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[Coronavirus](#)

Covid jabs to become mandatory for care home staff in England

Exclusive: ministers considering extending compulsory vaccination measure to all NHS staff

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Vaccination statistics show 68.7% of staff in adult care homes have received two doses. Photograph: Tom Maddick/SWNS

Vaccination statistics show 68.7% of staff in adult care homes have received two doses. Photograph: Tom Maddick/SWNS

[Denis Campbell](#) *Health policy editor*

Tue 15 Jun 2021 15.27 EDT

Covid vaccinations are to become mandatory for care home staff under plans to be announced by ministers, as they consider extending the move to all [NHS](#) staff.

The controversial measure sets up a likely battle with staff in both services and could lead to the government being sued under European human rights law or equalities legislation for breaching the freedom of people who work in caring roles to decide what they put into their bodies.

The Guