignitaries” from this vicious, censorious, homicidal, women-hating regime will turn out to sit in a giant fanny. It doesn't remotely make up for the rest of it, obviously. But I am here for that spectacle, at least.

*Marina Hyde's World Cup Week will appear each Friday during the tournament*

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/football/2022/nov/18/beer-ban-beckham-and-a-vagina-stadium-the-world-cup-in-inglorious-technicolor-qatar>

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

[\*\*OpinionUkraine\*\*](#)

## **In liberated Kherson, Ukrainians are glimpsing victory after dark days**

[Nataliya Gumenyuk](#)



As I report on the aftermath of Russian occupation, there is a new sense that what once seemed impossible can be achieved

- Nataliya Gumenyuk is a Ukrainian journalist and author



A Kherson resident kisses a Ukrainian soldier following the city's liberation, 13 November 2022. Photograph: Efrem Lukatsky/AP

Fri 18 Nov 2022 10.20 EST Last modified on Fri 18 Nov 2022 12.52 EST

At Liberty Square in [Kherson](#), residents gather, trying to find wifi near the temporary wireless internet towers and charging points. There is limited phone connection and no internet to read the news and find out what is going on outside this recently liberated region. During their withdrawal after nine months of occupation, Russian forces [blew up](#) the TV tower and the power grid, so there is no electricity to charge devices either.

Yet the mood is celebratory in the square today, as locals wave Ukrainian flags and banners marking the liberation. It has been seven days since Ukrainian troops re-entered the city, but Ukrainian soldiers, police, social services, foreign reporters and anyone who has arrived from outside the city are still greeted warmly.

“I am so happy to be at home,” says one woman. “Home? Are you not from Kherson?” I ask. “At home means in [Ukraine](#),” she says, and hugs me.

Sasha, 13, has come with her father, Viktor, to charge their phones. She has spent the last few days with her classmates from school waving at the

military cars passing by. I am struck by her definition of freedom: “When the Russians were here, we had to walk with our heads down, not looking in front of us,” she says. “Now we are back in Ukraine we can raise our heads up and feel we’re free.” Her father nods.

Another woman, Halnya, recalls the Russian occupation. “At checkpoints the Russians would ask us: ‘Why are you in a bad mood?’ How should I have answered them? What do you say to people who go on to buses with machine guns – that if they were not here, our lives would be better?”

About 280,000 people lived here in Kherson – the regional capital, now back in Ukrainian control – before the Russians came. According to the Office of the President, 80,000 people remain.

“I was shocked when I saw so many people on the streets, I didn’t know so many residents stayed,” says Svitlana, who is 75. “There were always just us pensioners on the streets, as the youngsters were afraid to be captured and detained, and stayed inside. Now they’re all back.” Many people I meet say that this is the first time since February that they have come into town; they were too afraid to come while the Russians were here.

I have been reporting on the occupation of the Donbas and Crimea, where activists, journalists and others were forced to flee under the threat of arrest or detention. When the Russians arrived in Kherson, residents came to the streets to peacefully protest against the invasion. At one point they outnumbered the Russian soldiers. Moscow sent riot police to crack down on the dissent with force. Since then hundreds, if not thousands, of people have been detained in southern Ukraine. Not being an open Russian supporter was enough cause to be suspected and questioned. Ukrainian and international human rights organisations were registering numerous human rights violations.



People at an aid supply distribution in Kherson, Ukraine, 17 November 2022. Photograph: Bülent Kılıç/AFP/Getty Images

My work with [the Reckoning Project](#), which documents war crimes, has involved recording dozens of in-depth testimonies of detentions, tortures and even executions of people in southern Ukraine. Two of our own researchers come from the area. One fled as she was on the Russian death list. The second, the investigative reporter [Oleh Baturin, from Kakhovka](#) (an area that remains under occupation) was kidnapped, tortured, beaten and spent eight days in detention in March.

In this early stage of the occupation, there was a feeling in much of the international press and at security conferences that Kherson was lost. Friends and relatives in the area told us how they felt forgotten and Russian propaganda was reinforcing this message on the ground. It took months for the Ukrainian government to persuade the western alliance that with more and more precise weapons there was a chance that they could take back the area – which, due to its proximity to Crimea, is one Moscow was clearly focused on.

Kherson has given Ukrainians a glimpse of what victory looks like, and a sense that things previously considered impossible can be done. It is this, perhaps, that is driving the jubilant mood in the area. Previously, when

arriving in liberated areas, the joy was short-lived, as people worried about what would be uncovered – the mass graves, the torture chambers, and residents' exhaustion with the lack of electricity and running water. In Kherson, however, people are approaching reporters saying: “We'll cope with this, it's temporary, we are not scared.” Their attitude makes the “with Russia forever” billboards around the town look even more ridiculous.

Now, the rebuilding starts. Access to the town is still restricted as rescue workers and the emergency services uncover hidden mines. As bridges around the city were blown up, the only way for journalists to get in is with a military convoy. Colleagues and friends have asked me if I could take medicine from Kyiv to their sick relatives there.

Still, after months of the city being completely unreachable, even seemingly small pieces of news feel huge. When the mobile connection was restored in one town, I thought of my friend who can finally speak to her parents. When I see a truck delivering food, I think of a colleague who was worried about how her elderly mother was going to get enough food during the occupation. Passing by a bus in ruins, I wonder whether this was the place where a volunteer driving evacuated women and children out of the area back in May was killed by a sniper. I interviewed a witness to the incident and a sign tells me that this was the place. I hear stories from friends with relatives in the area of Chechens taking over their apartments, of neighbours robbed and threatened. And these are just the people I know.

After reporting on the war for so long, the warmth of the people of Kherson is overwhelming. “We have been waiting for it. We can breathe freely. What else can I say? Glory to the Ukrainian armed forces. Glory to Ukraine,” I am told. And I know they mean every single word.

- Nataliya Gumenyuk is a Ukrainian journalist specialising in foreign affairs and conflict reporting, and author of *Lost Island: Tales from the Occupied Crimea*

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

## OpinionAutumn statement 2022

# A stark lesson for Keir Starmer from the budget: the Tories won't just lose, you have to beat them

[Jonathan Freedland](#)



Labour's path to victory was clear when Truss was in office. A politically cunning autumn statement has made it harder



Rishi Sunak and Jeremy Hunt in the House of Commons, London, October 2022. Photograph: Jessica Taylor/AP

Fri 18 Nov 2022 14.13 ESTFirst published on Fri 18 Nov 2022 12.16 EST

The Tories should be toast. The words spoken by Jeremy Hunt to the House of Commons on Thursday, along with the forecasts of the Office for Budget Responsibility, should be enough to ensure that we are in the final stretch of what will have been 14 years of Conservative rule. Given that politics turns on economics, and that the dominant question of any election campaign is a version of the one Ronald Reagan asked of Americans in 1980 – “Are you better off now than you were four [or 14] years ago?” – the [Conservatives](#) should be heading to a crushing defeat in 2024.

The economic outlook could scarcely be bleaker, with every measure pointing towards gloom. Real household incomes will [fall by a calamitous 7%](#) over the next two years, plunging living standards back to the level they were at in 2013: nine years spent pushing the boulder up the hill, only for it roll back down in 24 months. Forget the crash of 2008, the fall in incomes projected for the next year alone will be the [steepest since records began](#) in the mid-1950s. Meanwhile, Britons will be paying more in tax, as a share of national income, than at any time since the end of the second world war.

The recession that is coming may not bite as deep as the one that struck in 2008, but it will be wider, affecting everyone. The experts warn of a [food bank winter](#), with the cold, hunger and stress that already afflicts the – staggering figure – 14.5 million Britons in poverty spreading to those we once called the squeezed middle. The next two years will see another [500,000 Britons become unemployed](#), while any pay rise for those in work will be eaten up and outstripped by inflation. One estimate says [real wages will not rise to their 2008 levels until 2027](#): that suggests Britain will have suffered not just one lost decade, but two. The front page of the [Daily Record](#) put it succinctly: “You’ve never had it so bad”.

All this economic pain for the country should spell political agony for the government in charge. Not least because, despite the chancellor’s valiant attempts to pretend Britain’s problems were “made in Russia”, voters know that the hole we’re in grew much deeper eight short weeks ago. That was when Liz Truss and Kwasi Kwarteng delivered a budget which spooked the markets so badly that Britain is no longer trusted to make its own fiscal decisions. Instead it is on probation, with Hunt obliged to tax high and spend low to reassure the moneymen whose loans the country needs to live on.

'We just got a whole lot poorer,' says IFS head after autumn statement – video

What’s more, the remedy imposed by reality on the government tears apart the coalition that put it there. So-called red wall voters who gave Boris Johnson a majority in 2019 did so in part because they were promised big money to draw level with the south, not so they could get a more emollient version of George Osborne’s austerity. Meanwhile, blue wall Conservatives, and especially the MPs who represent them, are Conservative because they believe, often as a matter of theology, in low taxes – yet it is their government that is taking more in tax than Stafford Cripps, Denis Healey or Gordon Brown ever dared. Most Tory MPs are prepared to stomach Hunt’s medicine for now, but only because they craved calm after the turmoil of Truss. Their patience will not hold for long, which means [Rishi Sunak](#) will soon be dealing with a restless parliamentary party that lost the knack for discipline long ago.

Put all that together, and you get the expectation most Tories themselves admit privately: that these are the end of days. The best they can do is hope that something comes along – that inflation falls, interest rates ease, growth returns – and voters give them one last chance. But few are betting on it. On the contrary, most are [bracing for a Labour government](#).

And yet, grim as the outlook is for the Tories, Labour's path to victory is not as straight as it may first appear. And that's because [Labour](#) faces a different opponent to the one that confronted it even a few weeks ago.

To be sure, Labour is comfortably ahead in the polls. But that lead grew in response to the two previous iterations of this government. First, voters became disgusted by the scandal, dishonesty and hypocrisy of the Johnson administration, and especially of Johnson himself: his failure to comply with his own Covid rules broke the bond of trust voters placed in him in 2019. Next, voters recoiled from the florid incompetence of Truss, which shattered the Tory reputation for economic acumen so thoroughly and so fast that, as I discovered for myself earlier this month, even US politicians and pundits now casually use “Liz Truss” as a synonym for debacle.

The Hunt-Sunak combination is a different proposition. Sunak may yet rue his pledge to restore “[integrity, professionalism and accountability](#)” to government – thereby setting a standard by which to judge, and condemn, [every ministerial failing and poor appointment](#) – but for now, few voters would put him in the same moral category as Johnson. Similarly, he and, especially, Hunt are effective at presenting as steady technocrats rather than the crazed-eyed ideologues each replaced.

Truss and Kwarteng were such an easy target. With their tax cuts for the richest, they were pantomime villains, all but inviting the audience to boo and hiss. The new duo are cannier than that. Not only have they not abolished the top rate of income tax, they've brought more high earners into it. They'll uprate benefits and pensions in line with inflation, raise the minimum wage, give more cash to schools and hospitals and extend the energy price guarantee for those who need it most. Naturally, there are sleights of hand: non-doms are safe; the energy giants should have faced a heftier windfall tax; local councils will be forced to wield the axe on services already shrunk by Osborne's austerity a decade ago. But Sunak and

Hunt have made sure the optics are different – two decent men doing their best to clean up a mess, anxious to look out for people and services in need. The announcement that a couple of New Labour-era bigwigs will be at their side, offering advice, completes the picture.

That makes it tougher for Keir Starmer. He likes to be the adult in the room, but come 2024 he will not have sole claim to that role. He will be asked if Labour will stick to the spending cuts that, cunningly, Hunt has scheduled for the other side of the next election. If Starmer and shadow chancellor Rachel Reeves won't adhere to Tory spending plans, as Tony Blair and Gordon Brown promised in 1997, what other cuts will they make? Given their plans for billions in green investment, how will they make their sums add up? Labour is always held more tightly to account on spending than the Tories – unjust, but true. For now, Labour says it cannot possibly know what state the finances will be in come 2024. That position may hold for a while, but not for ever.

All this is made harder by Labour's refusal to speak of the great unmentionable, the giant, stomping elephant marked Brexit which, the governor of the Bank of England confirmed this week, is one big reason why the British economy is contracting while the eurozone and the US are growing. Public support for quitting the EU is at an all-time low, with even one in five leave voters now conceding it was a mistake. It is the biggest single error of the post-2010 period, if not the postwar era, and yet the opposition can barely utter the word, let alone demand the government answer for it.

So yes, the gloom descending on Britain is now so thick that the simple logic of “time for a change” should see the Conservatives beaten in 2024. This week the economics of that became simpler and starker – but the politics just got trickier.

- Jonathan Freedland is a Guardian columnist

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

**Opinion**[Elon Musk](#)

## The Elon Musk effect: have we reached our limit with awful bosses?

[André Spicer](#)

Twitter's billionaire owner may think his tactics will leave him with committed employees. The evidence suggests otherwise



‘Elon Musk’s approach to managing people, bizarre as it sounds, is not as unusual as you might think.’ Photograph: Dado Ruvic/Reuters

Fri 18 Nov 2022 12.43 EST Last modified on Fri 18 Nov 2022 15.58 EST

If you passed by the Twitter headquarters in San Francisco on Thursday, you would have seen a stream of insults [projected on to](#) the side of the building: “Elon Musk: mediocre manchild, pressurised privilege, petty racist, megalomaniac ...” Inside, employees had received a message asking them to sign a pledge to work “long hours at high intensity” or leave their jobs. This came on the back of large-scale layoffs and an all-company email sent at

2.30am [declaring](#) “there is a good chance Twitter will not survive the upcoming economic downturn”.

Musk’s uncouth approach to managing people is long documented. Take allegations made about his behaviour at Tesla, where he reportedly yelled at one engineer “You’re a fucking idiot! ... Get the fuck out and don’t come back！”, according to [Wired](#). Other colleagues told the magazine that he would publicly humiliate and demote people, and that staff were discouraged from walking too near his desk as he was prone to “unpredictable rages”. “He was shouting that I didn’t know what I was doing, that I was an idiot, that he’s never worked with someone so incompetent,” one former employee told the magazine about her sacking.

As bizarre as it sounds this kind of workplace behaviour is not as unusual as you might think. According to a survey by my colleague Amanda Goodall, about 13% of managers in Europe fall into the category of “[bad bosses](#)”. These are people who don’t provide feedback, are disrespectful, do not give praise and recognition, stand in the way of getting the job done, undermine individual development, stop teams from working effectively, and don’t give employees the help and support they need.

Surveys have shown that many abusive bosses actually think their [strong-arm tactics](#) serve the greater good – Musk certainly believes his employees must work long hours if they want to achieve great things. [Research has consistently found](#) that this doesn’t work: people working for bad or abusive bosses tend to be less productive, and have worse mental and physical health.

What seems to be changing is our willingness to put up with awful bosses – be they just bad at their jobs or actually abusive. Following Musk’s ultimatum this week, hundreds of Twitter employees are [reported to be quitting](#). Across the US labour market as a whole, the consultancy firm McKinsey has estimated that up to 40% of workers are planning to [leave their jobs](#). The economics of the job market provide a partial explanation: often we stick with abusive supervisors when there are few other options available, and post-pandemic, the job market has been going through a healthy period. (Conversely, a recent study by a group of economists found

that when labour markets get worse, “unfriendly” approaches to leadership in a firm become [even more common](#), as bosses are less worried about staff retention.)

Of course, many people do stick around despite a bad boss – and the reasons why they might stay don’t offer much hope for Musk and the future of [Twitter](#).

Some people working under an abusive supervisor fall prey to what psychologists call “[learned helplessness](#)”. When people face difficult circumstances, they initially struggle to escape or fight back, but over time they start to treat the abuse as normal. They feel increasingly unable to change anything and become more and more passive. This means they miss opportunities to change, even when it possible.

Another reason people don’t leave bad bosses is they start to identify with them. This is a kind of workplace Stockholm syndrome whereby people begin looking up to their abusive bosses and [even model themselves on them](#).

The final reason why some people working for abusive bosses stay is because they themselves show signs of psychopathy. [One study concludes](#) that an advantage that the average organisational psychopath has is that they “have access to greater psychological resources than their peers under abusive supervision”.

Musk may think that despite a massive outflow of people, many of his best employees are likely to stick around. Judging from the research on the topic, it is likely that many of the people who have not been fired will leave. Those who do stay are likely to be less productive, less healthy, more passive, more adoring of Musk and more likely to be a bit psychopathic themselves. The days of the bad boss may be numbered.

- André Spicer is professor of organisational behaviour at the Bayes Business School at City, University of London. He is the author of the book [Business Bullshit](#)

- *Do you have an opinion on the issues raised in this article? If you would like to submit a response of up to 300 words by email to be considered for publication in our [letters](#) section, please [click here](#).*
- 

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/nov/18/elon-musk-twitter-billionaire-awful-boss>

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

## 2022.11.19 - Around the world

- ['In the public interest' US attorney general names special counsel to consider charges against Trump](#)
- [Jack Smith Who is the special counsel investigating Donald Trump?](#)
- [Explainer What is a special counsel and why will one investigate Donald Trump?](#)
- [Video Merrick Garland appoints special counsel in Trump criminal investigation](#)

[\*\*Donald Trump\*\*](#)

## **US attorney general names special counsel to weigh charges against Trump**

‘Extraordinary circumstances’ require appointment of Jack Smith to determine whether charges should be brought, Garland says

US attorney general appoints special counsel in Trump criminal investigation – video

*[Hugo Lowell](#) and [David Smith](#) in Washington*

Sat 19 Nov 2022 16.43 ESTFirst published on Fri 18 Nov 2022 14.23 EST

The US attorney general Merrick Garland has appointed a special counsel to determine whether [\*\*Donald Trump\*\*](#) should face criminal charges stemming from investigations into the former’s president’s alleged mishandling of national security materials and his role in the 6 January attack on the US Capitol.

The politically explosive move comes just three days after Trump announced he is [running for the White House](#) yet again, despite a disappointing Republican performance in the midterm elections, especially among candidates backed by the ex-president.

“Based on recent developments, including the former president’s announcement that he is a candidate for president in the next election, and the sitting president’s stated intention to be a candidate as well, I have concluded that it is in the public interest to appoint a special counsel,” Garland [told a press conference](#) on Friday.

Garland named Jack Smith, a veteran prosecutor and top former justice department official, to oversee the investigations into Trump as the justice department examines his role in retaining classified documents at his Mar-a-Lago residence and in the effort to subvert the 2020 election.

The appointment of a special counsel, delivered by Garland at justice department headquarters in Washington DC, reflects the sensitivity of the justice department overseeing the two most hazardous criminal investigations into Trump, and an increased possibility of charges being brought over either matter.

Special counsels are semi-independent prosecutors who can be installed for high-profile investigations when there are conflicts of interest, or the appearance of such conflicts, and provide a mechanism for the justice department to insulate itself from political considerations.

Trump predictably attacked the move within hours, and complained about an “appalling decision today by the egregiously corrupt Biden administration” at a black-tie event Friday night after earlier telling Fox News’s digital arm: “It is not acceptable. It is so unfair. It is so political.”

The appointment of a special counsel marked an anxious development for the ex-president, who was previously the subject of former special counsel Robert Mueller’s investigation shortly after he took office that examined ties between his 2016 presidential campaign and Russia.

Trump has already spent months since the FBI seized 103 documents marked classified from Mar-a-Lago accusing the justice department under president Joe Biden of pursuing him for political reasons – a tension likely to become more biting as the 2024 election draws nearer.

But it was to allay those concerns, Garland said at the news conference, that he chose to appoint Smith to run the investigations. “Appointing a special counsel at this time is the right thing to do,” Garland said. “The extraordinary circumstances presented here demand it.”

Smith, a graduate of Harvard law school, was described by current and former justice department officials as being particularly qualified for the role, given his low political profile – he is registered to vote as an Independent – and vast experience running complex criminal investigations.



Jack Smith has been named as special counsel to oversee investigations related to Donald Trump. Photograph: Charles Dharapak/AP

The former chief of the public integrity section at the justice department from 2010 to 2015, which handled government corruption probes, Smith has also acted as the special prosecutor to the international criminal court adjudicating war crimes in Kosovo, as well as a prosecutor in New York.

At the US attorney's office in Brooklyn, Smith helped prosecute a police brutality case that drew national attention and, in the 1970s, investigated Trump over possible fraud charges in a six-month inquiry that ended without charges.

Smith was also briefly involved in the prosecution of a CIA agent for disclosing national defense information and obstructing justice – crimes that echo potential charges against Trump, according to the warrant used by the FBI to search Mar-a-lago.

In [a statement released](#) by the justice department, Smith said: “I intend to conduct the assigned investigations, and any prosecutions that may result from them, independently and in the best traditions of the Department of Justice.

“The pace of the investigations will not pause or flag under my watch. I will exercise independent judgment and will move the investigations forward expeditiously and thoroughly to whatever outcome the facts and the law dictate.”

The appointment of a special counsel could indicate that the justice department has already accumulated substantial evidence of potential criminality by Trump and his allies, said Barbara McQuade, University of Michigan law school professor and former US attorney.

“One thing that is significant is this suggests that they think there’s a very real possibility of charges. If they were going to close the case, it would be closed by now,” McQuade said.

But some legal experts criticized the appointment of a special counsel, saying it risked delaying the investigations – particularly the Mar-a-Lago documents case – and allowed Garland to duck having to make potentially bruising prosecutorial decisions.

“I disagree pretty strongly with the decision by attorney general Garland to seek a special counsel. I don’t think it’s needed under the regulations and I think it risks delaying this investigation needlessly,” former acting US solicitor general Neal Katyal [told MSNBC](#).

“To me, I don’t really see what the case is for a special counsel. Attorney general Garland said it was because of a conflict of interest because Trump has announced that he’s running. That, to me, is tantamount to regarding [Donald Trump](#) for all the maneuvers he’s making,” Katyal said.

The White House press secretary, Karine Jean-Pierre, said Biden had not been given any advance notice of Garland’s announcement. “No, he was not aware, we were not aware,” she said at a delayed press briefing. “The department of justice makes decisions about criminal investigations independently. We are not involved.”

---

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

## US justice system

# Who is Jack Smith, the special counsel investigating Donald Trump?

Man named to lead investigations into ex-president is experienced prosecutor most recently at international criminal court



Jack Smith: 'I will exercise independent judgment and will move the investigations forward expeditiously and thoroughly.' Photograph: US Justice Department/Reuters

*Guardian staff*

Fri 18 Nov 2022 16.25 EST Last modified on Fri 18 Nov 2022 16.26 EST

**[Jack Smith](#)** is the man the US attorney general, Merrick Garland, appointed on Friday to be an independent special counsel overseeing parallel justice department investigations into Donald Trump's hoarding of top secret documents and involvement in the 6 January 2021, insurrection at the US Capitol, and he has been a criminal prosecutor for almost 30 years.

Smith has previously served as the chief of public integrity for the US justice department and dealt in particular with cases involving corruption, bringing cases against prominent Republicans and Democrats. In 2015 he was appointed first assistant US attorney for the Middle District of Tennessee. He is a registered independent, not aligned with either of the two dominant political parties in the US.

Since 2018 he has been the chief prosecutor for the international criminal court in The Hague, the city on the North Sea that operates as the national administrative center of the [Netherlands](#), and there has investigated and adjudicated war crimes that took place in Kosovo, in the Balkans.

The justice department announced on Friday that he had resigned from that role and would be returning to the US soon to take up his new position. However, he is currently recovering from a bicycle accident.

Smith began his career as a prosecutor in New York City, at the office of the Manhattan district attorney in the 1990s. He later became a federal prosecutor in the city's Brooklyn borough, where he specialized in cases of public corruption, prosecuted civil rights violations and investigated when police officers were killed by organized crime, justice department said.

In a justice department statement issued on Friday afternoon, Smith said: "I intend to conduct the assigned investigations, and any prosecutions that may result from them, independently and in the best traditions of the Department of Justice. The pace of the investigations will not pause or flag under my watch. I will exercise independent judgment and will move the investigations forward expeditiously and thoroughly to whatever outcome the facts and the law dictate."

Smith's appointment drew a rebuke from Trump within hours on Friday. The former president told Fox News's digital division: "It is not acceptable. It is so unfair. It is so political."

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

**Donald Trump**

**Explainer**

## **What is a special counsel and why will one investigate Donald Trump?**

Jack Smith will oversee investigations into Trump – but why did the attorney general take this step against the ex-president?



Merrick Garland announces his appointment of Jack Smith as special counsel on 18 November. Photograph: Evelyn Hockstein/Reuters

*[Martin Pengelly](#) in New York*

*[@MartinPengelly](#)*

Fri 18 Nov 2022 16.58 EST Last modified on Fri 18 Nov 2022 17.07 EST

On Friday, when announcing the [appointment](#) of Jack Smith as special counsel overseeing investigations of Donald Trump's alleged election subversion and retention of White House records, the US attorney general, Merrick Garland, said the selection would ensure "independence and accountability in particularly sensitive matters".

So why did Garland take this step against the former president?

## **What is a special counsel?**

Special counsels are usually highly experienced federal prosecutors. According to justice department [regulations](#), a special counsel is appointed when an attorney general “determines that criminal investigation of a person or matter is warranted” but “investigation or prosecution of that person or matter by a United States attorney’s office or litigating division of the [justice department] would present a conflict of interest ... or other extraordinary circumstances”.

An attorney general must therefore determine that it is “in the public interest to appoint an outside special counsel”.

## **Have those tests been met?**

Garland says they have.

Trump’s attempts to overturn his defeat by Joe Biden in 2020, including inciting the Capitol attack on 6 January 2021, have been exhaustively documented. His retention of White House records, many classified, has been established through an FBI search of his Mar-a-Lago resort, among other incidents.

But such matters are certainly politically sensitive. Citing “recent developments” including Trump’s announcement that he is running for president again and Biden’s “stated intention to be a candidate as well”, Garland said he had “concluded that it is in the public interest to appoint a special counsel”.

This, Garland said, would “underscore the department’s commitment to both independence and accountability in particularly sensitive matters. It also allows prosecutors and agents to continue their work expeditiously, and to make decisions indisputably guided only by the facts and the law”.

## **How do special counsels work?**

Outlining how Smith will work “quickly and completely”, Garland quoted from [department regulations](#): “Although the special counsel will not be subject to the day-to-day supervision of any official of the department, he must comply with the regulations, procedures and policies of the department.”

## **Are special counsels completely independent?**

No. Regulations also [state](#) that the attorney general can request explanation of any step taken and direct it not be pursued. If that happens, the attorney general must notify Congress. Special counsels and their staff are also subject to department disciplinary procedures.

## **Who can fire a special counsel?**

Regulations say a special counsel “may be disciplined or removed from office only by the personal action of the attorney general”. He or she can do this “for misconduct, dereliction of duty, incapacity, conflict of interest or for other good cause, including violation of departmental policies. The attorney general shall inform the special counsel in writing of the specific reason”.

## **Wasn’t Robert Mueller a special counsel?**

He was. [Appointed in May 2017](#), the former FBI director investigated “Russian government efforts to influence the 2016 presidential election and related matters”, including links between Trump and Moscow.

## **Didn’t Trump try to fire him?**

Trump [did](#). But only the attorney general can do so, so it didn’t work. Attempts to get rid of Mueller featured among examples of potential obstruction of justice which [Mueller laid out](#).

## Wasn't there another special counsel?

Yes. Trump's second attorney general, William Barr, appointed John Durham to investigate justice department activities which gave rise to the Russia investigation. Durham's work now appears to be winding down, without having produced major indictments. The two cases he took to trial ended in acquittals.

## What happens when a special counsel is done?

The attorney general decides how to proceed. In Mueller's case, critics charge, Barr misrepresented the special counsel's findings in order to let Trump off the hook. Whether he wriggles off it this time will be up to Garland.

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2022/nov/18/what-is-special-counsel-trump-jack-smith>

## US news

# US attorney general appoints special counsel in Trump criminal investigation – video

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2022/nov/18/us-general-attorney-appoints-special-counsel-in-trump-criminal-investigation-video>

# Headlines

- [Live Russia-Ukraine war: two killed in attack on Zaporizhzhia as Russian launches mass strikes across Ukraine](#)
- [UK weather Roads flooded as heavy rain batters Britain](#)
- [US midterms Republicans scrape back control of House after election flop](#)
- [Analysis Republicans are already fighting as they take House control](#)
- [Explainer What does a split Congress mean for US politics?](#)
- [Same-sex marriage Legislation clears key US Senate hurdle](#)

## [Ukraine war liveUkraine](#)

# **Ukrainian official says scale of torture in Kherson is ‘horrific’ and claims people have been electrocuted – as it happened**

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/live/2022/nov/17/russia-ukraine-war-live-news-blasts-heard-in-crimea-putin-trying-to-freeze-ukraine-into-submission-us-envoy-says>

## UK weather

# UK weather: roads flooded as heavy rain batters Britain

Met Office says conditions likely to be ‘atrocious’ for much of UK with snow expected in Highlands



A driver hangs his arm into the water near the village of Alfriston, East Sussex where the River Uck has burst its banks due to persistent heavy rain.  
Photograph: Jon Santa Cruz/REX/Shutterstock

*[Emily Dugan](#) and agencies*

Thu 17 Nov 2022 03.36 EST Last modified on Fri 18 Nov 2022 03.54 EST

Heavy rain across Britain overnight has inundated roads and caused “treacherous” conditions for commuters, leaving some cars stuck in flood water.

Much of the UK faced weather warnings until midday on Thursday, with the Met Office issuing yellow warnings for heavy rain. Train cancellations and

delays were also expected.

Meteorologists were predicting more wet weather with a band of rain, which arrived in Cornwall on Wednesday afternoon, expected to travel across the country before passing over the east coast of [Scotland](#) on Friday.

The Environment Agency has issued 26 flood warnings in [England](#), which mean flooding is expected, and 102 flood alerts, meaning it is possible.

Conditions were likely to be “atrocious” for much of the UK, while the Highlands could experience some snow, the Met Office said.

A wet start for many, with heavy rain and difficult travelling conditions in places ☐

Some dense fog patches across Northern Ireland too ☐

Stay [#WeatherAware](#) ☁ [pic.twitter.com/gCEsZZOpn5](https://pic.twitter.com/gCEsZZOpn5)

— Met Office (@metoffice) [November 16, 2022](#)

In West Sussex up to 20 cars were stuck in flood water and had to be rescued on the A27 between Emsworth and Chichester. The county’s fire and rescue service said on Wednesday night it was “extremely busy” rescuing people from cars and buildings after half a month’s worth of rain (65mm) had fallen in 48 hours.

The Sussex roads police officer PC Tom Van Der Wee warned drivers on Wednesday night that the roads were “treacherous”. He tweeted on Thursday morning that they had dealt with “a lot of weather related incidents” the previous day and warned drivers some roads may still be flooded.

We dealt with a lot of weather related incidents yesterday and some roads may still be flooded today so be sure to:

- ☐ Allow extra time for your journey
- ☐ Reduce your speed

☐ Maintain a larger gap between you and other vehicles  
☔ Be extra considerate to vulnerable road users  
[pic.twitter.com/b6eK5nAGyA](https://pic.twitter.com/b6eK5nAGyA)

— PC Tom Van Der Wee (@PCTomVanDerWee) [November 17, 2022](#)

Rail travel was also affected with a tunnel flooded at Wadhurst in East Sussex, disrupting the line between Tonbridge and Hastings. [Flooding](#) on the Island line in the Isle of Wight and between Lewes and Brighton stations was also causing cancellations and delays.



A motorist drives along a flooded road in Mountsorrel, Leicestershire  
Photograph: Joe Giddens/PA

The band of heavy rain initially focused in the south-east was now travelling north, with yellow rain warnings for Thursday across an area stretching from Birmingham, Lincoln and Hull to north Wales, Liverpool and Manchester, as well as the east coast up to the Scottish border.

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.

A Met Office spokesperson, Craig Snell, said: “The warning areas are where we are most concerned about the risk of flooding but it does not mean the areas outside them are not going to see some pretty atrocious conditions.”

Snell said a warning was in place for the south-east because “it has been quite wet there since the beginning of November, with many places already seeing more than their month’s share of rain”.

⚠ We are extremely busy dealing with multiple flood-related incidents, including rescuing people from cars and flooding in buildings.  
Lots of localised flooding on roads across West Sussex, please take care tonight and only drive if absolutely necessary 

— West Sussex Fire & Rescue Service (@WestSussexFire) [November 16, 2022](#)

The RAC breakdown spokesperson advised drivers to take care. “The chances of being involved in a collision rise dramatically in wet weather, and even more so if there’s snow, so it’s vital drivers slow down, leave plenty of space behind the vehicle in front and use their lights to make sure they are easily seen by other road users,” Rod Dennis said.

“The risk of aquaplaning where a vehicle’s wheels lose contact with the road as they skim across standing water will be high, particularly for those who do not slow down to appropriate speeds for the conditions.”

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

## US midterm elections 2022

# Republicans scrape back control of US House

Slim majority means end to Nancy Pelosi's time as speaker and likely GOP showdown with Biden in next two years of presidency

- [US midterms: results in full](#)



Control of the House after the US midterms is crucial as it will allow the Republicans to launch an array of congressional investigations. Photograph: J Scott Applewhite/AP

*Guardian staff*

Wed 16 Nov 2022 23.52 ESTFirst published on Wed 16 Nov 2022 18.47 EST

Republicans have won back control of the [House of Representatives](#), scraping a victory from a midterm election that many had expected to be a

red wave of wins but instead turned into more of a trickle.

Nevertheless, the party finally won its crucial 218th seat in the lower chamber of Congress, wresting away control from the Democrats and setting the stage for a showdown with [Joe Biden](#) in the next two years of his presidency.

The result means the end of Democrat Nancy Pelosi's time as House speaker. She is likely to pass the gavel to the Republican leader Kevin McCarthy, who has announced his intention to take up the post.

Control of the House is crucial as it will allow the [Republicans](#) to launch an array of congressional investigations into issues ranging from Biden's botched withdrawal from Afghanistan to more obviously politicised probes of government actions during the Covid pandemic and Biden's son Hunter's business activities.

The Republican-run House is likely to be a raucous affair as its predicted slim majority means it will take only a few rebels to stymie any legislation – in effect handing great power to almost every Republican member of the House. With the Republican right full of fringe figures, including Georgia's Marjorie Taylor Greene, that could be a recipe for chaos and the promotion of extremist beliefs and measures.

Biden congratulated McCarthy on the victory and said he was “ready to work with House Republicans to deliver results for working families”.

“Last week’s elections demonstrated the strength and resilience of American democracy,” the president added. “There was a strong rejection of election deniers, political violence, and intimidation.”

Biden and his party had gone into election day largely expecting to get a thumping from an electorate angry at high inflation that has wrought misery for millions of Americans struggling with bills and spiraling prices. Republicans had doubled down on that by running campaigns that stoked fears of violent crime and portrayed [Democrats](#) as far-left politicians out of touch with voters’ concerns.

But the Democrats fought back, pointing out the extremist nature of many Republican politicians, especially a cadre of far-right figures backed by Donald Trump, and warning of the threat to US democracy they represented. They were also boosted by the backlash from the loss of federal abortion rights, taken away by a conservative-dominated supreme court.

US midterms: no sign of 'red wave' as Democrats take Senate – video report

The result was a shock: Democrats held up in swathes of the country and while Republicans won in some parts, such as Florida, in many other parts their candidates were defeated. High-profile Trump-backed candidates such as Mehmet Oz and Doug Mastriano in Pennsylvania lost their races.

Sign up to First Thing

Free daily newsletter

Start the day with the top stories from the US, plus the day's must-reads from across the Guardian

**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.

Meanwhile, Republican performance in the Senate was worse. Democrats retained control of the upper chamber when their incumbent senator was projected as the winner in Nevada the Saturday after election night.

The remaining seat up for grabs, in Georgia, will be decided in a run-off between incumbent Raphael Warnock and his Republican challenger Herschel Walker in early December after neither surpassed 50% of the vote.

If Warnock wins, Democrats will enjoy a two-seat majority, 51-49, in the 100-seat senate, a small but significant improvement on the current 50-50 balance, which leaves Democrats in control because the vice-president, Kamala Harris, has the tie-breaking vote.

That situation will continue if Walker wins the seat for the Republicans.

This article was amended on 17 November 2022. A previous version said that if Raphael Warnock won, the Democrats would enjoy a one-seat majority, 51-50. This should have been a two-seat majority, 51-49 and has been corrected.

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2022/nov/16/us-midterms-2022-republicans-win-control-house-representatives-congress-midterm-election-results>

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

## Republicans

### Analysis

# Republicans are already fighting with each other as they take House control

[Martin Pengelly](#)

Controlling an unruly party with an extremely narrow majority will all but guarantee brutal tests every day



The Republican House leader, Kevin McCarthy, in Washington DC.  
Photograph: Jim Lo Scalzo/EPA

Wed 16 Nov 2022 18.52 EST Last modified on Thu 17 Nov 2022 04.25 EST

Even before Republicans took the [House of Representatives](#), leading figures on the right of the party pointed to troubled waters ahead for Kevin McCarthy – or whoever else becomes the next House speaker.

Now [Republicans](#) have won their slim victory in the lower chamber of Congress, the next two years are likely to be chaotic. Controlling an unruly

party with an extremely narrow majority will all but guarantee brutal tests every day, especially from the right wing.

Fighting among Republicans over who leads the House is already in full swing. On Tuesday, Clay Higgins of Louisiana, a member of the hard-right Freedom Caucus, would not tell Politico if he would back McCarthy.

But Higgins did say: “The speaker of the House, whomever he or she is, will be required to recognise the center of gravity of the conference itself. And the Freedom Caucus has moved that center of gravity to the right.”

Andy Biggs, a Freedom Caucus member from Arizona and an ardent backer of Donald Trump’s electoral fraud lie, challenged McCarthy, now minority leader, to be the Republican nominee for speaker.

“My bid to run for speaker is about changing the paradigm and the status quo,” Biggs tweeted, adding: “McCarthy does not have the votes needed to become the next speaker of the House and his speakership should not be a foregone conclusion.”

Biggs did not have the votes in secret leadership ballots on Tuesday, losing 188-31 to McCarthy. But the speaker’s role will not be decided till January and any candidate for speaker must attract 218 votes. That is a simple House majority, not confined to party lines, but Republicans are set to hold power by not much more and McCarthy must now win over his skeptics.

Backstage manoeuvres are in full swing. On Tuesday a moderate Democrat, Henry Cuellar of Texas, confirmed that consultants allied to McCarthy had been seeking his vote, via a switch to become a Republican.

The Republican party is in flux, after a predicted midterms “red wave” failed to materialize and with leaders under fire from all directions, each faction seeking to identify what went wrong and set course for the next two years.

Another prominent rightwinger, Matt Gaetz of Florida, is among those demanding aggressive action against Democrats, including investigations of Hunter Biden, the coronavirus response and immigration policy and swift impeachment of Joe Biden.

On Monday, [Gaetz said of McCarthy](#): “I’m not voting for him tomorrow. I’m not voting for him on the floor. And I am certain that there is a critical mass of people who hold my precise view.”

On Tuesday, after McCarthy’s party vote victory, Gaetz [told reporters](#) the current minority leader “couldn’t get 218 votes, he couldn’t get 200 votes, he couldn’t get 190 votes today, so to believe that Kevin McCarthy is going to be speaker, you have to believe he’s going to get votes in the next six weeks that he couldn’t get in six years”.

Illustrating party ferment, however, an equally visible and extreme provocateur, Marjorie Taylor Greene of Georgia, has taken an opposing view.

US midterms: no sign of 'red wave' as Democrats take Senate – video report

Speaking to the former Trump adviser Steve Bannon, Greene said denying McCarthy the speaker’s gavel would be “bad strategy when we’re looking at having a very razor-thin majority”.

McCarthy has [confirmed](#) that if made speaker, he will restore to Greene committee assignments Democrats stripped over her extremist views and behaviour.

Greene also pointed to an outlandish idea, nonetheless circulating on Capitol Hill, that moderate Republicans could join with Democrats and install Liz Cheney, an anti-Trump conservative, as speaker.

Greene said: “We’ve already been through two years where we saw Republicans – Liz Cheney and Adam Kinzinger – cross over and join the Democrats and produce a January 6 committee.

“The danger is this: do we want to watch a challenge for speaker of the House simply because the ‘Never Kevin’ movement – just like we’ve seen a ‘Never Trump’ movement – do we want to see that challenge open the door to Nancy Pelosi handing the gavel to Liz Cheney?”

Cheney will soon leave the House, having lost her Wyoming primary to a Trump-backed challenger. But the speaker of the House does not have to be

a member of Congress, hence a previous fringe idea that Republicans could put Trump in the role.

On Monday, Don Bacon, a Republican moderate from Nebraska, [told NBC News](#) “Cheney for speaker” was a non-starter. But he also said that if his party paralysed itself with partisan infighting, he would work with Democrats to install a moderate Republican speaker.

“I will support Kevin McCarthy,” he said. “But … I do want the country to work and we need to govern. We can’t sit neutral. We can’t have total gridlock for two years.”

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2022/nov/16/house-gop-analysis-congress>

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

## US midterm elections 2022

### Explainer

# Q&A: what does a split Congress mean for US politics?

With Republicans in control of the House and Democrats holding the Senate, expect a legislative logjam



Representatives mingle as they disperse after taking a group photo outside of the US Capitol building this week. Photograph: Leah Millis/Reuters

*[Joan E Greve](#)  
[@joanegreve](#)*

Wed 16 Nov 2022 18.56 EST Last modified on Thu 17 Nov 2022 10.14 EST

Republicans officially captured control of the House on Wednesday, as the Associated Press called the 218th seat for the party. The House victory ends four years of Democratic control of the lower chamber, handing [Republicans](#) the speakership and the chairmanships of key committees, while Democrats will maintain control of the Senate.

But the incoming Republican speaker has the unenviable task of attempting to pass legislation with a very narrow majority, where only a few defections within the party will be enough to kill a bill.

Republicans had hoped that a “red wave” in the midterm elections would allow them to flip dozens of House seats, giving them a much more comfortable majority. Instead, Republicans were barely about to flip the House, and [Democrats](#) may even be able to increase their Senate majority depending on the results of the Georgia runoff next month.

With the House and the Senate now both called, Washington is bracing for at least two years of split control of Congress. Here’s what we can expect.

## **Will Congress be able to pass any bills?**

It will be extremely difficult for Democrats to advance their legislative agenda. Republicans can use their majority power to block any bills passed by the Democratic Senate from even getting a vote on the House floor.

Since Joe Biden took office, some notable bills have passed the House with bipartisan support, including the infrastructure law that the president signed late last year. But the new Republican speaker will probably be hesitant to hand Biden and his party any more policy wins before the 2024 presidential race, which could result in a legislative logjam.

## **How will Republicans use their House majority?**

Given their very narrow majority, House Republicans may have trouble advancing major legislation through the chamber. Even if they are able to pass something, the bill would almost certainly fail in the Democratic Senate, so it seems likely House Republicans will focus most of their attention on investigations and executive oversight.

Even before polls closed last Tuesday, House Republicans had outlined plans to launch a series of investigations into the Biden administration and members of the president’s family. Republican members have expressed keen interest in investigating the administration’s handling of the US troop

withdrawal from Afghanistan, Biden's oversight of the US-Mexican border and his son Hunter's overseas business dealings.

Some of the far-right members of the House Republican caucus have also threatened to use their new majority to hold up must-pass bills, including a debt ceiling hike. If the debt ceiling – essentially, the maximum amount the US government can borrow – is not raised, it could jeopardize the entire US economy. Some House Republicans have signaled they want to withhold support for a debt ceiling increase until they secure concessions on government spending and entitlement programs.

The new House Republican majority could also threaten proposals to send more military aid to Ukraine amid its war against Russia. The far-right congresswoman Marjorie Taylor Greene has said that “not another penny will go to Ukraine” once Republicans take control, alarming Ukraine’s allies on Capitol Hill and abroad. With such a narrow majority, it only takes a few votes to block bills.

## **Who will replace Nancy Pelosi as House speaker?**

That is a question that many House Republicans are asking themselves right now as well. The obvious frontrunner for the role – which oversees, manages and directs the majority party in the House – is Kevin McCarthy, the California Republican who has served as House minority leader since 2019.



Kevin McCarthy speaks after he was nominated to be House speaker on Tuesday. Photograph: AFP/Getty Images

But McCarthy has faced some dissent from within his own caucus, and it remains unclear whether he can get the 218 votes needed to become speaker. On Tuesday, the House Republican caucus easily nominated McCarthy as their speaker candidate, but 31 members cast ballots for the far-right Arizona lawmaker Andy Biggs. That tally could spell disaster for McCarthy when the full floor vote is held in January.

“My position remains the same until further notice – no one has 218 (or close, as needed),” Chip Roy, a member of the far-right Freedom Caucus who nominated Biggs, [told the Texas Tribune](#) on Tuesday. “We have to sit down and establish the fundamental changes needed.”

## **How will Biden work with the new Republican speaker?**

Before becoming president, Biden built a reputation in the Senate for his ability to reach across the aisle and strike compromise with his Republican colleagues. During the 2020 Democratic primary, Biden boasted about how he was even able to work with hardline segregationists such as James

Eastland and Strom Thurmond. Those comments, meant to demonstrate Biden's collaborative nature, outraged many Democratic primary voters.

But in recent months, Biden has become increasingly vocal in his criticism of the modern Republican party, which he says is beholden to Donald Trump and hostile to democratic principles. "Donald Trump and the Maga Republicans represent an extremism that threatens the very foundations of our republic," Biden said in September.

McCarthy has responded to Biden's criticism by accusing the president of having "chosen to divide, demean, and disparage his fellow Americans ... simply because they disagree with his policies".

So if McCarthy does manage to capture the speakership, he and Biden will not be starting off their new relationship on the best footing. When a reporter asked Biden last week about his relationship with McCarthy, the president deflected.

"I think he's the Republican leader, and I haven't had much of [an] occasion to talk to him," Biden replied. "But I will be talking to him."

## **What can Democrats get done without control of the House?**

Democrats' continued control of the Senate ensures that they will still be able to approve Biden's cabinet and judicial nominations. Their Senate majority will allow Democrats to install more liberal judges in key posts, and it could give them the ability to fill another supreme court seat if one opens up in the next two years.

But overall, Democrats' best opportunity to enact change between now and 2024 may come down to the power of the executive. Biden has already signed more than 100 executive orders since becoming president, according to [the Presidency Project at University of California Santa Barbara](#).

Biden has used executive orders to overturn some of Trump's most controversial policies, such as halting funding for construction of a wall at the US-Mexican border, and to advance progressive proposals that would

otherwise stall in Congress. Biden's order to provide student debt relief of up to \$20,000 for millions of borrowers was celebrated by the president's progressive allies, although the policy is now [facing legal challenges](#).

With Republicans now in control of the House, Biden could soon be reaching for his executive pen more frequently.

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2022/nov/16/qa-what-does-a-split-congress-mean-for-us-politics>

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

## Same-sex marriage (US)

# Same-sex marriage legislation clears key US Senate hurdle with Republican support

Twelve Republicans voted with all Democrats to advance the bill, which would ensure same-sex unions are enshrined in federal law



Chuck Schumer speaks with reporters at the Capitol in Washington DC Wednesday. Photograph: J Scott Applewhite/AP

*Associated Press in Washington*

Wed 16 Nov 2022 16.32 EST Last modified on Wed 16 Nov 2022 16.39 EST

Legislation to protect same-sex and interracial marriages crossed a major Senate hurdle on Wednesday, putting Congress on track to take the historic step of ensuring that such unions are enshrined in federal law.

Twelve Republicans voted with all Democrats to move forward on the legislation, meaning a final vote could come as soon as this week, or later this month. Chuck Schumer, the Senate majority leader, said the bill ensuring the unions are legally recognized under the law is a chance for the Senate to “live up to its highest ideals” and protect marriage equality for all people.

“It will make our country a better, fairer place to live,” Schumer said, noting that his own daughter and her wife are expecting a baby next year.

Senate Democrats are quickly moving to pass the bill while the party still controls the House. Republicans are on the verge of winning the House majority and would be unlikely to take up the issue next year.

The bill has gained steady momentum since the supreme court’s June decision that overturned Roe v Wade and the federal right to an abortion. An opinion at that time from Justice Clarence Thomas suggested that an earlier high court decision protecting same-sex marriage could also come under threat.

The legislation would repeal the Clinton-era Defense of [Marriage](#) Act and require states to recognize all marriages that were legal where they were performed. The new Respect for Marriage Act would also protect interracial marriages by requiring states to recognize legal marriages regardless of “sex, race, ethnicity, or national origin”.

Congress has been moving to protect same-sex marriage as support from the general public – and from Republicans in particular – has sharply grown in recent years, as the supreme court’s 2015 Obergefell v Hodges decision legalized gay marriage nationwide. Recent polling has found more than two-thirds of the public supports same-sex unions.

Still, many Republicans in Congress have been reluctant to support the legislation. Democrats delayed consideration until after the midterm elections, hoping that would relieve political pressure on some GOP senators who might be wavering.

A proposed amendment to the bill, negotiated by supporters to bring more Republicans on board, would clarify that it does not affect rights of private individuals or businesses that are already enshrined in law. Another tweak would make clear that a marriage is between two people, an effort to ward off some far-right criticism that the legislation could endorse polygamy.

Three Republicans said early on that they would support the legislation and have lobbied their GOP colleagues to support it: Maine Senator Susan Collins, North Carolina Senator Thom Tillis and Ohio Senator Rob Portman.

“Current federal law doesn’t reflect the will or beliefs of the American people in this regard,” Portman said ahead of the vote. “It’s time for the Senate to settle the issue.”

The growing GOP support for the issue is a sharp contrast from even a decade ago, when many Republicans vocally opposed same-sex marriages. The legislation passed the House in a July vote with the support of 47 Republicans – a larger-than-expected number that gave the measure a boost in the Senate.

On Tuesday, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints became the most recent conservative-leaning group [to back the legislation](#). In a statement, the Utah-based faith said church doctrine would continue to consider same-sex relationships to be against God’s commandments, but it would support rights for same-sex couples as long as they didn’t infringe upon religious groups’ right to believe as they choose.

Wisconsin Senator Tammy Baldwin, a Democrat who is the first openly gay senator and has been working on gay rights issues for almost four decades, said the newfound openness from many Republicans on the subject reminds her “of the arc of the LBGTQ movement to begin with, in the early days when people weren’t out and people knew gay people by myths and stereotypes”.

Baldwin said that as more individuals and families have become visible, hearts and minds have changed.

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2022/nov/16/same-sex-marriage-bill-us-senate-latest>

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

## 2022.11.17 - Spotlight

- [When Marie Kondo came round 'She dropped three cheese-and-onion crisps and a tooth into my hand'](#)
- ['It could be years of limbo' How UK interest rate rises have hit mortgages](#)
- [The long read The night everything changed: waiting for Russia's invasion of Ukraine](#)
- ['It's about having your tag everywhere' Why the art of Keith Haring is all around us](#)

Advertisement

[Print subscriptions](#)

[Sign in](#)

[Search jobs](#)

[Search](#)

US edition

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

[The Guardian - Back to home](#)[The Guardian](#)

[Marie Kondo](#)

**She dropped three cheese-and-onion crisps and a tooth into my hand: what happened when Marie Kondo tidied my home**



‘Once you start tidying, your hurdle for throwing things away is not as high as you think’: Marie Kondo gets to work with Zoe Williams. Photograph: Alecsandra Raluca Drăgoi/The Guardian

A decade after publishing her first guide to tidying up, the writer and TV presenter has a new book about creating living spaces that ‘foster conversation’. But can she help me clear up the disaster that is my desk? And will it spark joy?



Zoe Williams

@zoesqwilliams

Thu 17 Nov 2022 01.00 EST Last modified on Thu 17 Nov 2022 06.34 EST

How do you tidy up before [Marie Kondo](#) arrives at your house? The 38-year-old queen of domestic serenity has been bossing chaos since 2011, when she published *The Life-Changing Magic of Tidying Up*. Then in 2016 came *Spark Joy*, an illustrated follow-up, and pretty soon the entire world – I’m not exaggerating – was familiar with her principles: separate your belongings into categories: clothes, books, papers, miscellany, sentimental items. Go through, in that order, and pick up each item, hold it in your hands, ask yourself if it sparks joy. If it doesn’t, discard it. “For the things that you decide to let go, you thank it for having sparked joy in the past,” she tells me later, through an interpreter. “Out loud?” I ask, appalled. “Silently is fine.” All that remains is to decide where to put your joy-sparking items.

Pause for a second, here: I have been scoffing at the notion of thanking objects since I read Kondo’s handbag advice (you’re meant to thank it at the end of each day), but that is cloth-eared. The Shinto religion – Kondo isn’t incredibly observant, but was a *miko* (shrine maiden) in her late teens – is animist, and holds that some inanimate objects can gain a soul after 100 years of service. So there is nothing ridiculous about feeling gratitude to a thing; ridiculous is clinging on to a thing that plainly *doesn’t* have a soul.



The task in hand: Zoe's desk. Photograph: Alecsandra Raluca Drăgoi/The Guardian

Kondo is only going to tidy my desk, so my whole-house tidy was precautionary and a little bit chastening. There was an empty beer bottle on my bedside table, right there, where regular people keep books. Downstairs, there was a book face down in some sauce. Never mind untidy, why am I so disgusting? She arrived at my house as – no offence, everyone – the most perfect person who has ever set foot in it: radiant with calm, fine-boned and beautiful like a statue, collected, curious. As a result of her Netflix series *Sparkling Joy* (in 2021) and *Tidying Up* (2019), she has become an obsession with my nieces, and they are here, too, pretending to be yet more of my children. I'm affecting to have five children, three of whom are 15 and look nothing alike. While I'm wondering what my answer will be, should she ask me whether *all* these teenagers spark joy (some of them, some of the time), the younger niece proffers an origami flower she has made. It is an exquisite moment, a disciple of tidiness meeting her prophet, bonding wordlessly over this perfect, neat thing. It made it into Kondo's handbag, so it must have sparked joy; either that, or there is a hard edge where manners meet tidy-rules, and manners win. She doesn't say *that* in the books, and that's half my stuff: things that I can't throw away because someone gave them to me. OK, a 10th of my stuff.

How did this happen? Kondo grew up in Tokyo in a regular family, with two siblings. “My parents are what I would call ordinary people. They’re not particularly tidy. They’re not particularly untidy,” she says. Her singular passion for organising was manifest by her earliest schooldays, and by the time she got to Tokyo Woman’s Christian University to study sociology, she was regularly introducing her friends to her “KonMari” method. At 19, strangers were asking her to tidy for them, and she started her organising consultancy business – an empire was in the making.



Getting stuck in ... Photograph: Alecsandra Raluca Drăgoi/The Guardian

Her new book, Marie Kondo’s *Kurashi at Home*, ventures into new realms: gardens, fermentation, living spaces that “foster conversation”. This gestalt approach reflects, I think, the fact that once people have adopted her tidying method, it is so life-changing that they want her to tell them how to do *everything*. She has come straight from a book launch in central London, where people in the audience were describing major life changes that started when they adopted the KonMari method, and this, to Kondo, makes perfect sense: “Through tidying, you would have to repeat the process of finding things that spark joy or not. And through doing that many, many times, you will improve your sense of finding out what sparks joy in your life and what doesn’t. That can be applied not just to objects but also to people. Gradually,

people would start changing what kind of person they want to date, or what kind of job they think might spark joy. That's how life can change.”

So, there's a problem with my desk: it will take more than two hours. Can we do my husband's desk instead? Sure, the worst that could happen would be that I throw away his mini-USB. Since clothes are not typically found on desks, we start on books. She places in my hands Enabling Collaboration – Achieving Success Through Strategic Alliances and Partnerships, and asks, does it spark joy? This question is so absurd that I can hardly stop laughing. Oh my God, it was boring. Five minutes in, we have discarded all his books, except, realistically, I don't think we can.



‘What I do is really fun’ ... Marie Kondo. Photograph: Alecsandra Raluca Drăgoi/The Guardian

“Maybe we have to do your desk,” Kondo says. It turns out that I’m going to disrupt her system, because there *are* clothes on my desk, but we don’t find that out until much, much later. Deliciously, she calls them “textiles”; they can’t be clothes, if they were, we’d have done them first, and what kind of maniac keeps their friend’s scarf, a spare school tie and a T-shirt underneath 17 years of bank statements?

Kondo's thesis, at the end of her degree, was titled "Tidying up as seen from the perspective of gender", which argued that while tidying shouldn't be seen as the preserve of women, they did seem to have a closer connection with their physical surroundings. The subject is unavoidable: tidiness as a component of femininity, allied to restraint, order, the suppression of base impulse, is half the reason I won't tidy. The tide of Kondo's career, though, has made her think that maybe this isn't a girl-thing: "When it comes to just possessing things and thinking about what you want to possess, I think it's the same for any gender. I keep hearing people who say they listened to my method, they tidied and their lives changed, many men as well. I just happen to be a woman, that's all. Although it's true that among my readers, there are more women."

What kind of maniac keeps their friend's scarf, a spare school tie and a T-shirt underneath 17 years of bank statements?

She married Takumi Kawahara, who is now CEO of KonMari Media, in 2012. In *Kurashi at Home*, she takes on the dilemma, "Help, my partner's messy!" (the answer, by the way, is to be so tidy yourself that it encourages them to change), but this relates in no way to her marriage. "Perhaps my husband is tidier than me. I love my job of telling people the value of tidying, however I wouldn't say my house is perfectly tidy," she says.



‘Do these spark joy?’ Photograph: Alecsandra Raluca Drăgoi/The Guardian

“Once you start tidying,” she tells me, back at my desk, “your hurdle for throwing things away is not as high as you think.” The books were incredibly easy (are you ever going to read a Charles Cumming spy novel twice?), the paperwork straightforward (my bin is overflowing). We are on to miscellany: a toothbrush; nine pairs of sunglasses; a stick; a wrap you would put round your knuckles before a boxing glove, but only one of them, and anyway, when did I last box? It’s so completely random, they belong in an Art Garfunkel song. Generally, she just very gently nudges stuff towards me but, at one point, she drops into my palm, with her ee cummings-small hands, three loose cheese-and-onion crisps and a tooth. “Do these spark joy?” I have no idea how, but she and the interpreter manage to remain deadpan. In fact, the tooth was my daughter’s, so has a sentiment attached, but it’s not joy; it didn’t come out on its own, but had to be wrenched from her tiny head, and all the way home, she said: “I wish that hadn’t happened.” What I’m holding on to is an incredibly horrible memory. I stare at it for ages. “It’s better with sentimental items to put them in a box and deal with all of them together,” she says. Imagine that – everything in your life with a memory attached, in one place, having to decide which you want to keep, and where you are going to keep it. How long would that take? What state would you be in at the end of it? Would you have a display cabinet, for teeth?

Kondo had her first daughter in 2015, her second the next year, and has always said that it's perfectly possible to be tidy and have children – you just have to incorporate them into your routine, make tidying up into a game. Then, last year, she had her third child, a son. "After the first, slowly, gradually, I returned to order, and after the second, it was faster; after the third, I just thought, tidying has become impossible. My daily life is so chaotic. So, of course, I try as much as possible. But I don't have time and children just keep undoing all my tidying. So my strength is I just know that I know how to tidy, so I've positively given up on the tidiness. I decided this is a time in my life that I spend with my children."

"I'm sure I've said before that, even with children, I can still tidy," she carries on. "However, I feel that people can change, and we're allowed to change." "Lady," I want to say, "you don't have to explain yourself to me. I've still got a tooth in my pocket that I can't work out what to do with." But I decide on balance that this would put too much pressure on the interpreter.

Some general rules for a peaceful desk: never stack books or notebooks spine-sideways, always vertically. It's much more pleasing to the eye. When you open a drawer, you should be able to see everything in it. Rootling is the enemy of order. There should be nothing on the surface that you're not working on in that moment except, at a pinch, personal care items (lip balm, eye drops) and one ornament. My desk itself has sentimental value: it was one of the hotly contested items in my parents' separation circa 1976, and somehow my dad got it, which was weird as it was originally a present from my mum's friend. Then, when I bought my first flat a quarter-century later, he gave it to me, just to annoy my mother. I really feel like all that long-range animus and constant mischief has informed who I am, *in a good way*. Shinto-wise, I think it probably does have a soul, but I haven't seen the surface of it in years, maybe never. I love it like this. Three whole days have passed and it's still completely clear. The floor's a bomb site.



Behold the clutter-free desk. Photograph: Alecsandra Raluca Drăgoi/The Guardian

The Japanese tsunami of March 2011 changed the context of *The Life-Changing Magic of Tidying Up*. There was speculation afterwards that the magnitude of that loss – more than 20,000 people, 120,000 buildings, a nuclear disaster – and the emotional wrench of having to rebuild in its wake made people think more searchingly about stuff: what does any of it matter? What are you clinging on to?

But that success was replicated more or less everywhere her books were translated: even before the Netflix series boosted her profile, Kondo's books were bestsellers in Europe and the US. "Actually, the reaction has been really unanimous, to my surprise," she says. "I used to think that American houses are so big that maybe they don't have this issue of having to tidy your house. But as soon as I went to America, I realised people have the same struggle: having too many things and not having enough storage and having guilt in throwing things away." She and her family split their time, now, between Tokyo and California. There are cosmetic cultural differences – in Japan, books are cheaper, more like magazines, so people are chiller about throwing them out – but fundamentally we're all the same, under the skin; we would all like to see the surface of our desk. Some of us just don't know it yet.

“What I do is really fun,” she says, “I have lots of different positive feelings from it. Fun is the first thing. Also, there’s the reassurance and the happiness, when I see things are where they should be.” Nothing fazes her, least of all chaos. “I have a joy in seeing room for tidying.” I will probably never completely understand, but I’m happy she’s happy.

*Kurashi at Home: How to Organise Your Space and Achieve Your Ideal Life, by Marie Kondo, is out now (Bluebird, £25)*

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2022/nov/17/she-dropped-three-cheese-and-onion-crisps-and-a-tooth-into-my-hand-what-happened-when-marie-kondo-tidied-my-home>

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

## Mortgage rates

# ‘It could be years of limbo’: how UK interest rate rises have hit mortgages

People say they are unable to buy a home or taking on a second job to pay for their loan



The rise in mortgage rates have put many people's plans on hold.  
Photograph: Yui Mok/PA

[Jedidajah Otte](#)

Thu 17 Nov 2022 01.00 EST Last modified on Thu 17 Nov 2022 05.12 EST

UK house prices [stalled last month](#) after more than two years of growth, amid sharp rises in mortgage rates triggered by the Liz Truss government's disastrous mini-budget.

Recently installed chancellor [Jeremy Hunt](#) will set out his plans to mend the damage in an autumn statement on Thursday. Here, three people share how the continuing fallout is affecting their mortgage plans.

## **‘I might have to opt out of my pension’**



Ross Bryant, a London firefighter, says his monthly mortgage payments will be cripplingly high when he has to refix soon, and may force his family to move out of the capital. Photograph: Ross Bryant/Guardian Community

Ross Bryant, 33, a [London](#) firefighter living in New Cross and father of an 11-month-old, feels grateful for the fact that he and his wife managed to get on the property ladder five years ago, but is now finding himself “between a rock and a hard place”.

“Our fixed-rate mortgage of 1.7% is coming to an end and we have been looking at what options we have,” he says.

“Our broker – who happens to be a trusted friend – recently outlined the best deals for us, which included 5.34% fixed for 5 years, 5.59% fixed for two years, or a tracker mortgage, which comes with obvious market-related risks. We were looking at about £650 extra in mortgage payments a month.

“Then, the next day, the base rate increased again. Combined with childcare costs of about £550, we will have to find a huge amount of extra money each month. You just wonder: where can I turn? What can I do to make it work?”

Like many other homeowners, the couple is slowly coming to terms with the realisation that they might have taken on too much mortgage debt in the first place, while borrowing costs were extremely low.

“We still have about £330,000 outstanding,” Bryant says. “We understood, of course, when we bought, that the base rate was at historic lows and was always going to come up.

“Our combined household income is between £78,000 and £83,000 each year. My wife, who works in TV, will be returning to work full time in January. We were never on the breadline, we were in a really healthy position financially. Now, we don’t turn the heating on, and if we’d have to pay a mortgage rate of above 6.2%, we would be in the red every month.

“I may have to get a second job – a lot of firefighters have them out of necessity now. My pension contributions are huge, like for all my colleagues: £420 a month, because cancer rates among firefighters are very high. I could opt out to free up monthly money, but at the sacrifice of our future standard of living. The fact that many firefighters can’t afford to live in London any more – it’s a bit of a mess really. It’s very probable we’ll have to sell up and leave.

“We’re playing for time now, to wait and see what happens on Thursday [in the autumn statement]. A lot hinges on that.”

## **‘We may never be able to buy a home now’**

Rosina, a prospective first-time buyer from London, had to put the purchase of her first family home on hold last month.

“I’m nine months pregnant, and the plan was to be out of rented accommodation by the time the baby comes,” says the 33-year-old, who works in the tech industry.

“We graduated during the first recession and only 14 years later have we been able to save enough for a decent mortgage, £60,000.

“We’d pretty much found the house we wanted, about 35 miles from London in Maidstone, Kent. But then the budget threw a spanner in the works. Mortgage deals were being pulled and we hadn’t locked in an offer for this particular property.

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.

“They went from slightly more expensive to completely out of reach. A 6% mortgage rate, on the £600,000 house we were looking to buy, would have meant monthly repayments of about £3,000. We could never afford that, so we had to stop the search for the time being.”

The couple’s budget for a house purchase has now shrunk to £515,000, which would mean “still very expensive” monthly payments of £2,619 at a rate of 5.99%.

Like many other properties in the area, Rosina says, the house she and her partner had been interested in has been pulled from the market since the mini-budget on 23 September, but she has not seen any reductions in property prices in the areas they have been looking in.

“We are back to square one and the good rates may not come back until the recession ends. Rents are already expensive, and we’re super worried about them rising further, which would mean we can save less. We’ll probably consider moving farther south, but I fear that if we don’t buy now, we may never be able to.”

## **‘Our chain collapsed, and our plans were abandoned’**

Richard Price, 85, feels similarly stuck. The pensioner was in the process of downsizing and selling his home for £650,000 in the New Forest in Hampshire when the mini-budget derailed his plan.

“My wife and I had found a smaller property we liked,” Price says. “We had found a buyer for our house, and the preparation of legal documents proceeded without a hitch, until our buyer’s short chain collapsed. His buyer took flight, and he took his house off the market in view of the general situation.

“Since the mini-budget, the uncertainty has brought the local housing market to an abrupt stop. We’ve had one inquiry for our house. Everybody is having second thoughts, it seems.

“Normally, it’s quite a hotspot. Our agent called and suggested we reduce our price by £60,000, but that would make our move economically unfeasible as the house we like needs some work. Our plans were abandoned.”

Price worries the situation will not stabilise any time soon. “It could be years of limbo for people hoping to buy or sell property in the UK. Many people will suffer considerable hardship. We’ll be unable to move forward.”

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/money/2022/nov/17/uk-interest-rate-rises-mortgages>

# The night everything changed: waiting for Russia's invasion of Ukraine

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/nov/17/night-everything-changed-waiting-for-russian-invasion-of-ukraine-kyiv>

## Keith Haring

# ‘It’s about having your tag everywhere’: why the art of Keith Haring is all around us

From Pandora rings to Uniqlo sweatshirts, it is hard to avoid the 80s graffiti artist’s designs. Such collaborations enable his charitable foundation to dish out millions in grants, but not everyone is happy



Keith Haring poses at the opening of Pop Shop. Photograph: Nick Elgar/Corbis/VCG/Getty Images



[Lauren Cochrane](#)

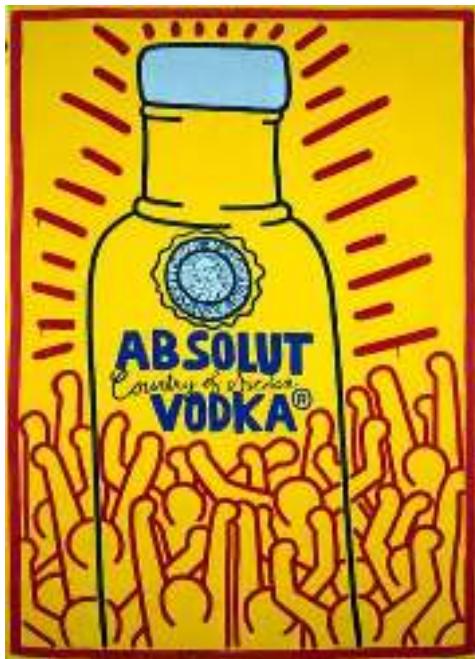
Thu 17 Nov 2022 03.00 EST

Google [Keith Haring](#) and unlike fellow artists – Picasso, say, or Tracey Emin – you are as likely to find adverts as art. The ads suggest a sweatshirt from Abercrombie & Fitch featuring Haring's artwork on the front for £60. A ring from Pandora with Haring's dancing figures around the design for £125. Or a Uniqlo T-shirt, with two figures and a heart, for £14.90.

This is only a fraction of the items you can now buy displaying Haring's artwork. The Keith Haring Foundation – the organisation responsible for his imagery since his death in 1990 – has partnered with a plethora of brands in recent months including H&M, Primark and Bershka, collaborations that follow its partnership with Uniqlo, which began in 2003. More than 30 years after his death, Haring's crawling babies, barking dogs and dancing figures are ubiquitous.

Commercial value has long been a central tenet of Haring's work. But are the sheer number of these new collaborations taking things too far, and compromising his legacy? Has his art been reduced to glorified logos? Have we reached peak Haring?

Haring was born in Pennsylvania and moved to New York to study art in 1978. Two years later, he began his subway drawings; the artist and his work became a familiar sight to commuters in the city. His fame grew during the decade – he was the subject of 40 articles in 1986, appeared in more than 50 solo exhibitions in his lifetime and created more than 50 public artworks. In his own lifetime, Haring had few qualms about commercial work. He worked with Absolut, Fiorucci and Swatch, although he also turned down some brands including deals with Kraft cheese and Dodge trucks. Crucially, in 1986 he opened Pop Shop, a store on Lafayette Street in New York, and sold T-shirts, toys, posters and badges for affordable prices.



Keith Haring's Absolut Vodka, 1986. Photograph: © Keith Haring Foundation

Haring died of an Aids-related illness at the age of 31, but he left behind a significant body of work, and a life that made him a hero to many. He campaigned against racism, drug abuse (see his famous [Crack Is Wack mural](#)) and for the Aids organisation Act Up. He set up his foundation in 1989 to provide grants for Aids organisations and those working with disadvantaged children. The collaborations continue to generate revenue for those causes; last year, the foundation issued grants valued between \$7m and \$8m.

Some collaborations have nevertheless seen pushback from fans. In October, [PinkNews](#) ran an article highlighting responses to the most recent of them on social media. “Keith Haring is collaborating with Pandora, Primark, Casetify ... what’s going on?” wrote one Twitter user, while others complained that Haring’s sexuality had been removed from the publicity around the Pandora collection. “Straight brands yet again appropriating and disrespecting the work of my communities’ artists, to flog a few earrings. Absolutely enraged,” was one comment.

Gil Vazquez, executive director of the foundation, is well aware of such criticisms. “We are often accused of not highlighting Keith’s fight against HIV in our licensing programme and it is often viewed as erasure of not only his struggle, but the struggle of the many that fought and died,” he says in an email. “It is a reality that we, the Haring Foundation, do not shy away from.” He adds that, as these are commercial projects, they come with different concerns: “We don’t think it is fair to force a brand to tell a story that doesn’t make sense for them. That being said, we’d love an opportunity to work with a brand that *does* want to tell a story about the HIV/Aids struggle in the 80s and 90s using Haring imagery.”

He wasn’t precious about the commercialisation of his work, he cared more about raising the public consciousness

*Emily Dinsdale*

The ability to buy Haring for accessible prices is, Vazquez argues, a crucial part of staying true to the artist’s legacy. The foundation partners with Artestar, the company that acts as intermediary between artists and brands, on these collaborations (Artestar also handles artists including Jean-Michel Basquiat, Herb Ritts and Mickalene Thomas), and focuses on affordable brands. “Fast fashion gets a bad rap at times because of ecological concerns but, for us, it’s thinking about access,” says Vazquez.

Philippa Grogan, a sustainability consultant for Eco-Age, says she understands that these collaborations are in line with Haring’s thinking – “They’re appealing to the masses, just like he wanted” – but the bottom line remains that all fast fashion has a negative impact on the environment.

“When brands release new collections, they’re contributing to the growth, [not] decoupling fashion from overconsumption,” she says.

Grogan adds that the foundation’s commitment to children’s charities could be undermined by working with fast-fashion firms. “I know for a fact that some of these brands can’t guarantee supply chains free from child labour,” she says. The foundation responds to this by saying every licensing agreement stipulates that a brand guarantees products made through the collaboration will not be made in a place that uses inhumane working conditions, child labour or forced labour.

Haring’s embrace of commerce came a long time before we started thinking about the human and environmental impact of what we were buying. He was partly inspired by Andy Warhol, a giant of art in his era, and a child of postwar consumerism. While Haring’s ethics weren’t questioned, there was criticism and dismissal from the art world. Robert Hughes called him “Keith Boring” and described his work as “amusingly facile”.

[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.



A charm from the Keith Haring x Pandora collection. Photograph: Courtesy of Pandora

Darren Pih, who curated Tate Liverpool's Haring retrospective in 2019, says it is easy to dismiss Haring as purely commercial. But, he argues, his work is savvier than that, partly because of his commitment to activism. "His work had two edges," says Pih. "He was critical of the market and capitalism and inequality. But also, for things like the Pop Shop, you can see he saw it as a way of reaching a wider audience."

The products sold in Pop Shop often spoke to causes close to his heart; they featured slogans for Act Up or anti-apartheid messages. Emily Dinsdale, art writer at Dazed, says this is crucial. "He wasn't precious about the commercialisation of his work, he cared more about raising the public consciousness," she says. "In a sense, you could describe his work as propaganda for compassion and equality." Harrison Tenzer, the head of digital strategy for Auctions, Modern & Contemporary Art (Americas) at Sothebys, worked on the Dear Keith auction of the artist's personal collection in 2020. He says the way Haring lived his life resonates within his legacy. "His role as an activist is probably the strongest element of his lived experience. It adds to the cachet, for lack of a better term, around his artwork, because his art is very authentic to him and his vision, and he feels like an artist who really lived within his own morality."

If critics were sniffy during his lifetime, Haring has – posthumously, at least – had the last laugh. Such is the demand for his artwork that a baby he drew on the wall of his bedroom in his childhood home was sold in September, an act that Guardian art critic Jonathan Jones called “[brutal](#)”, thanks to it being “ripped from its tender, intimate and original context to become an art world commodity”. Such extremes make sense when you discover that, in 2017, a Haring canvas was sold for £5m at Sotheby’s.

Tenzer says that the market has grown over the last five years, as collectors have digested Haring and his contemporaries. “There is a growing interest in that era and generation of New York artists. It straddles so many different realms – street art, being ready-to-wear-merchandise as well as having a fine art practice – [and] I think this generation of collectors is very comfortable with all of that.”

Ultimately, it is perhaps the simplicity of Haring’s work that allows it to exist in multiple contexts: on the high street, on the gallery wall, in collectors’ homes. Dinsdale argues that the “message of love and acceptance” behind these symbols elevates them – wherever they are. “Perhaps as a design on a Uniqlo T-shirt, his work is in danger of becoming more a signifier of the T-shirt wearer’s cultural capital than anything else,” she says. “But I like to think Keith Haring’s visual language of dancing dogs and radiant babies is powerful enough to communicate something of his original intention, wherever you encounter it.”

Even Grogan believes these items have an advantage over most fast fashion. “I hope that these designs are so cool people will wear them longer,” she says, “because the materials they are made from – cotton blends – aren’t going anywhere.”

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2022/nov/17/keith-haring-art-fashion-brand-partnerships>

## 2022.11.17 - Opinion

- [The Tories' 'fiscal black hole' is a statistical fiction – let's have a reality check](#)
- [Kicking our growth addiction is the way out of the climate crisis. This is how to do it](#)
- [Do I really need to drink almost 4 litres of water a day? I haven't got the bladder for it](#)
- [Trump is now effectively in control of the US House of Representatives](#)

---

**OpinionAutumn statement 2022**

# The Tories’ ‘fiscal black hole’ is a statistical fiction – let’s have a reality check

[James Meadway](#)

An arbitrary target is the source of this ‘shortfall’. Uncertain forecasts are not the basis for huge spending and tax decisions

- James Meadway is director of the Progressive Economy Forum



Jeremy Hunt in Downing Street. Photograph: Alastair Grant/AP

Thu 17 Nov 2022 01.00 EST Last modified on Thu 17 Nov 2022 07.50 EST

Today the new chancellor, Jeremy Hunt, will present a set of spending cuts that are widely expected to be a return to the grim days of George Osborne’s reign. “Eye-watering” spending cuts and tax rises have been heavily trailed

in the media. The chancellor, his government and their media outriders have justified this renewed attack on public services and economic prosperity by pointing at a huge and terrifying new celestial body: the “[fiscal black hole](#)” – which is alleged to have emerged in the public finances in the last month, and perhaps be as big as £60bn. The government has been left with no choice, in the words of the Institute for Fiscal Studies’ director, Paul Johnson, to inflict “[big, painful spending cuts](#)” or tax rises.

Yet this screeching U-turn in government policy – contradicting promises to end austerity and its commitments in the 2019 manifesto – is being driven by nothing more than an insubstantial statistical artefact. The “fiscal black hole” is not a hard economic fact. It’s the result of uncertain forecasts and the government’s own target for the level of debt in five years’ time. This isn’t the same as looking at (for instance) real wages – currently falling rapidly – or rising unemployment today. It would be a profound error to use this ghostly “fiscal hole” as an excuse to drag the country back into the [economic doom-loop of austerity](#).



‘This ‘black hole’ isn’t the same as looking at real wages – currently falling rapidly – or rising unemployment today.’ The RMT’s Mick Lynch speaks during a rally at King’s Cross station. Photograph: Anadolu Agency/Getty Images

Research by the academic economists Jo Michell and Rob Calvert Jump, [published this week](#) by the Progressive Economy Forum (PEF), of which I am director, exposed just how insubstantial the “black hole” really is. The “hole” emerges by looking at the gap between what the forecasts of government spending and tax revenues are likely to say and what the government says its target for the size of its debt is, relative to GDP. Estimates of the size of the gap between expected forecasts and the government’s target have settled at about £50bn in the last few weeks.

It’s true that the economic outlook appears even worse than it did a year ago, especially for the UK, where a decade of austerity has left the economy weaker than other, similar countries – even before we consider Brexit. But chasing and trying to fill a “fiscal black hole” with spending cuts will only reinforce those underlying weaknesses, squashing demand and undermining investment.

Despite the confidence with which the “fiscal hole” has been presented, it rests on highly uncertain forecasts about the future. The American economist JK Galbraith once remarked: “Economic forecasting is there to make astrology look good.” It’s not an exact science. Projections for government tax revenues and spending into the future are always subject to substantial uncertainty, since there are some parts of both that the government can’t directly control. Economic growth, which determines tax revenues, is uncertain, especially now with the aftershocks of Covid still rolling onwards, environmental turmoil and rising geopolitical tension. The interest the government pays for its borrowing is equally uncertain, for similar reasons, and this affects the path of future government spending. PEF’s research shows that the two uncertainties together have far more impact on whether the government hits its own target than changes to taxes or spending.

But that target wasn’t given by God, or [even Johnson](#) of the IFS. It’s one the government itself has selected and could easily change – indeed, in the last few weeks it seems to have been quietly shifted from three years to five years, while the last decade has seen [six different fiscal rules adopted](#), and then broken. The PEF research shows that a simple accounting change, moving the government’s measure of its debt used to make the target back to

the one it was using until January this year, obliterates the “black hole” entirely – and instead allows it a further £14bn to spend. This shows directly how arbitrary these targets can be.

It’s the hard economic facts that should concern us. Whatever damage the Kwasi Kwarteng September mini-budget did has been very substantially repaired, with the majority of its tax changes reversed by Hunt upon arriving in office. Government borrowing costs have come down to pre-Kwarteng levels, and the pound has recovered sharply. It does still cost the government somewhat more to borrow than back in March, but this is a common problem across the developed world: conditions for borrowing by governments are getting tighter everywhere.

Inflation, although forecast to come down somewhat as energy prices fall, is likely to remain higher than we have been used to. Wage rises will continue to lag, squeezing households hard. As households pull back on their spending, the economy is likely to tip into a recession. If government joins this spending squeeze, cutting its own spending, it will not cure inflation. The more likely outcome is “stagflation” – the deadly, 70s-style combination of high inflation and recession.

Uncertain forecasts and an arbitrary target are not enough to declare a “black hole” in the public finances. They’re certainly not enough to make huge decisions about taxes and spending of the kind that will affect millions of people’s lives. We’ve seen a near-£100bn lurch in government policy: from £45bn loosening in the mini-budget to a likely £50bn tightening in the autumn statement. This is not a serious or credible way to conduct policy. Caution should be the order of the day from the government – prioritising real economic problems, such as low investment, low productivity and low wages, over chasing statistical fictions such as the “black hole” back into austerity.

- James Meadway is director of the Progressive Economy Forum

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

[\*\*Opinion\*\*](#)[\*\*Climate crisis\*\*](#)

## **Kicking our growth addiction is the way out of the climate crisis. This is how to do it**

[Larry Elliott](#)



With the right global economic policies, we could fight poverty and global heating at the same time



‘What’s needed is a strategy that encourages poorer countries to meet their anti-poverty goals in a way that is least harmful to the environment.’ A man tends to vegetables in front of a power station in Tongling, China.  
Photograph: Bloomberg/Getty Images

Thu 17 Nov 2022 03.00 EST Last modified on Thu 17 Nov 2022 07.19 EST

For the best part of three centuries, there has been a consensus about the goal of economic policy. Since the dawn of the industrial age in the 18th century, the aim has been to achieve as rapid growth as possible.

It’s not hard to see why there has been this focus. Growth has raised living standards, increased life expectancy, improved medical care and resulted in better educated, better fed populations.

Indeed, it is a mark of how successful rich western countries have been in lifting people out of poverty that developing countries are keen to have what we’ve had. If faster growth means cleaner drinking water, more children in school and fewer mothers dying in childbirth then the world’s poorer nations want more of it.

But there's an obvious problem. If developing countries are to have the same – or even remotely the same – standards of living as developed countries, that means a lot higher use of resources and additional pressure on the planet. It means an increase in energy use and the risk of an [irreversible global climate crisis](#).

Given the existential threat posed by global heating, the concept that growth is good is being seriously challenged by those who say policymakers should be aiming for zero growth or even degrowth economies, ones that are shrinking. Make no mistake, it is a good thing that the accepted wisdom is being questioned. The idea that faster growth is the solution to every problem is no longer tenable.

There is nothing new about the current debate. Thomas Malthus [predicted eventual famine](#) once population growth exceeded food supplies. John Stuart Mill's comment, that the "[increase in wealth is not boundless](#)", paved the way for what became known as steady-state economics. [Herman Daly](#), who died last month, long championed the idea that the constraints of the natural world imposed limits to growth. Robert Kennedy [famously said](#) that gross domestic product measured everything except that which makes life worthwhile, and his words resonate now even more strongly than when [he uttered them](#) in 1968.

That said, achieving a steady-state economy or degrowth is not going to be easy. Far from it, it will be hellishly difficult.

For a start, it will mean changing the way we think about economic success. Political debate is conducted by parties that vie with each other to promise voters the best growth strategy. Language matters, so when GDP is rising, that's good news, and when it is falling, it is bad news. Countries are judged by where they sit in international league tables of growth. It would be the hardest of sells for any politician to try to convince UK voters they should welcome the recession that is now only in its early stages.



Farmer Helio Lombardo Do Santos walks through the remains of a section of Amazon rainforest near Porto Velho, Rondonia state, Brazil. Photograph: Carl de Souza/AFP/Getty Images

That's because over many decades, people – especially the most vulnerable – have found that degrowth has not been good for them. Recessions are a form of degrowth, and they result in unemployment, bankruptcy, homelessness and hardship. Recessions also mean politicians tend to double down on growth, fearful of a backlash from voters if living standards are falling. Faced with the choice between higher use of fossil fuels or having the lights go out, governments have opted for the former.

The only way to make a steady-state economy achievable is to harness an anti-poverty strategy to a pro-planet strategy. It is just about possible to imagine western societies where – after some vigorous redistribution – everyone has the income, wealth and time to lead a good life. But even that's not going to be enough. What's needed is a global strategy that encourages poorer countries to meet their legitimate anti-poverty goals in a way that is least harmful to the environment.

Britain accounts for [1% of annual CO<sub>2</sub> emissions](#), whereas China and India account between them for 36%. African countries have much smaller carbon footprints, but they are likely to grow as populations rise and demand for

energy increases. The UK could speed its progress towards being a net zero economy, but unless that was accompanied by deep cuts in fossil fuel use by much bigger emitters of greenhouse gases, it would have no discernible impact on rising global temperatures. Western countries can – and should – set an example with speedier transition to cleaner energy, but it is naive to imagine poorer countries are going to go for degrowth any time soon.

That doesn't mean the idea of a steady-state planet is a pipe dream. It does, though, suggest that the immediate priority should be to make developing country growth as clean as possible. And that needs more than warm words. It requires big money: \$2tn each year between now and 2030, according to [one estimate](#).

The aim should be a new version of the postwar Marshall plan, in which finance provided by governments and the international financial institutions acts as the catalyst for private investment. Avinash Persaud, the special climate envoy to Mia Mottley, the prime minister of Barbados, [rightly says](#) that the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank could be doing more to provide developing countries – many of which are burdened with high debts and punitive borrowing costs – access to cheaper finance to fund climate mitigation and adaptation projects.

Failure to mobilise the necessary resources would be disastrous but, tragically, all too likely. Western governments are assuming that they have all the time in the world to make tweaks to their business as usual models. The brutal truth is that they don't.

- Larry Elliott is a Guardian columnist
  - ***Do you have an opinion on the issues raised in this article? If you would like to submit a response of up to 300 words by email to be considered for publication in our [letters](#) section, please [click here](#).***
-

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

[Opinion](#)[Health & wellbeing](#)

## **Do I really need to drink almost 4 litres of water a day? I haven't got the bladder for it**

[Adrian Chiles](#)



I used to laugh at my friends' frequent toilet breaks. I have a lot more sympathy since I decided to stay properly hydrated



‘It takes real commitment to put away this much water.’ Photograph: Cavan Images/Getty Images/Posed by model

Thu 17 Nov 2022 02.00 ESTLast modified on Thu 17 Nov 2022 06.19 EST

I have long been quietly proud of my bladder control. Not for me the frequent, often urgent, toilet visits of my middle-aged friends. Motorway pitstops not for petrol, just for a pee? Not me. Nor was I ever heard to say, before setting off, “Ooh, I’d better just pop to the loo.” No need, you see. And in pubs, the hours I’d spend drumming my fingers, lonely as a cloud, waiting for my friends to return from the gents. Poor souls, ageing quicker than me, I reflected, smugly.

Hubris, sheer hubris. Last week, I read that a chap of my age and weight – 55, and 97kg (15st 4lb) – should be drinking 3.7 litres (6.6 pints) of water a day. Since I have endeavoured to comply with this guidance, my pride in my bladder has been flushed away. No wonder I could control it – I was hardly putting anything in it.

It takes real commitment to put away that much water. It turns out that while I’ve long started the day with a pint of water, apart from the odd tea or coffee that would be about it until teatime. Not any more. Before I know it, the app I have installed on my smartwatch is badgering me to drink some

more. I tend to go great guns until lunchtime then, thirst comprehensively slaked, I lose focus and the target seems to get further away. But the input side of things is less of a challenge than the, erm, output. I'm forever running – and I mean running – to the toilet. And anything I do that involves putting any distance between me and a toilet needs careful planning.

How on earth do the properly hydrated get anything done? How do they ever travel anywhere? It's a mystery to me. I'd like to know the hydration levels of the highly successful, the super-busy. I bet they're as low as reservoirs in August. I'm quite sure the lavatories at the G20 are underused. There's no way those world leaders are doing their 3.7 litres. If they were, we'd forever be seeing them hurrying out of plenary sessions to relieve themselves.

Hydration has changed everything for me, and not in a good way. Never mind the glowing skin – I want my life back.

- Adrian Chiles is a broadcaster, writer and Guardian columnist
- 

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/nov/17/adrian-chiles-column-drinking-water-hydration>

[\*\*Opinion\*\*](#)[\*\*Donald Trump\*\*](#)

## **Trump is now effectively in control of the US House of Representatives**

[Sidney Blumenthal](#)

Kevin McCarthy will be a mere stooge – that is, until he's replaced by someone even more Trumpist



‘Trump’s ragtag horned madmen and militias could not seize the Capitol on January 6. But when the 118th Congress is sworn in, Trump’s coup will have broken through more than a police barrier to enter a new phase.’  
Photograph: Getty Images

Thu 17 Nov 2022 03.00 ESTLast modified on Thu 17 Nov 2022 03.02 EST

Even before the midterm elections – when the vaunted “red wave” dried up – influential [Republicans](#), over drinks in Washington, casually discussed the fate of Kevin McCarthy as a short-timer.

The man who would be the speaker of the House had already been taking a victory lap before a single vote was counted. “I’m better prepared now,” he recently [told](#) New York magazine. “If I’m not going to be acceptable to the body having that scenario this time, no one’s acceptable,” he boasted to Punchbowl News. The failed frozen yogurt shop owner from Bakersfield, California, envisions himself at last standing as the hero of his Horatio Alger success story atop the greasy pole. McCarthy now trumpets that he has won the confidence of the far-right Freedom Caucus that previously opposed his elevation. He clutches its leader, his twitchy former foe Jim Jordan, as a great friend. “Probably my biggest advocate is Jim Jordan,” he has said.

From his gilded tropical palace, Trump will phone dictates to acolytes who will transform the House into his 2024 campaign committee

McCarthy’s bravado discloses a hint of insecurity. The talk of the steakhouses is that he will not last long.

Donald Trump’s ragtag minions of horned madmen and militias could not seize the Capitol on January 6. But when the 118th Congress is sworn in on 3 January, Trump’s coup will have broken through more than a police barrier to enter a new phase. That’s because Trump will, for all intents and purposes, become the de facto speaker of the House. If and when Nancy Pelosi ever so gently passes the gavel to Kevin McCarthy, “it would be hard not to hit her with it,” McCarthy said to the raucous laughter of a Republican crowd in 2021. The ultimate power will be held in the hands of Trump. From his gilded tropical palace, he will phone dictates to Jim Jordan and other acolytes who will transform the House of Representatives into his 2024 presidential campaign committee, virtual law firm and bludgeon for revenge. The House will be his hammer.

Trump still looms over the party, contemptuous of the bitter Republican finger-pointing blaming him for the midterm disappointment. Rupert Murdoch’s overnight order to Fox News to hype Florida Governor Ron DeSantis cannot suddenly cancel the Trump show Murdoch has been

instrumental in producing, though for years he reportedly privately called him “a fucking idiot”. Trump is hardly dislodged.

In the 117th Congress, 147 Republicans out of 213 refused to certify the results of the electoral college. The margin of the slim new Republican majority will uniformly be election deniers, who will pad the Freedom Caucus before which McCarthy cowers. When the “red wave” was revealed to be a mirage, while the votes were still being tallied and the House Republican majority still uncertain, representative Matt Gaetz of Florida labeled McCarthy “McFailure”, pledged his eternal fealty to Trump and called for a challenge to McCarthy as speaker. Jason Miller, a former Trump official and his echo, went on Steve Bannon’s War Room podcast to declare that if McCarthy “wants a chance of being speaker, he needs to be much more declarative of supporting President Trump”. Bannon, free on appeal from his conviction for contempt of Congress for refusing to testify before the January 6 committee, replied that “the Maga-centric nature” of the House and the Republican party would intensify.



‘McCarthy, even as he tries to balance along a fine line, chronically abases himself.’ Photograph: Elizabeth Frantz/Reuters

When Trump’s mob ran through the corridors of the Capitol chanting “hang Mike Pence!” and “Nancy! Nancy!” and were yards away from breaking

into McCarthy's office, he desperately reached Trump at the White House to ask him to call it off. "Well, Kevin, I guess these people are more upset about the election than you are," Trump said, [according](#) to the journalist Robert Draper. "Am I upset? They're trying to fucking kill me!" McCarthy shrieked. "Who the fuck do you think you are talking to?"

In the days after the trauma, McCarthy raised the idea that cabinet members invoke the 25th amendment to remove Trump – then defended Trump from impeachment, which did not preclude Trump calling him a "pussy", and on 27 January flew to Mar-a-Lago to bend his knee in supplication.

McCarthy, even as he tries to balance along a fine line, chronically abases himself. Occasionally, he tries to cover his naked ambition with a transparent fig leaf. In May 2020, when Trump falsely claimed that Joe Scarborough, a former Republican congressman and an MSNBC TV host critical of Trump, had murdered a young female aide in 2001, despite being 800 miles away when she fell and fatally hit her head, McCarthy responded with a statement he must have thought displayed his political cuteness.

"I was not here with Joe Scarborough," he said. "I don't quite know about the subject itself."

But abasement in the service of self-interest is not loyalty. Trump, who recalls every slight as lese-majesty, has taken McCarthy's small measure as "my Kevin". He knows that McCarthy thinks, as McCarthy [blurted](#) to the House Republican conference in 2017, that Putin "pays" Trump – "swear to God". He will never be judged sufficiently loyal, nor trusted to do absolutely everything he's ordered to do, especially when those orders are to lay siege to the justice department in a bid to interfere with its investigations of Trump.

Kevin McCarthy's McCarthyism, like the previous McCarthyism, is rooted in personal ambition, but in Kevin McCarthy's case it is more motivated by a desire to go along than by the feral instinct displayed by Joe McCarthy, with Roy Cohn whispering in his ear before he got into Trump's.

Kevin McCarthy has always known the score: that Republican mendacity, from little white lies to big lie, is born of sheer cynicism. From time to time,

he inadvertently spills the beans. His impulse to babble the truth was uncontrollable in 2015, when he [blabbed](#) about the House investigation on Benghazi, revealing its political intent: “Everybody thought Hillary Clinton was unbeatable, right? But we put together a Benghazi special committee, a select committee. What are her numbers today? Her numbers are dropping.”

McCarthy surely knows that the cruel Republican culture war is hypocrisy. When it comes to Trump’s handpicked senate candidate from Georgia, Herschel Walker – who is facing a runoff election with senator Raphael Warnock, and who allegedly paid for girlfriends’ abortions, allegedly abandoned both his legal and illegitimate children, and allegedly engaged in violence against his ex-wife – McCarthy has maintained radio silence.

McCarthy will obediently issue blanket approval for House committees to launch a thousand inquisitions

His passivity in the face of vice is the price he willingly pays to sustain the virtuous sheen of the culture war. While he advances himself through each cowardly act, his performance does not inspire confidence from his own cohort, who see through the cellophane man. He must dance faster and faster just to stand still.

McCarthy will obediently issue blanket approval for House committees to launch a thousand inquisitions. Democratic groups engaged in voter turnout efforts will be investigated. Democratic attorneys who defend voting rights will be targeted. Progressive nonprofits involved with elections and criminal justice will have their nonprofit status challenged. Secretaries of state who have frustrated Trump election deniers will be pressured. Biden administration officials, from national security to homeland security, will be subpoenaed to scandalize their policies. Military and humanitarian aid to Ukraine, already assailed by the Republican pro-Putin caucus, will be squeezed. No “blank check”, McCarthy has said.

Corporations and banks that invest in green energy, or adopt diversity and equity policies, will be pressured. Tech platforms will be hauled before the klieg lights for depositions on alleged political discrimination against conservatives, to intimidate them into following the example of Elon Musk,

who attended McCarthy's private political retreat in Wyoming this past August. ("Elon believes in freedom. Elon is an entrepreneur. Such an American success story," [McCarthy said](#).)

The subpoenas will fly. And, quite predictably, the House will manufacture a conflict over the federal budget to shut down the government in an attempt to enforce its draconian policies, as Republicans have done before as a tactic against Bill Clinton in 1995 to 1996 and against Barack Obama in 2013.

Then the House may impeach President Biden – and possibly Vice-President Kamala Harris, Secretary of Defense Lloyd Austin, Secretary of State Antony Blinken, and Secretary of Homeland Security Alejandro Mayorkas, among others. The writer Barton Gellman recently [laid out](#) the coming strategy in the Atlantic. "McCarthy wants to oversee subpoenas and Benghazi-style hearings to weaken the president ahead of the 2024 election, not issue a call for Biden's removal," Gellman writes. "But there is little reason to think that McCarthy can resist the GOP's impulse to impeach once it gathers strength."



'Jim Jordan released a dense 1,050-page compendium of conspiracy theories – 1,050 rabbit holes he promises to go down.' Photograph: Michael Conroy/AP

Gellman further quotes Ted Cruz, from the senator's recent podcast, pressing for Biden's impeachment, "whether it's justified or not", as payback for Trump's two impeachments. Like many Republicans, Cruz uses the word "weaponize" in the same way that Republicans have adopted the word "grooming" to accuse public school teachers of trying to turn children transgender. "The [Democrats](#) weaponized impeachment," said Cruz. "They used it for partisan purposes to go after Trump because they disagreed with him. And one of the real disadvantages of doing that ... is the more you weaponize it and turn it into a partisan cudgel, you know, what's good for the goose is good for the gander."

After the January 6 committee is disbanded, the House judiciary committee will paint a bull's eye on the Department of Justice (DoJ). The committee will act as Trump's team for the defense. As the investigations circling Trump close in, from the fake electors' scheme to the Mar-a-Lago archives theft, Trump and his allies will intensify their charges that the justice department is "weaponizing" the law. Jim Jordan will claim that the DoJ is unfairly persecuting Trump while failing to investigate properly the "Biden crime family", only beginning with Hunter Biden.

The House Republicans will demand the internal documents and sources in every case the DoJ is pursuing about Trump. When the justice department refuses to hand over materials from ongoing investigations, subpoenas will be issued for them, and when the DoJ invariably declines – because to comply would violate the law and all of its protocols – contempt charges will be filed against attorney general Merrick Garland, his deputy, Lisa Monaco, and individual prosecutors. The dismissal of those contempt filings will have no bearing on the House proceeding to the impeachment of Garland, Monaco, et al.

The point for the Republicans will not necessarily be to remove Garland, which would be highly unlikely, but instead to discredit any justice department case against Trump as politically motivated, to portray Trump as the victim, and to rouse the Republican base. Most importantly, the judiciary committee interference would attempt to severely cripple the investigations.

If this sounds like conjecture, consider that Jim Jordan wrote to [Merrick Garland](#) and the FBI director, [Christopher Wray](#), on 2 November – a week

before the election and under the letterhead of the judiciary committee, as if he were already the chairman – demanding information and sources in current cases involving Trump, extremist militias and far-right figures.

In his lengthy list of requests, he asked for “all documents and communications between or among employees of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Department of Justice, and the executive office of the president referring or relating to classifying or reclassifying domestic violent extremism cases, for the period of January 1 2020, to the present”; “all documents and communications referring or relating to the decision to seek a search warrant for President Trump’s residence”; and “all documents and communications referring or relating to the use of confidential human source(s) in connection with the search of President Trump’s residence”. Jordan followed up by releasing a dense 1,050-page [compendium](#) of conspiracy theories – 1,050 rabbit holes he promises to go down.

If McCarthy exhibits the slightest queasiness, commits another of his trademark gaffes that reveal too much of the truth, or is simply not militant enough for Trump, his speakership will become unstable. The jackals already surround him, and there is a ready alternative waiting in the wings to replace him. Elise Stefanik, adored by Trump, seamlessly transmogrified from moderate to Maga, emerging as Trump’s defender during his first impeachment. “A new Republican star is born,” Trump tweeted. The 38-year-old congresswoman’s ambition is a raging fever.

Once a classic Bush Republican – an assistant to George W Bush’s eminently reasonable chief of staff Josh Bolten, no less – Stefanik has since become Trump’s full-throated champion. She whipped up the purge of Liz Cheney as chair of the House Republican conference for Cheney’s heresy and engineered herself into the job, profusely praising Trump as “the leader”. This year, she introduced a resolution to expunge his second impeachment over the insurrection as “a sham smear”. Since the midterm elections, she has thrice endorsed Trump for president in 2024. The leaning tumbril awaits McCarthy too.

Trump declared his candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination the third time, after two impeachments and a coup attempt, one week after

the Republican midterm debacle, in which many of the loyalists bearing his imprimatur fell before the voters. Nor has he been deterred by the prospect of a contest with Florida Governor Ron DeSantis, who, to claim the prize, would have to murder the king and be tainted with his blood.



‘Once a classic Bush Republican, Stefanik has since become Trump’s full-throated champion.’ Photograph: Pam Panchak/AP

It was a grand illusion that Trump would somehow fade away, Biden restore the spirit of civility of the old Senate, and Garland prosecute the January 6 rioters to be done with the mess, shelving the whole episode as a thing of the past, with decency and the rule of law prevailing again.

The Republican fear campaign in the midterm elections, projecting the menaces of inflation, crime and trans rights, will dissolve the instant the contest is over. On January 6, Trump waved his mob forward: “We’re going to walk down to the Capitol, and we’re going to cheer on our brave senators and congressmen and women, and we’re probably not going to be cheering so much for some of them.” Trump’s coup, which has never ended, will now continue with the House of Representatives as his chief political tool.

TS Eliot, in *The Hollow Men*, wrote:

Between the idea  
And the reality  
Between the motion  
And the act  
Falls the Shadow

On 13 September, Trump retweeted a kitsch portrait of himself wearing a “Q” on his lapel, the symbol of the QAnon conspiracy cult that venerates him; its slogan, “The Storm Is Coming”; and the cryptic letters, “WWG1WGA”, which mean “Where We Go One, We Go All”. As Trump tweeted on 23 December 2020 to promote the January 6 insurrection: “Will be wild”.

- Sidney Blumenthal, former senior adviser to President Bill Clinton and Hillary Clinton, has published three books of a projected five-volume political life of Abraham Lincoln: [A Self-Made Man](#), [Wrestling With His Angel](#) and [All the Powers of Earth](#)
- 

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/nov/17/donald-trump-kevin-mccarthy-republicans-house-of-representatives>

## 2022.11.17 - Around the world

- Myanmar Australian Sean Turnell and Briton Vicky Bowman to be freed in prisoner release
- G20 Xi angrily rebukes Trudeau over ‘leaks’ to media about Canada-China relations
- Cambodia Wildlife official among eight charged in US with smuggling endangered monkeys
- Brendan Fraser Actor won’t attend Golden Globes after claiming he was sexually assaulted
- New Zealand House seller throws in free Tesla as market tumbles

## Myanmar

# Myanmar frees former UK ambassador amid mass prisoner release

State media says foreign nationals and 712 ‘political prisoners’ among 5,774 to be freed in so-called amnesty



Vicky Bowman, a former UK ambassador, and Sean Turnell, an Australian academic, are among the foreign nationals to be released and deported.  
Composite: Sarah Lee/eyevine/USOF ISHAK Institute/Reuters

*[Rebecca Ratcliffe](#) South-east Asia correspondent and [Min Ye Kyaw](#)*

Thu 17 Nov 2022 06.22 ESTFirst published on Wed 16 Nov 2022 23.56 EST

Almost 6,000 people will be released from prison in Myanmar, including the Australian academic Prof [Sean Turnell](#), Britain’s former ambassador [Vicky Bowman](#) and the Japanese film-maker Toru Kubota, junta-controlled media has said.

On Thursday, Myanmar's state-run MRTV said that the foreign nationals, as well as a Burmese-American citizen, had been released and deported in a so-called amnesty timed to coincide with [Myanmar](#) National Day.

In total, 5,774 prisoners would be released, state media said, including 712 people it described as political prisoners.

Bowman is currently on a flight from Yangon to Bangkok, a diplomatic source said. The Guardian was unable to confirm whether other foreign nationals had yet been freed.

On Thursday morning, families gathered outside Yangon's notorious Insein prison hoping to see their loved ones. Dr Myo Nyunt, spokesperson for Aung San Suu Kyi's National League for Democracy party, the author Maung Thar Cho, and the activist Mya Aye, a leader of the 1988 pro-democracy uprising, were among those released on Thursday afternoon, according to local media.

After his release, Mya Aye defiantly told the crowd: "I will always stand together with the people of Myanmar."

The military seized back power in a coup on 1 February 2021, and has arrested thousands of people, targeting anyone it suspects of opposing its rule, from elected politicians, to nurses and teachers, social media stars and journalists.

Several foreign nationals have also been targeted, including Bowman, who was the British ambassador in Myanmar from 2002 to 2006.

Bowman and her husband, Htein Lin, a prominent democracy activist, were [sentenced in September to one year in prison](#) for violating immigration laws. Htein Lin would also be released on Thursday, according to state media.

Bowman, who began her diplomatic career working as the second secretary at the British embassy in 1990, had remained in the country after the coup, and leads the Myanmar Centre for Responsible Business.

Kubota, who was arrested during a demonstration in Yangon in July, had been charged with sedition and violating a communications law. He had been sentenced to 10 years after being convicted of sedition, as well as breaching the immigration rules and an electronic communication law.

Dozens of journalists have been detained since the coup, while independent media outlets have been raided and had their licenses revoked, forcing reporters to work underground – at great personal risk – or work in exile.

A spokesperson for Japan's government, Hirokazu Matsuno, told reporters that Kubota was in good health and was due to leave Myanmar on a Thursday night flight. He could be in Japan as soon as Friday, Matsuno said.

According to local media, five Myanmar journalists were among those released on Thursday.

Sean Turnell had served for several years as an adviser to the democratically elected civilian government led by the ousted leader [Aung San Suu Kyi](#).

An economist at Sydney's Macquarie University, Turnell was first detained on 6 February last year, less than a week after a [military coup removed Myanmar's elected government](#).

Turnell was later charged with violating Myanmar's Official Secrets Act, with the military accusing him of possessing confidential documents. Turnell denied the charge, saying the documents were not confidential, but economic recommendations he had provided to the government. He pleaded not guilty but was convicted in a closed trial and [sentenced in September to three years](#) in prison.

The Australian government “completely rejected” the charges against him. On Thursday, Australia’s foreign minister, Penny Wong, said “we welcome reports in relation to Prof Sean Turnell”.

Tim Harcourt, a family friend and colleague, told ABC Radio National that he understood Turnell would leave Myanmar and travel to Thailand – where he could end up meeting the Australian prime minister, Anthony Albanese, who was travelling to the same country for the APEC summit.

Harcourt said Turnell's family were "greatly relieved" but "a bit nervous". "Once he touches down on Australian soil, we can be really relieved," he said.

"I understand he's flying to Bangkok. I think there's a possibility he might meet the prime minister Anthony Albanese, who happens to be in Bangkok at the moment, maybe. And then back to Sydney."

Albanese was travelling to Thailand from Indonesia, where he has been for the G20 summit. Albanese's office had been contacted for comment.

Albanese raised Turnell's case with the leaders of Cambodia and Vietnam at the Asean summit over the weekend. Asean countries mounted several pushes to isolate Myanmar's ruling junta at the meeting.

Harcourt praised Albanese and Wong for their work in advocating for Turnell. "We've had support from a number of Asean countries which has been terrific," he said.

The Assistance Association for Political Prisoners said on Wednesday that the number of political prisoners who remained in detention in Myanmar had reached more than 13,000 – a record high. Among them were 1,648 serving sentences.

Wai Hnin Pwint Thon, a senior advocacy officer at Burma Campaign UK, said on Wednesday night that the international community was failing to press Myanmar over the huge numbers of people being held. Under the previous military dictatorship pre-2010 the average was just over 2,000, the group said.

"Despite the record number of political prisoners, they barely get mentioned by governments and world leaders," said Wai Hnin. "The fact that so many people have been jailed demonstrates the level of fear the Burmese military have of the people of Burma. The Burmese military are afraid for their survival and arrest anyone they see as a threat."

*Additional reporting by Ben Doherty*

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/nov/17/myanmar-to-free-australian-sean-turnell-and-briton-vicky-bowman-amid-prisoner-release>

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

**Justin Trudeau**

## **Xi angrily rebukes Trudeau over ‘leaks’ to media about Canada-China relations**

Chinese president’s testy remarks about briefings on earlier conversation captured by media pool at G20 summit in Indonesia

Xi Jinping confronts Justin Trudeau at G20 over ‘leaked’ conversation details – video

*[Leyland Cecco in Toronto](#)*

Wed 16 Nov 2022 19.58 ESTFirst published on Wed 16 Nov 2022 11.03 EST

Xi Jinping has angrily rebuked Justin Trudeau after Canadian officials [shared details of a previous meeting](#), highlighting the frosty relationship between the two leaders.

In a clip recorded by the media pool at the G20 summit in Indonesia, a visibly frustrated Xi pulls the Canadian prime minister aside and says it was “not appropriate” for details about a previous conversation between the two leaders to have been shared with media, suggesting Trudeau lacked “sincerity” in his approach.

“Everything we discuss has been leaked to the paper, that’s not appropriate,” Xi says to Trudeau through a translator. “And that’s not the way the conversation was conducted,” he added.

The testy exchange came a day after government sources briefed that during a previous conversation on the margins of the summit, Trudeau had raised “serious concerns” with Xi over China’s increasingly aggressive “interference activities”.

Xi's irritation on Wednesday was a rare break with his normally carefully scripted public appearances.

"In [Canada](#), we believe in free and open and frank dialogue and that is what we will continue to have," Trudeau said, interrupting Xi's translator. "We will continue to look to work constructively together but there will be things we will disagree on."

Gesturing with his hands, Xi told Trudeau the two must "create the conditions first". The pair ended their conversation by shaking hands and leaving in opposite directions, with the Canadian prime minister looking chastened from the encounter.

The uncomfortable exchange – and the previous conversation – followed repeated warnings from Trudeau and other officials that [China had attempted to undermine Canada's democracy](#). Canadian intelligence officials briefed parliamentarians in January that they believe China [interfered in the 2019 federal election](#), and media reports earlier this month alleged that Beijing had funded a [clandestine network of candidates](#). On Monday Canadian police [charged a researcher at Quebec's power company](#) with espionage for allegedly sending trade secrets to China.

After the first conversation, Trudeau's team said he and Xi also discussed Russia's invasion of Ukraine, North Korea and the importance of the Cop15 biodiversity conference in December, where China and Canada will co-host nations in an effort to "to protect nature and fight climate change", the source said.

Stephanie Carvin, a professor of international relations at Carleton University in Ottawa, said Xi probably didn't appreciate how news of his meeting Trudeau was leaked to Canadian media and took a more confrontational approach in order to "save face" the next time he spotted the Canadian prime minister.

"At the end of the day, Canada isn't Europe or the United States and Xi knows he can take a more aggressive stance publicly. Moreover, he can use Canada as an example to other states without much in the way of consequences," she said.

With relations still tense between the two countries, Trudeau was left out of any formal meetings with Xi – a diplomatic snub for the prime minister. The Chinese leader made time in Bali to meet with the US president, Joe Biden, in a closed-door meeting that lasted more than three and a half hours. Xi also met the French president, Emmanuel Macron, and Australian prime minister, Anthony Albanese.

Speaking to reporters after the tense interaction, Trudeau said not every conversation with Chinese leadership was “going to be easy” but added that Canada needed to be able to “engage constructively and directly while at the same time be there to challenge on human rights and values that matter to Canadians”.

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/nov/16/xi-trudeau-canada-q20>

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

## Cambodia

# **Cambodian wildlife official among eight charged in US with smuggling endangered monkeys**

Prosecutor says official from Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries was arrested en route to a conference on protecting endangered species



Long-tailed macaques are the most heavily traded primate, mostly for laboratory research. A Cambodian wildlife official is among eight charged with smuggling the endangered species. Photograph: Chalinee Thirasupa/Reuters

*Associated Press*

Thu 17 Nov 2022 00.32 EST Last modified on Thu 17 Nov 2022 00.33 EST

Eight people in the US have been charged with smuggling endangered monkeys, including a Cambodian wildlife official arrested while travelling to a conference on protecting endangered species.

The group – consisting of the Cambodian official, a colleague in that country's wildlife agency and six people connected to a Hong Kong-based company – were involved in breeding long-tailed macaques for scientific and academic research, supplying them to labs in Florida and Texas.

The group is accused of illegally purchasing the wild macaques when they lacked supply from their breeding operations.

Long-tailed macaques, sometimes known as crab-eating macaques, are protected under international trade law and special permits are required to import the animals into the US.

“The macaque is already recognised as an endangered species by the International Union for the [Conservation](#) of Nature,” US attorney for the southern district of Florida Juan Antonio Gonzalez said in a statement. “The practice of illegally taking them from their habitat to end up in a lab is something we need to stop. Greed should never come before responsible conservation.”

Masphal Kry, the deputy director of wildlife and biodiversity in Cambodia's Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, was arrested on Wednesday at John F Kennedy airport in New York.

Kry, 46, was travelling to Panama to attend an international meeting on regulating trade in endangered species, said a US official on condition of anonymity.

Omaliss Keo, 58, the director general of Cambodia's Forestry Administration, is also charged in the eight-count indictment, along with the six employees of a company called Vanny Resources Holdings. According to the indictment, Vanny Resources Holdings founder and owner James Man Sang Lau, 64, and Vanny Resources Holdings general manager Dickson Lau, 29, operating from Hong Kong, owned and managed several corporations that conspired with blackmarket collectors and officials in Cambodia to acquire wild macaques and export them to the US, falsely labelled as captive bred.

Officials didn't say whether anyone besides Kry had been taken into custody. They each face up to 145 years in prison.

The macaques were taken from national parks, and other protected areas in Cambodia, to breeding facilities where they were provided false export permits, officials alleged. Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries officials were accused of receiving cash payments of \$220 each in exchange for a collection quota of 3,000 "unofficial" monkeys.

"Wild populations of long-tailed macaques, as well as the health and wellbeing of the American public, are put at risk when these animals are removed from their natural habitat and illegally sold in the United States and elsewhere," said Edward Grace, the assistant director of US Fish and [Wildlife Service Office of Law Enforcement](#).

The conference in Panama, bringing together delegates from 184 parties to the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (Cites), includes an event on 23 November on threats to the very species the Cambodian officials are accused of trafficking.

The long-tailed macaque is the most heavily traded primate on the Cites database, almost exclusively for laboratory research. According to the Database, more than 600,000 were exported and declared born or bred in captivity from 2011 to 2020. Almost 165,000 live specimens were exported in 2020 alone.

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/nov/17/cambodian-wildlife-official-among-eight-charged-in-us-with-smuggling-endangered-monkeys>

## Movies

# Brendan Fraser won't attend Golden Globes after claiming he was sexually assaulted

Actor says he won't attend even if he's nominated, after alleging he was groped by the former president of the organisation that runs the awards

- Get our [morning and afternoon news emails](#), [free app](#) or [daily news podcast](#)



Brendan Fraser at the Toronto International film festival in September. Fraser won't attend the Golden Globes, even if nominated for an award. Photograph: Arthur Mola/Invision/AP

*[Sian Cain](#) and agencies*

Thu 17 Nov 2022 00.19 EST Last modified on Thu 17 Nov 2022 20.08 EST

Brendan Fraser says he won't attend next year's Golden Globes, even if he's nominated for [his acclaimed performance in The Whale](#), after having alleged that he was sexually assaulted by the former president of the organisation that runs the awards.

In 2018, Fraser publicly alleged that Philip Berk, a longtime Hollywood Foreign Press Association member and a former president of the organisation behind the Globes, once groped him at a lunch in Beverly Hills, in 2003.

Fraser has said that the alleged incident was a factor in why he disappeared from Hollywood for so long: "I was blaming myself and I was miserable – because I was saying, 'This is nothing; this guy reached around and he copped a feel.' ... it made me feel reclusive."

In 2018, Berk called Fraser's account "a total fabrication", but acknowledged he had written an apology to Fraser over the incident at the time. After an internal investigation, conducted when Fraser went public, the HFPA concluded in that Berk had "inappropriately touched" Fraser, but said Berk's action "was intended to be taken as a joke and not as a sexual advance."

Berk remained a member of HFPA until he was expelled last year, after he called Black Lives Matter "a racist hate movement".

"I knew they would close ranks," Fraser told GQ on Wednesday. "I knew they would kick the can down the road. I knew they would get ahead of the story. I knew that I certainly had no future with that system as it was ... I think it was because it was too prickly or sharp-edged or icky for people to want to go first and invest emotionally in the situation."

- [Sign up for Guardian Australia's free morning and afternoon email newsletters for your daily news roundup](#)

Last year's [Golden Globes](#) were all but canceled after the organisation was plunged into scandal over ethical indiscretions and the revelation that the

group then included no Black voting members. Many stars, publicists and studios said they were boycotting the Globes.

Earlier this year, the HFPA, after reforms, said the 80th Golden Globes will be broadcast on 10 January.

But Fraser won't be there.

"I have more history with the Hollywood Foreign Press Association than I have respect for the Hollywood Foreign Press Association," Fraser told GQ Magazine in a cover story published on Wednesday.

Asked whether he'll be involved with the ceremony if nominated, Fraser said, "No, I will not participate."

[Sign up to Guardian Australia's Morning Mail](#)

Free daily newsletter

Our Australian morning briefing email breaks down the key national and international stories of the day and why they matter

**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.

"It's because of the history that I have with them," he added. "And my mother didn't raise a hypocrite. You can call me a lot of things, but not that."

In [Darren Aronofsky's film The Whale](#), which premiered at Venice film festival to rave reviews, Fraser plays a reclusive English teacher living with obesity who attempts to reconnect with his estranged daughter.

He's nominated for outstanding lead performance at the upcoming Gotham Awards and is widely considered [a likely best actor nominee at the Academy Awards in March](#).

- Associated Press contributed to this report.

*Information and support for anyone affected by rape or sexual abuse issues is available from the following organisations. In the US, [Rainn](#) offers support on 800-656-4673. In the UK, [Rape Crisis](#) offers support on 0808 802 9999. In Australia, support is available at [1800Respect](#) (1800 737 732). Other international helplines can be found at [ibiblio.org/rcip/internl.html](#)*

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/film/2022/nov/17/brendan-fraser-wont-attend-golden-globes-after-claiming-he-was-sexually-assaulted>

## New Zealand

# New Zealand house seller throws in free Tesla as market tumbles

Unusual offer in Auckland comes amid affordability crisis that has seen house prices fall more than 10% in a year



The free Tesla was offered as part of a New Zealand house sale in what is a stalling property market. Photograph: Arnd Wiegmann/Reuters

*Tess McClure in Auckland*

*@tessairini*

Wed 16 Nov 2022 21.27 EST Last modified on Wed 16 Nov 2022 21.29 EST

As New Zealand's housing market continues to plummet, the owners of one home have opted to throw in a free Tesla to try to entice buyers.

The advertisement for a newly built five-bedroom house and granny flat in Auckland is headlined "brand new [Tesla](#) and brand new home".

New Zealand's housing market has been dropping steadily for a year, with high mortgage rates scaring many prospective buyers away. Real Estate Institute (REINZ) data released this week shows that the median house price was down 10.9% annually, to \$825,000. The overall volume of houses sold in October had also dropped dramatically: down 34.7% compared with last year, from 7,486 to 4,892.

Auckland's median price dropped 12.7% from October 2021, to \$1.09m. Properties were staying on the market for longer, REINZ said, with the national median stretching to 44 days in October, up 10 days from the year before.

The Auckland homeowners had been hoping to stand out in what has become an intensely competitive market, Barfoot & Thompson sales agent Kapil Rana told TVNZ, adding that the vehicle was a “bonus”, rather than an add-on to the market value. Tesla cars sell in New Zealand for about \$72,400.

The Auckland property is on the market for offers around \$1.8m – but it sits alongside more than 400 homes for sale in the suburb, many of which are likely be on the market for months. In this selling environment, tactics like the Tesla could become increasingly popular for sellers hoping to offload property quickly – and for estate agents trying to sweeten deals without driving area house prices down.

The fall in house prices and volumes has been primarily driven by the jump in interest rates - which New Zealand's reserve bank has been raising to combat high inflation – driving up mortgage rates.

If mortgage rates stay high, many of New Zealand's recent, highly leveraged buyers [could be in trouble](#): those who fixed short term interest rates when buying at the market peak in 2020-21 when interest rates were low, are now facing the possibility of significantly increased mortgage repayments.

The reserve bank's financial stability report, [released this month](#), showed that if interest rates hit 7%, almost half of those who bought last year would need to spend 50% of their income on mortgage repayments.

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/nov/17/new-zealand-house-seller-throws-in-free-tesla-as-market-tumbles>

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

## Headlines friday 18 november 2022

- [Autumn statement UK workers ‘will miss out on pay rises worth £15,000 over next five years’](#)
- [Live Jeremy Hunt insists non-doms are good for the economy as he warns of two challenging years](#)
- [Analysis Timid Jeremy Hunt fails to reform how rich are taxed](#)
- [Local government Bigger council tax rises will not prevent more cuts to services, councils say](#)

## [Autumn statement 2022](#)

# Hunt's budget will mean 19 years of wage stagnation, warns thinktank

Resolution Foundation says had wages grown at the same rate as before 2008, annual pay in 2027 would have been £15,000 a year higher

- [Biggest hit to living standards on record as Hunt lays out plans](#)
- [Autumn statement 2022: what it means for you](#)



The Resolution Foundation says Jeremy Hunt's autumn statement has put further pressure on the 'squeezed middle'. Photograph: track5/Getty Images

[Mark Sweney](#)

[@marksweney](#)

Fri 18 Nov 2022 08.56 ESTFirst published on Fri 18 Nov 2022 03.34 EST

Jeremy Hunt's [autumn statement](#) will result in extending wage stagnation for Britain's workers to two decades as the chancellor's tax-heavy budget piles

more pressure on the nation's "squeezed middle", a thinktank said.

The Resolution Foundation said on Friday that the dire economic outlook meant that real wages were not expected to return to 2008 levels until 2027.

Hunt's austerity budget will extend the real wage recovery lag to 19 years. If pay had continued to grow at the same rate as before the financial crisis hit in 2008, then by 2027, workers would be £292 a week – or £15,000 annually – better off.

Figures published alongside Jeremy Hunt's autumn statement on Thursday by the Office for Budget Responsibility said the UK was in a recession that would wipe out eight years of growth, with British households set to face the [biggest fall in living standards since records began](#).

The Resolution Foundation said Hunt had put further pressure on the "squeezed middle", with the autumn statement set to bring about a permanent 3.7% income hit to typical households.

-

It said the move to maintain a boost benefits in line with inflation next year represented the biggest rise since 1991, making a huge difference to those on low-to-middle incomes. Households on universal credit will receive a boost of £244 on average next year.

However, the scaling back of support for soaring energy bills next April will mean that the government will help households offset only 30% of the rises expected over the next two years.

About one in eight families – 3.3m homes in total – will be paying more than £2,000 more for energy than they did last year.

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.

However, the poorest fifth of UK households will be covered for 48% of the expected rises because of the government's targeted lump sum payments plan.

“As an energy importer during an energy price shock, Britain is getting poorer,” said James Smith, a research director at the Resolution Foundation. “Deciding how we do so was, to a significant extent, the choice facing the chancellor. He has decided that households will do so with higher energy bills, higher taxes and worse public services than previously expected. Whether or not making the choices was tough, the reality of living through the next few years will be.”

Speaking on Friday morning, Hunt said: “People will feel like even despite the hardship they can do things like go to the pub. We want people to feel the government is helping them through the recession. There is a plan, we’ll get through it, bring inflation down and growth the economy healthily when we get to the other side.”

The headline and text of this article were amended on 18 November 2022. An earlier version said that “workers will miss out on pay rises worth £15,000 over the next five years”. The £15,000 figure relates to how much higher the Resolution Foundation estimates salaries in 2027 would have been if pay had continued to grow at the same rate as before the financial crisis in 2008. This has been corrected.

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2022/nov/18/uk-workers-will-miss-out-on-pay-rises-worth-15000-over-next-five-years-autumn-statement>

## [Politics](#)

# Rishi Sunak protecting super-rich from paying fair share of tax, says Labour – as it happened

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2022/nov/18/jeremy-hunt-warns-of-two-challenging-years-after-autumn-statement-budget-uk-politics-live>

## Autumn statement 2022

### Analysis

# **Timid Jeremy Hunt fails to reform how rich are taxed**

[Arun Advani](#)

Fixing system could have raised substantial revenue, improved growth and helped to improve fairness

- [Autumn statement 2022: what it means for you](#)



Jeremy Hunt made no mention of closing the non-dom tax loophole in his autumn statement. Photograph: Stefan Rousseau/PA

Fri 18 Nov 2022 04.10 EST Last modified on Fri 18 Nov 2022 05.13 EST

Jeremy Hunt claimed the burden of his autumn statement tax rises would fall on those with the broadest shoulders, saying on Thursday he would “ask those with more to contribute more”.

Unfortunately, the chancellor's statement was surprising in its timidity. The UK tax system is sadly [riddled with problems](#). Fixing any one of those could have raised substantial revenue, improved growth and gone some way towards improving fairness, not only between rich and poor but also between people with the same incomes, taken home in different ways.

Instead, in terms of personal taxes, the budget did three small things.

First, it did a whole lot of nothing. By which I mean that the chancellor chose to sit on his hands, and hold a lot of tax thresholds fixed: something often described as a stealth tax. What it means in practice is that even if you can somehow negotiate a pay increase of 11.1%, to match this month's inflation figure, you will still be less able to afford the things you could before. More of your income will be taxable, and depending what you earn, more of it may be in higher tax brackets.

Most of the "stealth tax" comes from freezing the threshold at which employer's national insurance kicks in. This freeze means employers will have to pay more for each employee. Proportionally it affects the lowest paid the most, ultimately feeding through to lower wages and employment for that group. This alone raises £5.5bn.

Second, it fiddled with the tax-free allowances for dividends and for capital gains. On top of the personal allowance we all get, recipients of dividends get an additional £2,000 tax-free and recipients of capital gains receive a further £12,000 tax-free each year. These amounts will be halved from April, and halved again a year later, to £500 and £3,000 respectively.

Particularly in the case of capital gains, this threshold was unjustifiably high. While there are administrative costs to filing, having an annual allowance for capital gains that is as high as the income tax personal allowance is pretty difficult to defend.

The final, symbolic, reform is the lowering of the threshold at which the 45p rate of income tax kicks in. This represents a remarkable repudiation of the [mini-budget from only eight weeks ago](#), when Kwasi Kwarteng sought to

remove the 45p rate altogether, and it will make the “distributional analysis” charts look good. This reform does raise money from people with incomes in the top 1-2%. But it is essentially a poll tax for individuals in that group: they will pay a flat £1,250 more whether taking home £150k or £1.5m.

The latter two reforms are ones that will largely affect the better off. But even taken together, they don’t actually raise very much, bringing in only £2bn. Most of the tax rises on individuals come from the threshold freezes, and are therefore coming from workers who are much less well-off. And these reforms raise only 12% of what could have been raised by [fixing the deeper problems capital gains tax](#).

Despite repeated mentions of the former chancellor Nigel Lawson during his budget speech, Hunt did not follow his example and equalise the tax rates on income and on capital gains. Currently, someone earning an income of £1m as an employee will pay 47% tax on every additional pound they earn, and their employer has to put in another 13.8% on top. If they can instead take their pay through a company they own and manage, they can take the money out as a capital gain. This allows the first £1m to be taxed at a rate of only 10%, after which the rate is still only 20%.

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.

Capital gains are particularly unequally distributed, with more than half of taxable gains going to only 5,000 people. A budget seriously aimed at focusing tax rises on those with the broadest shoulders would have corrected this anomaly. And now would have been the perfect opportunity. The chancellor could have paired an increase rates with a reintroduction of the

inflation allowance for capital gains, reverting to the system we had before 1998, benefiting many people who receive income in this way.

Hunt also avoided addressing one of the most divisive wealth tax breaks. There was no mention of closing the non-dom tax loophole, which allows families with links to other countries, including the prime minister's wife, to use the UK to shelter their worldwide fortunes.

All in all, this is a budget that ducked the opportunity to make serious reforms to the way wealth is taxed.

*Arun Advani is an associate professor of economics at the University of Warwick and a research fellow at the Institute for Fiscal Studies*

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2022/nov/18/timid-jeremy-hunt-fails-to-reform-how-rich-are-taxed>

## Local government

# Bigger council tax rises will not prevent more cuts to services, councils say

Chancellor relaxes cap on raising rates to part-finance planned cash injection for adult social care



A library in Maidstone, Kent. The LGA said the financial outlook for councils was ‘not as bad as feared’ for next year. Photograph: Dan Kitwood/Getty Images

*[Patrick Butler](#) Social policy editor*

Fri 18 Nov 2022 01.00 EST

Increasing council tax bills next April will hit struggling residents, fail to lift the pressure on cash-strapped local authorities and will not prevent more cuts to key services, from social care to waste collection and libraries, local government leaders have said.

Average council tax bills could rise by as much as £100, to more than £2,000 for households in band D, from April, after the chancellor, Jeremy Hunt, confirmed in the autumn statement that the cap on how much local authorities could raise rates would be relaxed.

Higher council tax bills will be expected to part-finance a planned cash injection for adult social care budgets of up to £7.5bn over the next two years, an announcement welcomed as a recognition by the government of the crisis engulfing the sector, but offering it only short-term respite.

Local authorities with social care responsibility will be given the flexibility to uprate council tax bills by up to 5% (including a 2% social care levy), while others can impose rises of up to 3%. The current limits are 3% and 2% respectively.

Councils will face tough decisions over whether to exploit the new rules to provide a little relief for their battered balance sheets, knowing that increased bills will mean more pain for hard-pressed families during a cost of living crisis.

However, even if three-quarters of local authorities in England were to raise council tax by the maximum allowed, it would reduce the local government sector's funding shortfall – estimated at £9bn by 2025-26 – by just £2bn, according to the consultancy firm Grant Thornton.

The social care funding announced by Hunt on Thursday was significantly less than the [£7bn-a-year increase](#) he called for two years ago when he was chair of the Commons health and social care committee. It is unclear how far it will materially ease the sector's deep-seated staffing and capacity problems.

Mike Padgham, chair of the Independent Care Group, which represents care home providers, said: “The extra money is welcome, but will it increase staff pay to tackle the 165,000 vacancies in social care staff? No. Will it help us make inroads into the 1.6 million [people] who can't get care? Very little, if any.”

There was relief from councils that the introduction of a flagship Tory policy to cap lifetime social care fees at £86,000, due to begin next year, had been delayed until October 2025, amid warnings that fragile local care services [needed more time to prepare](#) for the changes.

However, the delay will disrupt the plans of thousands of people banking on promised support with potentially calamitous care costs. The Tory chair of the Commons health and social care committee, Steve Brine, said the delay meant “more people face the very real prospect of crippling bills”.

Jennifer Dixon, chief executive of the Health Foundation thinktank, said it was the latest shelving of a measure originally proposed a decade ago. “The government has chosen to prolong a major public policy failure that leaves older and disabled people without the care they need and many facing catastrophic costs,” she said.

Overall, with the chancellor maintaining local government spending next year at current levels, there was little relief for councils battling with the unexpected multibillion-pound costs of soaring wage and energy bills, or for users of local authority services that face further cuts.

[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.

The chair of the Local Government Association, James Jamieson, said that while the financial outlook for councils was “not as bad as feared” for next year, the reliance on council tax would not solve the long-term pressures on high-demand services such as adult social care, child protection and homelessness.

Sir Stephen Houghton, chair of the LGA special interest group of municipal authorities, which represents some of the biggest city councils outside London, said councils faced a substantial real-terms cut in spending power that would have “a significant impact on key frontline services and regeneration projects”.

The District Councils’ Network vice-chair, Sharon Taylor, said: “Every individual and every community will feel poorer as district councils inevitably find they have no option but to cut back on environmental services, waste collection, leisure and parks. These services improve everyone’s quality of life.”

Social housing tenants face rent rises of 7% from next April, the chancellor announced. While this is less than the 11% they might have expected under the standard rent-setting formula, it still amounts to a substantial rise for households who pay full rent.

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2022/nov/18/bigger-council-tax-rises-will-not-prevent-more-cuts-to-services-councils-say>

## 2022.11.18 - Spotlight

- 'I'd be stupid to stop it now!' The man with the only complete collection of UK No 1 singles
- World Cup 2022 Everything you need to know about host country Qatar
- 'He said, Oh my God. You're really strange!' Anthony Hopkins on film stardom at 84
- 'Everyone is in crisis' The view from Jeremy Hunt's Surrey constituency

Advertisement

[Print subscriptions](#)

[Sign in](#)

[Search jobs](#)

[Search](#)

US edition

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

[The Guardian - Back to home](#)[The Guardian](#)

[The singles chart at 70Music](#)

**‘I’d be stupid to stop it now!’ The man with the only complete collection of UK No 1 singles**



‘I don’t really know why I started it!’ Dave Watson and his collection of UK No 1 singles. Photograph: Graeme Robertson/The Guardian

Dave Watson is the proud owner of 1,404 chart-toppers. He looks back on three decades of tracking down obscure vinyl records – and reveals how he copes in the digital era



[Safi Bugel](#)

Fri 18 Nov 2022 03.00 EST Last modified on Fri 18 Nov 2022 17.01 EST

For 70 years, the UK singles chart has been a constant in our lives: a weekly countdown humming along in print, on TV and the radio. But to Dave Watson, it’s more than just background noise: it’s a lifestyle. The 55-year-old has been collecting copies of UK No 1 hits since the late 1980s; today, he owns all 1,404 UK No 1 singles, reaching back to the birth of the charts in 1952. He believes it’s the only complete collection of its kind.

Watson’s devotion to the charts began when he was given a Guinness Book of Hit Singles one Christmas. Starting a collection made sense: with a mother who had worked in a record store, he grew up in a musical household and he enjoyed collecting things. “I just looked at the list at the back of the book and thought: ooh, it might be quite a good idea!” he says, speaking from his home in Dunstable.

By the time he'd started his mission in 1988, the charts had already seen 605 No 1 singles. With the newly released Don't Turn Around by Aswad under his arm, he set out to find the previous 604 releases.

Growing up in High Wycombe, Watson would get trains to London to scour music fairs and secondhand record shops in search of his bounty. He would respond to adverts in Time Out and Loot magazines and write to record dealers. "I'd spend endless bloody hours searching through dealers' stock," he says. "I had a handwritten list that I'd photocopy and take around with me to put the word out. Some would write back to say what they had with their prices scribbled on."

His wish list had started off pages long. "Then you start putting lines through them, your list gets shorter and you think: well, I actually stand a chance of doing all this. Once I started building it up, that just fuelled me to keep going."

Watson would break the search up by decade of release; the older ones were harder to find. But he enjoyed the challenge, opting for the rarer of the two when singles had been released on two formats in transitional periods.



'You can't collect everything!' ... Dave Watson at home in Dunstable.  
Photograph: Graeme Robertson/The Guardian

Discovering eBay around the millennium was a turning point: at the time Watson had fewer than 10 singles left on his list: “I remember going on for the first ever time, finding the remaining half a dozen and just thinking: wow, this is crazy. I’d looked and looked and looked, then all of a sudden you type it in and there it is.”

By the time he bought a 78 RPM record of Lita Roza’s (How Much Is) That Doggie in the Window, which reached No 1 in 1953, his collection was up to date.

At one point, Watson toyed with the idea of collecting all the No 1s from the official UK albums chart too, though he says that, luckily, sense kicked in. “It’s not so much the money, it’s more where are you gonna put it all? There’s gonna be blimmin’ hundreds of them!” he laughs. “You can’t collect everything!”

To adapt to changing technology and listening habits, digital downloads and streamed songs became eligible for the singles chart in 2005 and 2014 respectively. Accordingly, Watson began downloading the No 1s and burning them on to CDs, complete with a printed-out sleeve and label.

In 2020, he started to craft homemade Now That’s What I Call Music-style compilations for the top hits of the year. “I try to make the CDs look like they have been purchased commercially,” he says. “It’s probably a bit old school.”

[Sign up to Sleeve Notes](#)

[Free weekly newsletter](#)

Get music news, bold reviews and unexpected extras. Every genre, every era, every week

**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.

Physical singles are scarcely released these days. (The [physical singles sales charts](#) reads like a dispatch from another world; currently, Firestarter by the Prodigy is No 1.) While he misses the process of browsing through stands of records, Watson can now maintain his collection from his computer. It's a weekly ritual: "On a Friday evening, I check the charts to see what's No 1 and make a record of it," he explains. "Sometimes if I can't do it on a Friday, I'll do it on a Saturday, but I very rarely forget – because I want to keep the collection going."

Watson's ever-growing archive of 78s, 45s and CDs now sits on display in his home. He doesn't listen back to the singles much any more – he uses his mobile phone to return to his favourites, from his teenage years in the 80s, as well as later cherished hits from the Prodigy to the Spice Girls – but the collection is a source of pride, as well as an icebreaker. "I try not to drone on about it but it is a good talking point. It opens up a conversation," he says.

Although he doesn't much like the chart music of today ("it's not really my taste"), Watson won't be stopping his hobby any time soon. "It's just one of those things: I've gone so far with it that I'd be stupid to stop it now," he says. "I'm gonna keep it going as long as I can because it just seems part of me now. It's just what I do."

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/music/2022/nov/18/the-only-complete-collection-of-uk-no-1-singles>

[Qatar](#)

[Explainer](#)

## World Cup 2022: everything you need to know about host country Qatar

Football's grandest tournament will kick off for the first time in the Middle East on Sunday. Here is a guide to the host country



The World Cup games will be held in eight stadiums near Qatar's capital, Doha. Photograph: Kirill Kudryavtsev/AFP/Getty

Supported by



[About this content](#)

[Oliver Holmes](#)

Fri 18 Nov 2022 04.43 EST Last modified on Fri 18 Nov 2022 15.13 EST

## **Where is Qatar and what is it like?**

Qatar is a small monarchy of [2.7 million](#) people – of whom about 300,000 are Qatari citizens and the rest expatriates – on the Persian Gulf that shares its only land border with Saudi Arabia. The entire country is about a 10th the size of New York City, and all the games will be held in a tight circle of eight stadiums near the capital, Doha.

[map](#)

[Stadiums map](#)

## **Who runs Qatar and how does it make money?**

The British-educated sheikh Tamim bin Hamad al-Thani took over from his father nearly a decade ago and maintains control over nearly all aspects of government. Once one of the poorest Gulf states, [Qatar](#) has risen to become one of the wealthiest countries in the world per capita on the back of oil and gas.

[A graph showing GDP per capita of countries including Qatar](#)

## **What is its role geopolitically?**

Qatar has an “open-door” foreign policy in which it speaks to all political groups, which is why the country has acted as a mediator, for example, [between the Taliban and the US](#). But Qatar’s support for Islamist groups, such as affiliates of the Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas in Gaza, has caused serious friction with its neighbours.

In June 2017, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Bahrain cut diplomatic ties with Qatar. Saudi Arabia’s role, in particular, meant Qatar was effectively cut off from the rest of the world. The blockade was lifted last year.

## **What is Qatar famous for?**

The small state has an outsized influence across the region and globally due to its 2006 launch of the influential pan-Arab and international TV broadcaster Al Jazeera.

While it is part-owned by the state – and avoids criticism of the Qatari monarchy – Al Jazeera has maintained a level of independence in its reporting, making it a vital source of breaking news across the Middle East, particularly during the Arab spring uprisings that erupted in 2011.

Dictators across the region detest Al Jazeera, which has closely reported on pro-democracy movements and Islamist uprisings. They accuse Qatar of using the channel to foment strife.

## **Why is this tournament so controversial?**

Broadly, although not exhaustively, the main arguments made against awarding the tournament to Qatar fall into the following categories:

- **Migrant workers’ rights**

The role of Qatar's huge migrant worker population – often from south and east Asia – in the country's construction industry has dominated discussions. [A Guardian investigation in 2019](#) found hundreds of labourers had been worked to death in searing temperatures of up to 45C for up to 10 hours per shift, six days a week. Many workers live in [squalid, overcrowded dorms](#), and some interviewed by the Guardian say they earn the equivalent of about £1 an hour.

Responding to the criticism, Qatar introduced a minimum wage and abolished the abusive [kafala](#) system, under which workers could not change jobs and were effectively controlled by their employers. Nevertheless in October [Amnesty International said](#) human rights abuses “persist on a significant scale”.

- **LGBTQ+ rights**

Qatar criminalises same-sex sexual activity with jail time and the country ranks poorly on indices of LGBTQ+ rights, even by regional standards.

[A graphic showing Qatar is rank third least LGBTQ+ friendly country in the world](#)

Last month, Human Rights Watch published a report documenting what it claimed was “arbitrary” police action against LGBTQ+ residents in [Qatar](#). A Qatari official [said](#) the allegations “contain information that is categorically and unequivocally false”, without specifying.

In an effort at global acceptance, [Qatar has explicitly said](#) that LGBTQ+ couples visiting for the World Cup can stay in the same room. [Documents seen by the Guardian](#) suggest police will be told not to take action against public displays of affection or pro-LGBTQ+ protests. Still, the grey area is a serious cause for concern. Recent remarks by an official tournament ambassador describing homosexuality as “damage in the mind” have [been decried as “harmful and unacceptable”](#).

- **The climate crisis**

Qatar initially proposed holding the tournament during summer, when temperatures average 36C and sometimes reach into the 50s, though in 2015 [Fifa](#) confirmed a winter tournament would take place instead.

### [A graph showing the average high and low temperatures in Doha](#)

Doha has promised “[the first carbon-neutral World Cup in history](#)” with its “compact” design meaning less carbon-emitting travel. But [concerns have been expressed](#) over the use of air conditioning in the stadiums and hundreds of thousands of litres of desalinated water needed to keep the pitches lush and green.

#### • **Corruption**

There is no evidence linking Qatar itself to any kind of corruption in securing its World Cup bid success, but it is 12 years since the host nation was announced, and questions remain about how a country that has never qualified for the tournament won the right to host it. [Attention has focused instead](#) on the 22 voting members of Fifa’s executive committee at the time, 16 of whom have been implicated in or investigated over some form of alleged corruption or bad practice.

Earlier this month the former Fifa president Sepp Blatter [claimed](#) the tournament was handed to the Gulf state because of the actions of the former Uefa president Michel Platini, under pressure from France’s then president Nicolas Sarkozy. Platini, a former France player, acknowledges that a meeting with Sarkozy took place but denies his votes were influenced. Sarkozy has previously chosen not to comment on the allegations.

---

This article was downloaded by [calibre](#) from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/nov/18/world-cup-2022-everything-you-need-to-know-about-host-country-qatar>

Advertisement

[Print subscriptions](#)

[Sign in](#)

[Search jobs](#)

[Search](#)

US edition

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

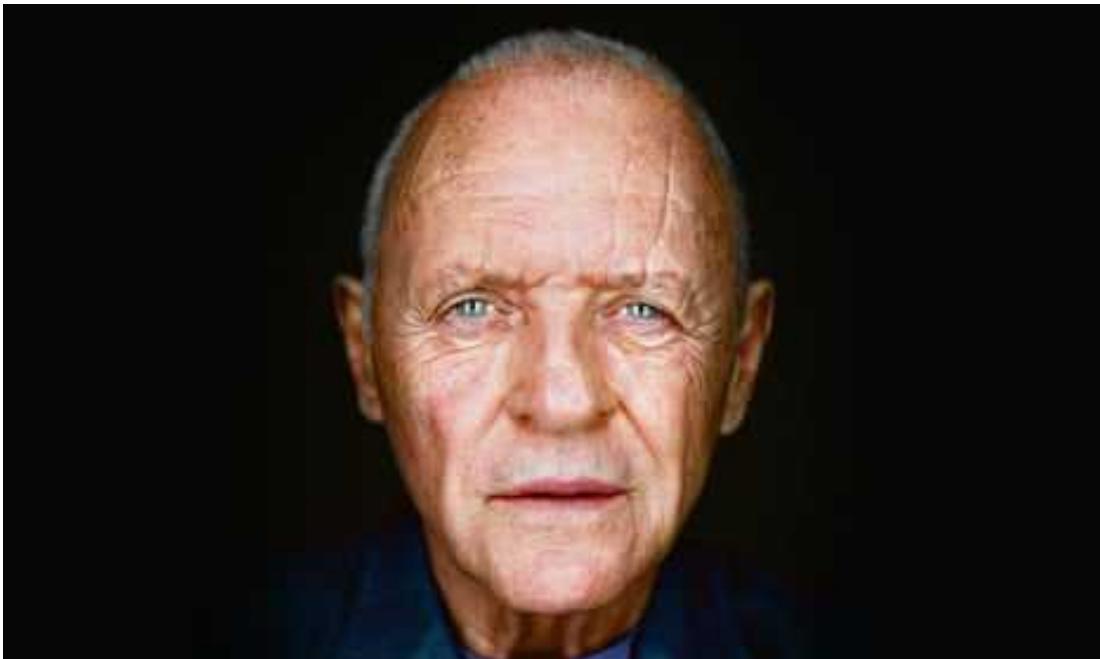
[The Guardian - Back to home](#)[The Guardian](#)

[Movies](#)

[Interview](#)

## **Anthony Hopkins on film stardom at 84: ‘He said, Oh my God. You’re really strange!’**

[Ryan Gilbey](#)



‘Memory plays false with you’ ... Hopkins. Photograph: Martin Schoeller/August

From Hannibal Lecter to Nixon, Anthony Hopkins has long been one of cinema’s most singular stars. He recalls winding up Brad Pitt, working with Bob Hoskins and weirding out Jonathan Demme

Fri 18 Nov 2022 01.00 EST Last modified on Fri 18 Nov 2022 16.47 EST

It is lunchtime in Los Angeles, and [Anthony Hopkins](#) is having a dizzy spell. “I’m lying down on the bed,” he says, calling from home. “I’m looking at the sun shining on the Pacific ocean.” There are worse views to contemplate while you collect yourself.

His voice is soothing, his halting delivery prone to the odd acceleration whenever the memories start flowing. Unmistakable is that mixture of ebbing sadness and defiant resolve familiar from more than 50 years of performances, but most of all from his towering turn in [The Remains of the Day](#) as the repressed wartime butler too dutiful and deluded to register his employer’s fascist sympathies. Hopkins is a warmer presence, altogether less blighted, though waves of melancholy still whoosh in and out of his conversation. It is his custom to dispel them with some stoic statement or

other. “Just get on with it,” he tells himself at one stage, “stop kvetching.” But they always come back.

He turns 85 next month, and has lived in the US on and off since the mid-1970s. The country has been on his mind even longer. He would hear cataclysmic news from its shores, and think to himself: “Oh God, what a place!” His reminiscences are apt to resemble both reverie and shopping list. “Kennedy assassinated. Oswald killed a few days later. Before that, the standoff between Kennedy and Khrushchev. I was an actor in provincial rep. My father said, ‘If the bomb drops, you won’t know much about it. It’s us who will have to suffer the fallout here in Wales.’ A few weeks later I went to see him. He said, ‘That was nothing, was it? In 1939, when you were a baby, Neville Chamberlain declared war against the mightiest military machine ever. Six years later, Hitler blew his brains out.’” His point? “We survive.”



Hopkins in *Armageddon Time*. Photograph: Everett Collection/Alamy

The topic is germane to the film that has occasioned our conversation today: [Armageddon Time](#), James Gray’s autumnal, autobiographical drama about a Jewish family in Brooklyn at the dawn of the 1980s. Hopkins plays Aaron Rabinowitz, maternal grandfather to 11-year-old Paul (Banks Repeta). He

brings him gifts, including a rocket which they launch together at Flushing Meadows. The kid puts on a toff's voice ("Thank you, my good man") while the old fellow talks like an after-school cartoon ("Yabba-dabba-doo!").

The script was originally written about Gray's paternal grandfather; Robert De Niro was in talks to play the part. When that plan fell through, Gray reshaped the role in the image of his other grandfather, and Hopkins sprang immediately to mind. The title alludes to the apocalyptic bent of the incoming president, Ronald Reagan, as well as to the Clash song [Armageddon Time](#) but it also foreshadows the existential dread that pervaded most of that decade and has lately returned in spades. Several members of the Trump family, played by actors including Jessica Chastain, make an appearance.

Given the state of the world today, does Hopkins consider the film to be timely? "Did I what? Timely? How do you mean?" Before I can explain, he is off on a different tack: "Let me put it this way. I loved James's vision of the past. America has been through so many shifts we lose track of them. Memory plays false with you. It's never accurate and not exactly a lie. You only get a kind of dream sequence. But I've got a pretty good memory." How did he feel when Reagan became president? "Oh, I can't remember that. It was so long ago."



‘It became clear Bob hadn’t read the whole script’ ... Hopkins and Hoskins in Othello, 1981. Photograph: Everett Collection/Alamy

He was also furiously busy, as ever. One of the projects he was preparing for at that time was the lead in [the 1981 BBC production of Othello](#), directed by Jonathan Miller. Hopkins made a dubious sort of history as the last white actor to play the part on British television. “Couldn’t do that now,” he says, alluding to blackface. Bob Hoskins was his Iago. “Wonderful Bob! When he came in, his accent sounded very refreshing. Then it became clear he hadn’t read the whole script.” Hopkins does an uncanny impression of his cockney co-star: “‘Jesus, are these all my lines? These are the verbals? I’m in big trouble, Tone!’ I told him, ‘You’d better get learning them.’ He was terrific.”

When he thinks about arriving in the US in the early 1970s, it is Watergate that looms most clearly in his mind. He was in London at the time, getting ready to go to New York to appear on stage in Equus. “I listened to all this news from America and I thought: ‘God, I’m going to be there soon.’ When I arrived, the joke shops were selling Nixon masks. I stayed at the Algonquin. I can remember looking at the light, the sky, thinking: ‘This is America!’ I don’t know what it was. A light peculiar to that country. I felt a nostalgia for it somehow. We often talk about the good old days but, oh, I don’t know. Good old days, bad old days, life goes on. I just came out here and stuck around. I’m a drifter really.”



Oliver Stone's Nixon, from 1995. Photograph: TCD/ProdDB/Alamy

In among the numerous real-life figures in his filmography (including Picasso, [Hitchcock](#) and [Pope Benedict XVI](#)), he has played both Nixon (in Oliver Stone's 1995 film) and Hitler (in the 1981 TV movie The Bunker), earning an Oscar nomination for the former and winning an Emmy for the latter. “A producer, young guy, came up to me on set and said: ‘Can you make Hitler less human?’ I said, ‘No, because he *was* human.’” Hopkins was surprised to be offered Nixon. “Oliver told me, ‘I’ve read interviews with you, and I think you can play him.’ I said, ‘What, you mean I’m nuts and paranoid?’ He said, ‘Yeah, all that stuff.’ I jumped in with both feet.”

As well as Stone, he has also been directed by Steven Spielberg (in Amistad), David Lynch ([The Elephant Man](#)), Francis Ford Coppola ([Bram Stoker’s Dracula](#)), Julie Taymor ([Titus](#)) and Woody Allen ([You Will Meet a Tall Dark Stranger](#)). What does he look for in a director? “The ones who are smart and don’t pretend to be God. They’re working people like anybody else. I don’t go on set to try to dominate. My way is to say, ‘Can I try this? Does that work for you?’”

His wife, Stella, directed him a few years ago as a psychiatrist in her film [Elyse](#). “Bossed me about, she did,” he chuckles. Special fondness is reserved for the late Jonathan Demme, who cast him in [The Silence of the Lambs](#) as

Hannibal “the Cannibal” Lecter; Hopkins’ performance brought him the first of his two best actor Oscars, as well as two further bites of the cherry in Hannibal and Red Dragon. “I don’t know why Jonathan cast me but he trusted me. He would fall about laughing because he thought I was outrageous.” It was the actor’s idea for Lecter to be already standing in his cell when the FBI trainee Clarice Starling (Jodie Foster) first approaches him. “He can smell her, you see. I told Jonathan and he said: ‘Oh, my God. You’re really strange, Hopkins!’”

He once described himself as the “troublemaker” on the set of the 1998 fantasy-drama [Meet Joe Black](#), co-starring Brad Pitt. “Marty Brest, the director, lovely man, he would do take after take after take,” he explains. “I never knew why. I said to him one day, ‘I don’t have much longer to live. Can we finish the scene?’ It was crazy. He’d say: ‘One more.’ And I’d say: ‘No, I’m going home now, I’m tired.’ Brad may have thought I was being a bit difficult. But I was convinced we’d never get to the end.” Many audiences felt the same way. “It does go on, doesn’t it?”

Sign up to Film Weekly

Free newsletter

Take a front seat at the cinema with our weekly email filled with all the latest news and all the movie action that matters

**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.



With Olivia Colman in *The Father*. Photograph: Sean Gleason/AP

Hopkins' mind hops all over the place as we speak, alighting on childhood memories of accompanying his father on his bread round, and then zooming bang-up-to-date to Armageddon Time again. One word he keeps repeating, though, is "easy". Making *The Father*, Florian Zeller's devastating story of the mental collapse of a man with Alzheimer's, was "dead easy", he says, despite the subject matter. "I didn't do anything, really. I said yes to it, and Olivia Colman became my daughter." He must have done something else to earn his best actor Oscar. "Well, I try not to muddle it up by interfering. You make sure the catering is good, find yourself somewhere comfortable on set and don't bump into the furniture. Acting gets easy as you get older. You stop getting twisted up by it." He also appears briefly in *The Son*, Zeller's forthcoming follow-up, in which he has one scene of singular vileness.

He hasn't watched *Armageddon Time* yet and is in no rush to return to the cinema. "This Covid business is back again. I'm not hiding away, but at my age I don't want to risk it." He is at the piano each day ("I've been playing this morning, some Rachmaninoff") and often paints in his studio; *his art* has been exhibited all over the world. "I'll probably do some this afternoon," he says brightly.

I was wearing my coat because my character was dying. And I thought: ‘This is my grandfather’

Talking about Armageddon Time today, though, has allowed all sorts of memories to rush in as he lies on his bed gazing at the ocean. “The man I play is very much like my own maternal grandfather,” he says. “He and I were awfully close. He gave me a great sense of confidence to get on with life.” It was while shooting that scene in Flushing Meadows, which doubles as an unspoken goodbye between Paul and his grandfather, that Hopkins felt his own past to be vividly present. “There was that melancholy American light in the sky. I was wearing my coat because my character was dying. And I thought: ‘This is my grandfather.’”

What did he look like? “He was no fashion model but he had a certain vanity about him. Shirt and tie. He used to look at himself in the mirror.” The last time Hopkins saw him was in 1961. “We had a drink together in the Grand hotel in Port Talbot. I was about to go off to Rada, full of pep and vinegar – I’d won a scholarship and all that. I got up to leave, and my grandfather said, ‘Why don’t you come for lunch? I’ve got some nice fish cooking.’ I said, ‘No, I’ve got to go.’ I left and turned around, and he waved at me from the table. It was a sunny day and that was the last time I saw him.”

He permits the image to linger. “He died a few months later and to this day I feel regret. I think, ‘Why didn’t I have lunch with him?’” Has he settled on an answer? “Ah, I was too busy. Too young. And now he’s gone. Those memories do stay with you. We don’t realise the pain in people’s lives. Old age and all that.” Then, as surely as the tide of melancholy has come in, he ushers it back out again. “I’m just grateful I’m alive and they still give me jobs to do. Keeps me out of trouble, eh?”

Armageddon Time is in cinemas now

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/film/2022/nov/18/anthony-hopkins-interview-armageddon-time>

## Autumn statement 2022

# The view from Jeremy Hunt's Surrey constituency: 'Everyone is in crisis'

In South West Surrey, which polls suggest could turn Lib Dem, anger towards the government is palpable



Godalming, in Jeremy Hunt's constituency of South West Surrey.  
Photograph: Martin Godwin/The Guardian

[Kevin Rawlinson](#)

Fri 18 Nov 2022 01.00 EST Last modified on Fri 18 Nov 2022 01.01 EST

The immediate outlook for the country appeared bleak as [Jeremy Hunt](#) returned to his seat in the House of Commons after delivering his autumn statement on Thursday afternoon.

And Hunt's prospects in his constituency look similarly fragile, if opinion polls are to be believed. The South West Surrey seat, comfortably held by Hunt at the last election, is now a target for the Liberal Democrats.

The level of anger towards the government was palpable among some of Hunt's constituents on Thursday, even though they live in one of the least deprived areas of the country.

"We are in crisis. Most of my family have used food banks at least once or twice this year," said Kelly Clark, 38, shortly after the chancellor had finished speaking in the Commons. "Everyone is in crisis, [the price of] everything is going up. With the country in recession, we are screwed. In my eyes, it is 'feed the rich, starve the poor'."

Colin Coleridge, 61, a former recovery coach for people dealing with drug and alcohol addiction, said: "The economy is just going wild. There seems to be more crime because people cannot get what they need to live. They cannot afford to eat. Living standards are going down. Living standards are getting poorer for the young. Growing up, they haven't got a chance."



Colin Coleridge: 'Growing up, [young people] haven't got a chance.'  
Photograph: Martin Godwin/The Guardian

One woman who had recently left university said she was about to start a job in London. The woman, who asked not to be named, said she would have to swallow living with her parents and braving a three-hour round trip to work because housing costs in the capital were so high.

The state of public services was also a source of dismay. Dave and Kathy Allen, retirees who live in Dorset and were visiting their daughter and grandchild in Godalming, bemoaned the increasing difficulty in seeing a doctor. “You phone up if you want an appointment and sometimes it is three weeks,” said Kathy, 62.

Where did each place the responsibility for the country’s economic woes? Primarily with the government, they said.

Hunt was one of several senior Tories [recently identified](#) as being at serious risk of losing their seats in the next general election. A poll for the Trades Union Congress carried out at the end of Liz Truss’s premiership suggested a landslide Labour win nationally, with Hunt, [Jacob Rees-Mogg](#) and Thérèse Coffey among the then cabinet ministers in trouble.

[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.



Kelly Clark: ‘In my eyes, it is feed the rich, starve the poor.’ Photograph: Martin Godwin/The Guardian

In normal times, Hunt’s majority of nearly 9,000 would seem safe enough. But these are not normal times. Coleridge gave Hunt a 50-50 chance of keeping his seat. Clark said she was unlikely to vote at all.

Charlotte Smith, 47, who works in accountancy, said she believed Hunt and Rishi Sunak were trying to dissociate themselves from the failures of their Tory colleagues – a tactic she thought might yet work.

“They are trying to make it sound really bad so that when their measures are put in place they can say ‘look what we have done about it’. He will try to take credit for any improvements,” she said of Hunt.

“I would be surprised if he lost it because there are a lot of older voters who would vote for him around here … I would like to see the Tories get a bloody nose, for sure. But I would be surprised if they lost round here. There is a bubble around here where there are an awful lot of people who live very comfortably.”

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

## 2022.11.18 - Opinion

- [If you're outraged by XR and Just Stop Oil, imagine how disruptive climate breakdown will be](#)
- [Hunt's plan may please the markets, but austerity without real growth would be fatal](#)
- [Covid's hidden epidemic: up to a million cancer cases missed in Europe](#)
- [Cartoon Ben Jennings on Jeremy Hunt's autumn statement](#)

## OpinionProtest

# If you're outraged by XR and Just Stop Oil, imagine how disruptive climate breakdown will be

[Andy Beckett](#)



Focusing on activists detracts from what we should be angry about – failure to tackle the most urgent problems of our age



Police intervene in a Just Stop Oil Protest that involved activists glueing their hands to the road in Whitehall, London, on 1 November 2022.  
Photograph: Maureen McLean/Rex/Shutterstock

Fri 18 Nov 2022 01.00 EST Last modified on Fri 18 Nov 2022 04.19 EST

Disruptive political activism, from strikes to boycotts to road occupations, always makes enemies. That's part of the point: confrontations and controversies mean publicity. More ambitiously, stunts and provocations by activists are also meant to remind the public that the status quo itself is built on disruptions. Even supposedly cautious governments are constantly altering the distribution of power and wealth, and the environment itself.

Four years since the founding of Extinction Rebellion, known by its highly committed members as XR, climate activists in Britain and many other countries are still launching waves of protests: blocking roads, throwing food over famous artworks, gluing themselves to surfaces in public places and spray-painting banks that invest in fossil fuels. New groups have appeared with XR-style tactics and goals: [Just Stop Oil](#), Insulate Britain, Animal Rebellion, Youth Climate Swarm. A steady stream of activists from teenagers to pensioners are prepared to face arrest and imprisonment in order to press governments, businesses and voters to change their behaviour.

Yet even though the climate crisis has worsened faster than many pessimistic analysts expected, and even though the official response to it remains far too slow, the work of XR and its successors still enrages many people. There are endless online videos of activists being dragged off the road by drivers, or being dangerously shunted by vehicles, or simply being shouted at by passersby. The print and broadcast media are full of similar denunciations. Tory and Labour politicians compete to be the least tolerant of disruptive climate activism – even though Labour’s opposition to the expansion of our oil and gas fields mirrors the stance of Just Stop Oil.



XR protesters in London in April 2022. Photograph: Martin Pope/Getty Images

The constant attacks on the activists are inadvertently revealing. They are called “selfish”, when they are sacrificing far more for the environment than their critics. They are called “extremists”, despite the world’s ever more extreme weather. They are dismissed as middle-class dilettantes, yet also feared as fanatical members of a cult. They are condemned for interfering with “people going about their daily business”, as the presenter Mark Austin put it with an air of outrage on Sky News, even though our everyday habits are a central cause of the crisis.

Underlying all these criticisms is a strong but unstated desire not to engage with the activists' main argument: that the climate emergency is so huge and urgent that modest changes to our lifestyles and conventional political action – from summits such as Cop27 to marches to polite negotiations between governments and companies – are no longer enough. On the videos of drivers confronting activists, the drivers' fury feels about more than their vehicles being blocked. British motorists are used to obstructions and delays. The anger suggests resentment at being reminded about the climate crisis. It also acts as a way of avoiding being drawn into conversation with the protesters – a conversation that might be uncomfortable or frightening. Starting with XR's brutally frank name, disruptive green activism presents what the US climate campaigner Al Gore once called [An Inconvenient Truth](#).

Critics of the movement often underestimate how much support it has. An [official “factsheet”](#) justifying the government's public order bill – legislation intended to hinder “protest groups such as Just Stop Oil and Insulate Britain” – cites an opinion poll from April. While the survey shows that twice as many people support as oppose “tougher laws to tackle climate change activists blocking roads, transport and other infrastructure”, it also shows that among 18- to 34-year-olds, opinion on the issue is evenly divided. Many of those likely to be most affected by the climate crisis, and likely to become an ever more important part of the electorate, do not see disruptive protest as illegitimate.

In fact, a small but increasingly influential minority of green activists and thinkers argue that XR and similar groups are not disruptive enough. Last year the Swedish environmentalist Andreas Malm published [How to Blow Up a Pipeline](#), a seductively well-written and well-researched book that argues climate activists should abandon their longstanding “commitment to absolute non-violence”, and instead “escalate” their campaign by “physically attacking the things that consume our planet”, such as fossil fuel infrastructure. Citing previous successful protest movements that have used sabotage, such as the suffragettes, Malm advocates violence against property, not people, to create an “inhospitable investment climate” for fossil fuel projects. The pressure on businesses and governments to switch to green technologies, he argues, would then be irresistible.

It's not hard to find things to worry about in Malm's argument. Wouldn't the sabotage have to be on an enormous scale? How are governments and voters likely to react, given the fury already aroused by XR? How would violence against people be avoided, when many oil and gas facilities have security guards? And would the whole process of forcing companies to abandon their expensive fossil fuel investments be as straightforward as he claims?

Yet what Malm advocates is already happening. In June, a group called Pipe Busters broke into a building site for a new aviation fuel pipeline from Southampton to London and damaged sections of uninstalled pipe and a construction vehicle. Similar actions have happened in other countries. Meanwhile, protests by supposedly nonviolent groups have begun to include attacks on property. In April, Just Stop Oil activists vandalised petrol pumps along the M25.

It's possible to see such actions as token, and likely to be counter-productive: feeding the panic about climate activism that will be institutionalised by the public order bill, and probably by further authoritarian legislation after that.

If you're more optimistic, it's possible to argue that since parties such as Labour and the US Democrats are now in favour of changing the economy to stabilise the climate, disruptive protests to draw attention to the issue are no longer required.

But even if you have that much faith in centre-left politics, the response to the protests has not been reassuring. The fury of drivers may be a foretaste of how many voters will respond when and if governments really start addressing the climate crisis, by requiring big changes in our everyday lives. Before it's too late, the road-blockers and the reformers need to realise they're on the same side.

- Andy Beckett is a Guardian columnist

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

## OpinionAutumn statement 2022

# Hunt's plan may please the markets, but austerity without real growth would be fatal

[Mohamed El-Erian](#)



There will be no recovery unless the chancellor addresses low productivity, the green economy and trading relations post Brexit



'Fortunately for the chancellor, the external environment is less jittery than at the time of the previous ill-fated mini-budget': Jeremy Hunt after delivering his autumn statement on Thursday. Photograph: BBC news

Fri 18 Nov 2022 04.47 EST Last modified on Fri 18 Nov 2022 12.47 EST

Jeremy Hunt won't enjoy today's papers. "Tories soak the strivers," agonises the Mail, the condemnation bolstered by a columnist's lament: "And there was me thinking we'd voted in the Conservatives". "[From bad to worse](#)," says the Guardian. "Hunt paves the way for years of pain," says the Financial Times. "Carnage," predicts the Mirror. "Years of tax pain," warns the Times.

But then his autumn statement was never going to be easy or please everybody. It had to meet multiple objectives, some of which are contradictory in the short term; it was positioned to pursue a total fiscal effort that is greater than what I believe is strictly necessary, and it had to reconcile economic and financial realities with political and institutional priorities.

The morning after, it seems clear that what was announced in yesterday's notably sober speech set aside quite a bit of what many may think of as Conservative party ideology. Instead, there is a pragmatic multi-year

approach that, in sharp contrast to the prior government's approach, opts for economics over politics in the driving seat. While well positioned to meet the immediate market test for fiscal responsibility, its longer-term benefits will, however, erode unless more is done to promote high, inclusive and sustainable economic growth.

The domestic context for the statement and its implementation is far from an easy one. Inflation has risen to 11.1%, a rate not seen for 41 years and notably pushing up borrowing costs. The associated cost of living pressures are even more problematic for lower income groups whose inflation rate, according to the Office for National Statistics, has never been as elevated relative to that of the population as a whole.

It is not just about inflation, which, according to the forecasts from the Office for Budget Responsibility accompanying the statement, is projected to stay elevated at 7.4% next year. Unusually for periods of such high inflation, the economy is already shrinking, slipping into a recession that, according to the OBR, will involve a GDP contraction of 1.4% in 2023 and, according to the Bank of England, could well extend into 2024. As a result, average household income per person would experience a record fall to a level last seen some 10 years ago.



‘Jeremy Hunt won’t enjoy today’s papers.’ British newspaper front pages on Friday 18 November. Composite: Mirror, The Times, The Guardian, Daily Record, i, Daily Mail, Financial Times, The Daily Telegraph

This is not an easy environment to pursue policies that simultaneously put the budget on a sounder footing, contain inflation, restore the country’s economic reputation, protect the most vulnerable segments of our society and promote growth and productivity. It amplifies the challenges facing a government seeking to subsidise energy consumption – albeit less than the previous government – protect pensions and stabilise the debt burden after the massive Covid fiscal transfers.

Fortunately for the chancellor, the external environment is less jittery than when the previous government made its [ill-fated mini-budget](#). Helped by inflation rates in the US falling faster than consensus forecasts, global interest rates have come down and sterling has strengthened, serving to lower interest costs and imported inflation. Indeed, these key market variables are more favourable for the UK than they were on the eve of the disruptive mini-budget.

Against this background, the chancellor announced a “stability, growth and public services” approach whose headline, at least on the surface, appears like a typical Conservative party budget – that is, a large dose of fiscal responsibility [amounting to £55bn](#), more than is necessary in my opinion; just over half of which is to be met through spending cuts rather than tax increases. The details, however, point to a more pragmatic approach, with economics dominating politics – a sharp contrast from the last Tory government’s approach – and with the rich carrying a significant part of the burden for a tax-to-GDP ratio rising to its highest level since the second world war.

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.

Judging from history, quite a few of the tax measures would not have come easy for a Tory government. This includes higher and broader windfall-profit taxation of the energy sector, a cut in dividend allowance, an expansion in the coverage of the top rate of income tax, a reduction in the annual exemption for capital gains, and larger business contributions to national insurance. The reduction in expenditures is backloaded, with most of the cuts biting during the next parliament. The national [living wage](#) is being increased by nearly 10% while, on the spending side, education, health and social care are being treated relatively favourably.

This does not mean that lower income groups are unaffected. Particularly through what economists call “[fiscal drag](#)”, more people will be pulled into the tax net as the minimum threshold for paying taxes stays constant at a time of higher nominal wage growth.

The real issue with an autumn statement that traded big bang measures for many smaller ones is not about narrow fiscal issues. It is much more about the high, inclusive and sustainable growth that the UK needs to address the vast majority of its economic and financial challenges. While the government rightly emphasised the trifecta of energy investments, infrastructure modernisation and enhanced innovation, this is unlikely to constitute enough of a policy package to promote the needed productivity enhancements and economic growth.

At a time of a slowing global economy and tightening financial conditions around the world, the government will need to keep a particularly close eye on the evolution of the country’s growth dynamics lest its desire for restoring fiscal credibility turns into excessive self-defeating austerity. More will be needed to, using the chancellor’s words, turn the recession made in Russia [into a recovery](#) made in Britain.

His statement will need to be followed by stronger measures to overcome the legacy of too many years of sluggish productivity and of low and

insufficiently inclusive growth; to redefine the UK's international economic relations post-Brexit; and to reorient the economy for a greener and more dynamic future.

Without that, history may see it as little more than a well-intended, but insufficient attempt to restore dynamism and fairness to the British economy.

- Mohamed El-Erian is president of Queens' College, Cambridge. He was chair of President Obama's Global Development Council (2012-17) and is author of *The Only Game in Town* and *When Markets Collide*
- 

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/nov/18/jeremy-hunt-markets-austerity-growth-recovery-productivity-green-trading>

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

## OpinionCancer

# **There is a hidden epidemic of missed cancer cases – here's how we save lives now**

[Devi Sridhar](#)



With up to a million missed diagnoses across Europe as a result of the pandemic, it's time to put cancer back on the agenda

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



'Early diagnosis is important because it improves survival outcomes.' A lung scan. Photograph: NHS England/PA

Fri 18 Nov 2022 02.00 EST Last modified on Fri 18 Nov 2022 06.26 EST

You almost certainly know someone who has died of cancer before their time. Perhaps you're even a cancer survivor yourself. Lymphoma and leukaemia killed my father at 49, after several years battling them. My best friend's mother has survived breast cancer, but the fact that it might return is a lurking anxiety in her mind. Cancer is a leading cause of death worldwide, and [accounts for](#) nearly one in six deaths. The good news before Covid-19 was that countries across the world, even in low-income regions, had improved their diagnosis and treatment capability, and cancer survival outcomes were improving. Things were getting better.

But the pandemic has reversed these gains. A [report](#) from the Lancet Oncology Commission, examining 44 European countries, notes that the pandemic has resulted in late cancer diagnosis, delayed intervention, disruption in treatment and many deaths, due to Covid-19, among cancer sufferers. This is largely a result of health services being overwhelmed or repurposed and of too many infections and Covid hospital admissions, leading to long national lockdowns in some countries. The report estimates that as many as a million cancer diagnoses may have been missed in Europe during that time.

The pandemic showed us that healthcare resources are finite, and so when demand associated with one disease increases, it affects all patients. In Britain, due to the large first and second waves, the NHS effectively became the Covid Health Service for much of 2020. And this is likely to have had a detrimental impact on cancer outcomes: another [Lancet study estimated](#) in 2020 that delayed diagnosis and treatment in England could increase the amount of breast, colorectal and lung cancers by up to 9.6%, 16.6% and 5.3%, respectively, in the coming years. This is largely due to screening services being disrupted and people – even with worrying symptoms – not coming forward to primary care. Of course, countries that were able to contain Covid-19 quickly and limit their patient numbers in 2020 managed to keep their health services running relatively well.

There is a term for this, taken from the [2014 Ebola outbreak](#) in west Africa, when women died during childbirth because healthcare facilities were closed and childhood vaccination schedules disrupted: the “uncounted dead”. This was how Unicef referred to the people who died from the indirect impacts of Ebola but needed to be taken into account as casualties of the outbreak. We are now facing one of what will probably be many hidden and uncounted costs of Covid-19.



Critical care staff in the ICU at Queen Alexandra hospital in Portsmouth, 23 March 2021. Photograph: Adrian Dennis/AFP/Getty Images

As part of the pandemic recovery, public health experts are calling for specific actions to reduce the individual risk of developing cancer and increase survival for those who are diagnosed. This requires health systems to initiate awareness-raising and proactive measures. We can't just pretend that the last few years didn't happen, and let the huge number of new patients slide into the existing system. We have to put cancer back on the agenda, including the priority given cancer patients by our health services.

Getting cancer is the result of a complex interaction between genetics, environmental factors, infections and age. The WHO estimates that a third of the world's cancer deaths are due to smoking tobacco, being overweight/obese, having a diet low in fruits and vegetables, being physically inactive and drinking excessive alcohol. And the incidence of cancer rises dramatically with age, due to the buildup of risks across a lifetime; the body's ability to repair itself reduces the older we get.

And then there's just bad luck (combined with genetics and unexplained factors): my father didn't smoke, didn't drink, exercised regularly and ate a diverse vegetarian diet. He wasn't overweight or unhealthy. He actually *was* an oncologist, and ended up being cared for by his colleagues and dying on the ward he once oversaw. So it's worth recognising that sometimes, there's only so much we can do to avoid disease. There's no role for shame, guilt or blame in illness.

How best, then, to reduce the chances of getting cancer and dying from it? At an individual level, public policy needs to continue to focus on making healthier choices more affordable and accessible: for instance, making it easier for people to walk or exercise with safe cycling paths, and ensuring that fruit and vegetables are subsidised and available. Getting vaccinated against HPV and hepatitis B is also important if you're in a high-risk group. And we need more awareness about the importance of screening. If you or someone you love are worried about changes in your health – such as weight loss, extreme fatigue, blood in your urine or stool, a persistent cough or lumps – get them checked without delay.

Early diagnosis is important [because](#) it improves survival outcomes. In England, more than 90% of people survive bowel, breast and ovarian cancer

for at least five years if diagnosed at the earliest stage. This allows treatment to start earlier, before the cancer has spread through the body. Yet even with a cancer diagnosis, the NHS is struggling to provide treatment within the current 62-day target time: 36% of patients waited longer than 62 days in England, 21% in Scotland and 43% in Wales. The main bottleneck is staff shortages, which the Covid-19 pandemic has made more acute. Again, this points to the need for investment in the NHS – in not just infrastructure, but also the workforce.

The challenge is acute for the UK and devolved governments now: we must make cancer a priority, and make up for the years lost during the pandemic.

- 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/nov/18/covid-epidemic-cancer-diagnosis-pandemic-europe>

**Guardian Opinion cartoon**

**Jeremy Hunt**

## **Ben Jennings on Jeremy Hunt's autumn statement – cartoon**

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/picture/2022/nov/17/ben-jennings-on-jeremy-hunts-autumn-statement-cartoon>

## 2022.11.18 - Around the world

- [Imran Khan Former PM denies corruption over \\$2m worth of state gifts](#)
- [North Korea ICBM had potential range to reach US mainland, Japanese officials say](#)
- [Urban bombing Dozens of countries to sign deal to curb attacks in populated areas](#)
- [Apec summit Asia must not become arena for 'big power contest', says China's Xi](#)
- [New Zealand Ardern says she must be able to raise concerns in Xi Jinping meeting without 'retaliatory acts'](#)

## [Imran Khan](#)

# Imran Khan denies corruption over \$2m worth of state gifts

Former Pakistan PM denies allegations he illegally sold items given to him by Saudi crown prince, Mohammed bin Salman



Imran Khan, left, with Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, in 2019. Photograph: Bandar Algaloud/Courtesy of Saud/Reuters

[Shah Meer Baloch](#) in Islamabad

Fri 18 Nov 2022 00.00 EST Last modified on Fri 18 Nov 2022 15.12 EST

The former Pakistan prime minister [Imran Khan](#) has been accused of corruption and illegally selling for \$2m (£1.7m) a unique antique watch, gold pen, ring, and cufflinks given to him by the Saudi crown prince, Mohammed bin Salman.

On Tuesday, a Dubai-based businessman, Farooq Zahoor, claimed on Pakistan's Geo News that he purchased the gifts in cash from a close friend of the former premier in 2019 in the United Arab Emirates.

Khan denies the allegations and says they are part of a campaign to malign him. He has vowed to sue the journalist, the media network and Zahoor in courts in London and the UAE for their "character assassination", saying he had no hope in Pakistan's justice system.

The sale of state gifts by Khan, known as the Toshakhana issue, became a national political scandal after the election commission of Pakistan (ECP) disqualified and barred him from elections for five years and accused him of "false statements and incorrect declarations" about gifts he received from foreign leaders while in power.

During the Mughal era, Toshakhana referred to the "treasure houses" kept by the subcontinent's princely rulers to store and display gifts lavished on them. The name is now given to a government department where the gifts given to state officials are kept.

Khan has challenged the disqualification verdict in the Islamabad high court and the case is in the court.

Since Khan was ousted from power in April after a no-confidence vote, controversy has continued over his alleged corrupt practices, false statements, and failure to declare luxurious and expensive gifts he received from wealthy Arab nations, including from the crown prince of Saudi Arabia and leader of Dubai while in office. Asked for a timeframe for Khan's threatened legal action, members of his party said either that they did not know or that a date had yet to be decided.

The 70-year-old former international cricket star has since attempted to disrupt Pakistan's political processes, ordering his members of the national assembly to resign en masse. He has also been rallying against the government and demanding snap elections. Last month, he started a "long march" from Lahore with thousands of people to Islamabad to demand snap elections.

However, the coalition government has made it clear that the election will take place on time in 2023.

Khan was [wounded in an assassination](#) attempt on 3 November and accused the current prime minister, interior minister and a senior intelligence officer for the attempt on his life, but provided no evidence for the claim. The current prime minister, Shehbaz Sharif, condemned the incident but, along with the government including the armed forces, refuted Khan's claims.

Khan rode to power in 2018 on a populist platform to fight corruption and overturn decades of rule by two feuding political dynasties, the Bhuttos and the Sharifs, calling them "thieves and looters". But when in power, Khan was unable to prove any corruption charges against them.

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/nov/18/imran-khan-accused-of-corruption-and-selling-2m-dollars-worth-of-state-gifts-pakistan>

## North Korea

# North Korean ICBM had potential range to reach US mainland, Japanese officials say

The intercontinental ballistic missile landed in Japan's exclusive economic zone



A TV screen showing a file image of a North Korean missile launch during a news program in Seoul on Friday, after the North fired a suspected ICBM. Photograph: Ahn Young-joon/AP

*Staff and agencies*

Thu 17 Nov 2022 21.04 EST Last modified on Fri 18 Nov 2022 03.26 EST

A North Korean intercontinental ballistic missile that landed in Japan's exclusive economic zone on Friday had the potential range to strike the US mainland, Japanese officials say.

The US, Japan and [South Korea](#) condemned North Korea for launching the missile, which landed about 200 km (124 miles) west of Oshima-Oshima island in the northern prefecture of Hokkaido. There were no reports of damage to ships or aircraft.

“We naturally lodged a strong protest against North Korea, which has repeated its provocations with unprecedented frequency,” Japan’s prime minister, Fumio Kishida, told reporters in Thailand, where he is attending the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (Apec) summit meeting.

“We have told (Pyongyang) that we absolutely cannot tolerate such actions,” Kishida said. “Japan, the US and South Korea must coordinate closely to work toward the complete denuclearisation of North Korea.”

Friday’s launch will add to fears that the North has made significant progress in developing weapons capable of sending nuclear warheads anywhere in the US. North Korea has two other types of ICBM — the Hwasong-14 and Hwasong-15 - and their test-launches in 2017 proved they could potentially reach parts of the US mainland. In March this year, the regime conducted its first successful ICBM launch in over four years, with flight data suggesting it was able to reach the entire continental US.

The US vice-president, Kamala Harris, convened a meeting with regional leaders on the sidelines of Apec to discuss the launch, saying that North Korea’s conduct destabilised the region and raised tensions, while South Korea’s president ordered officials to push for stronger sanctions against the North.

The launch came a day after North Korea fired a short-range ballistic missile while warning of [“fiercer military responses” to US efforts to boost its security presence](#) in the region with its allies, saying Washington was taking a “gamble it will regret”.

Japan’s defence ministry released a statement on Friday saying that: “North Korea launched an ICBM-class ballistic missile from near the western coast of the Korean Peninsula at around 10.14 (0114 GMT) today.”

The missile flew 1,000 km (621 miles) at an altitude of 6,100 km and speeds of Mach 22, the South Korean military said, calling it a “serious provocation damaging peace and security on the Korean Peninsula”.

Tokyo’s defence minister, Yasukazu Hamada, told reporters that the “ICBM-class missile” had been fired on a “lofted trajectory” – meaning the missile is fired up, not out, typically to avoid overflying neighbouring countries.

“Based on calculations taking the trajectory into account, the ballistic missile this time around could have had a range capability of 15,000 km, depending on the weight of its warhead, and if that’s the case, it means the US mainland was within its range,” he said.

South Korea’s president, Yoon Suk-yeol, ordered officials to push for strong sanctions on North Korea after an emergency national security council meeting. He also called for implementation of strengthened extended deterrence to counter the North’s threats, his office said in a statement.

Speaking at Apec, the prime ministers of Australia and Canada joined the condemnation of the launch. Anthony Albanese said Australia stood ready to be part of a global response, while Justin Trudeau said the test was a clear violation of UN resolutions.

The launch was North Korea’s second ICBM test this month. Outside experts said that an ICBM fired by North Korea on 3 November failed mid-flight. That test was believed to have involved a new type of developmental ICBM.

This year North Korea has conducted a record number of missile tests, which are banned by UN security council resolutions that have sanctioned the country over its missile and nuclear weapons programmes.

The North also fired hundreds of artillery shells into the sea recently as South Korea and the US staged exercises, some of which involved Japan.

The country had halted weapons launches for about a week before Thursday’s test, which was preceded by the North’s foreign minister, Choe Son-hui, threatened “fiercer” military responses.

Choe was referring to US president Joe Biden's recent trilateral summit with his South Korean and Japanese counterparts on the sidelines of a regional gathering in Cambodia.

In their joint statement, the three leaders strongly condemned North Korea's recent missile tests and agreed to work together to strengthen deterrence. Biden reaffirmed the US commitment to defend South Korea and Japan with a full range of capabilities, including its nuclear arms.

On Thursday evening Kishida said he had expressed "serious concerns" to Chinese President Xi Jinping on security issues including North Korea after the two leaders held their first face-to-face talks.

"On North Korea, I expressed our expectation that China will play a role, including in the UN security council."

Joe Biden also discussed North Korea's recent missile tests with Xi earlier this week, as fears grow that the reclusive regime will soon carry out its seventh nuclear test.

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/nov/18/north-korea-has-launched-suspected-icbm-intercontinental-ballistic-missile-says-south>

## Chemical weapons

# Dozens of countries sign deal to curb bombing in urban areas

Campaigners hope agreement will change military norms, though it was not endorsed by countries including Russia, Israel and China



The port city of Mariupol in Ukraine was heavily bombed by Russia with civilians frequently targeted. Photograph: Alexander Ermochenko/Reuters

*[Dan Sabbagh](#) Defence and security editor*

Fri 18 Nov 2022 11.50 ESTFirst published on Fri 18 Nov 2022 00.00 EST

Eighty countries led by the US, UK and France have signed a declaration in Dublin pledging to refrain from urban bombing, the first time countries have agreed to curb the use of explosive weapons in populated areas.

The international agreement is a product of more than three years of negotiation – predating the war in [Ukraine](#) – but was not endorsed by several major military powers, including Russia, China, Israel and India.

Campaigners said they hope the agreement will help change military norms, with two-thirds of [Nato](#) members expected to sign up, and lead to a taboo similar to those against chemical weapons or cluster bombs.

Sahr Muhammedally, a director at the Centre for Civilians in Conflict, said the use of explosive weapons in populated areas has become now “the leading cause of civilian deaths” in modern conflict. “From Mosul to Tripoli, Mogadishu and Kharkiv, the list of examples is endless,” she added.

[Data from](#) Action on Armed Violence shows that 91% of those reported killed or injured by explosive weapons in populated areas in the past decade were civilians, rising [to 98%](#) when Russia targets towns and cities. “The humanitarian toll is unacceptable,” said Laura Boillot, from advocacy group Article 36.

Although the agreement was first conceived against the backdrop of the relentless urban destruction in the Syrian civil war and conflicts in Gaza, Yemen and elsewhere, it has been given further momentum by the war in Ukraine.

Russia has resorted to a sustained urban bombing campaign as it has struggled on the frontline, striking cities such as [Mykolaiv in the south](#), which has been indiscriminately bombed almost daily leading to the deaths of 150 civilians.

Critical to the success of the negotiations was persuading the US to sign up this summer, which has paved the way for other Nato members, including Germany and Turkey, to make the commitment.

Many lobbyists and NGOs highlight the work of Ireland, as the coordinator of the initiative, in helping the declaration come together. Simon Coveney, the country’s foreign minister, is scheduled to give a speech as the agreement is signed.

The key passage [in the text](#) commits signatories to ensure their militaries engage in “restricting or refraining, as appropriate, from the use of explosive weapons in populated areas, when their use may be expected to cause harm to civilians or civilian objects”.

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.

Some governments have highlighted that the wording allows some discretion. In June, Charles Trumbull – deputy legal adviser to the US mission in Geneva, where a previous round of discussions took place – said that field commanders “would take into account a variety of considerations, including humanitarian and military” in their use of explosive weapons.

However, though not a complete ban or a binding treaty, campaigners said the agreement is expected to lead to governments changing their targeting policies to avoid hitting built-up areas – and to pressure other countries to follow suit.

“It’s a big milestone getting to the point of this agreement and, in particular, seeing such a big group of countries sign on including some with major militaries,” added Boillot. “But it is the first step in a long process of work.”

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/nov/18/dozens-of-countries-to-sign-deal-to-curb-bombing-in-urban-areas>

## [Apec summit](#)

# **Asia must not become arena for ‘big power contest’, says China’s Xi ahead of Apec summit**

Amid race for influence in Asia-Pacific region, Chinese president says no attempt to ‘wage a new cold war will ever be allowed by the people or by our times’



China’s President Xi Jinping and his wife Peng Liyuan are greeted on Thursday as they arrive in Thailand to attend the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (Apec) summit. Photograph: AFP/Getty Images

*Reuters*

Thu 17 Nov 2022 19.35 EST

The Asia-Pacific is no one’s back yard and should not become an arena of big power rivalry, China’s president, [Xi Jinping](#), has said, warning against

cold war tensions in a region that is a flashpoint of competition between Beijing and Washington.

Xi's remarks on Thursday came ahead of Friday's Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (Apec) summit in Bangkok, and were an apparent reference to US efforts with regional allies and partners to blunt what they see as China's growing coercive economic and military influence in the region.

"No attempt to wage a new cold war will ever be allowed by the people or by our times," Xi said in written remarks prepared for a business event linked to the summit.

"We should follow a path of openness and inclusiveness," he said in the speech, which was provided by organisers, adding the region should not turn into "an arena for big power contest".

"Unilateralism and protectionism should be rejected by all; any attempt to politicise and weaponise economic and trade relations should also be rejected by all," he said.

Relations between the world's two largest economies have grown strained in recent years over issues including tariffs, Taiwan, intellectual property theft, the removal of Hong Kong's autonomy and territorial disputes over the South China Sea, among others.

In a move that may be seen by Beijing as a rebuke, a senior administration official said the US vice-president, Kamala Harris, will on Tuesday visit the Philippine islands of Palawan on the edge of the disputed South China Sea.

The trip will make Harris the highest-ranking US official to visit the island chain adjacent to the Spratly Islands. China has dredged the sea floor to build harbours and airstrips on the Spratlys, parts of which are also claimed by Brunei, Malaysia, the Philippines, Taiwan and Vietnam.

Xi told Philippine counterpart Ferdinand Marcos Jr at a meeting in Bangkok that the strength of bilateral ties hinged on stable relations at sea, China's

CCTV state broadcaster said, referring to disputes over areas of the South China Sea.

Harris will visit Palawan after attending the Apec meeting, which follows a series of regional summits so far dominated by geopolitical tension over the war in Ukraine.

At the G20 meeting in Bali, countries unanimously adopted a declaration saying most members condemned the Ukraine war, but that also acknowledged some countries saw the conflict differently. Host Indonesia said the war was the most contentious issue.

Russia is a member of both the G20 and Apec but President Vladimir Putin has stayed away from the summits. First deputy prime minister Andrey Belousov will represent Putin at Apec.

Apec host Thailand on Thursday said leaders gathering for the forum should “rise above differences”.

Its foreign minister, Don Pramudwinai, said the meeting of the 21-member bloc “takes place at a pivotal juncture”, with the world facing multiple risks. “Cancel mentality … permeates every conversation and action, [and] makes any compromise appear impossible,” he said in a statement after a meeting of the bloc’s foreign ministers ahead of the main summit. “That’s why Apec this year must rise above these challenges and deliver hope to the world at large.”

Xi held a rare summit with Japanese prime minister Fumio Kishida while in Bangkok, the first leadership-level meeting between the two countries in nearly three years, after which Kishida said he conveyed concerns about peace in the Taiwan strait.

He reaffirmed with Xi that they would reopen dialogue between diplomatic officials and communicate closely, and said both leaders agreed Russia must not use the nuclear option in Ukraine. He declined to say what Xi said on the issue.

China's CCTV reported that Xi told Kishida the Taiwan issue involved the political foundation of ties between their two countries, and territorial disputes should be properly managed.

The meeting came a day after tensions simmered in Bali, where [Xi criticised Canadian prime minister Justin Trudeau in person](#) over alleged leaks of their closed-door meeting, a rare public display of annoyance by Xi. Trudeau is also in Bangkok.

On Thursday, as leaders prepared for the Apec meeting, the junta in neighbouring [Myanmar announced an amnesty for 5,774 prisoners](#), among them a Japanese film-maker, a former British ambassador and an Australian economist and former adviser to deposed leader Aung San Suu Kyi. State media said 700 of those released were political prisoners.

Activists and the military's opponents welcomed the amnesty, but warned the world not to be tricked by the junta, which they said was using people as bargaining chips.

At a news conference in Bangkok, US secretary of state Antony Blinken welcomed the release as “one bright spot in what is otherwise an incredibly dark time”.

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/nov/18/asia-must-not-become-arena-for-big-power-contest-says-chinas-xi-ahead-of-apec-summit>

## New Zealand

# Ardern says she must be able to raise concerns in Xi Jinping meeting without ‘retaliatory acts’

Ahead of first meeting with China’s president in three years, New Zealand PM calls for environment where differences can be discussed



Prime minister Jacinda Ardern will discuss opportunities for cooperation as well as New Zealand’s differences with China when she meets Xi Jinping on the sidelines of Apec. Photograph: Marty Melville/AFP/Getty Images

*Tess McClure in Auckland*

*@tessairini*

Thu 17 Nov 2022 19.22 EST Last modified on Thu 17 Nov 2022 19.24 EST

Jacinda Ardern has said she must be able to raise concerns with Beijing without prompting “retaliatory acts”, on the eve of her planned meeting with the Chinese president, Xi Jinping.

The pair's first in-person bilateral meeting since 2019 is due to take place on Friday evening on the sidelines of the Apec forum. It comes during a [strained time in New Zealand-China relations](#), where ideological differences – and New Zealand's economic reliance on China as an export market – have continued to grow.

Speaking in Bangkok to New Zealand [news outlet Stuff](#), New Zealand's prime minister said that she would be discussing the countries' close economic relationship and [opportunities to cooperate](#), as well as areas of difference. "I will make sure that I raise both in the national interest," she said.

"Let's not define the relationship on the parts where we part ways, but we do have to create an environment where we can raise those [concerns] because that's part of who we are. We will always raise the areas that we have concerns about," she said.

"We need to make sure we have an environment where we can do that without us seeing retaliatory acts, because in my mind that doesn't further the relationship."

China is by far New Zealand's largest export market, accounting for a third of its exports. At the close of 2021, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade said that two-way goods and services trade totalled NZ\$37.7bn, up 20% from the year before. The Chinese market made up 23% of New Zealand's total trade and 32% of New Zealand's goods exports.

That dependency has presented New Zealand with a difficult balancing act between raising concerns and preserving economic ties. New Zealand's government faces stark foreign and domestic policy differences with China – most notably Beijing's tensions with Taiwan, the oppression of Uyghur Muslims in Xinjiang, suppression of democracy in Hong Kong, and [growing geopolitical competition in the Pacific](#), where China has [either established or attempted a series of security treaties](#) with Pacific nations New Zealand considers close partners.

The government has been cautious but consistent on raising those issues – having watched in recent years as Australia experienced the [trade fallout](#) of hard-line rhetoric on China during the pandemic.

Ardern has said discussions in the meeting will closely mirror New Zealand's public statements on [China](#). “I will be totally consistent … I've said many times that what we share privately we share publicly,” she said.

The prime minister has said she will not raise [China's zero-Covid strategy](#), despite its economic impact. It's not clear whether the two will discuss Russia's invasion of Ukraine, which was squarely on the agenda at the [G20 summit](#) attended by Xi.

Dr Jason Young, director of the New Zealand Contemporary China Research Centre, said he “would expect New Zealand to use the opportunity to further discussions around trade and seeking greater cooperation on climate change” as well as raising “important challenges in the relationship”, including human rights concerns over Xinjiang and Hong Kong, geopolitical tensions in the Taiwan Strait, and New Zealand's concerns about growing strategic competition in the Pacific.

“I would hope to see the prime minister … encouraging China to use its relationship with Russia to seek an end to the destabilising war in Ukraine,” he said.

Ardern and Xi's meeting comes after a long period with little in-person contact between the two countries. New Zealand emerged this year from a long period of lockdowns and travel restrictions, while China has continued to enforce both in pursuit of its zero-Covid policy. From that perspective, some analysts say the fact of the meeting is as important as any specific items on the agenda.

“The key outcome for the meeting is that it occurs,” said Young. “New Zealand's relationship with China is stable but strained – there are areas of cooperation that are positive for both countries and a number of issues and differences where concerns have not been resolved,” he said. The meeting would be “an opportunity to reiterate the importance of relations and for both sides to exchange views.”

The pandemic period had been “very light on political interaction and very light on people-to-people exchanges,” said John McKinnon, chair of the New Zealand-China Council and former New Zealand ambassador to China, [speaking at the NZ Institute of International Affairs on Monday.](#)

“The sooner we can move on from that, the better it will be for the overall health of the relationship and our ability to understand what is happening in China. We don’t always agree with it, but we will have a better understanding.”

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/nov/18/jacinda-ardern-xi-jinping-apec-forum-meeting-preview>

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

## Headlines monday 14 november 2022

- [Live James Cleverly refuses to say how UK-France deal on asylum seekers will affect numbers crossing Channel](#)
- [Migration More patrols promised as UK and France sign Channel deal to curb migration](#)
- [Turkey Istanbul bombing: 22 detained as minister blames Kurdish separatists](#)
- [Beyond 8 billion India faces deepening demographic divide as it prepares to overtake China as most populous country](#)
- [Explained How has the world's population grown since 1950?](#)

[\*\*Politics live with Andrew Sparrow\*\*](#)[\*\*Politics\*\*](#)

# **UK gave away ‘too much for too little’ in free trade deal with Australia, says former minister, blaming Truss – as it happened**

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2022/nov/14/james-cleverly-uk-france-channel-asyylum-seekers-rishi-sunak-g20-uk-politics-latest>

## Immigration and asylum

# MPs, unions and refugee groups condemn Braverman's small boats deal with France

Critics claim latest effort to reduce Channel crossings is ‘throwing good money after bad’

Suella Braverman: UK-France deal to reduce Channel crossings 'is no silver bullet' – video

*[Rajeev Syal](#), [Jessica Elgot](#) and [Peter Walker](#)*

Mon 14 Nov 2022 15.15 ESTFirst published on Mon 14 Nov 2022 02.04 EST

Conservative MPs have joined unions and refugee groups in condemning a £63m deal signed by Suella Braverman with her French counterpart to reduce the number of people attempting to cross the Channel in small boats.

Natalie Elphicke, the member for Dover, and Tim Loughton, a senior home affairs select committee member, questioned whether the bilateral agreement will do enough to address a surge of new arrivals after it failed to establish joint patrols or guarantee that people smugglers are detained.

The deal’s lukewarm reception followed [Rishi Sunak](#) claiming he was “confident” that the number of Channel crossings would fall but refusing to guarantee it would happen next year.

Elphicke said the agreement “falls short” of what is needed to save lives.

“It doesn’t match the scale or urgency of the small boats crisis, or the increased risk of loss of life as winter approaches,” she said. “What’s needed is a step change in approach, with joint border patrols and a Channel-wide joint security zone.”

Former minister Loughton suggested the government's deal with [France](#) amounted to "throwing good money after bad".

Addressing Braverman, the home secretary, in the House of Commons, he said: "Can you confirm that there is nothing in this agreement today which obliges the French police to detain and arrest anybody they intercept, so that they are free to come back the following night and try again, in which case are we not throwing good money after bad?"

Braverman said she disagreed.

Sunak's government signed a deal with France on Monday morning to increase cooperation over asylum seekers and migrants, with UK officers joining a programme of French beach patrols.

The arrangement promised a 40% increase in the number of patrols to try to detect small boats about to make the voyage from France. It will be the first time UK personnel have taken part.

It also includes extra investment in port infrastructure in France, the use of technology to detect crossings, such as drones, and greater cross-Europe cooperation.

The deal, which is the fourth UK-France Channel deal in three years, has fallen short of giving UK officers the power to patrol in France, only giving them the right to observe.

It also contains no guarantees that those stopped trying to cross the Channel will be detained, a demand of many Tory backbenchers. There is also no "returns agreement", which ministers said was part of talks with the French government.

Kevin Mills, a PCS union representative for Border Force staff in Kent, said there seemed to be no plan to reduce the tens of thousands of people arriving on French shores who wished to come to the UK.

"This deal is not enough and the lack of detail is telling. If you stop thousands today and let most of them go, how many are just going to try

again tomorrow? There is no plan as far as I can see,” he said.

Lucy Moreton, from the Union for Borders, Immigration and Customs (ISU), said the deal did not address the “sticking points” keeping numbers high, such as the reluctance of the French authorities to arrest and detain those caught trying to cross.

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.

She told Times Radio that stopping people crossing to “just let them go to try again” would not have the required impact.

Enver Solomon, head of the Refugee Council, said the deal failed to address the factors driving men, women and children to take dangerous journeys to reach the UK, and the fact that a majority of those trying to cross were later found to have a legitimate asylum claim.

The latest effort aimed at tackling the surge in small boat crossings comes as the number of people arriving on the south coast topped 40,000 for the year so far.

Government figures show that 972 people arrived in 22 boats on Saturday, followed by 853 people in 26 boats on Sunday, taking the provisional total for the year so far to 41,729. Total crossings last year were 28,526.

Border Force staff told the Guardian there were “real concerns” that the numbers being sent to Manston processing centre would again force the

Home Office to breach the law and leave the government and individual officers open to legal action.

One said: “We are being asked once again to act illegally and outside our remit. The conditions in Manston are still horrendous and are only going to get worse.”

Sunak, who [has come under intense pressure](#) from Conservative MPs to reduce the number of unofficial crossings into the UK, told reporters he believed voters’ biggest policy priority was for him to “grip” the issue.

Speaking after he arrived in Bali, Indonesia, where he is attending a G20 summit, the prime minister said: “I’m confident that we can get the numbers down. But I also want to be honest with people that it isn’t a single thing that will magically solve this. We can’t do it overnight.”

The accord, signed by Braverman and her French counterpart, Gérald Darmanin, also promises better information sharing between the countries and efforts to provide information in France to would-be Channel crossers about other options.

The UK already cooperates with France over efforts to reduce the number of crossings – the two countries agreed a deal last year in which Britain paid £55m to France to help fund measures in 2021-22.

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2022/nov/14/more-patrols-promised-as-uk-and-france-sign-channel-deal-to-curb-migration>

[Turkey](#)

## Istanbul bombing: 46 detained as Turkey minister blames Kurdish separatists

Six people died and 81 were injured when Istanbul's popular pedestrian thoroughfare İstiklal Avenue was hit by a bomb attack

Istanbul: deadly explosion hits popular shopping street – video report

*Ruth Michaelson in Istanbul, Philip Oltermann, Ghaith Abdul-Ahad and agencies*

Mon 14 Nov 2022 07.13 ESTFirst published on Sun 13 Nov 2022 22.49 EST

Turkey's interior minister has accused Kurdish militants in northern Syria of responsibility for a bombing in a busy Istanbul shopping thoroughfare that killed six people, and said that a suspect had been arrested.

[Six people died and 81 were injured](#) when a bomb struck Istanbul's popular pedestrian thoroughfare İstiklal Avenue, timed to strike when it was most crowded. Turkey's justice minister, Bekir Bozdağ, said that "a woman sat on a bench there for 45 minutes", and that the explosion occurred moments after she left.

The Turkish interior minister, Süleyman Soylu, said early on Monday the attack was planned in a Kurdish-majority city in northern Syria, blaming militants from the Kurdistan Workers' party (PKK) and the People's Defence Units (YPG).

"Our assessment is that the order for the deadly terror attack came from Ayn al-Arab in northern Syria, where the PKK/YPG has its Syrian headquarters," he said.

The PKK denied involvement on Monday, saying in a statement on its website “it is out of [the] question for us to target civilians in any way”.

While Kurdish militants and attackers linked to Islamic State (IS) have been blamed for attacks on central Istanbul in the past, the attack has not been officially claimed by any group so far.

Ankara, Washington and the EU label the PKK a terrorist group, stemming from its decades-long insurgency demanding Kurdish self-rule in south-eastern Turkey. The YPG shares ties with the PKK, but is part of US-backed Syrian Democratic Forces that fought IS militants in northern Syria.

Istanbul police said that 46 people had been detained in total.

The Turkish presidential communications chief, Fahrettin Altun, alluded to the potential impact on US-Turkey relations, stemming from Ankara’s long-term displeasure with the US backing of Kurdish groups in northern Syria.

“The international community must pay attention. Terror attacks against our civilians are direct and indirect consequences of some countries’ support for terror groups. They must immediately cease their direct and indirect support if they want Türkiye’s friendship,” he said.

Soylu added that Turkey “will not accept messages of condolence” from the US concerning the attack.

The PKK is also regularly targeted by Turkish military operations in northern Iraq, while Ankara has also blocked Swedish entry into Nato after accusing it of leniency towards the group.

Speaking shortly before departing for Tuesday’s G20 summit in Bali, [Recep Tayyip Erdogan](#) spoke of a “treacherous attack”, adding: “Those responsible will be punished.”

### [Location map](#)

Videos posted online from the moment of the attack showed terrified people running and trying to seek cover in nearby shops as a fireball billowed

overhead. Shoppers who had previously been strolling in the afternoon sun clutched each other in fear before turning to run away.

Turkey's media ombudsman, RTÜK, placed a temporary ban on reporting of the explosion, preventing broadcasters from showing the moment the blast struck or the immediate aftermath, "to avoid broadcasts that may create fear, panic and turmoil in society and may serve the purposes of terrorist organisations".

The web freedom monitoring organisation NetBlocks said network data showed the Turkish authorities were restricting access to social media platforms including Twitter, Instagram, YouTube and Facebook after the attack. "Access to information is vital in times of emergency. Research shows that social media restrictions increase misinformation after security incidents and attacks," [said](#) the NetBlocks founder, Alp Toker.

The Turkish parliament [recently passed](#) a sweeping new law prohibiting "disinformation", under which social media users or journalists accused of breaking it could be jailed for up to three years. The head of RTÜK, Ebubekir Şahin, warned citizens against spreading misinformation about the attack. "We are following the developments closely. Please do not rely on information from unclear sources. Let's get information from reliable sources. Let's not spread false information unknowingly," he [said](#).

Turkey was hit by a string of deadly bombings between 2015 and 2017 by Islamic State and outlawed Kurdish groups.

They included a suicide bombing attack [on the same street on 19 March 2016](#), which killed five people and injured 36. Turkish police [later said](#) the bomber had links to IS.

In January that year, a suicide bomber in the busy Sultanahmet district killed 13. In June, attackers armed with automatic weapons and explosives belts attacked the entrance of Istanbul's Ataturk airport, killing 45 people other than the attackers and injuring more than 230.

"Without knowing who is behind this attack, the fact that this is the first terror attack in six years brings back terrible memories of the 2015-16 period

when hundreds died across Turkey,” said Soner Cagaptay of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy thinktank.

“I think we could see a hardening of the electorate to the right as a result,” he added, pointing towards elections due to be held in Turkey next year, if not earlier. “I think the same trend line could hold again, that whoever portrays themselves as a security candidate standing against terrorism could consolidate their base.”

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/nov/14/istanbul-bombing-suspect-arrested-as-turkey-minister-blames-kurdish-separatists>

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

Advertisement

[Print subscriptions](#)

[Sign in](#)

[Search jobs](#)

[Search](#)

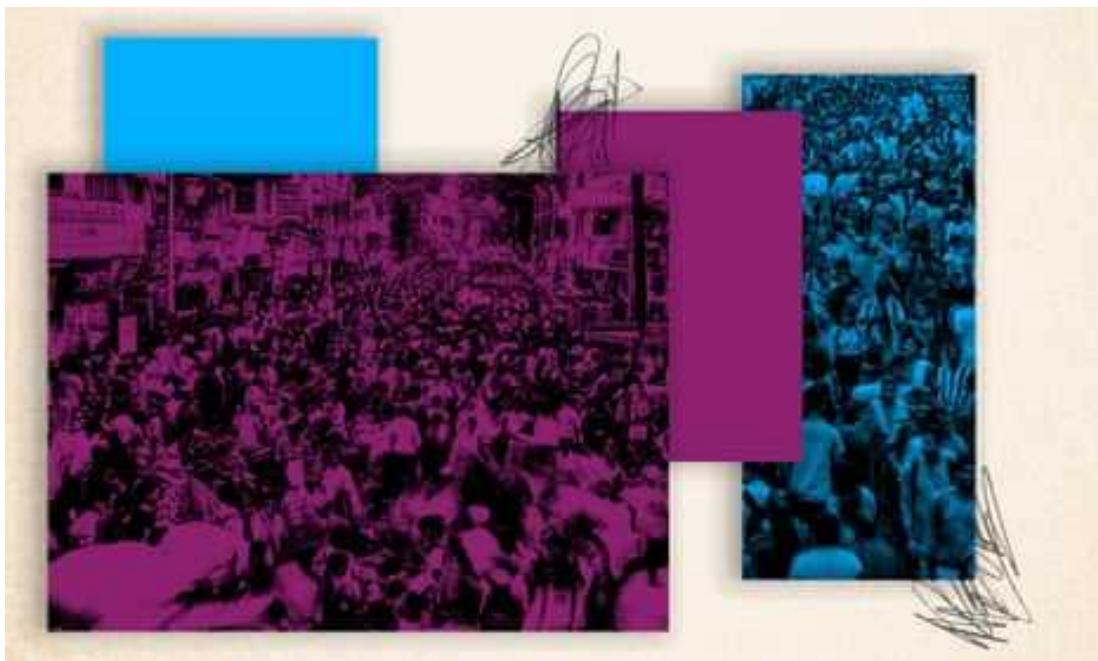
US edition

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

[The Guardian - Back to home](#)[The Guardian](#)

[Beyond 8 billion](#)[India](#)

## India faces deepening demographic divide as it prepares to overtake China as the world's most populous country



India is poised to become the world's most populous country Composite: Guardian Design/ AFP/Getty Images

India's entrenched north-south divide is growing as its population changes, with serious social and political consequences

*Hannah Ellis-Petersen in Delhi*

Mon 14 Nov 2022 01.30 EST Last modified on Mon 14 Nov 2022 04.24 EST

The cry of a baby born in [India](#) one day next year will herald a watershed moment for the country, when the scales tip and India overtakes China as the world's most populous nation.

Yet the story of India's population boom is really two stories. In the north, led by just two states, the population is still rising. In the richer south, numbers are stabilising and in some areas declining. The deepening divisions between these regions mean the government must eventually grapple with a unique problem: the consequences of a baby boom and an ageing population, all inside one nation.

India is currently home to more than 1.39 billion people – four times that of the US and more than 20 times the UK – while 1.41bn live in China. But with 86,000 babies born in India every day, and 49,400 in China, India is on course to take the lead in 2023 and hit 1.65 billion people by 2060.

Q&A

## Beyond 8 billion

Show

As the world's population passes another milestone, our series Beyond 8 billion examines the impact on some of the countries projected to have the greatest growth, as well as those facing the opposite problem: plunging birthrates and rapidly ageing populations.

Was this helpful?

Thank you for your feedback.

On 15 November the world's population will reach a total of 8 billion people. Between now and 2050, over half of the projected increase in the global population will happen in just eight countries: the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Egypt, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, the United Republic of Tanzania – and India.

The growth will place huge pressure on India's resources, economic stability and society, and the repercussions will reach far beyond its borders. As a country on the forefront of the climate crisis, already grappling with extreme weather events 80% of the year, diminishing resources such as water could become decisive factors in what India's future population looks like.

### [India projected to overtake China - graph](#)

## **One country, two stories**

Fears of “population explosion” in India – where development caves in beneath the weight of an uncontrollably expanding population and the country’s resources are overrun, leaving millions to starve – have abounded for over a century.

Post independence, India’s population grew at a significant pace; between 1947 and 1997, it went from 350 million to 1 billion. But since the 1980s, various initiatives worked to convince families, particularly those from poorer and marginalised backgrounds who tend to have the most children, of the benefits of family planning. As a result, India’s fertility rate began to fall faster than any of the doomsday “explosion” scenarios had predicted.

A small family is now the norm in India, and with the annual population growth rate less than 1%, fears of population-driven collapse are no longer seen as realistic. In the 1950s, a woman in India would give birth to an average of over six children; today the national average is just over two and still continuing to fall.

Nonetheless, the curbs on population growth have not been uniform across India, and India’s entrenched north-south divide has played out significantly

in demographics, with ongoing social and political consequences.

For the next decade, one-third of India's population increase will come from just two northern states, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Bihar, the only state in India where women still typically have more than three children, is not expected to hit population stability – 2.1 children per woman – until 2039. Kerala, India's most educated, progressive state, hit that figure in 1998.

### Map of population growth in India

In Bihar's poverty stricken area of Kishanganj, which has one of the highest rates of fertility in India, women said they had only recently begun to learn about the benefits of having fewer children.

The urge to have sons, who in parts of India are still considered much more desirable than daughters, remained a key motivator for women in the village. Surta Devi, 36, said she had six children in order to make sure she had two sons to "carry on our lineage".

"It was only after I gave birth to all my children that doctors told me about family planning," said Devi.

Phullo Devi, 55, an illiterate labourer who had six children before she opted for sterilisation, said she wished she had done things differently. "If I had less children, I would have been able to raise them better and been able to educate them," she said.

But Devi said things were slowly changing in the village. "Now health workers campaign house-to-house and make people aware about contraception and condoms. I absolutely want my sons and daughters to have less children so they don't have to live in poverty," she said.



A bus for migrant workers stops to pick up passengers in Noida, south-east of New Delhi. Photograph: Harish Tyagi/EPA

## The ‘youth bulge’

A particular demographic challenge, widespread across India but particularly concentrated in poorer northern states, is that of the “youth bulge”. The median age of an Indian is 29 and the country is grappling with a vast, ambitious and increasingly restless young population, the majority of whom are unskilled, and for whom there are not enough schools, universities, training programmes and most of all, not enough jobs. Across India, youth unemployment is 23% and only one in four graduates are employed. While female literacy is growing, [only 25% of women in India participate in the workforce.](#)

In Uttar Pradesh, where the median age is 20, there are over 3.4 million unemployed young people. Earlier this year, riots broke out in Bihar after more than twelve million people applied for 35,000 positions in the Indian Railways.

Vishu Yadav, 25, from Ghazipur district in Uttar Pradesh, has a masters degree, an education diploma and passed a teacher eligibility test, but is unemployed, with teaching jobs scarce and over a million people now

applying for officer positions in the state civil service. “It’s a depressing, hopeless situation. I am eligible to become a teacher but I can not secure a position. There are too many young people with qualifications and not enough jobs,” he said.

Poonam Muttreja, the executive director of [Population](#) Foundation India, said there was still time for this young population to work to India’s benefit.

“India has a fantastic window of opportunity but it will only be there for approximately the next two decades,” said Muttreja. “We have the capacity to tap into the potential of the youth population but we need to invest in adolescent education, health and sexual health right away if we want to reap the benefits.

“Otherwise, our demographic dividend could turn into a demographic disaster.”

Muttreja said India’s youth risk fuelling population growth unless contraception and family planning services are improved, describing the situation as “woefully inadequate”.

Female sterilisation is still the most widely used contraceptive method in India, and that’s mostly by older married women. Of India’s tiny health budget, only 6% is put aside for family planning, and just 0.4% of that is invested in temporary methods such as the contraceptive pill or condoms.

“Currently we have almost 360 million young people, the majority of whom are at a reproductive age, and that number is only going to increase over the next few decades,” Muttreja said.

“The need for more temporary contraception methods is urgent. It will be very problematic if this need is not met.”

According to the UN, there are 10 million unwanted pregnancies in India every year. Abortion is legal in India, but was only legalised for single women this year. It remains taboo for married women and most abortions are carried out by village “quacks”, often with long-term health consequences.

Yet for several states in the south which now have falling populations, another challenge lingers on the horizon, one which is rarely mentioned. In the next 15 years, the average man from the southern state of Tamil Nadu will be 12 years older than someone from Bihar.



Residents of Tamil Nadu will be on average 12 years older than those from Bihar, in the next 15 years Photograph: Idrees Mohammed/EPA

“The crisis that the south will soon be facing is that of an ageing population,” said Aparajita Chattopadhyay, a professor at the International Institute for Population Sciences.

“India will soon have over 10% of the population who are ageing, which in our context is a huge number. That presents significant problems in terms of employment, in terms of social security but most of all for healthcare, where spending is still very low and the prevalence of diseases such as diabetes is very high among older people. This should not be ignored.”

## A political problem

The north-south divide has also enabled the politicisation of population in India. In the northern state of Uttar Pradesh, ruled by a hardline figure from the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), the high population has

been used to justify the drafting of a population control bill, proposing coercive methods to ensure two children per couple.

The draft bill is seen by some as a thinly veiled attack on Muslims, fuelled by a pervasive yet inaccurate myth promoted by Hindu nationalists that the number of Muslims is fast outpacing Hindus, as part of a conspiracy by Muslims to become the majority in India. Muslims make up 14% of the population, Hindus are 80%.

“All this talk of population control measures in Uttar Pradesh is only to keep the controversy going and to give Muslims a bad name, stir up hatred and win the Hindu majority vote,” said SY Quraishi, a former Indian civil servant who recently published *The Population Myth*, a book demolishing the myths around Islam and family planning in India.

“As the data clearly shows, this suggestion of Muslims overtaking the Hindu population is a blatant lie.”

Quraishi emphasised that while Muslims in India do have higher fertility rates than Hindus, this is not due to religion but because Muslims are often poorer, less educated and with less access to health services. The Muslim fertility rate in India is also now falling faster than the Hindu rate.

BJP leader Ashwini Upadhyay recently submitted a petition to the supreme court calling for “an effective population control policy like China” to cope with the “population explosion”, though such policies have been rebuffed by the central BJP government.

Quraishi said rather than trying to emulate China’s population control measures, policymakers in Delhi should take them as a warning.

“In India people used to admire China’s policy of one child norm,” he said. “But now look, China has a population crisis on their hands, 70% of their population are ageing. That should be an important lesson for anyone talking about coercive measures: otherwise in a few decades that could be us too.”

## Cities under pressure

Though fears of an Indian “population bomb” have eased, one area already creaks under the strain of a rising population. India’s cities are some of the biggest and overburdened in the world, and in the next few decades they will get even bigger.

India is still largely rural, with about 33% of the population living in cities, but urbanisation is picking up pace. By 2035, 675 million Indians will live in cities and, according to UN projections, by 2050, more Indians will live in urban environments than villages. With a population of 20 million, India’s capital Delhi is already one of the largest and most polluted cities in the world. It’s expected to grow to 28 million by 2041, according to the city masterplan.



India's capital, Delhi, is expected to grow to 28 million people by 2041.  
Photograph: Kabir Jhangiani/ZUMA Press Wire/REX/Shutterstock

In the biggest metropolises of Delhi, Mumbai, Chennai and Kolkata, housing, water, transport and sanitation infrastructure are already struggling to cope, and this will only be exacerbated by climate change. In India’s financial capital Mumbai, which is predicted to grow from 20 million to 27 million by 2025, 40% of people live in slums. In 2019, the city of Chennai ran out of water entirely.

“Urbanisation will drive important changes in this country in the coming decades but at the same time, the quality of life in Indian cities is already deteriorating fast,” said Rumi Aijaz, a fellow at the Delhi thinktank Observer Research Foundation.

“Adaptation of urban areas is one of the biggest challenges India faces as its population grows – but right now the government response is weak.”

## What happens next

Despite the continued rise in population in the north over the next few years, India’s overall trajectory is one of declining fertility and eventual population stability. Yet just how far fertility will fall is still up for debate. Unlike in the west, India’s declining fertility rate so far has not coincided with a change in family structure or marriage patterns, such as women choosing to marry and have children later, or not at all.

Instead, so far, the maternal expectations of Indian women have remained largely unchanged; the majority still get married by their early twenties, have two children while relatively young and then stop, often by opting for sterilisation.

As India develops and more women are educated and enter the workforce, experts say fertility norms will continue to shift. Back in the Bihar village of Kishanganj, Nazia Parveen, 19, who is studying at university, said she had already noticed the difference that women’s education had made to the number of children being born locally.

“Now much fewer children are being born in the village and around 60% of the families are using family planning,” she said. “This is such a change from the past when there was no awareness, and it is all because of women’s education. No one of my generation wants to have more than two children.”

*Mohammad Sartaj Alam contributed reporting from Bihar*

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

[Beyond 8 billion](#)[Global development](#)

## How has the world's population grown since 1950?

The number of people in the world has tripled in 70 years. In this visual explainer, we examine where the growth has been – and how it will change in the future

Global development is supported by

BILL & MELINDA  
GATES *foundation*

[About this content](#)

[Niels de Hoog](#), [Pablo Gutiérrez](#), [Liz Ford](#) and [Theresa Malone](#)

Mon 14 Nov 2022 02.30 EST Last modified on Mon 14 Nov 2022 04.05 EST

The world's population is projected to reach 8 billion people on 15 November – more than three times larger than it was in 1950. Based on current trends, the UN estimates the population could grow to about 8.5

billion by 2030, 9.7 billion by 2050 and 10.4 billion by the end of the century.

The biggest increases in population took place in the early 1960s, but the pace of growth has slowed as fertility levels decreased with the greater availability of contraception and as countries developed their economies. Increased levels of education, especially among girls, and more job opportunities for women played key roles.

On average, women are now giving birth twice, rather than five times as they were in 1950. Figures vary across regions, however. In sub-Saharan Africa, women are giving birth more than four times and in the Pacific region, or Oceania (excluding Australia and New Zealand), three times.

## Q&A

### **Beyond 8 billion**

#### Show

As the world's population passes another milestone, our series Beyond 8 billion examines the impact on some of the countries projected to have the greatest growth, as well as those facing the opposite problem: plunging birthrates and rapidly ageing populations.

Was this helpful?

Thank you for your feedback.

Part of the reason for the rising population is because we are living longer. In 2019, life expectancy averaged 72 years – an increase of nine years since 1990 – and it is expected to reach 77 by 2050. The average fell to 71 years in 2021 because of the Covid pandemic. However, in the least-developed countries, people live seven years fewer than the average because of high maternal and child mortality levels, conflict and HIV infections.

The share of the global population aged 65 or older is projected to rise from 10% to 16% in 2050.

Population growth in high-income countries in the coming decades is expected to be largely driven by migration.

## China v India

More than half the world's people live in Asia – 29% in east and south-east Asia, and 26% in central and south Asia.

Next year, [India is projected to overtake China](#) as the world's most populous country. The UN projects India will continue to see its population grow until 2050, while China's will continue to fall.

[Population projections in India and China](#)

## Where will the most growth take place?

Eight countries – the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines and Tanzania – [will account for more than half the population growth until 2050](#). DRC and Tanzania are expected to see their populations double over the next three decades, while the population of India is forecast to increase from about 1.4 billion to 1.67 billion by 2050.

[visualisation of eight countries where more than half of the world's projected population increase to 2050 will be concentrated: Democratic Republic of the Congo, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines and Tanzania](#)

## Methodology

The graphics in this article use [population data from the UN](#).

Population figures from 1950 to 2021 are UN estimates from 1 January each year; figures representing 2022-2100 use the UN's medium-variant population forecast, also for 1 January.

This variant is the medium of multiple projection scenarios and has associated uncertainty that increases over the length of the projection

horizon, as it reflects assumptions about the future course of fertility and mortality over multiple generations into the future.

Countries and areas are grouped into eight Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) regions as defined by the United Nations Statistics Division and used for the [Sustainable Development Goals Report](#).

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/ng-interactive/2022/nov/14/how-has-the-worlds-population-grown-since-1950>

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

## 2022.11.14 - Spotlight

- [I didn't have a single audition for a year Goonies and Indiana Jones child star Ke Huy Quan on finding fame again](#)
- [Music The UK singles chart is 70. Is it time for it to retire?](#)
- [How to save on UK rail fares All the tips and tricks](#)
- [iPhone 14 Plus review Apple's big-screen battery champ](#)

Advertisement

[Print subscriptions](#)

[Sign in](#)

[Search jobs](#)

[Search](#)

US edition

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

[The Guardian - Back to home](#)[The Guardian](#)

[The G2 interview](#)[Movies](#)

[Interview](#)

## **‘I didn’t have a single audition for a year’: Goonies and Indiana Jones child star Ke Huy Quan on finding fame again**

[Ann Lee](#)



‘The last four months have been such a joy’ ... Ke Huy Quan. Photograph: Alicia Canter/The Guardian

Forced to quit Hollywood in his 20s through the lack of roles for Asian actors, he is back on screen in the hit *Everything Everywhere All at Once*. He talks about being a refugee, the wilderness years - and what tempted him to return



@ ann lee

Mon 14 Nov 2022 01.00 ESTLast modified on Mon 14 Nov 2022 13.28 EST

Ke Huy Quan is welling up. Behind black-rimmed glasses, the former child star's eyes are reddening. His voice starts to wobble as he talks about finding fame for the second time round with the phenomenal success of [Everything Everywhere All at Once](#), this year's most [wildly imaginative breakout film](#). "It's incredible. I'm still pinching myself every day. I can't believe this is real."

It's been decades since Quan appeared as Short Round, Harrison Ford's plucky sidekick in [Indiana Jones](#) and the Temple of Doom, and gadget-loving Data in *The Goonies*. Even so, it's not hard to find traces of that young boy in the 51-year-old's smile and jovial demeanour. We meet in his hotel's private cinema, all velvet and brass furnishings, in west London. Quan, dressed in a navy sweater and black jeans, perches eagerly on a huge armchair.

The actor has just wrapped shooting for the second season of Marvel's Disney+ series *Loki*, having hit the ultimate jackpot by joining a superhero franchise just a few years after resurrecting his career. "I don't think I can reveal much," Quan says apologetically. "To be welcomed into this vast family, this MCU universe, I'm very lucky. The last four months have been such a joy."

Quan was forced to quit Hollywood in his 20s, dejected about the lack of good roles for Asian actors. It wasn't until 2018, when he saw all-Asian romcom [Crazy Rich Asians](#), that he realised they were no longer being relegated to the sidelines. He wanted back in.



Harrison Ford, Ke Huy Quan as Short Round and Kate Capshaw in Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom in 1984. Photograph: Paramount Pictures\lucasfilm/Allstar

[Everything Everywhere All at Once](#) was the first script Quan read after signing to a new agent. The mind-boggling fantasy, directed by Daniel Kwan and Daniel Scheinert (AKA the Daniels), revolves around [Evelyn \(Michelle Yeoh\)](#), a Chinese-American launderette owner who is sucked into a mysterious multiverse. It combines big laughs with even bigger philosophical ideas and exhilarating martial arts sequences to create a life-affirming black comedy. So far, the independent film has made more than \$100m (£87m) at the box office.

As Waymond, Evelyn's husband, Quan plays three versions of the same character, ranging from downtrodden to debonair. His performance is so masterful that there's talk of a possible Oscar nomination next year. What does he think of the awards buzz? "I'm blown away by it. I'm speechless!"



Corey Feldman, Sean Astin, Ke Huy Quan and Jeff Cohen in *The Goonies* in 1985. Photograph: Warner Bros/Allstar

Not even Hollywood could have scripted a more perfect comeback story than Quan's. Born in Ho Chi Minh City, he left [Vietnam](#) aged seven a few years after the war, with his Chinese parents, six sisters and two brothers, ending up in the US after a stint at a refugee camp in Hong Kong. A few years after settling in Los Angeles' Chinatown area, he was discovered by chance, aged 12, at an open casting call for *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom*. Steven Spielberg, the director, had conducted an exhaustive search for someone to play Short Round, the cheeky Chinese pickpocket. Quan wasn't there to audition – he was there to support his little brother. But then the casting director suggested he should try out, too.



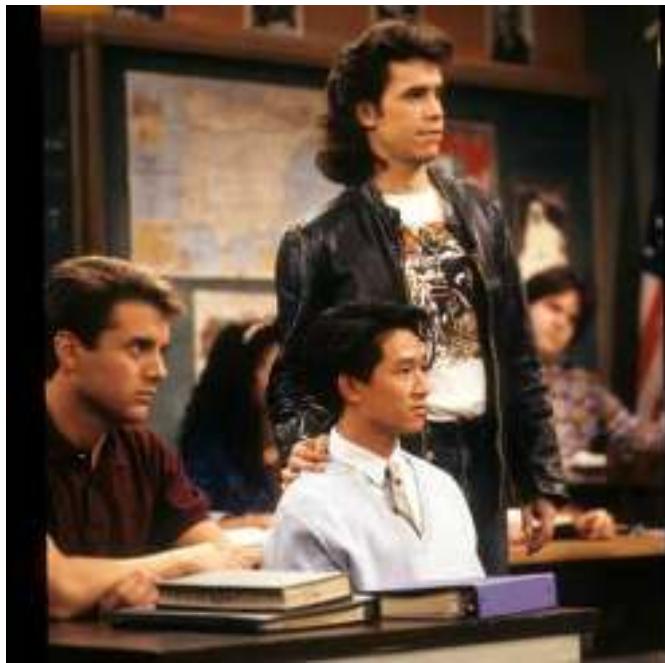
George Lucas, Kate Capshaw, Quan and Steven Spielberg in London in 1984. Photograph: Alan Davidson/Shutterstock

“I remember doing a really bad job because my English comprehension was very minimal at that time,” says Quan. “The next day, we got a call from Spielberg’s office. My mum thought it was a really fancy meeting and put me in this ridiculous three-piece suit. Steven noticed how uncomfortable I was. He said: ‘Ke, I would love for you to come back the next day, but wear something comfortable.’” Three weeks later, Quan was on a plane to Sri Lanka for the shoot. “It was one of the happiest times of my life,” he smiles.

Every day after filming, the cast and crew would have dinner together and hang out by the swimming pool at their hotel. Quan would splash around in the water, watching Ford swim back and forth. One day Ford realised Quan didn’t know how to swim and offered to teach him. “That’s how we bonded. Everybody was so friendly. That was the kind of set that George [Lucas, the film series’ creator] and Steven would run. There was never any screaming. There was always laughter and peace.”

Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom was a huge hit, but since its release in 1984 it’s been accused of racism and perpetuating the white saviour trope. The plot, after all, involves intrepid archaeologist Jones helping Indian villagers retrieve a sacred stone and includes an infamous scene where he is

served chilled monkey brains as a local delicacy. Then there's the sexism, with Ford's love interest Willie, played by Kate Capshaw, constantly fretting about breaking a nail.



Tony O'Dell, Ke Huy Quan and Brian Robbins in Head of the Class in 1990.  
Photograph: ABC Photo Archives/Disney General Entertainment Content/Getty Images

But Quan rebuts any suggestions that the film is problematic. "We're talking about something that was done almost 40 years ago. It was a different time. It's so hard to judge something so many years later. I have nothing but fond memories. I really don't have anything negative to say about it."

And Short Round was a groundbreaking character, he says. "Spielberg was the first person to put an Asian face in a Hollywood blockbuster. Short Round is funny, he's courageous, he saves Indy's ass." The role, Quan argues, represented a huge step forward for Asian representation. "That was a rarity then. For many years after that, we were back to square one."

Quan recently reunited with his former co-star at Disney's D23 fan expo in Anaheim, California. Ford was promoting the fifth Indiana Jones film, while Quan was appearing at a Marvel presentation. He had been relaxing in the green room when someone told him that Ford was outside. "I hadn't seen

him for 38 years. As I got closer, my heart started pounding because I didn't know if he was going to recognise me. He looked at me and said: 'Are you Short Round?' I was immediately transported back to when I was a little kid. I said: 'Yes, Indy.' He said: 'Come here,' and gave me a big hug."



'I began to harbour this dream of getting back into acting' ... Ke Huy Quan in London in September. Photograph: Alicia Canter/The Guardian

Spielberg, he reveals, still sends him presents every Christmas. "He gave me my first job and, so many years later, he has not forgotten me," he says. "Every time I needed help, he's always there." It was the director who got Quan his next big role in *The Goonies* (Spielberg was an executive producer). It remains an enduring childhood classic about a gang of friends who go on the hunt for hidden pirate treasure. Data, a mini-007 crossed with Q, was a rare mainstream role for an Asian actor where ethnicity had nothing to do with the story.

"On *Indiana Jones* I was the only kid, so I got all of the love and attention," says Quan. "On *The Goonies*, I was one of seven, so I was constantly fighting for attention. But it was something that was very familiar to me – my parents had nine kids. It was a lot of fun, especially those amazing sets. Going to work was like going to the playground."

Quan has kept in touch with his Goonies co-stars, with the cast reuniting virtually during the pandemic to raise money for charity. He's close to Jeff Cohen, who played Chunk and is now Quan's entertainment lawyer. When he gets together with Sean Astin, Corey Feldman and the others, "even though we don't see each other often, it's like family, because we're truly brothers for ever".



Oscar whispers ... Quan in Everything Everywhere All at Once.  
Photograph: Collection Christophe/Alamy

Many child stars find their lives derailed by addiction as they struggle to cope with fame. Feldman, for one, developed a heroin habit, but eventually managed to get clean. Quan says his family kept him on the straight and narrow. "My parents were very strict. We were not allowed to curse. We were such a big family, the table couldn't fit 11 of us, so I would always have to eat at the kiddie table. My parents constantly told me: 'Do not take drugs.'"

His father ran a company making plastic bags in Vietnam and his mother was a shop owner, but the family lost everything when they fled the country. Quan remembers arriving in Hong Kong in a cramped ship with 3,000 other refugees. He travelled over with his dad and five siblings. His mother and three other siblings went to Malaysia. It was their second attempt at

escaping. The family remained apart for a year, reuniting in 1979 when they emigrated to the US. “That was a really traumatic experience for me,” Quan says, looking down intently. “I’m sure if I go to therapy, there will be a lot more to pull out.”

I always felt like an outsider, especially when I was growing up. I had major identity issues

Adjusting to life in the US was hard. “We were refugees. Nobody wanted us ... They would call us ‘fresh off the boat’. They would make fun of us when we were in school. You can imagine what that does to the mental state of a child. To go from that to starring in one of the biggest movies in 1984 gave me and my family hope, courage and a lot of freedom.” He was able to buy a house for his family with his earnings and help pay off some of the debt his parents had accumulated because they had left Vietnam.

But all the childhood upheaval had a lasting impact. “I always felt like an outsider, especially when I was growing up. I had major identity issues.” When he was a teen, Quan changed his name to Jonathan Ke Quan. “I wanted to assimilate. Also, I used to do a sitcom and before each taping, there would be an announcement of everybody’s names. Every week they would struggle with my name.” But Jonathan didn’t feel like him for a long time. “When I got back into acting, I decided I was going to go back to my birth name – that was really important to me.”



Stephanie Hsu, Ke Huy Quan, Michelle Yeoh and James Hong in a scene from *Everything Everywhere All at Once*. Photograph: Allyson Riggs/AP

After Quan's hot streak, starring in two of the 80s' most iconic films, his acting career slowly sputtered to a halt. There were roles in the TV shows *Together We Stand* and *Head of the Class*, films *Breathing Fire* and *Encino Man*, and Taiwanese historical drama *The Big Eunuch* and the *Little Carpenter*, but eventually, the work dried up. He was faced with the harsh reality of life as an Asian actor in Hollywood – constant rejection and an endless procession of stereotypical roles. Usually, this was “the marginalised character or the person who shows up and gets killed”. But Quan persevered: “When you are hungry, you eat anything.”

“I remember not having one single audition for an entire year,” he sighs. Quan finally cracked when he tried out for the part of a Vietcong soldier with only two lines. He waited anxiously for a week to hear if he'd got it. They went with someone else.

“I thought: ‘What am I doing? I can't be waiting for the phone to ring every day.’ I was 23 at that time. I was so lost. I just didn't see a future for myself as an actor.” So he enrolled in film school at the University of Southern California, quietly burying his acting dreams deep down inside.

It took a lot of courage to give voice to that dream. One day I decided: if I don't do this, I will regret it

Quan went on to work with action choreographer Corey Yuen on films such as X-Men (the actor is trained in martial arts) and as assistant director on 2046, a lavish romance by Hong Kong director Wong Kar-wai. Wong even played cupid for Quan and his wife. The couple, who live in Los Angeles, have been together for 22 years after Wong first suggested they should date.

While Quan was happy with his new career behind the camera, he couldn't ignore a nagging feeling. "I felt there was a big part of me missing and I didn't know what that was." It finally dawned on him while watching Crazy Rich Asians. "I noticed Asian actors were getting more opportunities, and I began to harbour this dream of getting back into acting, but it took a lot of courage to give voice to that dream. One day I decided: if I don't do this, I will regret it."

Along with Everything Everywhere All at Once, Quan has also starred in Finding 'Ohana, a Goonies-style Netflix caper, and will be teaming up again with Yeoh in American Born Chinese, a new Disney+ action comedy series exploring Chinese mythology, based on Gene Luen Yang's graphic novel. He is making up for lost time, sloughing off those years of knockbacks like dead skin.

Maybe there will even be room for him in the sequel to the film that inspired his comeback. Quan remembers meeting Crazy Rich Asians director Jon M Chu. "I did tell him: 'If you ever do Crazy Rich Asians 2, you gotta put me in it,'" he laughs. "He said: 'Fingers crossed.'"

"Everything happens for a reason," Quan says, thinking about his long and winding road back to acting. "For the longest time I was so insecure and always felt like I wasn't good enough. Every time I lost a job to somebody else, I thought: 'That man deserves the job better than I did.' Now I understand that everything needed to happen the way it did. Just don't give up."

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/film/2022/nov/14/ke-huy-quan-goonies-indiana-jones-asian-actors-everything-everywhere-all-at-once>

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

## The singles chart at 70Music

# The UK Singles Chart is 70. Is it time for it to retire?

Once the top 40 was the undisputed soundtrack of a nation. But in an era when you can have a platinum record that gets to No 81, does it even make sense any more?



Banned ... a record store displays the chart in 1977, without the Sex Pistols at No 2. Photograph: Brian Cooke/Redferns



Alexis Petridis

Mon 14 Nov 2022 01.00 EST Last modified on Fri 18 Nov 2022 11.48 EST

Some enterprising soul has uploaded The Chart Busters to YouTube, a 1980 *World in Action* investigation into “hyping” singles that caused quite a commotion at the time. A saga of labels colluding with retailers to falsify sales figures, featuring palms greased with scotch and wine, it suggested three of the top five singles had, initially at least, been hyped into the charts: not to No 1, but just high enough to qualify for radio play and *Top of the Pops*. “The charts are in no way a guide to what’s accurately selling,” said one former label employee. “They’re a joke.”

The evidence was damning and there was fallout: shortly after the show was broadcast, the managing director of one major label resigned, supposedly “coincidentally”. But the really weird thing was the impact The Chart Busters had on the popularity of the chart. It had none. Audiences didn’t turn off Radio 1’s Sunday evening countdown in disgust. There was no dip in TOTP viewing figures. Kids continued to sneak radios into school, to hear the new No 1 revealed at Tuesday lunchtimes. It was as if the Top 40 was just an impregnable fact of British musical life, too important and longstanding to be shaken even by accusations that it was, at least partially, fixed.

The singles chart the BBC used established itself as market leader, triumphing over those compiled by the NME, Melody Maker and Record Retailer. (Actually, the BBC chart was initially just an aggregate of all the others, but from 1969 it was a separate entity – compiled, as Radio 1 DJs loftily reminded us, “by the British Market Research Bureau”.) From that moment on, the Top 40 more or less defined pop in Britain: “the single most important piece of promotion any record can get,” as one interviewee said.



Controversy ... Kate Bush's resissue of *Running Up That Hill* was initially pipped to No 1. Photograph: United Archives/Alamy

It was omnipresent. Walk into a record shop and there it was – pages pinned to the wall, singles racked out on shelves. Even if you professed to hate it and all it stood for, the chart still seemed totemic: the Top 40 was the thing “serious” rock bands – most famously Led Zeppelin – defined themselves against by declining to release singles. You could mock it, ignore it or dismiss it as a corruption-filled joke, but nothing could affect its position: The Only Chart That Counts, in the words of the bullish Radio 1 jingle.

It's like a piece of software that used to work but has now had too many updates, patches and bug fixes

Until something – or some things – did affect it. This year, the UK Singles Chart is celebrating its 70th birthday in a noticeably different climate, one in which its grip on public imagination – and indeed the music industry – seems to have slackened completely. It no longer feels omnipresent. When was the last time you walked into a bricks-and-mortar record store and saw the Top 40, or read a news piece about a hotly contested “battle” for No 1? When was the last time you overheard music-mad teenagers talking about where a song was in the charts?

Even the Christmas No 1, once the most prestigious placing of all, barely musters any attention. Perhaps it lost its lustre in the era of The X Factor, cannily positioned in the TV schedules so that the winner’s debut single was released a week before Christmas, almost guaranteeing it topped the festive chart. This fabulously cynical piece of marketing resulted in some of the least memorable Christmas No 1s of all time. Say what you like about Bob the Builder or Mr Blobby, but they were at least striking in a way that Ben Haenow’s cover of OneRepublic’s Something I Need wasn’t. For the last four years, the Christmas No 1 has been a charity single by a YouTube vlogger about sausage rolls, which seems to have provoked little more than a collective shrug. The sense that no one cares is hard to avoid.



Does no one care? ... LadBaby has been Christmas No 1 for the past four years

Part of the problem is that the traditional media outlets for the Top 40 have waned or vanished. TOTP was put out of its misery 16 years ago. Listener figures for Radio 1's flagship Sunday countdown went into decline in the early 00s. In 2002, its audience had fallen by 300,000 to 2.6 million; by 2020, with the show relocated to the Friday evening drivetime slot, it was attracting only 1.4 million. By contrast, Radio 2's Pick of the Pops – on which Paul Gambaccini runs down Top 20s from the 60s to the 00s – gets 2.5 million. A few years back, the Daily Mail reported this as evidence that “the old songs are the best”. It’s more likely that the only people listening to charts are those old enough to remember when they mattered.

In fairness, the Official Charts company, which took over compilation in 1990, has done its best to maintain interest in a changed landscape: it has a snazzy website that runs news features, lists new releases and has a searchable database. It also makes a point of handing out a physical award to any act that makes No 1, which makes for a useful photo opportunity. But it feels like it’s fighting a losing battle to attract the attention of the charts’ traditional audience of tweens and twentysomethings, whose listening habits have changed completely as a result of streaming.

The years since Spotify’s UK launch have given rise to an odd phenomenon, with artists being awarded gold and platinum sales certificates for singles that made hardly any impact on the charts. Alt-rockers Catfish and the Bottlemen have released three platinum-selling singles, the highest-charting reaching No 81; rapper Tyler, the Creator’s See You Again and singer-songwriter Rex Orange County’s Best Friend and Loving Is Easy managed to go gold without making the singles chart at all. It happens because these songs have been streamed an enormous amount over a long period of time. Nevertheless, the existence of Big Singles Artists who barely appear in the singles chart can’t help but make the singles chart look irrelevant.

Chart compilers have tried to keep up, endeavouring to pull off an impossible balancing act in which streaming is reflected – 100 paid-for streams or 600 ad-funded streams count as one sale – while also attempting to keep the appearance of the singles chart the same as ever: largely dominated by recent releases, featuring a wide range of artists and a high turnover of songs in weekly motion. After what we might as well call the Ed

Sheeran Incident – when the release of his 2017 album ÷ led to nine slots in the Top 10 being occupied by its tracks – the number of songs allowed in the chart by a single artist was restricted to three.

That same year saw the introduction of Accelerated Chart Ratios, designed to ensure that certain songs don't hang around for ever. Among songs that have been in the chart more than nine weeks, a decline in streaming below the market benchmark for three successive weeks will trigger ACR: at that point, the number of streams required to count as one sale doubles to 200 paid-for streams, or 1,200 ad-funded.

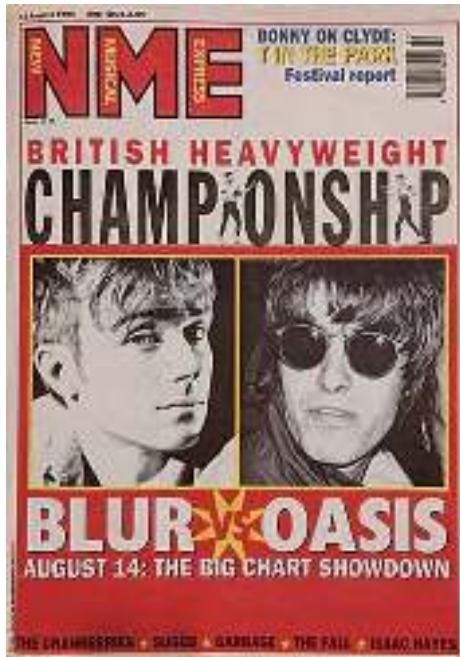
This formula caused controversy earlier this year, when Kate Bush's Running Up That Hill only reached No 2, despite selling and streaming substantially more than the No 1, Harry Styles's As It Was. It transpired that the ACR rule applied to all songs over three years old. Faced with the prospect of denying a beloved British musical institution the No 1 she'd clearly earned, the rule was waived the following week.

[Sign up to Sleeve Notes](#)

Free weekly newsletter

Get music news, bold reviews and unexpected extras. Every genre, every era, every week

**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.



Overheated madness ... the front cover of the NME in August 1995.  
Photograph: Steve Double

You can understand why these rules were instituted, but the result is an increasingly Byzantine system that clearly doesn't offer an accurate picture of what's popular: there's a sense the singles chart resembles a piece of software that used to work but has been subject to so many updates, patches and bug fixes over the years that it's now barely fit for purpose. Perhaps understandably, labels are far less interested in the charts than they were in the days when the Top 40 was deemed so important they were bribing shop owners to fiddle the figures.

Clearly, no label is going to turn its nose up at a No 1 single but, increasingly, the chart is less important as a metric of popularity than other measures of success, from analysing data about "rich engagement" (how streaming figures are spread across an artist's entire catalogue) to the size and activity of fan communities on such websites as Discord. And then there is Spotify's Global chart, which collates daily streaming figures from across the world.

It's a situation that would once have seemed unimaginable, even to the World in Action interviewee who deemed the charts "a joke". At 70, the singles chart finds itself largely unloved, ignored and dismissed as

irrelevant: to paraphrase the gloomy first world war song, it seems to still be here because it's always been here. Without wishing to spoil the birthday celebrations, it's hard not to wonder if it will be around to celebrate its 80th.

## **The five greatest singles battles**

### **The Beatles – Strawberry Fields Forever/Penny Lane v Engelbert Humperdinck – Release Me (1967)**

A chart battle that tells you a lot about the pace at which pop music moved in the mid-60s and the fault lines that opened up as a result. Every new Beatles single since 1963 had gone to No 1: their most experimental and arguably greatest didn't, bested by a ballad designed to appeal to those left behind by pop's relentless, chemically accelerated progress: a victory for the forces of reaction.

### **Sex Pistols – God Save the Queen v Rod Stewart – I Don't Want to Talk About It (1977)**

The outrage caused by the Sex Pistols' second single now looks oddly quaint and hilariously counter-productive: the impact of radio, television and most major retailers banning a single is bound to be nullified by it receiving daily publicity in every tabloid. Skullduggery was alleged – but never proven – in Rod Stewart's eventual triumph.

### **John Lennon – (Just Like) Starting Over v St Winifred's School Choir – There's No One Quite Like Grandma (1980)**

There was a theory that the Christmas No 1 was the most accurate reflection of Britain's music taste: people who didn't ordinarily buy singles felt compelled to do so. Perhaps that accounts for how a Stockport primary school temporarily overwhelmed the mourning for a recently murdered Beatle: normal service was resumed the minute the tinsel came down.

### **Blur – Country House v Oasis – Roll With It (1996)**

There is perhaps no greater example of the overheated madness of the 90s than the Blur v Oasis war: contemporary coverage had it wrecking marriages

(at least if you believed the Sun) and reflecting everything from Britain's obsession with class to the north-south divide. That neither single was particularly good appeared beside the point.

### **True Steppers feat Victoria Beckham and Dane Bowers – Out of Your Mind v Spiller feat Sophie Ellis-Bextor – Groovejet (If This Ain't Love) (2000)**

The point at which it became apparent the Spice Girls' solo careers might not work out as expected: Posh's diversion into UK garage upstaged by a disco-house track with a vocal by a then-minor indie artist. Beckham's frantic attempts to ensure her single reached No 1 – including dragging husband David along to a signing in Woolworths in Oldham – were made more piquant by Ellis-Bextor's apparent indifference ("I feel like saying if you want it, just have it").

This article was amended on 17 November 2022. An earlier version said that the current Accelerated Chart Ratio is applied after a song spends three weeks in the UK singles chart. This has been corrected.

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/music/2022/nov/14/the-uk-singles-chart-is-70-is-it-time-for-it-to-retire>

## Money hacksRail fares

# How to save on UK rail fares: all the tips and tricks

From using one of nine railcards to splitting a journey into separate train tickets



Railcards typically give a 33% discount on the train ticket price. Illustration: Jamie Wignall



[Miles Brignall](#)

Mon 14 Nov 2022 02.00 ESTLast modified on Mon 14 Nov 2022 08.53 EST

## Use a railcard for a 33% saving

Everyone knows about the young person's railcard – or, to give it its proper name, the 16-25 railcard – but are you aware of the 26-30 railcard's existence, or that the senior railcard is available to all those aged 60 and over?

There are now [nine railcards to choose from](#), and about the only group that doesn't have a railcard aimed at them are single people aged 31 to 59. And even they have the option to buy a Network card for use across the southern half of England, including in and out of London.

The most popular railcards cost £30 a year (or, in many cases, £70 for three years) and typically give a 33% discount on the ticket price. Users of some of the cards (including the 16-25 and 26-30 cards) can use them at peak times – albeit with a £12 minimum fare. Others, such as the senior users, have to mostly travel off-peak, which generally means after 9.30am or, annoyingly, 10am in the case of the Network card.

In some cases users will save the card's purchase price in one or two trips. They are now available digitally (to be kept on a mobile) or in paper form. Just don't forget to take it with you or to keep your phone charged.



Railcards are available in paper form or digitally. Photograph: Peter Scholey/Alamy

## Do you still need a full-time season ticket?

In response to more people working part of their week at home, the rail industry has started offering flexible season tickets that typically allow users to travel on any eight days in a 28-day period.

The problem is that in many cases the discounts are not sufficient to make them worthwhile. When MoneySavingExpert crunched the numbers, it found part-time season tickets offered the best value to those travelling two days a week, but even then not in all cases. If you go into the office for either one, or three or more days a week, you are likely to be better off buying daily tickets, or the full season ticket, it concluded.

One of the biggest ways to save money while commuting is to shift your travel to off-peak – assuming your boss will allow it. This makes particular

sense if you can often add a railcard, too. For others, Carnet tickets offer a 10% discount on certain routes but again only off-peak.

## Going long distance – buy in advance, and look at singles

Rail companies are now like the airlines in that the earlier you book, the more likely you are to get a cheap advance ticket. It is generally best to start looking for tickets about 12 weeks before your journey. That is the point that [Network Rail](#) must have the timetable set. Train operators commonly release cheap advance tickets then, unless you are travelling on Avanti West Coast, in which case anything goes.



It is generally best to start looking for tickets about 12 weeks before your railway journey. Photograph: Jane Barlow/PA

Don't automatically buy a return, as two singles are now often cheaper – so check before you input your credit card number. If you are travelling by rail this Christmas, tickets on most lines are now on sale.

Another tip is to avoid the high-demand days and times. Just as it generally is cheaper to fly on a Wednesday to Europe, train fares come down hugely

on the days and times when demand is lowest. Switch to a train leaving London after 7pm and the fare drops significantly.

## Get a free alert when tickets go on sale

Put your journey details into the [Trainline ticket alert](#) system and you will receive an email when advance tickets for that specific journey go on sale, which are commonly the cheapest fares. The only problem with using Trainline is the booking fees it charges – up to £1.75 for tickets that can be bought fee-free elsewhere.



Check to see whether two singles are cheaper than a return. Photograph: Yui Mok/PA

## Check online last minute

If you missed the 12-week deadline and find yourself travelling last minute, don't despair. If tickets haven't sold out, seven rail firms now let you buy the cheaper advance tickets on the day. Check the website on the way to the station as it may be a lot cheaper than the walk-up fare.

## Split ticketing

Heading to Durham from London on a train that stops at York, it could well be cheaper to buy two tickets – one to York and another on to Durham. A host of websites and apps will work out whether you can save money by buying two or more tickets for your chosen journey.

Four sites stand out. [TrainPal](#) appears to be the cheapest as it doesn't impose fees but reviews suggest it won't always find the cheapest options. [Split My Fare](#) and [TrainTickets.com](#) are slicker but will charge 15% or 10% of the saving made respectively. However, they only work via the website rather than an app. [Trainsplit](#) is another one worth looking at. It also charges 15% but it does offer an app.



Can you save money by buying two or more tickets for your journey?  
Photograph: Chris Thain/Alamy

The savings will really vary but can be generous. For example, those booking a standard return from Taunton to London will pay £105. However, if you split the journey at Pewsey, you can get the fare down to £42.70 – a saving of £62.30.

To use split tickets you don't need to get off the train but the train has to stop at the station at which you theoretically change trains. For those regularly making the same journey, it is worth exploring all the options.

## **Claim any Delay Repay refunds due**

You would be amazed at how many regular rail users don't claim the compensation due when their train is delayed. The exact terms of the refund vary according to the train operator but in most cases passengers are entitled to a 50% refund once they have been delayed by an hour, and a full refund once you are two hours late. Make sure you keep hold of the ticket rather than ripping it up in frustration as you may well need to present a photo of it as part of your claim.



On some routes taking a coach can be as quick as a train. Photograph: Hollie Adams/Getty Images

## **Take the coach instead**

While taking a coach from, say, Glasgow to London might be considered a step too far for many people, on certain routes taking the coach is almost as quick as the train, and so much cheaper. This is especially true if you are travelling at the last minute and all the "cheaper" advance fares have gone. This week National Express was quoting only £4.90 for next-day travel from London to Bristol – leaving at 8am and arriving a bit under three hours later. Great Western Railway wanted £100 for an early morning departure, or £55

if I was prepared to wait until 9.32am for a train that arrives at Bristol Temple Meads after the coach had arrived.

The Bristol route is a winner because the coach is on a motorway for almost the journey's entirety but there are plenty of other coach trips that take longer than the train, although not so much as to justify the extra cost. Weigh up the total journey times – bus stations are often closer to the city centre or your final destination as well.

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/money/2022/nov/14/how-to-save-on-uk-rail-fares-railcards-train-tickets>

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

## iPhone

# iPhone 14 Plus review: Apple's big-screen battery champ

Supersized smartphone offers regular iPhone performance with extended battery life, but costs extra



The iPhone 14 Plus is a big phone with a large screen for browsing, watching video or playing games. Photograph: Samuel Gibbs/The Guardian



[Samuel Gibbs](#) *Consumer technology editor*

Mon 14 Nov 2022 02.00 ESTLast modified on Mon 14 Nov 2022 03.50 EST

Apple's new plus-sized [iPhone](#) 14 adds a larger screen and longer-lasting battery to a familiar formula, but with a bigger price tag too.

The 14 Plus is a brand new iPhone model for this year, costing £949 (\$899/A\$1,579), making it £100 (\$100/A\$180) more than the base model 14 but cheaper than the 14 Pro line.

That makes the Plus the supersized Apple phone for people who just want a bigger screen, not extra cameras and other bits. It has the same chips, display tech, cameras, materials, [repair-friendly](#) internal design and software as the [regular iPhone 14](#), just made bigger.

The 6.7in screen, increased from 6.1in, makes it a larger, heavier device. It is significantly lighter and easier to hold than the iPhone 14 Pro Max, but would still benefit from a [Popsocket or similar accessory](#) to help you keep a grip on it.



The iPhone 14 Plus (left) is 14mm taller, 6.6mm wider and 31g heavier than the regular iPhone 14 (right). Photograph: Samuel Gibbs/The Guardian

The screen is good looking, providing an expansive display for watching video, playing games or just maximising the text for easier reading. But it is somewhat behind rivals in technology. It is limited to a 60Hz refresh rate, whereas rivals typically have 120Hz, and has a lower peak brightness than the similarly sized Samsung Galaxy S22+ or Google Pixel 7 Pro, or Apple's Pro model.

The killer feature for the 14 Plus is its very long battery life. I can get a solid three days out of it between charges with the screen actively used for about 7.5 hours with various apps and services. This is an extra day over the regular iPhone 14 and longer than almost any other phone.

The phone fully charges in about two hours, hitting 80% in 63 minutes using a 20W or greater USB-C power adaptor (not included). It also supports 15W wireless charging.



The iPhone 14 Plus (left) has the same glass back and dual-camera system as the regular iPhone 14 (right). Photograph: Samuel Gibbs/The Guardian

## Specifications

- **Screen:** 6.7in Super Retina XDR (OLED) (458ppi)
- **Processor:** Apple A15 Bionic
- **RAM:** 6GB
- **Storage:** 128, 256 or 512GB
- **Operating system:** iOS 16.1
- **Camera:** dual 12MP rear with OIS, 12MP front-facing camera
- **Connectivity:** 5G, wifi 6, NFC, Bluetooth 5.3, Lightning, ultra wideband and GNSS
- **Water resistance:** IP68 (6 metres for 30 mins)
- **Dimensions:** 160.8 x 78.1 x 7.8mm

- **Weight:** 203g

## Sustainability

Apple does not provide an expected lifespan for the battery but it should last in excess of 500 full charge cycles with at least 80% of its original capacity and can be [replaced for £105](#). Out-of-warranty [screen repairs cost £349](#).

The 14 Plus contains recycled gold, plastic, rare earth elements, tin and tungsten. The company breaks down the [phone's environmental impact](#) in its report. Apple offers trade-in and free recycling schemes, including for non-Apple products.

## Price

The iPhone 14 Plus costs from [£949 \(\\$899/A\\$1,579\)](#) with 128GB of storage.

For comparison, the [iPhone 14](#) costs [£849](#), the iPhone 14 Pro Max costs [£1,199](#), the [Samsung Galaxy S22+](#) costs [£949](#) and the [Google Pixel 7 Pro](#) costs [£849](#).

## Verdict

The iPhone 14 Plus is Apple's new super-sized smartphone that takes what was good about the [base model 14](#), including its more repair-friendly design, and adds a much bigger screen.

The 6.7in display provides much more space for watching video, reading messages or simply having bigger text. But where the regular 14 strikes an excellent balance between screen and device size, the 14 Plus is an unadulterated big phone. It is harder to hold and use one-handed as a result.

The increased size enables the 14 Plus's killer feature: very long battery life. Few smartphones last two days, let alone up to three, of normal use between charges.

But it is very expensive, particularly in the UK because of weak currency rates. You get better screens and more capable cameras on similarly priced

or cheaper rivals from [Samsung](#) and [Google](#).

If you want the iPhone with the longest-lasting battery, the 14 Plus is it.

**Pros:** easier and cheaper to repair, better cameras, water resistant, Face ID, very long battery life, good performance, big screen, long software support.

**Cons:** no USB-C, need your own charger, difficult to use one-handed, no telephoto camera, screen slower than competition and 14 Pro.



The iPhone 14 Plus has a good dual camera system but lacks any optical zoom and therefore range. Photograph: Samuel Gibbs/The Guardian

---

This article was downloaded by `calibre` from <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2022/nov/14/iphone-14-plus-apples-big-screen-battery-champ>

## 2022.11.14 - Opinion

- Rishi Sunak posed as a PM-in-waiting. Now he's in the spotlight, he's not up to the job
- We don't want to bring down the curtain on ENO, but opera has to change
- BBC local radio is a lifeline for millions of listeners – we can't afford to cut it
- Mumsnet is aflame over the family who wore pyjamas to a breakfast buffet. Is it really the end of the world?

[\*\*OpinionRishi Sunak\*\*](#)

## **Rishi Sunak posed as a PM-in-waiting. Now he's in the spotlight, he's not up to the job**

[Nesrine Malik](#)



Instead of the impressive intellectual Britain was promised, we see a leader with nothing to offer beyond cuts and culture war



Rishi Sunak at the Cop27 summit in Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt, 7 November 2022. Photograph: Ahmad Gharabli/AFP/Getty Images

Mon 14 Nov 2022 01.00 ESTLast modified on Mon 14 Nov 2022 07.06 EST

If Liz Truss's mantra was “move fast and break things”, then Rishi Sunak’s is “move slow and leave things where they are, and pray no one will notice”. It has been exactly [three weeks](#) since he was sent into Downing Street on a wave of relief and hope. But it has taken only those three weeks to expose Sunak as yet another underqualified and overpromoted prime minister. There is now no doubt that he does not have the mandate, the appetite or the nerve to deliver what was expected of him.

A brief look at his performance so far shows a failure to meet the goals set for him. A break with the volatile right of the party, who left a crater in the economy? Instead, Suella Braverman is back in the cabinet presiding over an asylum system collapse and protest crackdowns. A return to firm decision-making after a month of dizzying U-turns? His very first international effort as Britain’s leader was to [reverse his decision](#) not to go to Cop27. Restoring some semblance of decency to political office? The now yet-again-disgraced Gavin Williamson had to resign after allegations of bullying, despite Sunak [being informed](#) of the claims by the former chair of the Conservative party.

None of these disappointments should be surprising. Sunak the upright, professional prime minister has always been a fiction that others tried to manifest into reality. Why should anyone have taken seriously his pledges of governing with compassion, integrity and accountability when he has a demonstrably dismal record on all three?

Spare us the sanctimonious promises about his new, caring government. As chancellor, his compassion did not extend to those on universal credit or those who needed support during the cost-of-living crisis. And he can keep his declarations of probity, after he stooped to repeating base and false culture-war talking points about “lefty woke culture” wanting to “cancel our history, our values and our women”, and postured on immigration, saying he would do “whatever it takes” to make the Rwanda policy work. As for accountability, I think we saw plenty of his contempt for that, when on both Partygate and Dominic Cummings’ lockdown violations, Sunak pushed the government line despite the distress it caused so many of the public who suffered privations and lost loved ones during that time.

But he was somehow always given a pass he did not deserve. Those in the centre were the most taken in by his sleek tech image, discounting his rightwing positions because he expressed them in less vulgar ways than his counterparts did. During the pandemic, he seemed to break with the image of the nasty party as the prime minister failed to live up to the gravity of the moment. “Admit it, you fancy Rishi Sunak”, British Vogue instructed us – “bright eyes twinkling with sincerity, the good cop to the bad cop of the boy you inevitably went out with”.

They got one bit right at least – Sunak has always been a politician whose main skill was to stand next to worse politicians and look good in comparison. He owes Boris Johnson and Truss a big debt for getting him this far. All he had to do was not be them. In their absence, Sunak is for the first time being judged as a politician in his own right and he is flailing.



Rishi Sunak at prime minister's questions. Photograph: UK Parliament/Andy Bailey/PA

We see now not an impressive intellectual whose time has finally come, but a man who outsources the sharper edge of his politics, has no real passions other than to “balance the books”, and no real imagination to conceive of doing that in ways other than off the backs of the most vulnerable. Sunak does not look like a man fit for the job, and being up to the job is the whole point of Rishi.

At one point in prime minister's questions last week he seemed to fully dissociate, lost in his notes as the entire frontbench looked at him quizzically. When on the ropes, which doesn't take much, he resorted to mortifying attacks on Keir Starmer about north London and Jeremy Corbyn. It all feels beyond terminal, as if Truss really did herald the death of the [Conservatives](#) but we can't pronounce the party dead until a general election, with Sunak as a zombie leader.

In the meantime, we should expect even less of this wan prime minister than we have seen so far. Sunak is, above all, a product of a party that is still half-crazed by Brexit, and that still demands absolute loyalty to the cause. The Conservatives promoted disciples of this dangerous and unfeasible ideology rather than those most suited to leadership. Once in power and aware of the

chasm between the demands of the job and their capabilities, the leaderships of these Brexit tribunes were short-lived. You saw it in Kwasi Kwarteng and in Truss. The moment the puff collapsed and turned into panic, the moment the fight turned into flee.

Sunak is already there, an understudy, gulping, alone on the epic stage he spent so long clambering on to. But the real tragedy is ours. A season of austerity, historic strikes, protests and civic action is upon us just as the Tory party hands power to a prime minister unable to come up with his own lines, and so has defaulted to the old script – cuts, culture war and crackdown. A collision with a discontented public is coming, and my money is not on Sunak.

- Nesrine Malik is a Guardian columnist
- 

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/nov/14/rishi-sunak-prime-minister-britain-cuts-culture-war>

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

## OpinionEnglish National Opera (ENO)

# We don't want to bring down the curtain on ENO, but opera has to change

[Darren Henley](#)

Funding shake-ups have come as a shock, but offer the art form an opportunity to find a new direction and new audiences

- Darren Henley is chief executive of Arts Council England
- [Arts Council chief: to survive funding slash, opera should move to car parks and pubs](#)



A performance of Koanga by the Brixton-based Pegasus Opera Company at Sadler's Wells, London. Photograph: Tristram Kenton/The Guardian

Mon 14 Nov 2022 02.00 EST Last modified on Mon 14 Nov 2022 07.38 EST

Arts Council England recently declined to offer English National Opera (ENO) a place in its next national portfolio of funded organisations. Instead, we proposed a package for it to relocate and reimagine itself outside London. We have been accused lately of crimes including vandalism and metrophobia, by everyone from Andrew Marr to [Melvyn Bragg](#), David Pountney and Simon Schama (although Londoners may note that London's arts institutions will continue to receive £152m a year – a third of Arts Council funding). Contrary to many reports, we have not sounded a death knell for the opera company.

We know that alongside its acclaimed repertoire of operas, ENO also has a great education programme connecting primary and secondary schoolchildren with opera, and it has created innovative programmes such as [ENO Breathe](#), a wellbeing initiative for people recovering from the effects of Covid-19. We want to support a bright, if different, future for ENO and help develop opera as an art form.

The Arts Council is committed to ensuring that everyone, everywhere can enjoy the best creative and cultural activity in their home city or neighbourhood. For this round of funding decisions, we were asked by government to address the historical unfairness in the balance of funding between London and the rest of the country. The need for us to move money to the rest of the country and refresh the portfolio across London meant we were faced with invidious choices. We had to make difficult decisions that resulted in cherished organisations that we have funded for many years no longer being funded this time round. However, it also means that new organisations, new artists and new places will benefit for the first time from our investment.

I know the ENO decision seems stark. I know nothing can take away the pain of the artists, performers, technical teams and audiences who love the company and its home at the Coliseum. But if we consider the future of opera and classical music more generally, it is clear some things must change. There will always be a place for the grand opera currently staged by the ENO, Royal [Opera](#) House (ROH), Opera North, Glyndebourne and other “country house” opera companies: the swelling overtures, glorious sets,

rousing choruses and breathtaking arias create an overwhelming, eternal sense of awe. But the Arts Council also needs to be focused on the future of opera. A new generation of audiences is embracing opera and music theatre presented in new ways: opera in car parks, opera in pubs, opera on your tablet. New ideas may seem heretic to traditionalists, but fresh thinking helps the art form reimagine itself and remain exciting and meaningful to future generations of audiences and artists.

Amid the thunderclaps last week you would be forgiven for missing that, as well as reducing our investment in some grand opera, the Arts Council has increased its support for the grassroots of opera and boosted funding for classical music more generally. For example, we've given more money to English Touring Opera and Birmingham Opera Company. We continue to support National Opera Studio and British Youth Opera, and we've started to fund some new and exciting organisations for the first time. This includes Brixton-based Pegasus Opera Company, which produces high-quality performances that provide opportunities for artists from African and Asian heritage, and promotes opera among underserved and culturally diverse communities. OperaUpClose, another new joiner, is based in Southampton and offers a groundbreaking programme of work for children, young people and new audiences. More prosaically, we remain committed to funding opera. It will still receive £30m a year from the Arts Council; that's 40% of our overall music investment. Any further funding for ENO is on top of this.



The Yeomen of the Guard by Gilbert and Sullivan at the Coliseum, London.  
Photograph: Tristram Kenton/The Guardian

We believe we've put a good proposal on the table for ENO if it wishes to retain public funding. This is not – as has been reported – to move lock, stock and barrel to Manchester by next April. Rather we have a set of propositions to work through carefully over the next three years. First, find a new home outside London, while retaining the management of the Coliseum. Second, the company needs to come up with a new artistic model, which would mean looking at anything from the type and scale of work it does, to the platforms it uses to deliver work, through to the audiences it seeks to reach. Finally, we will fund all that change at a suitable level over a sensible three-year time period. That funding proposal includes £1m a month for a full year to restructure. Then there is more investment on top, £10m, to completely reimagine and relocate the company. And like other companies, it will have a chance to apply for further funding from April 2026.

A new ENO would not operate in the same way as today. The company has a history as an innovator that has always brought new people and a new approach to opera. A new chapter may still be a just a flicker in the mind's eye of ENO – perhaps something exciting and adventurous that caters to

new audiences. It would stand apart from ROH and Opera North, each brilliant in its own right, and do something different.

Under our leadership, the Arts Council will always embrace opera, even if we support it in a variety of new ways. We believe in it and we want to secure its future. Our ask is that ENO, and other opera companies with pioneering track records, come together and invent a future for new audiences. This decision may have come as a shock, but now we must embrace the shock of the new.

- Darren Henley is chief executive of Arts Council England
  - ***Do you have an opinion on the issues raised in this article? If you would like to submit a response of up to 300 words by email to be considered for publication in our [letters](#) section, please [click here](#).***
- 

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/nov/14/eno-opera-funding-arts-council-audiences>

## OpinionBBC

# BBC local radio is a lifeline for millions of listeners – we can't afford to cut it

[Nick Coffer](#)



As a former local broadcaster, I've seen how vital radio is to our communities. It should be the jewel in the BBC's crown



BBC Radio Cornwall in Truro. Photograph: Hugh R Hastings/Getty Images  
Mon 14 Nov 2022 03.00 ESTLast modified on Mon 14 Nov 2022 19.15 EST

I came into work at [BBC Three Counties Radio](#) one day to a message from the daughter of one of my regular listeners. I had struck up an unlikely off-air friendship with her mother, the warm, opinionated and razor-sharp Beryl, after we'd first met at an outside broadcast. Her daughter explained that she had fallen ill a few days previously and had sadly died, but not before writing a note to her family with strict instructions to inform me in the event of her death.

As the dust following announcement of more swingeing [cuts to local radio](#) has settled, I think it's important to remember listeners like Beryl – and the unique connection they have with their BBC local radio station. I left the organisation in 2021 and all my former colleagues have stories like mine to tell: from the late-night show that enabled one listener, who had been adopted, to meet her 100-year-old birth mother for the first time; to the BBC Newcastle show that was contacted by the daughter of a seriously ill local man, asking them to [help record a song](#) he'd written for her 56 years previously when she was nine months old. With the help of local music students, the station turned her wish into reality. Her father died shortly afterwards.

Local radio should be the jewel in the BBC's crown: radio shows fronted by talented presenters who are proud and knowledgable about where they live and work, offering vital news, analysis, entertainment and, most importantly, companionship to nearly [6 million listeners](#). It is a public service made by local people for local listeners, many of whom are elderly and lonely. Its roots in communities distinguishes BBC local radio from the commercial sector, where leading groups such as Bauer and Global have amalgamated smaller local stations into large national brands.

Now, barring a few exceptions, your local radio station will [only be local from 6am to 2pm on weekdays](#) and for sport at the weekend. Remaining shows will be mostly shared across vast regional patches or will become national shows. Under the proposals, someone living in Aylesbury will be hearing a drivetime programme featuring the Norfolk coast, 150 miles away.

Many of the weekend shows that face being cut focus specifically on underrepresented communities. According to the proposals, popular local African-Caribbean and Asian shows risk being axed, with their slot becoming a single, all-England show. If the [BBC](#) does not broadcast these kinds of shows and tell these kinds of stories, nobody else will.

During the pandemic, when local radio performed a vital public service, bosses reduced daytime output from four shows to three, while increasing show duration from three hours to four, a move that proved extremely unpopular with listeners, who swamped presenters with complaints. The latest plans are also unpopular with politicians – many of whom, across the political spectrum, have come out to denounce the cuts in parliament and in open letters to the director general. The Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport has summoned BBC bosses to appear in front of its parliamentary committee [on 1 December](#) to justify their decisions.

The BBC says this is about saving money and increasing the organisation's digital presence, but radio itself is fundamentally not expensive, if run properly. Your average local radio presenter is on a salary of about £35,000. The resources are there, they are just poorly used. As for the digital proposals to target local radio at a younger audience, they feel not only about 15 years too late but misguided. Young audiences are already happily

settled elsewhere, at radio stations such as [Radio](#) 1 or 1Xtra, or on platforms such as TikTok. Meanwhile, local radio's traditional 55-plus listenership is a growing and underserved market. The digital proposals also recommend widening the commissioning of local podcasts for BBC Sounds but, as brilliant as podcasts can be, they are not the same as a live, local radio show.

Is there an alternative? Former colleagues talk of the need to radically thin out layers of management, curb unnecessary spending and prune excessive salary levels elsewhere within the BBC. It can and should be doable. Because if the BBC cannot devise a way to help this most precious of public services not only to survive, but to thrive, who will?

The BBC is lucky Beryl is no longer here. She wouldn't have let it get away with any of this, and nor should the nearly 6 million people who tune into their BBC local radio station in England every week.

[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.

- Nick Coffer was a presenter on BBC Three Counties Radio from 2010 until 2021. He is now managing director of Boutique Broadcast, a podcast production company

This article was amended on 14 November 2022 to clarify that changes to specific programmes remain at the proposal stage.

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/nov/14/bbc-local-radio-cut-communities>

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

[Opinion](#)[Life and style](#)

## Mumsnet is aflame over the family who wore pyjamas to a breakfast buffet. Is it really the end of the world?

[Emma Beddington](#)



The pandemic has left many of us hazy about how we should behave in public – and remarkably judgmental



Pyjama drama ... Mumsnet was not impressed. Photograph: Westend61/Getty Images

Mon 14 Nov 2022 02.00 EST

Mumsnet's "Am I being unreasonable (AIBU)?" forum, the Emily Post's *Etiquette de nos jours*, turned its attention last week to a new assault on civil society: [pyjamas at a hotel breakfast buffet](#).

I didn't get into Mumsnet when my kids were little. I'm not bragging; I was reading Heat magazine and crying, not translating Aristophanes. To an outsider, its stranger corners (particularly AIBU) seem to be a repository for the weird thoughts that bubble up in your head when you're stuck at home with a child; the stuff I was muttering to myself in the mirror, or at the mannequins in M&S. It's a public service to offer a safe(ish) space to be reassured that no, your toddler won't die because they ate some cat litter. But like "indoor voices", some of this stuff – wild snobbery, paranoia, extreme unreasonableness (check the [@mumsnet\\_madness](#) Twitter account for gems) – should probably have remained "inside thoughts".

Which brings us to pyjamas. "A family all came down to breakfast looking like they had all jumped out of bed ... AIBU to think this is not

appropriate?” went [the post](#). There was no consensus in the replies, which ranged from “they’ve been sweating and farting in those all night” to “I couldn’t care less”.

I know where I stand. This is the cosy loungewear era as surely as the 1920s were flapper dresses, plus [fashion keeps insisting sleepwear as daywear is acceptable](#). It’s worked in my neighbourhood, where dressing gowns and slippers are a regular sight in the corner shop. If you’re not peering into the industrial toaster in your sleep apnoea mask, I reckon you’re good to go.

Both the behaviour and the reaction to it intrigue me. It’s facile to blame Covid for everything: people were clipping their nails and watching porn on public transport long before the pandemic. But I think living an isolated life intensely mediated by screens for a prolonged period left us hazy about what other people are exactly and how we impinge on them. The boundaries between private and public space have blurred. It takes us all differently, but we’re disinhibited, watching Sky Sports without headphones, indulging in post-watershed-style displays of affection on commuter trains or getting furious at having to hear other people’s conversations. (That last one’s me – I unnerved my husband on a train recently with my barely suppressed rage at the droning monologue coming from the seat behind me.)

This breakdown of consensus on what is OK around others is interesting when you consider that we’ve emerged from a period of clear and broadly respected public behavioural norms, and research suggests those rules made us feel better. A multi-country study published this summer found that [those who perceived there were common strong social norms during the pandemic tended to feel less at risk](#) and experience more positive emotions.

So behavioural consensus makes us feel safe when we’re under threat, and in the white-hot bin fire of the [permacrisis](#), threat is ever-present. You can see why a sense that it’s dissipating, even in trivial ways, feels destabilising: it undermines the idea that we can rely on each other to behave. Being mindful of others was the cornerstone of the pandemic social contract – if you’ll floss on the train, can I trust you to test and self-isolate, or whatever the equivalents are [when avian flu mutates and comes for us all?](#) (Sorry.)

I may be cranking up my noise-cancelling headphones, but I'm not worried. We've been isolated and still have a degree of confusion about being back in public. There's probably also an element of kicking back against social control after a period of accepting it. That will settle. Most of my public interactions recently have felt gently, ordinarily civilised: people hold doors, lift each other's suitcases, mind seats and share phone chargers. We attribute disproportionate significance to the occasions when that doesn't happen because they play into our fear that society is imploding. But I don't think we're falling apart or giving in to rampant individualism; we're learning, stumblingly, to be around each other again. AIBU? Frequently. We all are. But I think we're also still capable of being considerate. Pyjama-clad, yes, but kind.

Emma Beddington is a Guardian columnist

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/nov/14/mumsnet-is-aflame-over-the-family-who-wore-pyjamas-to-a-breakfast-buffet-is-it-really-the-end-of-the-world>

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

## 2022.11.14 - Around the world

- [US midterm elections Democrats celebrate retaining control of Senate as Republicans take stock](#)
- [World Cup Dua Lipa denies she's performing in Qatar](#)
- [Joyland Pakistan bans Oscar contender film about trans love affair](#)
- [Environment Increasing demand for oil and fuel threatens African nations' economies, analysis finds](#)
- [Amazon Peruvian Amazon Indigenous leaders to lobby banks to cut ties with state oil firm](#)

## US midterm elections 2022

# Democrats celebrate retaining control of Senate as Republicans take stock

House control still undecided as Republicans lead and attention pivots to Florida, where Trump is expected to announce 2024 run

US midterms: no sign of 'red wave' as Democrats take Senate – video report

*[Oliver Laughland](#)*

*[@oliverlaughland](#)*

Sun 13 Nov 2022 13.29 EST Last modified on Mon 14 Nov 2022 10.26 EST

As the balance of power in the US [House of Representatives](#) remained unresolved on Sunday, Democrats are celebrating the projection that they won control of the Senate, marking a significant victory for Joe Biden as Republicans backed by his presidential predecessor Donald Trump underperformed in key battleground states.

While senior [Democrats](#) remained guarded on Sunday about the chances of keeping control of both chambers of Congress, the House speaker, Nancy Pelosi, hailed the party's performance in the midterms following months of projections indicating heavy losses.

“Who would have thought two months ago that this red wave would turn into a little tiny trickle, if that at all,” Pelosi told CNN.

She added: “We’re still alive [for control of the House] but again the races are close. We don’t pray for victory … but you pray that God’s will will be done.”

As of Sunday morning Republicans remained seven seats shy of the 218 needed to win control of the House, with Democrats requiring 14, an indication that a majority on either side will be slim. As internal discussions

between House Republicans intensify over potential leadership roles, with the minority leader, Kevin McCarthy, [facing opposition](#) from the far-right Freedom Caucus, Pelosi remained circumspect about her own future, saying she would not make any announcements on her plans until after the House's control is decided.

"My decision will then be rooted in what the wishes of my family [are], and the wishes of my caucus," Pelosi said, with reference to her husband Paul Pelosi's ongoing recovery following an allegedly politically motivated violent burglary and attack at their family home in San Francisco last month. She added: "There are all kinds of ways to exert influence. The speaker has awesome power, but I will always have influence."

The Democrats were projected to maintain their control of the Senate on Saturday evening when a tight race in Nevada was called for the incumbent Catherine Cortez Mastro who defeated Adam Laxalt, a Trump-backed, former state attorney general.

The result marks a substantial victory for the Biden administration's agenda over the next two years, not only with regards to potential legislative negotiation but other powers which include appointments to the federal judiciary.

[Speaking to reporters](#) in Cambodia during the Asean summit, Biden congratulated the Democratic Senate leader, Chuck Schumer, but appeared to acknowledge how a Republican-controlled House might affect his agenda.

"We feel good about where we are," Biden said. "And I know I'm a cockeyed optimist – I understand that – from the beginning, but I'm not surprised by the turnout."

Biden added that the party's focus would move to the Senate runoff in Georgia next month, where incumbent Raphael Warnock will face Trump-endorsed Herschel Walker after neither candidate received over 50% of the vote. A victory for the Democrats in Georgia would hand them an outright majority of 51, without needing Biden's vice-president, Kamala Harris, to break Senate ties in their favor.

As fallout from the midterm elections continues, attention is likely to pivot to Florida next week, where Trump is expected to announce a 2024 run for the presidency at his private members' club in Palm Beach.

Although polling still indicates Trump is the preferred candidate among the Republican base, his support has shown signs of fracture after many of his endorsed candidates performed poorly last week. One poll [released on Saturday](#) showed Trump's support declining by six points to 50%, while the far-right governor Ron DeSantis, who cruised to re-election in Florida last week, saw support increase.

On Sunday, Maryland's outgoing Republican governor – Larry Hogan, a longtime Trump critic – urged the party to move away from the former president's influence.

“You know, the definition of insanity is doing the same thing over and over again and expecting a different result,” Hogan told CNN. “And [Donald Trump](#) kept saying: ‘We’re going to be winning so much, we’ll get tired of winning.’ I’m tired of losing. That’s all he’s done.”

Nonetheless, Hogan – who himself is believed to be considering a run in 2024 – acknowledged that ousting Trump from the potential presidential nomination would be an uphill battle.

“He’s still the 800lb gorilla,” Hogan said. “It’s still a battle and it’s going to continue for the next few years. We’re still two years out from the next election, and … the dust is still settling from this one. I think it would be a mistake, as I mentioned Trump’s cost us the last three elections and I don’t want to see it happen a fourth time.”

The midterms also proved to be an electoral rebuke to unfounded accusations of electoral fraud in the 2020 election, a baseless claim Trump has continued to press since losing the White House to Biden.

Many Trump-endorsed candidates in major races, including the governor’s election in Pennsylvania and the Senate race in Arizona, had denied the 2020 election results. In both of these contests, as well as several other high-

profile races, the Trump-backed candidate lost to Democrats by significant margins.

Although the gubernatorial election in Arizona, which pits the high-profile election denier Kari Lake against Democrat Katie Hobbs, remained too close to call on Sunday, a number of Democratic gubernatorial victors argued their wins marked a rejection of election conspiracy theories and rightwing extremism.

Michigan's Governor Gretchen Whitmer, who won in a landslide against a Trump-endorsed election denier, said on Sunday that she believed her victory marked a rejection of political violence in the state.

"Good people need to call this out and say we will not tolerate this in this country," Whitmer, who was targeted by a failed kidnapping plot in 2020, told CNN. "And perhaps part of that message was sent this election."

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2022/nov/13/us-midterms-democrats-retain-senate-power-house-undecided>

## Dua Lipa

# Dua Lipa denies she's performing at the Qatar World Cup

Singer says she will not be playing at 2022 opening ceremony and would only perform in Qatar if it improves its human rights record



British singer Dua Lipa said she ‘[looked] forward to visiting Qatar when it has fulfilled all the human rights pledges it made when it won the right to host the World Cup’. Photograph: Future Publishing/Getty Images

Supported by



[About this content](#)

[Sian Cain](#)

[@siancain](#)

Sun 13 Nov 2022 21.03 EST Last modified on Sun 13 Nov 2022 21.05 EST

Dua Lipa has denied reports she will perform at the [World Cup](#) opening ceremony in Qatar.

The chart-topping 27-year-old singer, born in London to parents from Kosovo, said she would only play in the country if it improves its record on human rights.

Controversy has surrounded the upcoming football tournament with [Qatar's treatment of migrant workers](#) and criminalisation of same-sex relationships under the spotlight.

[The treatment of the LGBTQ+ community in Qatar](#) has been a cause for concern for supporters hoping to travel to the country to see their side in action.

After reports linking her to the event, Lipa shared a statement on Instagram, writing: “There is currently a lot of speculation that I will be performing at

the opening ceremony of the world cup in [Qatar](#). I will not be performing and nor have I ever been involved in any negotiation to perform.

“I will be cheering England on from afar and I look forward to visiting Qatar when it has fulfilled all the human rights pledges it made when it won the right to host the World Cup.”

BTS star Jung Kook is the only official act confirmed for the opening ceremony, which will be held at Al Bayt stadium on 20 November. US rapper Diplo, DJ Calvin Harris and Jamaican singer Sean Paul will also be performing at the Fifa Fan festival, which will run over the 29 days of the tournament.

Lipa is not the first musician to make a point of avoiding playing concerts in Qatar. On Sunday, Sir Rod Stewart [revealed he turned down more than US\\$1m](#) to play in the country last year.

He told the UK’s Sunday Times newspaper: “I turned it down. It’s not right to go. And the Iranians should be out too for supplying arms [to Russia].”

Also on Sunday, comedian Joe Lycett told David Beckham [he would shred £10,000 if the sportsman didn’t pull out of his Qatar World Cup deal](#). The footballer is reportedly being paid £10m to be an ambassador for the event, and has been heavily criticised for accepting the money, given that he has previously been viewed as an ally to the LGBTQ+ community.

*Agencies contributed to this report.*

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/music/2022/nov/14/dua-lipa-denies-shes-performing-at-the-qatar-world-cup>

## [Pakistan](#)

# Joyland: Pakistan bans Oscar contender film about trans love affair

Islamic groups denounce film that won prestigious jury prize at Cannes and has Malala Yousafzai as executive director



The Joyland photocall at the 75th Cannes film festival in France in May.  
Photograph: Anthony Harvey/REX/Shutterstock

*Hannah Ellis-Petersen* South Asia correspondent

Mon 14 Nov 2022 03.24 EST Last modified on Tue 15 Nov 2022 00.08 EST

The [Pakistan](#) government has banned the film that will be its Oscars contender after pressure from hardline Islamic groups who called its depiction of a love affair between a man and a trans woman “repugnant” and “highly objectionable”.

Joyland, directed by Saim Sadiq, had been submitted as Pakistan’s official entry for best international feature film at the Oscars and was due for

domestic release this week.

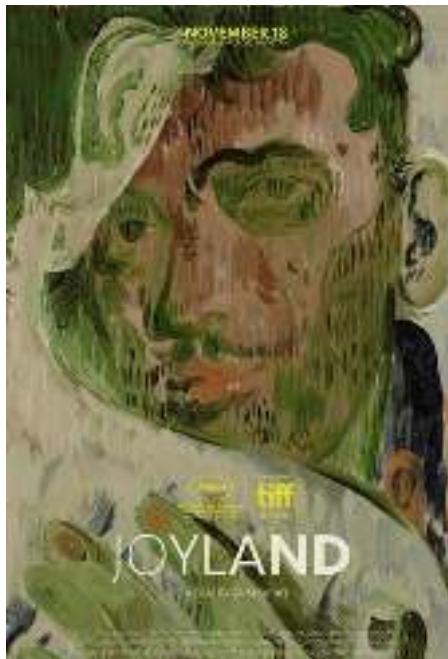
The film tells the story of a Haider, a young married man from a middle-class family in Lahore, who joins an erotic dance theatre and falls in love with Biba, a transgender performer.

The film had garnered glowing praise on the festival circuit for its tender and critical depiction of Pakistan's patriarchal society. It was the first Pakistani feature to be an official selection at the Cannes film festival, where it was awarded the prestigious jury prize.

Malala Yousafzai, the Pakistani Nobel prize-winner who joined the project as an executive director, hailed it as "such a moment of joy ... The themes that are touched upon in this movie resonate with people all around the world."

Joyland had been given the green light by Pakistan government's censor board, but it backtracked after a campaign began against the film, led by the country's religious hardliners and powerful Islamic rightwing parties, including Jamaat-e-Islami.

Senator Mushtaq Ahmed Khan, from the Islamic movement Jamaat-e-Islam, had accused the film of promoting homosexuality, which remains illegal in Pakistan, and being "against Pakistani values".



A film poster for Joyland.

In an order given by the country's ministry of information and broadcasting over the weekend, it said it had received written complaints about Joyland, alleging that the film did not "conform with the social values and moral standards of our society and is clearly repugnant to the norms of decency and morality".

Joyland has now been uncertified for all Pakistan cinemas, meaning its release is banned in the country. The ban jeopardises the film's chance at the Oscars as it is a condition of entry that the film must be shown in its home country.

In a statement, Sadiq called the ban a "grave injustice" and said he would be challenging the decision.

"This sudden u-turn by the Pakistan ministry of information and broadcasting is absolutely unconstitutional and illegal," said Sadiq, accusing the ministry of caving to "pressure from a few extremist factions".

Sarwat Gilani, an actor in the film, spoke out against what she alleged was a paid smear campaign by "some malicious people who have not even seen the film".

“Shameful that a Pakistani film made by 200 Pakistanis over six years, that got standing ovations from Toronto to Cairo to Cannes, is being hindered in its own country,” said Gilani. “Don’t take away this moment of pride and joy from our people.”

In previous interviews, Sadiq has spoken about his concerns releasing the film in Pakistan.

Speaking to Variety, he said he hoped the film would offer a fresh, non-western perspective on trans issues. “This film does introduce a new leaf in terms of the conversation around that, because it’s just refreshing to see a very empowered trans character who happens to be brown and Muslim and in a country like Pakistan,” he said.

Pakistan, which is a strict Islamic republic, has a long history of banning film and cultural content that challenges religious or societal norms. In March, censors banned the Pakistani film I’ll Meet You There for allegedly portraying a negative view of Muslims. The Da Vinci Code is among the Hollywood films that have been given bans by government censors.

The Pakistani author Fatima Bhutto called the ban “senseless”. “Pakistan is teeming with artists, filmmakers, writers and has a cultural richness and more importantly bravery that the world admires,” Bhutto said in a tweet. “A smart state would celebrate and promote this, not silence and threaten it.”

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/nov/14/joyland-pakistan-bans-oscar-contender-film-about-trans-love-affair>

## Fossil fuels

# Increasing demand for oil and fuel threatens African nations' economies, analysis finds

Carbon Tracker thinktank says investors in fossil fuels on the continent would be left with stranded assets



If countries pursued a ‘dash for gas,’ Africa could be left with huge investments in gas infrastructure but no export market. Photograph: Legnan Koula/EPA

*[Fiona Harvey](#) in Sharm el-Sheikh*

Mon 14 Nov 2022 01.00 EST Last modified on Mon 14 Nov 2022 01.02 EST

Expanding oil and gas exports would threaten the economic stability of many African countries, new analysis has found, despite soaring fossil fuel prices.

Demand for fossil fuels is likely to fall sharply in the medium term, according to a [report published on Monday by the Carbon Tracker thinktank](#). That makes relying on gas exports to fuel economic growth a short-term, risky strategy, while boosting solar power would prove a better long-term bet, the analysis found.

Although gas prices are high now, and the top five oil and gas companies alone have made profits of more than \$170bn so far this year, gas revenues would fall by half by 2040, and the gas market would see record low prices owing to shrinking demand, the report forecast.

That would leave Africa with huge investments in gas infrastructure, but no export market, if countries pursued a “dash for gas” now, the analysis found.

Kofi Mbuk, senior clean tech analyst at Carbon Tracker and lead author of the report, warned that companies investing in fossil fuels in Africa would be left with stranded assets. “The energy transition from fossil fuels to renewables is inevitable and irreversible,” he said. “The growth in energy demand globally and regionally is now being met by renewables and squeezing out fossil fuel demands. In Africa, and across emerging economies, solar and wind offer the best route for economic development.”

The future of [Africa’s vast gas reserves](#) is a major topic at the [Cop27 UN climate summit in Egypt](#), now in its second week. Although not formally on the agenda for the UN talks, the conference is buzzing with talk of Africa’s potential as a gas exporter. Countries including Nigeria, Senegal, Mozambique, Congo-Brazzaville, Equatorial Guinea and Algeria have sizeable gas reserves, as does the Cop27 host country, Egypt.

There are [more than 600 fossil fuel executives and lobbyists at the talks](#), and a host of African heads of government who attended the leaders’ summit segment of the summit last week were keen to use the opportunity to strike gas deals.

Macky Sall, president of Senegal, told the Guardian at the talks that it was wrong for developed countries to try to urge African leaders not to drill for

gas when the west had grown rich on fossil fuels. “Why not Africa?” he asked. “Why should we not do the same?”

Other leading figures have also voiced support for Africa to exploit its gas reserves. [Tony Blair](#), former prime minister of the UK, told the Guardian: “They’ve got to be able to get gas. Gas for them is going to be a transitional fuel. Large numbers of people are burning wood for their fuel, which is bad for emissions but also bad for their health. For a transitional phase, they’re going to need to develop their gas resources.”

This could save reduce greenhouse gas emissions compared to some alternatives, he argued. “If you could swap, for example, heavy-duty diesel for gas, that would be highly beneficial for those countries. And in time you will have the potential for the development of hydrogen off the back of it [gas],” he said.

Before the talks, the Sudanese-British billionaire Mo Ibrahim also called for Africa to exploit its resources. “We need a balanced and fair policy for everybody. Gas can be useful to our transition. [Developed countries who say otherwise] are hypocrites,” he [told the Guardian](#).

There are 600 million people in Africa without access to electricity. “How can we even think of development if people don’t have power?” he asked. “How can we have education, hospitals, business, companies, social life, TVs, tablets, computers, whatever?”

Mary Robinson, chair of the Elders group of former world statespeople and business leaders, told the Guardian in June she [supported the expansion of gas in Africa](#) to provide access to modern energy for the 600 million people across the continent currently without it. Gas could provide clean cooking fuel as an alternative to biomass and paraffin, which currently kill thousands through indoor air pollution, especially women and children, she told the Guardian.

“Africa is trying to get its voice out about its needs for just, equitable energy, and of course that implies some use of gas as a just transition,” she said.

Egypt, host of the Cop27 summit, is understood to be eager to expand its gas industry, positing it as a help to European countries struggling with supplies to replace imports from Russia.

However, many African climate experts and activists are speaking out against the expansion of gas on the continent. They argue that Africa's poor are unlikely to see any benefit from the gas, which is likely to be exported abroad to the highest bidder by multinationals, with profits siphoned off to the countries' elites.

"The "dash for gas" in Africa is dangerous and shortsighted," wrote a coalition of dozens of African climate groups in an open letter as part of a campaign called "Don't Gas Africa".

Mohamed Adow, director of the Power Shift Africa thinktank, said Africa's plentiful solar and wind resources offered a better route to energy than investing in gas. "For far too long, Africa has been controlled by outside interests – a resource pool for extraction and export, and a dumping ground for the practices and technologies no longer wanted elsewhere," he said.

In its report entitled African Sun: Why solar not gas offers the continent the best economic opportunity in the transition, published on Monday, Carbon Tracker argues that Africa could be an exporter of solar energy, rather than gas.

"Electricity will be the backbone of Africa's economic future, with solar leading the way," the report predicted. "Even though prior to the Ukraine conflict, solar was competitive with coal and gas for power generation, the conflict means that the continent should, more than ever, build solar as a means to decrease its dependence on its global commodity market and achieve a secure and affordable source of domestic energy. Further acceleration of cost reduction will put Africa in a unique position as a beneficiary from one of the best abundance of solar potential on the planet."

---

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

## [Amazon rainforest](#)

# Peruvian Amazon Indigenous leaders to lobby banks to cut ties with state oil firm

Leaders from Achuar and Wampis peoples say Petroperú is responsible for spills in their territory



Oil flow on the River Cuninico in the jungle region of Loreto, Peru, following a spill of an estimated 2,500 barrels in September. Photograph: Peru's Public Prosecutor's Offic/AFP/Getty Images

*Dan Collyns in Lima*

*@yachay\_dc*

Mon 14 Nov 2022 03.33 ESTLast modified on Mon 14 Nov 2022 08.55 EST

Native leaders from the Peruvian Amazon are to travel to the US this week to lobby banks to cut financial ties with Peru's state oil company, Petroperú.

Leaders from the Achuar and Wampis peoples say the state company is responsible for oil spills in their territory that violate their human rights by polluting their water sources and irreparably damaging their fishing and hunting grounds.

They are also demanding the Peruvian government and banks stop oil exploration and investment in all Indigenous territories in the Peruvian Amazon, the second largest part of the rainforest after Brazil.

Nelton Yankur, the president of the Achuar Federation, said Petroperú had “caused so much damage to our population” over 40 years of drilling for oil and transporting it through their territory.

Yankur and other Indigenous leaders said they would meet representatives of Citibank, Goldman Sachs and HSBC in New York, with JP Morgan in Washington DC, and Bank of America in Lima.

The Indigenous leaders say they want to set out the social, legal and environmental risks of financing or investing in Petroperú. Those risks are highlighted in a [report](#) by the NGO [Amazon Watch](#), which was presented at [New York Climate Week](#) in September.

Petroperú reported in September it intended to seek \$1.6bn in investment to reinitiate drilling and oil extraction in the Amazon.

“On this trip to the United States we want to warn the banks not to finance Petroperú, because [it] does not act responsibly and has left environmental damage in our territory,” said Yankur, who represents Indigenous people living on the Pastaza River in Loreto, Peru’s largest Amazon region.

“You can’t live just from money, in the jungle you live from nature,” he told the Guardian.

There have been widespread protests in Indigenous territories after two oil spills by the state company, one in 2014 and the second of an estimated 2,500 barrels in September.

The government declared a state of emergency and later Petroperú and the general attorney's office said the spill was caused by an intentional cut to the oil pipeline.

As a result of that spill, on 4 November a boat carrying dozens of Peruvians and 23 foreign tourists was held [for a day on the Cuninico River](#) in the Amazon in an attempt to draw the government's attention to the effects of the spill.

Peru's prime minister, Aníbal Torres, responded by accusing the community of cutting the oil pipeline to later "claim compensation".

Alfonso López, a local leader who represents 60 Kukama and Urarinas communities in the spill-affected area, rejected Torres's allegations on Thursday, saying they were "incapable of doing harm to ourselves and our territory".

"It's serious that the state allows the pollution of our territory by the same company that should belong to all Peruvians," said López, who is also president of the organisation for Amazonian Indigenous Peoples United in Defense of their Territories.

"The state should be aware that the regulations we have to protect the environment and the lives of Indigenous peoples are not being complied with," he added.

The leaks occurred in the deteriorating 40-year-old state-run Norperuano oil pipeline, which pumps the Amazon crude westward to refineries and ports on Peru's northern coast. Sixty-five per cent of the leaks were caused by corrosion, poor maintenance and infrastructure, according to [The Shadow of Oil](#), a study by Oxfam and Peru's human rights coordinator, based on official data.

Petroperú said the Norperuano pipeline received "permanent maintenance, including state-of-the-art technology to identify and prevent potential breakdowns". It blamed most of the spills on "unscrupulous individuals and groups who deliberately cut the pipeline ... without measuring the serious consequences for the environment".

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2022/nov/14/peruvian-amazon-native-leaders-to-lobby-banks-to-cut-ties-with-state-oil-firm-petroperu>

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

## Headlines tuesday 15 november 2022

- [G20 Russia strives to avoid isolation as China and India distance themselves](#)
- [Live Iain Duncan Smith tells Sunak he would be ‘completely wrong’ to soften stance on China](#)
- [G20 Putin should have come to face us, Rishi Sunak tell leaders' summit](#)
- [China Rishi Sunak calls nation ‘systemic challenge’, in sign of softer UK stance](#)

## G20

# Russia strives to avoid G20 isolation as China and India distance themselves

Traditional allies voice concern over Ukraine war as draft communique highlights damage to world economy

- [Russia-Ukraine war – latest news updates](#)



Sergei Lavrov, Russia's foreign minister, carefully missed a video address by the Ukrainian president. Photograph: Bay Ismoyo/EPA

*[Patrick Wintour in Bali](#)*

Tue 15 Nov 2022 11.27 ESTFirst published on Mon 14 Nov 2022 21.23 EST

Russia has been battling to prevent diplomatic isolation at the G20 summit in Bali as its traditional allies – China and India – started to distance

themselves from the war in [Ukraine](#), which a draft communique said had caused untold economic damage to the world.

Narendra Modi, the Indian prime minister, and Xi Jinping, the president of China, both voiced concern about the war without breaking from their previous defence of Moscow.

US officials were still pushing for the final communique to pin more blame on [Russia](#). The draft includes language noting “most members strongly condemned the war in Ukraine” and stresses that “it is causing immense human suffering and exacerbating existing fragilities in the global economy”.

The summit’s host, [Indonesia](#), has been trying to keep references to the war to a minimum, arguing the G20 is not a security forum and that reiteration of well known positions will prevent progress on issues such as global debt and post-pandemic recovery.

The summit being held on the Indonesian island of Bali marks the first time the [G20](#) leaders have met since Russia’s February invasion of Ukraine, which Moscow has described as a “special military operation”. The war and worries over global inflation, food and energy security have overshadowed the meeting.

In his address, Xi warned against the “weaponisation” of food and energy, adding that he opposed nuclear war in all circumstances, remarks that cast a shadow over Russia’s repeated threats to use tactical nuclear weapons in Ukraine.

“We must firmly oppose politicisation, instrumentalisation and weaponisation of food and energy problems,” Xi said.

Modi said it was necessary to recognise the UN had failed as a multilateral institution, putting greater pressure on the G20 to find solutions. He said it was time for a ceasefire and for diplomacy to come to the fore.

G20: Zelenskiy calls for 'just' end to Ukraine war, with no compromises – video

In a video address that the Russian foreign minister, Sergei Lavrov, carefully missed by staying in his hotel, the Ukrainian president, [Volodymyr Zelenskiy](#), said it was time for the war to be stopped, saying it had caused thousands of deaths. But he stressed that a ceasefire was only possible when armed Russian troops left Ukraine territory.

Wearing his now-familiar green T-shirt, he said: “I am convinced now is the time when the Russian destructive war must and can be stopped. It will save thousands of lives.”

Speaking in Ukrainian to the single most influential audience he has addressed since the war started, Zelenskiy tried to pitch himself as a man prepared to reach an agreement with Russia but only on terms that protected Ukrainian sovereignty, and recognised the valour with which his troops had fought to protect their homeland.

In a pitch to Xi, he condemned “the crazy threats of nuclear weapons that Russian officials resort to. There are and cannot be any excuses for nuclear blackmail,” he added, pointedly thanking the “G19” – excluding Russia – for “making this clear”.

According to Wang Yi, China’s foreign minister, Xi told the US president, Joe Biden, at their bilateral meeting on Monday evening that “nuclear weapons should not be used and nuclear wars should not be fought”.

The French president, Emmanuel Macron, said in his meeting with Xi they had called for “respect of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Ukraine.”

Lavrov, who was in Bali in place of Putin, condemned what he called the “politicisation” of the meeting. Shortly after his plane left the island, a wave of Russian missile strikes hit energy infrastructure and cities in Ukraine that the head of Ukraine’s presidential administration, Andriy Yermak, said was a response to Zelenskiy’s address to the G20.

The Ukrainian leader also called in the address for the expansion and indefinite extension of a grain deal brokered by the UN and Turkey in July.

Much of the diplomatic arm-twisting at the G20 focuses on the terms by which Russia will allow the deal to continue. It has already suspended cooperation once, saying the west had not done enough to persuade insurers and shipping companies to distribute Russian wheat and fertilisers.

Russia and Ukraine account for about 30% of the world's wheat and barley exports, a fifth of its maize, and more than half of all sunflower oil. The Russian invasion had blocked 20m tonnes of grain in its ports until the deal was reached in July. Russia says the export deal has only been partially implemented.

But Russia says the deal is lopsided because western sanctions have indirectly continued to cast a shadow over the exports of Russian grain by affecting payments, insurance and shipping.

The grain deal has been a rare patch of diplomatic sunlight, but is up for renewal this Friday.

The deal allowing exports past the Russian navy from three Ukrainian seaports has been critical to lowering grain prices.



The Russian foreign minister, Sergei Lavrov, greets Indonesia's president, Joko Widodo, as he arrives for the G20 leaders' summit in Bali. Photograph: Kevin Lamarque/AP

The dispute over the future of the grain deal is part of a wider diplomatic battle between Russia and the west to convince sceptical opinion in the global south that right is on their side. In his speech, Zelenskiy, fresh from visiting Kherson, a city recaptured from Russia this week, gave little ground on the terms for any peace settlement.

He said such an agreement could be signed at an international conference, adding that Russia would be required to hand over some of its assets as compensation for the task of rebuilding Ukraine. In a symbolic vote, the UN general assembly voted on Monday to approve a resolution recognising that Russia must pay reparations to Ukraine, in a non-binding move backed by 94 of its 193 members.

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/nov/15/g20-russia-ukraine-war-global-economic-suffering>.

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

**Politics live with Andrew Sparrow**  
**Politics**

# Gavin Williamson could face investigation over ‘I now own him’ payment as chief whip to Tory MP, committee told – as it happened

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2022/nov/15/iain-duncan-smith-rishi-sunak-china-q20-jeremy-hunt-uk-politics-latest>

## G20

# Putin should have come to face us, Rishi Sunak tells G20 leaders

British prime minister says Russia leaving Ukraine would make ‘the single biggest difference’ to world affairs and calls for end to grain crisis

- [G20: follow live](#)



Rishi Sunak, the British PM, at the G20 summit in Bali. Photograph: Reuters

*[Jessica Elgot](#) in Bali*

*[@jessicaelgot](#)*

Tue 15 Nov 2022 00.43 EST Last modified on Tue 15 Nov 2022 01.50 EST

Rishi Sunak has told the G20 that Russia’s president, Vladimir Putin, should have been prepared to face world leaders at the summit, as Russia leaving [Ukraine](#) would make “the single biggest difference” to world affairs.

At the opening session of the summit, attended by Russia's foreign minister, Sergei Lavrov, the British prime minister used his address to condemn the Ukraine invasion and the targeting of civilians and warned world leaders about the threat it posed to the international order.

"One man has the power to change all of this," Sunak told the summit, which was also addressed by the Ukrainian president, Volodymyr Zelenskiy.

"It is notable that Putin didn't feel able to join us here. Maybe if he had, we could get on with sorting things out.

"Because the single biggest difference that anyone could make is for Russia to get out of Ukraine and end this barbaric war."

In a veiled remark about those nations that have remained neutral on the conflict, including China and India, Sunak said that all countries were in greater danger because of the precedent that had been set.

"Russia's illegal invasion of Ukraine has profound implications for us all, because it has undermined the fundamental principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity," he said.

"We all depend on these principles. They are the foundations of the international order. They must be upheld.

"It is very simple – countries should not invade their neighbours, they should not attack civilian infrastructure and civilian populations and they should not threaten nuclear escalation. Surely these are things on which we can all agree."

Sunak also used his intervention to call for an end to the grain crisis.

"The weaponisation of energy and food is totally unacceptable," he said. "Two-thirds of Ukraine's grain goes to developing countries, yet Russia has destroyed grain stores and blocked shipments.

“It is harming the most vulnerable people around the world. And this has nothing to do with sanctions. All of us should support the secretary general’s efforts to get the Black Sea grain initiative back on track.”

Russia’s presence has cast a shadow over the summit and put states at an impasse over a final communique, which is likely to contain only weak resolutions on the economy and digital issues because of the inability of the [G20](#) to agree a statement that would condemn Moscow’s aggression or pin the blame for economic turmoil on the Kremlin’s war in Ukraine.

But No 10 has also said there is a widespread feeling that Russia’s presence should not be allowed to stymie all progress and that some words are likely to be agreed on the importance of stability in the global markets.

The summit is taking place in the days after [extraordinary Ukrainian military advances](#), including retaking the strategically important city of Kherson.

In his address, Zelenskiy spoke to what he termed “the G19” – excluding Russia deliberately – and compared the victory in Kherson to the turning point in WWII. “It is like, for example, D-Day — the landing of the allies in Normandy,” he said.

“I want this aggressive Russian war to end justly and on the basis of the U.N. Charter and international law,” Zelenskiy said. “Ukraine should not be offered to conclude compromises with its conscience, sovereignty, territory and independence. We respect the rules and we are people of our word.”

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/nov/15/putin-should-have-come-to-face-us-rishi-sunak-tell-g20-leaders>

## Foreign policy

# Rishi Sunak calls China ‘systemic challenge’, in sign of softer UK stance

PM’s remarks at G20 summit suggest shift away from Liz Truss pledge to redesignate Beijing as a ‘threat’



Rishi Sunak, centre, arrives at Ngurah Rai international airport in Bali, Indonesia on Monday before the opening of the G20 summit. Photograph: Reuters

*[Jessica Elgot](#) in Bali*

*@jessicaelgot*

Tue 15 Nov 2022 02.00 EST

Rishi Sunak has rowed back from officially recategorising China as a “threat”, saying he views the country as a “systemic challenge”, despite concerted pressure from Conservative MPs.

The prime minister's remarks are likely to draw ire from the large group of [China](#) sceptics on the Conservative backbenches, including former leader Iain Duncan Smith and others such as Alicia Kearns, who chairs the foreign affairs select committee.

Sunak's predecessor, Liz Truss, pledged to officially redesignate China in official parlance and documents [as a “threat”](#) instead of a “systemic competitor”, as it was categorised under Boris Johnson.

Truss had also criticised Sunak during their leadership contest for considering a restart both of the UK-China [Joint Economic and Trade Commission](#) and the UK-China Economic and Financial Dialogue, a trade summit that has not been held since 2019.

Speaking at the [G20](#) summit in Bali, Indonesia, Sunak defended his approach and said it was in line with most of the UK's allies, as he shied away from calling China a threat, changing his description to “challenge” while answering reporters' questions.

“My view on China is straightforward. I think that China unequivocally poses a systemic threat – well, a systemic challenge – to our values, and our interests, and is undoubtedly the biggest state-based threat to our economic security, let me put it that way. That's how I think about China,” he said.

“That's what I said over the summer. That's why it's important that we take the powers that we need to defend ourselves against that.”

Sunak said the National Security and Investment Act was a key part of the UK having the necessary powers to take action against China as a security risk.

However, he said world leaders could not ignore China as a vital player. “I also think that China is an indisputable fact of the global economy and we're not going to be able to resolve shared global challenges like climate change, or public health, or indeed actually dealing with Russia and Ukraine, without having a dialogue with them.”

In his comments, Sunak twice refused to say whether he intended to recategorise China as a threat. “I think that view, by the way, is highly aligned with our allies.

“So if you look at the US national security strategy that was published just a couple of weeks ago, and if you look at how they describe their view of China and how to deal with it, I think you’ll find that it’s very similar to how I’ve just described it to you.

[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.

“The Canadians, the Australians, their versions of that strategy all say similar things. So what I’m saying to you, I think, is the shared view amongst our closest allies.”

On Taiwan, Sunak was cautious about making the same commitment as Truss, though he did not explicitly rule out increasing UK support. “We’re looking at all of these policies as part of our refresh of the integrated review,” he said.

“Our policy on Taiwan is obviously there should be no unilateral change to the status and there should be a peaceful resolution to that situation. We stand ready to support Taiwan as we do in standing up to Chinese aggression.”

During his unsuccessful initial campaign to be party leader, Sunak promised to shut down the 30 Chinese-funded Confucius Institutes in the UK, amid concerns they have sometimes been used as a front for the country’s ruling Communist party.

At that time, Sunak told the Daily Telegraph that China and the Chinese Communist party were the “biggest long-term threat” to the UK. “For too long, politicians in Britain and across the west have rolled out the red carpet and turned a blind eye to China’s nefarious activity and ambitions,” he said.

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2022/nov/15/uk-china-rishi-sunak-g20-summit-bali>

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

## 2022.11.15 - Spotlight

- I survived a wilderness camp ‘It’s not necessary to break a person’s will’
- ‘I can’t give up on hope’ As the world’s population passes 8bn, new parents from Italy to India look to the future
- Millions of missing women China grapples with legacy of one-child policy
- You can’t out-shoot a teenager How to play first-person shooters if you’re over 30

# I survived a wilderness camp: ‘It’s not necessary to break a person’s will’

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2022/nov/15/wilderness-camp-for-my-own-good>

Advertisement

[Print subscriptions](#)

[Sign in](#)

[Search jobs](#)

[Search](#)

US edition

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

[The Guardian - Back to home](#)[The Guardian](#)

[Beyond 8 billion](#)[Population](#)

## **‘I can’t give up on hope’: As the world’s population passes 8bn, new parents from Italy to India look to the future**



‘We have to learn to live with changing times’ ... introducing the new generation. Illustration: Sarah Tanat-Jones/The Guardian

In Siena, Luisa worries about social media. In Delhi, Nikita is trying to proof her house against air pollution. Here, couples who have welcomed a new child in recent months share their dreams and fears for them on an ever more crowded planet

[Angela Giuffrida](#), [Amrit Dhillon](#), [Emine Saner](#), [Caroline Ariba](#), [Constance Malleret](#), [Eva Corlett](#), [Caroline Kimeu](#), [Helen Davidson](#), [Chi Hui Lin](#), [Sam Wolfson](#) and [Olayide Oluwafunmilayo Soaga](#)

Tue 15 Nov 2022 01.00 EST Last modified on Tue 15 Nov 2022 06.02 EST

Tuesday 15 November marks the day that [the global population is projected to reach 8 billion](#), according to the United Nations – meaning the number of people in the world has more than tripled in the past 70 years. The impact of this is far-reaching, putting additional pressure on already stretched resources and challenging efforts to reduce poverty and inequality.

The average woman now gives birth to two children, down from five in 1950. We spoke to parents around the world who have welcomed a new child in recent months about their hopes and fears for their family.

## Italy



Luisa Galanello and Pietro with their newborn son. Photograph: Simone Donati/The Guardian

Luisa Galanello is among the women who are somewhat bucking the trend in [Italy](#), where the birthrate has been in steady decline for years. She gave birth to her first child, a boy, on 16 October, at the age of 40.

“I’ve always wanted to have a child and when you have a strong desire to do it, then you do it,” she says. “We had tried twice before but didn’t succeed.” Galanello works in a bank and lives in Siena with her partner, Pietro.

Italy’s birthrate fell for the 13th consecutive year last year, with 399,431 births in 2021 against 404,892 in 2020, according to [official figures](#) published in March. It is the lowest figure recorded since the unification of Italy in 1861. The trend is such that Italy’s population will shrink by 5 million over the next 30 years unless drastic measures are taken, Istat warned.

**Q&A**

**Beyond 8 billion**

Show

As the world's population passes another milestone, our series Beyond 8 billion examines the impact on some of the countries projected to have the greatest growth, as well as those facing the opposite problem: plunging birthrates and rapidly ageing populations.

Was this helpful?

Thank you for your feedback.

“There’s a sum of reasons why people in Italy aren’t having children as much as they did before,” says Galanello. “Society has completely changed. Maybe before, the woman didn’t work and so stayed home and maybe had a husband who worked. Now they are emancipated, and if they work and don’t have relatives nearby to help with babysitting, it is difficult to find a nursery, and even then it is costly.

“Before, women started having children from around the age of 20,” she says. “I’m 40, so maybe this is late, but people aren’t even really having babies at 30, so you have less time to have more than one.”

One thing that worries her about modern-day parenting is “this jungle of social media. You can manage it when children are small but what about when they grow up and have more freedom?”

In any case, Galanello says she hopes to be able to give her child the “adequate tools to face life. This is the biggest challenge, especially during this complex period, whether in Italy or globally. I want to be capable of guiding them towards their aspirations, and to face life in an intelligent way.” **Angela Giuffrida**

## India



Nikhita Nijhawan and Jandeep Singh.

Like other pregnant women around the world, Nikita Nijhawan has been buying baby clothes and getting a room in her Delhi house ready. But she has also been sealing all the cracks and crevices in the windows and doorframes of her house.

She is trying to ensure that none of the city's poisonous air – or as little as possible – creeps in.

Delhi has held the record of being [the most polluted capital city in the world](#) for several years and the pollution levels start rising around October. Few things can be more alarming for parents than thinking of their firstborn's delicate new lungs inhaling toxic air, but Nijhawan and her husband, Jandeep Singh (both architects), are dealing with it calmly. They know that, with air purifiers all over the house and the need for them to check pollution levels before letting their child play outside, their baby will have a very different childhood from their own.

“My child’s going to have more time spent indoors in a ‘safe’ zone. But then, we have to learn to live with changing times,” says Nijhawan. “I am very practical. The pollution is a challenge and it must be met. Life can’t stop.”

Although India is set to exceed [China](#) as the world's most populous country, many of Nijhawan's friends have decided against having children. They feel that the climate crisis, pollution and diseases such as Covid have made the world a far too uncertain place to bring a child into.

But when she married, Nijhawan was clear that she wanted children. "I can't give up on hope," she says. "I needed to make a family to love. I can't imagine making a home without children to continue our lives."

Like most married couples in [India](#), she lives with her husband's parents, but since the birth of her baby, parenting has been a collaborative effort with her husband. "We have the help of our respective mothers as we both work, but my husband is as involved and as responsible for the baby as I am," she said.

Her child-rearing will also be different from that of previous generations. "My child can do whatever inspires them. It's not up to me. My child will have the freedom to explore their potential," she says.

No matter the challenges of the future, Nijhawan refuses to let anything dismay or overwhelm her. "Look at Covid. Did anyone expect it? Yet we all managed," she says. "Anything can hit us at any time and we have to manage." **Amrit Dhillon**

**UK**



Kate Lucas with Bonnie and baby Howie.

With a baby, says Kate Lucas, with a laugh, “it’s hard to think past the next day sometimes. But you do think about their future, and my hope for him is that, growing up, he experiences more joys than sorrows and lives in a world that accepts him for who he is, whoever that is, and is a bit more tolerant maybe than it is now.”

Howie was born in August, a second child for Lucas and her husband, Maxim – they also have a four-year-old daughter, Bonnie. When Howie is Lucas’s age, 36, in 2058, the UK’s population – according to figures put together by the UN’s population division – is [predicted to be about 71.8 million](#) (having peaked three years earlier). This year, the UK’s population is approximately 67.4 million.

What does she think the world will be like when Howie is an adult? “Hopes and reality can be different, can’t they? I hope he lives in a more equal and sustainable place. When we were growing up, we weren’t having many conversations about the environment. We are more aware of environmental, political and social problems, and talking more about them, so I’m hopeful that positive things can happen for those born today.”

Lucas, an occupational therapist, says she is mostly an optimist, but has moments when it crumbles. “With everything that’s been going on recently, it’s natural to think that everything’s awful and nothing is going to work out. But when you have children, you hope for the best for them.”

There are some people who, facing the climate crisis, have decided not to have children. Does she have any sympathy with that stance? “It’s individual choice. I feel like we are aware of our own environmental impact as a family and try to limit it.” Eight billion seems an unimaginable figure, she says. “I suppose I have to concentrate on my children, and raise them to be happy, respectful and kind. You hope that other people do the same, and it has a bigger impact all together.” **Emine Saner**

## Uganda



Esther Acuwe, John Alomain and their children.

John Alomain had mixed feelings about his wife’s pregnancy news. Their daughter, Christine Acham, was born in June 2022, but the 24-year-old and his 19-year-old wife, Esther Acuwe, from Ngero sub-county in Uganda’s Kumi district, were not financially prepared for the birth.

While Acham is Alomain's third child, she is Acuwe's second; the first was born when Acuwe was just 15 years old. In the Teso sub-region where the couple live, [31% of girls get pregnant before they turn 20](#), while the national average is [25%](#). As was the case for Acuwe, pregnancy usually results in marrying early and dropping out of school.

Alomain brings home about \$11 (£9.35) every week from his work as a motorcycle taxi driver, placing the family among the [30% of Uganda's population living on less than \\$1.77 daily](#). This figure dropped to 20.3% in 2018 after the war against the LRA ended, but rose after the country's Covid lockdowns. He does not own his motorcycle and so must pay to rent it for 30,000 shillings (\$8, or £6.80) a week.

Acuwe says the climate makes it impossible to rely on farming for subsistence. "Sometimes we only have one meal a day, but make sure the children have porridge too."

Even if the climate improves, the couple have only one garden in which to grow crops, inherited from Alomain's 50-year-old father – a man with several children (some younger than his five-month-old granddaughter) and no more land left to share. Yet in many communities children are regarded as a blessing, and a man with more children is respected; this feeds into [Uganda's 1.2 million annual](#) population growth.

When asked how many children they would like to have, Acuwe and Alomain agree: "Maybe four." They trust that, when Christine Acham is ready to start school, all will be well financially, firmly believing that God will provide, despite struggling to raise tuition funds for the older siblings of 60,000 shillings each.

Alomain hopes to buy a motorcycle and increase the family income so his children can escape poverty and further their education – yet how he plans to raise the funds is unclear. **Caroline Ariba**

## Brazil



Kelly Dias Vieira, André Rossi Coutinho and Cecília. Photograph: Supplied image

“Children have gone out of fashion somewhat,” the Brazilian comedian Gregório Duvivier said in [a recent episode](#) of his satirical weekly news show. “It’s true,” says Kelly Dias Vieira, who watches the show. “I completely agree.”

Dias, 41, and her husband, André Rossi Coutinho, 42, had their first child, Cecília, in September. The couple, who live in Niterói, a city near Rio de Janeiro, are among a growing number of Brazilians who are choosing to have children later, or no children at all.

“The idea of motherhood was always there for me, but it wasn’t a priority,” says Dias. “When you stop and think about it calmly, it’s kind of crazy to bring a child into this world.” She cites the violence and deep inequality that plague Brazil, as well as climate-related concerns.

Rossi understands the choice to put off having children as an effect of increased individualism. “People are prioritising their careers, what they can do for themselves, for their personal development, and then they see if a child fits into that. And sometimes, it doesn’t.”

Brazil's fertility rate has plummeted since 1950, when it stood at 6.1 births per woman. The number dropped below the replacement level of 2.1 births per woman at the start of the millennium, and now stands at 1.6, according to the UN.

Dias's family reflects this trend: she is the eldest of four siblings, and her mother is one of eight, but Dias does not plan on a second pregnancy. With the annual number of births falling steadily from 4 million in the 80s, Brazil will soon face a demographic shift. The country is the seventh most populous, behind China, India, the US, Indonesia, Pakistan and [Nigeria](#) – but its population is expected to peak at about 230 million in 2047. By the end of this century, Brazil is likely to have dropped off the list of the world's 10 most populous countries.

"We're in a situation of privilege, so why wouldn't we have a child?" says Rossi, acknowledging that economic considerations weigh heavily on people's decision to start a family in Brazil. He and Dias hope to provide their daughter with the financial stability neither of them had growing up. They plan to travel with Cecília, expose her to different cultures and languages, and give her an upbringing in close contact with nature.

But the pair of clinical psychologists are reluctant to pin expectations on their newborn. "I don't want to idealise her," says Rossi. "We know it might go wrong," Dias laughs. "I want her to grow up a feminist, but I don't know whether she will." **Constance Malleret**

## New Zealand



Levi Brinsdon-Hall and Ella Rose Shnapp with their newborn.

Having a child may be an increasingly unpopular choice among environmentalists, but for one [New Zealand](#) couple it is a way to safeguard the future.

“A lot of our friends are quite reluctant to bring children into the world,” says Ella Rose Shnapp, an Auckland-based ecologist and ceramicist of Israeli and Scottish descent. “But if all the people who think the world needs to change stop having kids, I’m terrified of what the world will become.”

Shnapp, 28, and her partner, Levi Brinsdon-Hall, 30 – an urban farmer and entrepreneur of Pākehā descent (New Zealand European) – had their first child in October. The pair are dedicated environmentalists: among their many roles, Brinsdon-Hall leads an inner-city garden project that feeds 45 families a week, and Shnapp is a keen forager and beekeeper.

New Zealand’s [birthrate has plummeted](#) by [20% in the past decade](#) to 1.6 children per woman of childbearing age.

Those who are having children, meanwhile, are waiting much later. In 2020, nearly half the number of births were to mothers over 30. Shnapp and Brinsdon-Hall are some of the first in their social group to have children.

“My little sister couldn’t believe she knew someone who had actually planned a baby,” Shnapp laughs.

Demographers cite worsening economic conditions, access to contraceptives and growing acceptance of child-free lifestyles as contributing factors to the declining birthrates, while a University of Auckland [study](#) suggests eco-anxiety is also putting people off.

Another major factor is thought to be home ownership rates, which have been [falling dramatically for under-30s](#). Unusually for their age, the couple co-own a home with Brinsdon-Hall’s mother and, while they consider themselves very fortunate, they will still need to rely on housemates to cover their housing costs.

“There is a lot that needs to change in New Zealand, in terms of racism, inequalities for Māori and Pasifika, access to housing – we have really high rates of child poverty,” says Shnapp.

The couple feel that having their own child has acted as “a fire”, spurring them to work towards better economic, environmental and political systems.

“I’m super stoked to have the opportunity to bring someone up with our values,” says Brinsdon-Hall. “One person can contribute an awful lot to the world … there is a lot of power in bringing someone up right.”

“We want to raise a child that is able to do whatever they want,” Shnapp adds, “but to do it in a way that is creating a future that is better for everyone, rather than just themselves.” **Eva Corlett**

## Tanzania



Mwasiti Bakari and Said Omar with their children.

Mwasiti Bakari, 34, and her husband, Said Omar, 29, welcomed their second child, Morran, into the family in April. The Omar family, who live in Bububu, a fishing town on the island of Zanzibar, [Tanzania](#), are ecstatic about being new parents, but are also unsure about having more.

“You can’t have many children nowadays,” says Omar. “Life is very tough now.” Omar, who sells clothes and is the family’s breadwinner, is especially keen for Morran to be their last. Bakari wants at least one more.

The Omars are one of Tanzania’s smaller families. On average, [women in the country have four or five children](#), compared with a global average of two. The country’s population is growing rapidly. [UN projections](#) show that it is one of eight countries that will contribute to nearly half of the world’s population growth by 2050 (the others being the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Nigeria, Pakistan and the Philippines).

Africa’s population is the fastest-growing of all the continents, and the most youthful. The potential impact of this growth divides observers: some see it as a boon, filled with promise of economic rewards if African countries harness this human capital, while others see the population expansion as unsustainable, likely to stretch the countries’ resources and worsen poverty.

Bakari and her husband say that they want their children to receive a good education and have better lives than their own, but public schools on the island are also stretched. A number of them are overrun with students, and don't have enough resources to deliver quality education.

Zanzibar also has an unemployment rate of nearly 20%. “The next generation should not rush to give birth,” says Omar, who feels that competition for jobs on the island is unbearable. He adds that residents can barely afford to buy land – many Zanzibaris live in their parents’ homes. While multigenerational households are culturally accepted, the real estate market has also priced many locals out.

“If you have a very big family, you can find yourself without a place to stay,” he says. **Caroline Kimeu**

## China



A woman examines her ultrasound scan. (Picture posed by model.)  
Photograph: AsiaVision/Getty Images

Yan Zi, a 35-year-old chemist from Zhejiang, is having her first child this month. Like many Chinese people of her generation, she decided to have

children later in life. Between 2006 and 2016, the average [age of a woman having her first child in China](#) rose by more than two years, to nearly 27.

As the numbers rise worldwide, China – home to nearly a fifth of the global population – is expected to start shrinking. Population forecasts are complicated by issues of transparency and accountability with government data, but experts say the country is on the brink of a demographic crisis. The population, currently about 1.4 billion, [may start to decline as soon as 2023](#). In 2021, growth fell to the lowest rate in six decades, with nearly as many deaths (10.4 million) as recorded births (10.6 million).

Many young people are delaying marriages and having children due to [the country's lack of social mobility](#), uneven gender roles and soaring costs of living. Yan's main concerns are about the educational prospects for her child, and the pressures on young people in China.

“A large number of parents use their children to realise their own unfulfilled dreams,” she says. “My child might have many imperfections, but because I love them, I will also love their defects.”

She also worries about bullying in schools; China’s celebrity-obsessed society, which is eschewing traditional culture; and the country’s rigid “utilitarian” education environment, which doesn’t foster a child’s curiosity or sense of exploration.

Much of east Asia is facing a population fall, but the reasons for this in China are unique. A decades-long one-child policy was replaced by a two-child policy in 2016, which has since been upped to three. Meanwhile, the Communist party government has promised better access to childcare and maternity leave, and shut down the private tutoring industry, which fed off parental competitiveness. However, these measures have failed to counter the systemic issues discouraging people from starting families.

The Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences has forecast China’s population to [more than halve by 2100, with an annual average decline of 1.1%, on current trends](#). Demographers and social commentators say government efforts are not enough to turn around China’s trajectory, with some dismissing the new policies as “Band-Aid solutions”.

But Yan is among those optimistic for the future and happy to be raising her child in her home country. “Although the pandemic, China-US competition and the energy crisis are all happening, it is still pretty good in China, compared with other countries in the world,” she says. **Helen Davidson and Chi Hui Lin**

## US



Stefanie Carotenuto, with her partner and their newborn baby

The number of people living in the US increased last year, but barely. There was 0.1% year-on-year population growth according to official census figures, a slower rate than in any other year since the founding of the nation.

Times are tough for many families in the US: inflation is high, two-thirds of Americans live paycheck to paycheck, and record numbers are having to work second or even third jobs just to make ends meet.

It's against this backdrop that Stefanie Carotenuto gave birth to her first child last month. Carotenuto, who is in her early 30s, was born in New Jersey but lives with her husband in Colorado.

She is excited to be a mother but it has come at a difficult moment. Shortly before she found out she was expecting, she was let go from the high school where she taught social studies. She has been working in a bar since then, on her feet all night throughout her pregnancy.

Colorado, though, is becoming one of the most prosperous states in the country. “Where we live is not the way the rest of the country live. So maybe part of my decision is privilege. I live in the Rockies, close to water sources. Drought has been an issue here but it’s not like Arizona. And my son is going to be born in a very white area that is really made for someone like him, and that’s not necessarily good. I want to take him to other environments so he knows that Colorado is not the way the rest of the world live.”

This stagnation of the US population is partly because, as in other western nations, Americans are having fewer children. But a far bigger factors is Covid-19, which to date has killed 1.1 million Americans and continues to ravage parts of the country where vaccine uptake has been lowest. At the same time, Trump-era immigration policies, largely unreversed by the Biden administration, have made it harder for people to find legal passage to the US.

Carotenuto says it is scary to think about 8 billion people being on Earth, and her decision to add one more child is “tinged with guilt”. But, she says, it was teaching that gave her optimism about the future her baby could expect. “I worked in a very conservative area during the most contentious election of modern history. What I saw from Gen Z is that they’re looking at what’s going on around them and they don’t like it. They’re going to make a lot of changes based on what they’ve seen. Some of the issues that we’ve had to fight, like the existence of manmade climate change, are not debates for them, even on the right.” **Sam Wolfson**

## Nigeria



Lucy Terna, her husband and their baby. Photograph: Olayide Oluwafunmilayo Soaga

This year, Lucy Terna, 28 – pregnant with her first child – and her husband fled their home in Yelewata, a rural community in Makurdi, Nigeria, after a series of attacks by Fulani herdsmen on their community. They sought refuge in a settlement elsewhere in Benue state where, in August, they welcomed their daughter.

But the experience was not an easy one. “I faced health complications during pregnancy and, even after childbirth, I still struggle,” says Terna.

By 2050, Nigeria – the country with the highest population in Africa – is projected to become the fourth most populous country in the world (up from sixth). Although experts have said that an increase in population will put pressure on the available resources and may lead to an increased poverty rate, many Nigerians remain unaware of the socioeconomic implications – including [a further rise in the number of children not in education](#).

Even so, Terna remains hopeful for the future of her newborn. “I want my daughter to go to school and become a doctor,” she says.

Nigeria has the third highest number of internally displaced persons in Africa – more than 3.2 million. Many fled their homes seeking safety from

terrorists, who have ravaged communities, and flooding, which is becoming more prevalent across the country.

Although Terna always loved the idea of motherhood, she wishes she had not yet had a child, because of the struggles of being a mother in a settlement, where she is often reliant on other occupants for food and resources.

“I don’t have enough money to feed myself so I can breastfeed my daughter properly. Neither can I afford to buy her clothes. I am worried she will fall ill and we would be unable to afford proper healthcare,” she says.

Many Nigerians believe children are a gift from God, and families are urged to have as many as they wish. Since Nigerian culture is deeply entrenched in patriarchy, women are also expected to produce sons to preserve the family lineage. While some are trying to change the narrative, others, like Terna, hold tightly to this tradition.

“Even if I remain in this settlement, I will not stop giving birth until I give birth to a male child,” she says, “because my mother never bore a male child and had six of us; all girls.” **Olayide Oluwafunmilayo Soaga**

*Do you have an opinion on the issues raised in this article? If you would like to submit a response of up to 300 words by email to be considered for publication in our [letters](#) section, please [click here](#).*

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/nov/15/i-cant-give-up-on-hope-as-the-worlds-population-passes-8bn-new-parents-from-italy-to-india-look-to-the-future>

Advertisement

[Print subscriptions](#)

[Sign in](#)

[Search jobs](#)

[Search](#)

US edition

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

[The Guardian - Back to home](#)[The Guardian](#)

[Beyond 8 billion](#)[Population](#)

## Millions of missing women: China grapples with legacy of one-child policy as population ages



The Chinese government has tried to boost the birthrate by partially lifting the one-child policy but these measures failed to trigger a baby boom. Composite: Guardian Design/EPA/ZUMA Press Wire/REX/Shutterstock

By 2050, analysts predict one in four people in China will be retired and the working population will have shrunk by 10%, with huge economic implications

*[Helen Davidson](#) in Taipei, and [Verna Yu](#)*

Mon 14 Nov 2022 20.01 ESTLast modified on Mon 14 Nov 2022 20.03 EST

Ming Ming, a boisterous six-year-old, longs to have a playmate, but his mother is adamant that she will not have another child.

“No way! One is quite enough,” Li Hong gasps. “Childcare, after-school activities, tutoring … you want them to have a good education but it costs money. We’re just ordinary working folks, not the super rich. The cost of bringing up two kids would kill us!” says the 43-year-old supermarket cashier from the southern province of Guangdong.

Li herself was born just before the one-child policy began in 1980. As an only child, she says the cost of bringing up her son on top of caring for her elderly parents and those of her husband were her main concerns.

The Covid pandemic has not helped. It began when her son was starting kindergarten, but the regular class suspensions meant she could not work full-time. Looking after a toddler all day in a small flat left her constantly exhausted. “I simply don’t have the energy for two,” she said.

## Q&A

### Beyond 8 billion

Show

As the world's population passes another milestone, our series Beyond 8 billion examines the impact on some of the countries projected to have the

greatest growth, as well as those facing the opposite problem: plunging birthrates and rapidly ageing populations.

Was this helpful?

Thank you for your feedback.

## Women are ‘invisible’

For three-and-a-half decades, the one-child policy that was meant to control the population exacted a huge social and human cost on Chinese society. Forced abortions, sterilisations, the use of intrauterine contraceptive devices as well as hefty financial penalties left physical and emotional scars on millions of women and traumatised families.

Thirty-five years after the one-child policy’s implementation, [China](#) is left with one of the lowest birthrates in the world.

Fearing the adverse social effects of an ageing population and a looming shortage of working-age people, the Chinese government has tried to boost the birthrate by partially lifting the one-child policy in 2013 and allowing couples to have two children if one of the spouses was an only child. In late 2015, the authorities announced all married couples could legally have two children.

But these measures failed to trigger a baby boom: In 2016, China reported 18.46 million births – just 1.4 million higher than the average number of births in the previous five years. The figure was well below the increase in births that the government had projected, which was between 2.3 and 4.3 million a year. Annual births continued to drop thereafter: from 17.23 million in 2017 to 15.23 million in 2018, 14.65 million in 2019, 12 million in 2020, then to 10.62 million in 2021. The authorities further eased the birth limit in 2021, raising it to three children per couple.



A child poses for photos at Zaoyuan Revolutionary Former Site in Yan'an city, in China's northwest Shaanxi province Photograph: Jade Gao/AFP/Getty Images

“The declining birthrates seem to be irreversible, but the government does not have a gameplan,” Dr Ye Liu, a senior lecturer in international development at King’s College London says. “It’s all about the power of men over women and utilisation of women’s bodies as economic means. In short, men make policies for women. In the recent party congress, there were many promises made but none for women. Women are ‘invisible’.”

Chinese scholars campaigned to scrap the one-child policy for more than a decade, on the grounds that the country’s total fertility rate was worryingly behind the replacement rate. In the 1970s, the total fertility rate (births per woman) fell from 5.8 in 1970 to 2.75 in 1979. In the 1980s, the rate hovered above the replacement level of 2.1 that would allow the population to replace itself, but since the 1990s, it has declined to below the replacement level. The [2010 and 2020 censuses](#) yielded total fertility rates of 1.18 and 1.30 respectively. This further fell to an alarming 1.15 in 2021, according to figures from the National Bureau of Statistics.

## More sticks than carrots

Key factors behind the low fertility rate include the rising costs of bringing up children amid rapid economic development in the past three decades, as well as the lack of social welfare provisions for families such as free or low-cost childcare, academic studies have found.

Fewer young Chinese people are getting married, and those who do are having children at a much older age, or not at all. When asked why, they routinely cite the rising cost of living, stagnating professional mobility, and the pressure of traditional gender roles on women.

### [India to overtake China as world's most populous country graph](#)

Mei Fong, a communications officer for Human Rights Watch and author of *One Child*, a book on the impact of the policy, says Beijing has “relied more on sticks than carrots” in trying to reverse the decline.

“The government’s long history of restricting women’s reproduction rights through abusive and sometimes violent means has created massive trauma for women and instilled a deep fear and suspicion. Given all this, the question is less why these recent methods to raise births didn’t work, and more – how could it possibly?” Fong says.

Fong noted the one-child policy also exacerbated a traditional preference for male children, leading to a huge gender gap. “How can the country now shore up birthrates, with millions of missing women?”

China’s population growth this year slowed to its lowest level in more than six decades, and is expected to peak imminently – if it hasn’t already. By 2050, analysts predict one in four people in China will be retired and the working population will have shrunk by 10%, creating huge economic implications. It is one of the key challenges facing its leader, [Xi Jinping](#), who just this month began his third term.

Addressing worries that the shrinking population could hurt the world’s second-biggest economy, Xi [pledged at the 20th party congress](#) to enact policies to boost birthrates and tackle population ageing.

The government has tried to address some of the social complaints with new policies on tax deductions, childcare, parental leave, and the costs associated with raising children. It [banned the \\$1bn private tutoring industry](#) to improve study-life balance and assist parents who couldn't afford the growing competition.

But these measures are yet to have a significant impact and were accompanied by other punitive policies that have angered feminist groups, including mandatory “cooling off” periods for divorces, and policy directives to [discourage abortions](#) – a procedure widely used during the one-child policy era, with far less stigma attached to it in China than abroad.

The attempts to improve the economic prospects for young people have also been stymied by the pandemic, China’s zero-Covid policy, entrenched overwork of employees, and the declining number of jobs for graduates. Recent data found almost one in five young people in China were unemployed, while others are rebelling against China’s version of capitalism with anti-productivity trends like [“lying flat”](#) or “touching fish”. Inequitable healthcare access remains a huge issue in China, particularly for rural-living and migrant women.

“These days, unless you’re rich business owners or comfortable civil servants, who can have the luxury of more than one kid?” asked Li.

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/nov/15/millions-of-missing-women-china-grapples-with-legacy-of-one-child-policy-as-population-ages>

## Games

# You can't out-shoot a teenager: how to play first-person shooters if you're over 30

Reflexes start to decline in your 20s, but that doesn't mean you can't be competitive at first-person shooters any more. Keith Stuart shares some hard-won knowledge



Don't hang up your laser gun ... Overwatch 2. Photograph: Activision Blizzard



[Keith Stuart](#)

[@keefstuart](#)

Tue 15 Nov 2022 04.30 EST Last modified on Tue 15 Nov 2022 11.50 EST

It is an unfortunate fact of life that human reflexes slow down as we get older. Medical studies suggest that reaction times peak at 24 and go downhill from there – and nowhere is this more ruthlessly illustrated than in the world of online first-person shooters. Head on to the average [Call of Duty](#), Apex Legends or Overwatch server as a 35-year-old and it can feel as if you’re surrounded by superhuman teenagers with hair-trigger instincts who rack up multiple kills while you’re still deciding whether or not you should have inverted the controls.

Fortunately, there’s much more to being good at these games than the ability to hit the fire button faster than anyone else. Approaching middle age doesn’t mean you have to hang up your laser gun and start playing train simulators. You just have to be more strategic.

Here are some tips for mature gamers who want to remain competitive, even if their reflexes aren’t so bothered any more.

## **Invest in the right equipment**

OK, you're going to have to stop playing on that 70-inch LED display in your living room – with such a vast screen it's impossible to keep an eye on everything happening at once. Top esports players use smaller monitors – usually 27-inch, with [super fast response times](#) of between 1ms to 5ms. It's a really good idea to invest in a decent headset too, so you can get proper spatial audio. That way you know where footsteps – and bullets – are coming from.



A smaller display is the norm in eSports, as illustrated by pro gamer Michael "Shroud" Grzesiek playing Call of Duty at TwitchCon 2018  
Photograph: Robert Reiners/Getty Images

## Stop sprinting

Whenever you respawn after getting shot in an FPS it's really tempting to hit the sprint button so you can leg it straight back into the action. Don't. Stop it. Sprinting does have a role in shooters, but in very specific scenarios. When you sprint, you're less aware of the environment around you, *and* it takes longer to get your gun into a firing position. For at least a few matches, walk everywhere until you get into the habit.

## Lurk at the edge of the map for a while

The centre of the map is basically the slaughterhouse where most encounters occur and where lightning fast reactions are required. When you're learning a new map or game, try to stay on the outskirts, picking off enemies as they cross your vantage points. If you're playing a battle royale game, stick to the very edges of the active area, right on the cusp of the storm. You won't get as many kills, but you'll be limiting the number of angles you're vulnerable from and you also won't be running into a hail of gunfire every three seconds. Once you're comfortable, start moving inwards.

## **Always be prepared**

When traversing the map, continually point your gun toward the area from which enemies are most likely to appear – ie doorways and windows. When you enter a room, check the corners. If there is a window, don't run straight past it – you're begging to be sniper fodder. Run along the opposite wall. Unlike pure reflexes, spatial awareness is a skill all players can learn and improve.

## **Use your mini-map ... and your senses**

Most first-person shooters give you a little mini-map display in the corner which shows what's going on in the area around you. It's likely your teammates will be shown as little dots or arrows, but your opponents will be invisible – unless someone on your team uses an ability to reveal enemy positions. It's vital, therefore, to use the map as a deductive tool. By the location of your teammates, you'll be able to work out where the enemies are. For example, if your squad is all bunched up and pointing in the same direction, you know they're engaging the enemy – and maybe you can sneak around and flank them. If your team is all spread out and looking in different directions, it means there's little direct engagement going on and you need to be very careful in the areas they're not occupying because that's likely where the other team members will be creeping about.

It's important to combine this with other sensory info. For example, Call of Duty has a compass at the top of the screen which shows you what direction enemy fire is coming from. And all modern shooters make enemy footsteps

louder than friendly ones, so you know who's nearby. Piecing all this info together allows you to build a dynamic mental map of the combat arena.



Listening out for footsteps is a vital skill. If you're hearing impaired, games such as Fortnite allow users to switch on visualised sound effects via the accessibility settings Photograph: Epic Games

## Mastering the field of vision

The chances are you won't beat a young player if you meet them out in the open. You need to find safe vantage points on the map that allow you to increase your field of vision and field of fire, while decreasing those of your opponent. Think of the arrowslits in a castle wall, which afforded archers protection without inhibiting their own range. Windows, wall edges, the areas between pieces of furniture or vehicles, areas in deep shadow ... these all make you less visible, without infringing your own sight lines. If you can access a higher floor that overlooks lower courtyards or passages, that's perfect, as inexperienced players tend not to look up. If you're going to stop moving, crouch – you'll make a smaller target. And once you've fired your gun, move to another location.

You also need to use cover effectively while running around the map. Stay close to walls to reduce your visibility from higher positions and try to run in

such a way that there are always objects directly behind you, so you can't be shot in the back from distance. If you're moving along a hill, don't run on the ridge, you're visible there: stay on the incline. Finally, always jump or slide when going round a corner or through a doorway where an enemy might be lurking – it makes you much harder to hit. If you can shoot straight while doing either of those things, even better.

Also: learn the maps! Learn safe cubby holes, learn the choke points where most fights take place, learn handy short cuts through buildings or down tunnels, learn the best places to plant claymores or proximity mines, and use this knowledge to predict where your enemy will be.

## Tweak the settings

Don't just go with the default game settings – make sure they're right for you. Head into the menu and tweak things like motion sensitivity, aim assist and audio levels. Seek out tutorial videos for your game on YouTube, where pro players often give advice on settings – these can have a huge effect on your game. (Pro player BennyCentral has [loads for Call of Duty: Modern Warfare 2](#), for example.)

## Customise all load-outs

There are three things you need to think about with weapons: your own preferences, the map you're on, and which stage of a match you're in. In battle royale games, it's often better to concentrate on longer range guns, such as sniper and assault rifles, as you'll be engaging at longer distances. However, as the circle reduces in size, more encounters are likely to happen at close range, so you need submachine guns and shotguns. If the game you're playing has customisable weapons, your key aim should be to improve accuracy rather than fire-rate. Go for components that reduce recoil and increase range. If you're playing a game with set roles, such as Apex Legends or Overwatch, play into the abilities of your character. A support character in Overwatch shouldn't be taking the lead in assaults, and a tank shouldn't be hiding in a corner trying to hit enemies from a distance. Always be in character.



In battle royale games such as Apex Legends, you'll need different weapons depending on what stage the match is at: be flexible Photograph: Respawn Entertainment

## Do some homework

Most shooters have firing ranges that let you test weapons and see how recoil affects the spread of bullets. Some games allow you to jump on an empty server to explore – this will allow you to learn the maps, finding those little cubby holes with excellent cover, or those sneaky escape routes through tunnels, alleys or underwater. While playing live matches, learn the choke points in each map where players continually meet and fight; then find safer positions with sight lines into those spaces, rather than charging in guns blazing.

Also, gaming sites such as IGN, Gamespot and Eurogamer all have tactics guides filled with info, and watching decent players on YouTube or Twitch is invaluable for picking up lived experience and pro tactics. You can't out-shoot a teenager, but you can definitely out-prepare them.

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

## 2022.11.15 - Opinion

- If the next election is the UK's 'millennial moment', Labour will reap the rewards
- What would a Tory budget that is actually good for the country look like? Here's an idea
- Nationalism is the ideology of our age. No wonder the world is in crisis
- The UK should be ashamed of 'joint enterprise' convictions. America has put us on notice

## OpinionPolitics

# If the next election is the UK's ‘millennial moment’, Labour will reap the rewards

[Gaby Hinsliff](#)



This generation is diverse, highly educated and likely to make up a bigger share of the voting population than boomers



Maxwell Frost, a Democrat from Florida, will be the first member of generation Z to serve in Congress. Photograph: Giorgio Viera/AFP/Getty Images

Tue 15 Nov 2022 03.00 EST Last modified on Tue 15 Nov 2022 14.04 EST

Britain has been an ageing country for so long now that we've arguably almost forgotten how it feels to be anything else. Keeping older voters happy, while banking on the young and restless failing to vote, has been the secret sauce of so many Conservative victories that it's come to feel like an immutable electoral law. Yet an [unexpectedly good showing](#) for the Democrats in last week's midterm elections, after this spring's [defeat for the right](#) in Australia, shines an interesting light on what can happen in countries where progressive-minded and frustrated millennials start to [outnumber baby boomers](#) – the same transition Britain is now quietly undergoing too.

Millennials are, of course, no longer the pesky kids of middle-aged imagination, but increasingly solid citizens in their 30s and early 40s. They already [outnumber boomers in the global workforce](#) and are old enough to be occupying increasingly senior jobs, from which they can start to set the office culture. In private life, they're no longer footloose and fancy-free; plenty are parents now, wincing at rocketing nursery bills and poring anxiously over Ofsted reports. Some are homeowners worried that their mortgage is about to go through the roof, while others are renters despairing

of being able to buy. And crucially, the next election will be the first at which British millennials are likely to make up a bigger share of the population than boomers.

This will remain an ageing country for years to come as those in the postwar generation work their way through from retirement into their 80s and 90s, but it's millennials who will increasingly hold the balance of cultural and political power. Not so much a "youthquake", perhaps, as youth hitting the age where they start to vote in reliably big numbers – just as it becomes increasingly obvious that the politics of nostalgia and resistance to change has dragged Britain down a pro-Brexit, anti-growth economic dead end. Could the so-called snowflake generation be about to start an avalanche?

US midterms: no sign of 'red wave' as Democrats take Senate – video report

The fact that 42-year-old Rishi Sunak is Britain's first borderline millennial prime minister is a reminder not to make kneejerk assumptions about anyone's politics based on their age. Plenty of boomers who grew up through the swinging 60s have stayed radical into retirement, and plenty of Americans under 30 still vote Republican. Nonetheless, the former Biden campaign adviser John Della Volpe calculated at the weekend that generation Z and younger millennials between them "cancelled out" the impact of boomers who would otherwise have swung midterm races against the Democrats. In Australia, where millennials and generation Z between them were expected to outnumber boomers on the electoral roll for the first time this year, younger voters' attraction to independent and Green candidates helped trigger a swing away from mainstream parties that ultimately benefited Labor.

Whether they lean ideologically left, right, or somewhere more unexpected, this is a diverse and highly educated generation at ease with identity politics and inclined to roll its eyes at crude culture wars. They're militantly in favour of housebuilding in their back yard, and increasingly vocal in favour of wealth taxes targeting the luxuries they can't see themselves ever being able to afford – second homes, buy-to-let empires, share portfolios and generous pension pots – over steeper taxes on their stagnating wages. Even

British millennials in good jobs, the sort who might once have turned quietly more conservative as they got older, feel more insecure financially than they might have expected to at their age. If they're [graduates paying back student loans](#), they're already facing marginal tax rates of up to 50%, and Jeremy Hunt's emergency fiscal package may leave them feeling [even more squeezed](#). Meanwhile if [house prices fall](#), as now seems inevitable, it's millennials who have only recently clambered on to the property ladder who are most at risk of getting trapped in negative equity.

Boris Johnson did surprisingly well among older millennials in 2019; the average age at which people become more likely to vote Tory than Labour, which had hit 47 under Theresa May, fell to an unexpectedly young 39 at the [last general election](#). But it has rocketed up again amid the economic fallout from Liz Truss's disastrous six weeks in charge, and now the [only age group in which the Tories have a narrow lead](#) is the over-65s. The choices Hunt and Sunak will be forced to make this week between spending on pensioners or those of working age, taxing assets or taxing earnings, playing to the nimby gallery or pushing ahead with housebuilding and onshore windfarms, may well help determine whether 2024 is finally Britain's millennial moment too.

- Gaby Hinsliff is a Guardian columnist
- 

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/nov/15/election-uk-millennial-tories-voting-boomers>

[\*\*Opinion\*\*](#)[\*\*Economic policy\*\*](#)

# **What would a Tory budget that is actually good for the country look like? Here's an idea**

[\*\*Polly Toynbee\*\*](#)



Public investment, tax justice, carbon pricing, uprated benefits – the policy possibilities are endless



‘This is an imaginary reminder of how democracy is badly served by politicians pandering to prejudices peddled by a rightwing press.’ Rishi Sunak, Suella Braverman and Jeremy Hunt during prime minister’s questions in the House of Commons. Photograph: Andy Bailey/UK Parliament/AFP/Getty Images

Mon 14 Nov 2022 12.32 ESTLast modified on Tue 15 Nov 2022 10.25 EST

Let’s imagine this. The prime minister and the chancellor are men of good intent who want to do their best for Britain in hard times: they promise brave and unpopular decisions. Privately they know how much their party is to blame. But they use this last chance to leave a better legacy.

These realists can read political runes as well as spreadsheets, so they see their chance of winning the next election is not far from zero. Freed from fear of defeat, they decide to seize this rare two-year chance to correct longstanding toxic issues ducked by all parties fearing electoral retribution. Yes, it’s only a thought experiment, but let’s imagine just a few reforms that are long overdue, left undone through all parties’ political cowardice.

First decision: when in a “black hole”, stop digging. Stop pretending austerity strychnine is medicine. George Osborne imposed what Paul Johnson, the director of the Institute for Fiscal Studies, tells me was “the

most dramatic period of spending cuts in history”, when the UK fell behind all similar countries in growth. Markets will welcome tax rises and permit abandoning [more austerity poison](#). The CBI’s director-general, Tony Danker, calls for investment instead: repair, build and multiply renewables, instead of “doomsday” cuts into a recession causing [investment “hibernation”](#). Borrowing to invest is the orthodoxy, backed by the former permanent secretary to the Treasury Nicholas Macpherson, who writes “[the UK has underinvested](#)” over the years, with the Treasury to blame.

We could use this crisis creatively for urgent tax reforms: every MP knows council tax is a disgrace, but no party dare revalue properties still fixed at 1991 prices. The capped top rate means millionaires in mansions pay only [three times](#) the humblest flat. Levelling up needs to rebalance overtaxed cheap homes in the north and undertaxed south-east and London properties. Bring in a land valuation tax to let councils capture the value added by their planning decisions, instead of giving it to developers. That could help cover the miserable dilapidations in our public realm.

The tax system, meanwhile, ignores the gathering speed of wealth accumulation. A one-off “black hole” filler, taxing 5% of wealth that’s worth more than £2m over five years, would [bring in £80bn](#), according to Arun Advani, a fellow at the London School of Economics’ International Inequalities Institute. Tories are by nature scared of their donors, while Labour is too shy of “the politics of envy”. So do it now.

Rachel Reeves, the shadow chancellor, has an array of tax loopholes that she is ready to abolish. Labour should also promise to equalise capital gains and income tax, so rentiers pay the same rates as those who work for a living (as was the case under the Conservative chancellor Nigel Lawson). It’s time for a national insurance contribution from rent, pensions and all income, which otherwise is unjustly imposed only on working people.

Stand back and consider what matters most for the future, if we are to have one. The climate crisis and children’s lives take first place. The tax system traditionally discourages bad consumption – alcohol or tobacco – but MPs dare not tax the worst: carbon emissions. To reach net zero, everyone should be taxed according to their driving, flying and heating emissions. But fuel taxes are frozen, with [flying taxed less](#) than driving, while domestic energy

attracts only 5% VAT. The promise of “honesty” by the chancellor, Jeremy Hunt, is empty without a carbon tax to make us use less.

One excuse for not raising consumption taxes is “what about the poorest?”, in this [most unequal country](#) in the EU, bar Bulgaria. The answer is to raise pay and universal credit, abolishing the punitive two-child limit, benefit cap and bedroom tax. The shocking increase in hungry children should touch consciences: Hunt told Laura Kuenssberg that we were a “[compassionate country](#)”, but his party [cut benefits](#) in real terms in seven of the past 10 years. Now he needs to explain how low benefits in Britain (relative to other comparable countries) cause worsening poverty, which drags on productivity.

Pensioners, not children, come first in this backward-looking country, when the progress of the young should be the key measure of national success. What if schools, colleges, sports, arts and youth centres flourished along with fine parks and playgrounds, instead of facing closures and cuts? Spending per pupil in England has [fallen by more than £1,000](#) since 2010; it’s the opposite picture in private schools, which have seen a boost over the same period.

Let’s imagine wildly: free of fear of its party (it would need opposition votes), the Tory government could reform the rotten electoral system and abolish political donations. It could reduce crime by reforming the drug laws that make gangsters rich, saving the lives of teenagers caught up in county lines gangs. It could repair EU trade, make friends across the Channel ... add your own ways to rescue Britain here.

All of this is an imaginary reminder of how democracy is badly served by politicians pandering to prejudices peddled by a disproportionately rightwing press, failing to use their powers of persuasion to do what most probably know is right. Tax rises this week are overdue – to stop pretending we can have Swedish services on US taxes. Faster-growing European countries pay and invest more.

Alas, back in the real world, old priorities remain. The Sun is told Rishi Sunak and Hunt are storing a £7bn war chest to splurge on voters before the

next election. The NHS will be “protected”, Hunt claims. But Julian Kelly, the NHS finance director and an ex-Treasury director-general of public spending, says that *just to stand still*, it needs exactly that same sum – that £7bn. If it gets any less on Thursday, you will know it has been hidden for a forlorn bid to avoid election doom.

- Polly Toynbee is a Guardian columnist

The caption and main text of this article were amended on 15 November 2022 to correct two pedalled/peddled homophones.

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/nov/14/hunt-budget-chancellor-prime-minister-lose-next-election-political-cowardice>

## OpinionGlobalisation

# Nationalism is the ideology of our age. No wonder the world is in crisis

[Gordon Brown](#)



As Rishi Sunak and Joe Biden meet world leaders at the G20, they should be pushing for greater cooperation to deal with growing threats

- Gordon Brown is the WHO ambassador for global health financing and was UK prime minister from 2007 to 2010



Rishi Sunak arrives at Bali Ngurah Rai airport for the G20 meeting near Denpasar, Indonesia, on 14 November. Photograph: Reuters

Tue 15 Nov 2022 01.00 EST Last modified on Tue 15 Nov 2022 05.16 EST

“There is no longer such thing as the international community,” a prominent African leader recently complained to me, lamenting that [this week's G20](#) would, like September’s UN general assembly, October’s IMF-World Bank meetings and this month’s Cop27, fail to combat the world’s food, energy, debt, inflation, currency, pollution and poverty crises.

At the very moment the world needs to work together to address global problems that cannot be resolved without global solutions, it is being pulled apart not just by conflicts but also by a rising protectionism. And while it is not difficult to blame poor leadership, an outdated geopolitics is threatening a decade of perma-crises.

Pillars of the post-cold war world order are tumbling down as we leave behind the unipolar, hyper-globalised, neoliberal era. Those who try to build the present in the image of the past are finding themselves wholly ill-equipped to meet the challenges of the future. As [Mohamed El- Erian](#) and [Michael Spence](#) have written, we need new models for growth, national economic management and [global cooperation](#).

No one can deny the significance of the emergence of new power centres around the world, the growing importance of services and the digital economy at the expense of manufacturing; the education-rich and education-poor divide that is replacing the old manual/non-manual divide, and the serious, existential threats to our planet. No growth model can meet the needs of the 21st century without incorporating rising concerns about environmental and economic equity and re-evaluating the role of finance. And the manufacturing-led, export-driven, low-wage models of development that until recently served every industrialising country are being overtaken not just by demographic shifts but by technological advances that mean more goods can be manufactured by a markedly smaller workforce.

All this is determining the seismic shifts in our geopolitics. First, as we move from a unipolar to a multipolar world, no single country – no matter the size of its military or economy – has the power to command and control us, only the power to propose and persuade. Second, there is now no consensus that open markets benefit all. The hyper-globalisation of the last 30 years is not giving way to de-globalisation or even [slowbalisation](#), but lowbalisation: a globalisation-lite defined by near-shoring, friend-shoring and shortening supply chains. Policies promoting privatisation, deregulation and liberalisation, which became popularly known as the [Washington consensus](#), now have few supporters – even in Washington.

Most important of all, nationalism has replaced neoliberalism as the dominant ideology of the age. If, for the past 30 years, economics drove political decision-making, now politics is determining economic decisions, with country after country [weaponising their trade](#), technology, industry and competition policies. The win-win economics of mutually beneficial commerce is being replaced by the zero-sum rivalries of “I win, you lose”, as movements such as “America first”, “China first”, “India first” and “Russia first”, “my tribe first”, threaten to descend into an us versus them geopolitics of “my country first and only”. And with national security establishments now freezing the central bank reserves of hostile regimes and limiting access to [global payments systems](#), trade, technology, and capital wars are set to intensify.

The one hopeful sign of cooperation is Nato unity over Ukraine. But this should not blind us to the scale of [global disunity](#), with almost all of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East standing aloof from sanctions against Russia and even condemnation of its war crimes.

Very few can ever benefit from this fragmentation, and almost everywhere inequality is on the rise. Warehouses in Asia, America and Europe have sufficient grain reserves to feed the world, and yet there is no global distribution plan and the World Food Programme [struggles](#) with only half the finance it needs to prevent famines. Energy producers are making [unprecedented profits](#) while consumers struggle with unpayable bills. Yet there is no plan before the G20 to address this, or the halving of global growth, inflation, currency imbalances and debt, or to undo some of the damage done by resistance at Cop27 to even honouring the promise of \$100bn a year for the developing world. There are rising dangers from this unilateralism: the risk of monetary and fiscal overkill – and a global recession – if one country after another pursues its own monetary and fiscal tightening, with little thought given to the spillover effects on each other. Lost jobs and lost prosperity – and more poverty – are the prices we will pay if the very countries that created the international institutions to deliver cooperation behave uncooperatively.

In 2009, when recession threatened to become depression, a [G20 leaders group](#) was formed and backstopped the world economy with \$1tn. During the 1970s oil crisis, a [G7](#) comprising the west and Japan was established, with a plan to redirect oil surpluses and stabilise currencies. And in 1945, to rebuild a crisis-torn world and root out poverty and hunger, the Marshall plan and a new array of institutions from the UN to the IMF and World Bank were born.

But even if, in 2022, there is no modern Marshall, and no plan to deal with a similarly perilous world, we are not powerless. The US holds the key. Having generally acted multilaterally in a unipolar era, it must resist the temptation to act unilaterally in a multipolar era. President Biden and G20 leaders should direct the IMF to make operational the 2009 “[multilateral action process](#)” to coordinate a global push for non-inflationary growth. A strengthened early warning system should be forged to head off the threat of the kind of global shadow banking crisis [feared](#) by the Bank of International

Settlements. Reintegrating global supply chains can happen if we empower the World Trade Organization to stand up to protectionism.

Debt relief is essential to prevent a breakdown in the internal social and political fabric of more than half the world's developing countries. The IMF has the capacity to more than double its outlays and to lend into arrears and corral absent partners – China and the private sector – into orderly debt restructuring. Developing countries, who are not to blame for the interlocking global crises destroying their prosperity, should be subject to less conditionality and have longer repayment periods. The G20's review of the World Bank should recommend the use of guarantees and the more efficient use of its capital, and offer not billions but trillions in the long-term finance needed for climate health and education. And leaders should examine how other struggling international institutions can be updated; seek wider agreement on capping energy prices to tame inflation; release food reserves to avert a famine while helping [Africa](#) become more self-sufficient; and stand ready to deal with currency volatility. Past mistakes have put us on this bumpy journey. But if global leadership and cooperation finally rise to the occasion, we can guide our world to a better destination.

- Gordon Brown is the WHO ambassador for global health financing and was UK prime minister from 2007 to 2010
- 

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/nov/15/nationalism-world-crisis-rishi-sunak-joe-biden-g20>

[Opinion](#)[UK criminal justice](#)

## The UK should be ashamed of ‘joint enterprise’ convictions. America has put us on notice

[Zoe Williams](#)



Six years ago the supreme court ruled these cases were unfair and racially biased. But, as the New York Times has noted, they keep on coming



‘How do you deal with a prisoner who is serving time for a crime he was nowhere near?’ Photograph: Jonathan Buckmaster/Alamy

Tue 15 Nov 2022 02.00 EST Last modified on Tue 15 Nov 2022 02.14 EST

The New York Times has just run [a shaming investigation](#) into the UK legal principle of “joint enterprise”, under which people can be charged for crimes they were nowhere near.

The report was humiliating for so many reasons, particularly if you think of the US as the world leader in locking people up for no reason except racism. Black men in the UK are three times more likely to be prosecuted as groups of four or more – the principal measure of a joint enterprise case – than white men. The energy to protest against it was stifled six years ago, when the supreme court ruled that joint enterprise cases were unfair and racially biased – yet nothing changed.

As the NYT puts it: “Rather than be constrained by the ruling, senior prosecutors have quietly devised strategies to keep bringing joint enterprise cases and winning convictions.”

An untold part of the story is what this does to prisons. I was on the board of a prison charity, the Butler Trust, until this year, but I steered off the subject,

as it's a very establishment organisation with Princess Anne as patron, so it was more or less impossible to write about jails without sounding a shade too anarchic. The right amount of anarchy for royally endorsed charities is none.

Yet there was one thing that everyone agreed about, from the most conservative prison governor to the most radical forensic psychologist: prison environments survive on the assumption that everyone inside is guilty. Everything from internal discipline to behaviour management to skills, training, rehabilitation and psychological programmes, *everything* relies on this foundation, that prisoners have ended up there justly. How do you deal with a prisoner who is serving time for a crime he was nowhere near?

Sure, you could put him on an anger-management course, but it would have to be bespoke: "How to manage your anger when it's the totally legitimate response to an unjust process". The effect, even on people who are in prison fair and square, is corrosive. It shouldn't take international glare to put this back on the agenda, but it would be great if the NYT's piece did.

- Zoe Williams is a Guardian columnist
- *Do you have an opinion on the issues raised in this article? If you would like to submit a response of up to 300 words by email to be considered for publication in our [letters](#) section, please [click here](#).*

## 2022.11.15 - Around the world

- [North Korea Biden: China obliged to discourage nuclear test](#)
- [G20 Takeaways from Biden and Xi's first leaders' talk](#)
- [Italy Writer Roberto Saviano goes on trial for comments about PM Giorgia Meloni](#)
- [Poland Bear dens and ancient trees face onslaught of logging](#)

## North Korea

# Biden says unclear if China can stop another North Korea nuclear test

US president says he told Xi Jinping that Beijing had an ‘obligation’ to tell Kim Jong-un to avoid a seventh test



South Korean soldiers stand in front of the debris of a North Korean missile recovered from the sea this month. Joe Biden has China should advise Kim Jong-un’s regime against a nuclear test. Photograph: Han Sang-kyun/AP

*Reuters*

Mon 14 Nov 2022 21.09 EST

Joe Biden has said he told Xi Jinping that China has an obligation to try to talk [North Korea](#) out of conducting a seventh nuclear test, although the US president said it was unclear whether Beijing had the ability to do so.

[Biden met Xi for more than three hours](#) on Monday, ahead of the G20 summit in Bali, their first face-to-face meeting since Biden took power. At a press conference after the meeting, Biden said he told Xi “that I thought they had an obligation to attempt to make it clear” to North Korea that it should not go ahead with a test.

South Korea has said the North has finished all technical preparations for a new test, and Washington has warned for months that a test could take place soon.

Asked to what extent he believed [China](#) had the ability to talk Pyongyang out of conducting a test, Biden said he was not certain whether China “can control” its neighbour and longtime ally.

“It’s difficult to determine whether or not China has the capacity,” Biden said. “I’m confident China’s not looking for North Korea to engage in further escalatory means,” he added.

US-led international sanctions have failed to halt North Korea’s growing weapons programs. Its record-breaking [regime of weapons tests this year](#) have included intercontinental ballistic missiles designed to reach the US mainland.

China, along with Russia, backed toughened United Nations sanctions after North Korea’s last nuclear test in 2017. But in May both countries vetoed a US-led push for more UN penalties over its renewed ballistic missile launches.

US officials have accused China and Russia of enabling Pyongyang’s missile and bomb programs by failing to properly enforce UN security council sanctions.

Biden also told Xi that the US would respond to a nuclear test by the North, and would defend its allies in the region, which include South Korea and Japan, he said.

Earlier this month, the US defence secretary, Lloyd Austin, said any nuclear attack on the US or its allies by North Korea would “[result in the end of the](#)

Kim [Jong-un] regime”.

Similar language was included in the US National Defense Strategy, which was released in October.

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/nov/15/joe-biden-china-north-korea-nuclear-test>

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

**G20**

[Explainer](#)

## Five key takeaways from Biden and Xi's first meeting as leaders

Taiwan, trade, Ukraine and the climate crisis among issues discussed when presidents of US and China met



Xi Jinping and Joe Biden smile for the camera. Photograph: Xinhua/Li Xueren/EPA

[Verna Yu and Oliver Holmes](#)

Mon 14 Nov 2022 13.35 EST Last modified on Tue 15 Nov 2022 00.11 EST

At the G20 summit in Bali, Joe Biden and Xi Jinping held [their first ever face-to-meeting](#) as leaders, in an attempt to reduce tensions over Taiwan and trade that have sent US-China ties to their lowest level in decades. Here are the five key takeaways:

**Biden had a cold but Xi still shook his hand**

China's leader is notoriously Covid paranoid, but it did not stop him from shaking Biden's hand despite the US leader having a mild cold. The close contact, as well as smiles for the cameras, illustrated that the two leaders intend to show they want a better working relationship.

In veiled criticism, Xi said bilateral relations failed to meet "the fundamental interests" of the two countries and the global expectations. However, he said the leaders of the two superpowers should act as a ship's rudder and "chart the right course" and "elevate the relationship".

## **Biden told China its Taiwan policy was 'aggressive' ...**

Despite the smiles, the US president brought up several contentious issues during the three-hour meeting, according to a White House readout.

The most thorny topic he raised was US objections to China's "coercive and increasingly aggressive actions" towards [Taiwan](#), which he said undermined peace and stability across the Taiwan Strait and jeopardised global prosperity.

Xi told Biden that the Taiwan question was at the "very core of China's core interests" and the "first red line" in bilateral ties that must not be crossed.

China has blamed the US for initiating discord. A Chinese foreign ministry spokesman said last week: "The root cause of the tensions in the Taiwan Strait is that the Taiwan authorities have been soliciting US support to seek 'Taiwan independence'."

## **... but he kept to Washington's longstanding stance on Taiwan**

Biden reassured China that the US commitment to the "[One China](#)" policy had not changed, after the Chinese foreign ministry last week told the US to "stop fudging, distorting and hollowing out the One China principle" and insinuated that the US was attempting to contain China using the Taiwan issue as a pretext.

## **Climate cooperation might resume in some form**

The leaders said they would “empower key senior officials” on areas of potential cooperation, including tackling the climate crisis, and maintaining global financial, health and food stability.”

However, it was not immediately clear if that meant China would agree to restart climate change talks it had paused in protest at a controversial visit to Taiwan by the US House speaker, Nancy Pelosi, in August.

## **Moscow's nuclear threats have worried Beijing and Washington**

According to the US statement, the leaders also agreed that “a nuclear war should never be fought” and could not be won, “and underscored their opposition to the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons in Ukraine”.

The comments come weeks after Vladimir Putin threatened nuclear retaliation in a serious escalation of the Ukraine war.

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/nov/14/five-key-takeaways-from-biden-and-xis-first-meeting-as-leaders>

[Italy](#)

## Writer Roberto Saviano goes on trial for comments about Italy's PM

Giorgia Meloni is suing Gomorrah writer for criminal defamation over comments about her migrant policy



Roberto Saviano and Giorgia Meloni. The Italian PM was urged to drop the case against the writer. Photograph: Alberto Pizzoli/AFP/Getty Images

[Lorenzo Tondo](#)

[@lorenzo\\_tondo](#)

Tue 15 Nov 2022 11.43 ESTFirst published on Tue 15 Nov 2022 00.00 EST

The Italian writer Roberto Saviano has gone on trial for calling Italy's new prime minister, [Giorgia Meloni](#), a "bastard" after she said NGO boats that had attempted to rescue refugees should be sunk.

Meloni, the leader of Brothers of Italy, a party with neo-fascist origins, who had said Rome should "repatriate migrants and sink the boats that rescued

them”, [sued Saviano for criminal defamation](#), and last year a judge in Rome ruled that the writer should be tried.

Saviano, who lives under police escort and has been in hiding from the Neapolitan mafia, the Camorra, since 2006 after being threatened by mobsters following publication of his book Gomorrah. He faces up to three years in prison if convicted.

Tuesday’s hearing lasted a few minutes and the trial was adjourned until 12 December after a short opening hearing in which the leader of the far-right Northern League, Matteo Salvini, asked to be admitted as a plaintiff, meaning he could also win damages if Saviano was found guilty.

“I think I have the record for being the most prosecuted journalist, personality and individual by this government,” Saviano told reporters outside the court.

Meloni’s lawyer, Luca Libra, said her legal team was evaluating whether to withdraw the lawsuit. “The lawsuit arises from the hatred used,” said Libra. “I taught my son that the word ‘bastard’ is an offence. We will still evaluate whether or not to withdraw it.”

Meloni’s action came after the author was asked on the political TV chatshow Piazzapulita in 2020 for a comment on the death of a [six-month-old baby from Guinea](#) after a shipwreck in the central Mediterranean.

Including in his remarks Salvini, who as interior minister introduced a decree imposing fines of up to €50,000 (£44,000) on NGO rescue boats bringing people to [Italy](#), Saviano said: “I just want to say to Meloni, and Salvini, you bastards! How could you?”

“I’m sick of witnessing this disgusting profiteering by Saviano,” Meloni replied after Saviano’s TV appearance. “Is it normal that this serial hater is allowed to defame, without the right to reply, people who are not present on the talkshow? I have already asked my lawyers to proceed with a legal action against him.”

In a previous interview with the Guardian, Saviano, who has repeatedly criticised the treatment of migrants in [Italy](#), said: “If I am sentenced, I will respond to my words, but I will never regret having lost my peace of mind and perhaps even many readers for defending the voiceless.”

Numerous writers’ and literary associations have expressed their support for Saviano . The PEN International president, Burhan Sönmez, urged Meloni to drop all criminal defamation charges against Saviano and to abide by Italy’s national and international obligations to uphold freedom of expression.

“We urge you to drop the case against him and to do everything in your power to support investigative journalism and independent media,” Sönmez said in an open letter.

“Criminal defamation lawsuits exhaust their victims. They rob them of their time, of their money, of their vital energy. Crucially, they are punitive and can lead to self-censorship and discourage the investigative journalism that is so necessary in a healthy and functioning democracy.

“They constitute a threat to freedom of expression – which is enshrined in Italy’s domestic and international human rights obligations. As the prime minister of Italy, pursuing your case against him would send a chilling message to all journalists and writers in the country, who may no longer dare to speak out for fear of reprisals.”

“Saviano is not alone,” Sönmez added. “We stand with him and will continue to campaign until all criminal defamation charges against him are dropped, and his right to peacefully express his views is upheld once and for all.”

Earlier this month, in the first test of her government’s migration policy,which provides for the pushback of mostly male asylum seekers of adult age rescued in the central Mediterranean whom Italian authorities do not deem to be in need of international protection, hundreds of people onboard two NGO rescue boats were [prevented from disembarking and left on the ship for two days](#), with volunteers reporting people sleeping on the decks, as fever-inducing infections and scabies spread.

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/nov/15/writer-roberto-saviano-to-go-on-trial-for-comments-about-italy-pm-giorgia-meloni>

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

Advertisement

[Print subscriptions](#)

[Sign in](#)

[Search jobs](#)

[Search](#)

US edition

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

[The Guardian - Back to home](#)[The Guardian](#)

[The age of extinction](#)[Poland](#)

## Bear dens and ancient trees face onslaught of logging in Poland



A Eurasian brown bear in the Carpathians. About 110 of the bears are left in Poland. Photograph: Iga Fijalkowska/Greenpeace

An ambitious forest management plan in the country's Carpathian mountains is bringing state foresters ever closer to the dens of brown bears, a protected species

The age of extinction is supported by

the  
guardian  
.org

[About this content](#)



[Phoebe Weston](#)  
[@phoeb0](#)

Tue 15 Nov 2022 02.45 EST Last modified on Tue 15 Nov 2022 11.56 EST

We're on the hunt for brown bear dens in Poland's Carpathian mountains, on the border with Ukraine. The lairs lie within the gnarled caverns that naturally form at the base of decaying fir trees when they get to about 130 years old. Each den is slightly different – some have rocky bottoms, others have been lined with beech leaves, making a sort of woodland mattress. Looking inside gives an insight into the character of each bear, just like visiting a friend's house.



The brown bears make their dens in the cavities that form at the base of decaying fir trees. Photograph: Max Zieliński/Greenpeace

We pass half a dozen caverns in a 15-hectare (37-acre) area on the steep, rocky woodland slope of Lutowiska forest district, just outside Bieszczady national park. There are an estimated 110 brown bears left in Poland and this slope is dense with dens and likely to be home to one mother and one or two cubs, with many others passing through.

The dens aren't the only thing to note in this section of forest, which is named Lot 73. There are trees with fluorescent orange dots on them,

meaning they have been marked for logging by the government's foresters. A milestone court decision is temporarily protecting these trees on the grounds that the forest is home to bears, an EU protected species – but their future lies in the balance. The 10-year [forest management plan](#) for this district (2015-2024) is authorising eight times more wood to be removed than in the previous decade. It is a story that is being repeated elsewhere in the last remaining parts of Poland's primeval mountain forests, only 2-4% of which is strictly protected.

In some respects we are on the edge of Europe, but the Carpathians are central for wildlife, stretching 1,500km (930 miles) from Austria round to Serbia, sheltering some of the continent's last virgin forests. Many enchanting creatures live in the Polish part, such as the rare Ural owl and the three-toed woodpecker. There are rare lichens and beetles that thrive on dead and decaying wood, but most people know it as being home to [large predators including](#) brown bear, wolf, Eurasian lynx and wildcat. The local shops sell fridge magnets, beers and various preserves with pictures of wolves and bears on them – the odd hedgehog features too.



Stretching for nearly 1,000 miles, the Carpathians are Europe's second-longest mountain range. Photograph: Max Zieliński/Greenpeace

I am on a trip organised by Greenpeace Poland. We drive here from Kraków on a Sunday afternoon in October, passing all the holidaymakers heading the other way, back to urban life. It's a hotspot for people who love the outdoors – particularly at this time of year.

Crisscrossing the forests are deep gullies created by state foresters, evidence of how a long history of logging is slicing up this vast old-growth forest. "People that come from the cities see something great, and think it looks good," says our guide. "But for me, I'm seeing changes and it's got really bad in the last few years. We're losing key habitats at a fast tempo."

My guide is a biologist who has worked in these woods for more than 20 years. He cannot be named because he has been threatened for speaking out against the logging. In Poland, protecting natural areas is becoming an increasingly dangerous thing to do. State foresters [manage 23% of the land](#) in Poland and have been [heavily criticised for deforestation](#) elsewhere in the Unesco-protected Białowieża forest, which is also primeval forest.



Rotten logs are 'breakfast bars' for bears'. Photograph: Max Zieliński/Greenpeace

This forest is not just home to dens. Rotten logs are like breakfast bars for bears because they are full of grubs, but large chunks have been removed.

Bears love scratching up against trees and you can see areas where the bark has been rubbed off high up on the trunk. This is also how they communicate with one another. At the moment, they are chatting a lot, as they are out, charging their batteries by eating as much as possible before winter hibernation.

Where bears see dens, humans see paths and plywood. Some of the tallest, straightest beech trees – each more than 100 years old – have an “S” on them, meaning *sklejka*, or “plywood”. A squiggly line on others is where the forest road will go. Logging happens all year round. But young bears, which weigh about 3kg each, will die if disturbed during the first three months of their life between December and March, the biologist says.

“This is a church for nature, not a drawing board for people to put marks on every tree. People have no respect for nature,” says the biologist. “It will look like a bomb has gone off once they’ve finished working in here.”

The foresters of Lutowiska district were told about the location of these bear dens in March 2020. But they still carried out logging in the area next door, Lot 72, home to a similar number of bear dens. The landscape looks so different, the biologist says he gets lost walking through it. The younger trees that grow back are not valuable to wildlife in the same way as their predecessors. All over these hills, the forests are getting younger.

Watch a wild bear at its den in Bieszczady national park

From somewhere in the valley, trees can be heard being cut down. Lots 72 and 73 are both within a [Natura 2000](#) site, meaning it should have the highest EU protection. The site is 70 metres from a national park. “Day by day, year by year, the national park becomes more of an island,” our guide says.

Hope for Lot 73 rests with the [EU habitats directive](#), which says breeding habitats and resting places for brown bears must be protected because they are classified as a [protected species](#). Crucially, these areas are not just somewhere bears pass through, they are bear maternity wards. An organisation called [the Natural Heritage Foundation](#) notified authorities that the bear dens were in use – bear tracks were found and there were claw

marks on trees. And for the first time, [a regional court in Krosno has temporarily suspended felling](#) based on the evidence.

This decision has no precedent in Polish judicial history, despite this EU law being in place since Poland joined the bloc 18 years ago. Campaigners say it could signal changes in the legal protection for wild animals threatened by human activity.



The Carpathians are home to Poland's 'big four' predators: brown bear, wolf, Eurasian lynx and wildcat. Photograph: Iga Fijalkowska/Greenpeace

"Until now, this protection was fiction," says Radosław Michalski, president of the Natural Heritage Foundation. "We have evidence that foresters in Lot 72 cut right next to the bear den. The photo documentation shows trees that have traces of bear claws and, at the same time, dots applied by foresters, proving that these trees were intended for logging."

Rafał Osiecki, a forest inspector for Lutowiska forest district, says foresters are aware of bears in lots 72 and 73, but that there are traces of bears in practically all forests in the Bieszczady mountains, and that "forest management does not cause any negative impact on the whole bear population ... Man has always managed these areas." He denies that these forests are old-growth forests. "In the Bieszczady, one cannot speak of

primeval forests – such forests do not exist here, apart from small fragments of the national park where there are small fragments of primeval forests.”

Osiecki says foresters make every effort to ensure protected species remain protected. He says the population of bears in Poland is increasing, which proves their habitat is good. He adds: “Nowhere in European law does it state that it is forbidden to carry out any forestry activities if bears are present in the area.”

Another part of this primeval forest is not being protected by the law, but by activists stationed outside the forest near the town of Arłamów, an hour north of Lutowiska.



Where bears see dens, humans are seeing paths and plywood. Photograph: Wild Carpathians Initiative

Their camp has all the frugal markings of a hippy protest – a caravan, crates of apples, lots of mushroom soup, no wifi, no toilet and a cold stream instead of a shower. Mud gets everywhere and they play Dobble to pass the time. “It’s a new thing for the forest police and they don’t know what to do ... They didn’t think we’d survive winter,” says Jósefina Bendiuk, who is here with her partner, Dr Jakub Rok, an economist who divides his time

between here and lecturing at the University of Warsaw. They are part of a protest group called Wild Carpathians Initiative (Inicjatywa Dzikie Karpaty).

The activists are stationed on a logging path into a forest that should have been turned into the planned Turnicki national park where bears and wolves are known to live. Only 3% of this land is protected, and so the rest is vulnerable to logging. Wild Carpathians Initiative has successfully protected 70 hectares from being chopped down since they started their occupation in April 2021.

A banner blocking the foresters' gully into the woods reads: "Here the last natural forests are dying – help save them." Attached to the banner is a platform about 10 metres high with a tiny tent on it, called a "sky bed", which looks like it could be an extreme Airbnb experience. Whoever sleeps here is on night duty.



The Wild Carpathians Initiative has protected 70 hectares of woodland from being felled since protesters started their occupation in April 2021.  
Photograph: Max Zieliński/Greenpeace

They can do this thanks to crowdfunding, grants, external backers, and by selling T-shirts and jumpers on the road. The camp has been attacked several times, usually by people who have drunk too much. On one occasion, an

activist was attacked with a baseball bat. “The first days we couldn’t sleep we were so scared,” says Bendiuk.

They are here because nothing else has worked. “We tried many tactics – protests, temporary occupations, petitions – and they’ve all been futile, so we decided we needed permanent occupation,” says Rok. They monitor forests to look for violations of the law they can publicise.

### [Map of proposed national parks in Poland](#)

Bieszczady is the only one of Poland’s 23 national parks located in the eastern Carpathians. It was established in 1973 and covers 29,000 hectares. Since the 1990s, the government has been talking about expanding it by 41,000 hectares, and creating a new area, Turnicki national park, of more than 17,500 hectares. Neither have happened.

“The Nature Conservation Act of 2004 gives local governments the right to veto the creation or expansion of a national park,” says Maciej Kałaska of the University of Warsaw’s faculty of geography and regional studies. “Even the smallest commune can say no and the park will not be built. Local authorities do not even have to justify their statement. The regulation introduced two decades ago effectively blocked all park-creating initiatives.”

Activists are joined by more than 200 scientists in demanding the national park plans go ahead, with a moratorium on logging in those areas until it happens. The Polish Academy of Sciences has also called for proper protections for primeval forests in an [open letter](#) to ministers. There are 320 protests against logging around Poland, according to campaign group [Forests and Citizens](#).

Rok says the protesters will stay there until this paper park becomes a reality.

Meanwhile, brown bears all over the Carpathians are about to start their winter slumber, folding themselves into the base of old fir trees, hoping for some months of peace as the protests rage on.

This article was amended on 15 November 2022. Bieszczady is Poland's only national park in the eastern Carpathians, not the only one in the Carpathians as an earlier version said. And Maciej Kalaskas' faculty was added, to avoid confusion with another University of Warsaw researcher of the same name.

*Find more [age of extinction coverage here](#), and follow biodiversity reporters [Phoebe Weston](#) and [Patrick Greenfield](#) on Twitter for all the latest news and features*

---

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2022/nov/15/bear-dens-and-ancient-trees-face-onslaught-of-logging-in-poland>

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

# Table of Contents

[The Guardian.2022.11.20 \[Sun, 20 Nov 2022\]](#)

[Headlines saturday 19 november 2022](#)

['I feel like a migrant worker' Gianni Infantino hits out at World Cup criticism](#)

[World Cup Multiple sponsors concerned over contracts after Qatar's alcohol ban](#)

[Qatar Fans paid to attend World Cup have daily allowance cancelled](#)

[Robbie Williams Singer defends decision to perform in Qatar during World Cup](#)

[2022.11.19 - Spotlight](#)

[Black Panther star Letitia Wright 'Since Chad died I'm so afraid to lose people'](#)

[Under the surface The resonance of water in Black Panther: Wakanda Forever](#)

[Wednesday Netflix have absolutely smashed this fantastic Addams Family revamp](#)

[Heartstopper author Alice Oseman 'If you don't have sex and romance, you feel like you haven't achieved'](#)

[2022.11.19 - Opinion](#)

[Beer ban, Beckham and a vagina stadium: the World Cup in inglorious technicolor](#)

[In liberated Kherson, Ukrainians are glimpsing victory after dark days](#)

[A stark lesson for Keir Starmer from the budget: the Tories won't just lose, you have to beat them](#)

[The Elon Musk effect: have we reached our limit with awful bosses?](#)

[2022.11.19 - Around the world](#)

['In the public interest' US attorney general names special counsel to consider charges against Trump](#)

[Jack Smith Who is the special counsel investigating Donald Trump?](#)

[Explainer What is a special counsel and why will one investigate Donald Trump?](#)

[Video Merrick Garland appoints special counsel in Trump criminal investigation](#)

## Headlines

[Live Russia-Ukraine war: two killed in attack on Zaporizhzhia as Russian launches mass strikes across Ukraine](#)

[UK weather Roads flooded as heavy rain batters Britain](#)  
[US midterms Republicans scrape back control of House after election flop](#)

[Analysis Republicans are already fighting as they take House control](#)

[Explainer What does a split Congress mean for US politics?](#)  
[Same-sex marriage Legislation clears key US Senate hurdle](#)

## 2022.11.17 - Spotlight

[When Marie Kondo came round 'She dropped three cheese-and-onion crisps and a tooth into my hand'](#)

['It could be years of limbo' How UK interest rate rises have hit mortgages](#)

[The long read The night everything changed: waiting for Russia's invasion of Ukraine](#)

['It's about having your tag everywhere' Why the art of Keith Haring is all around us](#)

## 2022.11.17 - Opinion

[The Tories' 'fiscal black hole' is a statistical fiction – let's have a reality check](#)

[Kicking our growth addiction is the way out of the climate crisis. This is how to do it](#)

[Do I really need to drink almost 4 litres of water a day? I haven't got the bladder for it](#)

[Trump is now effectively in control of the US House of Representatives](#)

## 2022.11.17 - Around the world

[Myanmar Australian Sean Turnell and Briton Vicky Bowman to be freed in prisoner release](#)

[G20 Xi angrily rebukes Trudeau over ‘leaks’ to media about Canada-China relations](#)

[Cambodia Wildlife official among eight charged in US with smuggling endangered monkeys](#)

[Brendan Fraser Actor won’t attend Golden Globes after claiming he was sexually assaulted](#)

[New Zealand House seller throws in free Tesla as market tumbles](#)

### [Headlines friday 18 november 2022](#)

[Autumn statement UK workers ‘will miss out on pay rises worth £15,000 over next five years’](#)

[Live Jeremy Hunt insists non-doms are good for the economy as he warns of two challenging years](#)

[Analysis Timid Jeremy Hunt fails to reform how rich are taxed](#)

[Local government Bigger council tax rises will not prevent more cuts to services, councils say](#)

### [2022.11.18 - Spotlight](#)

[‘I’d be stupid to stop it now!’ The man with the only complete collection of UK No 1 singles](#)

[World Cup 2022 Everything you need to know about host country Qatar](#)

[‘He said, Oh my God. You’re really strange!’ Anthony Hopkins on film stardom at 84](#)

[‘Everyone is in crisis’ The view from Jeremy Hunt’s Surrey constituency](#)

### [2022.11.18 - Opinion](#)

[If you’re outraged by XR and Just Stop Oil, imagine how disruptive climate breakdown will be](#)

[Hunt’s plan may please the markets, but austerity without real growth would be fatal](#)

[Covid’s hidden epidemic: up to a million cancer cases missed in Europe](#)

[Cartoon Ben Jennings on Jeremy Hunt’s autumn statement](#)

### [2022.11.18 - Around the world](#)

[Imran Khan Former PM denies corruption over \\$2m worth of state gifts](#)

[North Korea ICBM had potential range to reach US mainland, Japanese officials say](#)

[Urban bombing Dozens of countries to sign deal to curb attacks in populated areas](#)

[Apec summit Asia must not become arena for ‘big power contest’, says China’s Xi](#)

[New Zealand Ardern says she must be able to raise concerns in Xi Jinping meeting without ‘retaliatory acts’](#)

### Headlines monday 14 november 2022

[Live James Cleverly refuses to say how UK-France deal on asylum seekers will affect numbers crossing Channel](#)

[Migration More patrols promised as UK and France sign Channel deal to curb migration](#)

[Turkey Istanbul bombing: 22 detained as minister blames Kurdish separatists](#)

[Beyond 8 billion India faces deepening demographic divide as it prepares to overtake China as most populous country](#)

[Explained How has the world’s population grown since 1950?](#)

### 2022.11.14 - Spotlight

[‘I didn’t have a single audition for a year Goonies and Indiana Jones child star Ke Huy Quan on finding fame again](#)  
[Music The UK singles chart is 70. Is it time for it to retire?](#)

[How to save on UK rail fares All the tips and tricks](#)

[iPhone 14 Plus review Apple’s big-screen battery champ](#)

### 2022.11.14 - Opinion

[Rishi Sunak posed as a PM-in-waiting. Now he’s in the spotlight, he’s not up to the job](#)

[We don’t want to bring down the curtain on ENO, but opera has to change](#)

[BBC local radio is a lifeline for millions of listeners – we can’t afford to cut it](#)

[Mumsnet is aflame over the family who wore pyjamas to a breakfast buffet. Is it really the end of the world?](#)

### 2022.11.14 - Around the world

[US midterm elections Democrats celebrate retaining control of Senate as Republicans take stock](#)

[World Cup Dua Lipa denies she's performing in Qatar](#)  
[Joyland Pakistan bans Oscar contender film about trans love affair](#)

[Environment Increasing demand for oil and fuel threatens African nations' economies, analysis finds](#)  
[Amazon Peruvian Amazon Indigenous leaders to lobby banks to cut ties with state oil firm](#)

### [Headlines tuesday 15 november 2022](#)

[G20 Russia strives to avoid isolation as China and India distance themselves](#)

[Live Iain Duncan Smith tells Sunak he would be 'completely wrong' to soften stance on China](#)

[G20 Putin should have come to face us, Rishi Sunak tell leaders' summit](#)

[China Rishi Sunak calls nation 'systemic challenge', in sign of softer UK stance](#)

### [2022.11.15 - Spotlight](#)

[I survived a wilderness camp 'It's not necessary to break a person's will'](#)

['I can't give up on hope' As the world's population passes 8bn, new parents from Italy to India look to the future](#)

[Millions of missing women China grapples with legacy of one-child policy](#)

[You can't out-shoot a teenager How to play first-person shooters if you're over 30](#)

### [2022.11.15 - Opinion](#)

[If the next election is the UK's 'millennial moment', Labour will reap the rewards](#)

[What would a Tory budget that is actually good for the country look like? Here's an idea](#)

[Nationalism is the ideology of our age. No wonder the world is in crisis](#)

[The UK should be ashamed of 'joint enterprise' convictions. America has put us on notice](#)

### [2022.11.15 - Around the world](#)

[North Korea Biden: China obliged to discourage nuclear test](#)  
[G20 Takeaways from Biden and Xi's first leaders' talk](#)

[Italy Writer Roberto Saviano goes on trial for comments about PM Giorgia Meloni](#)

[Poland Bear dens and ancient trees face onslaught of logging](#)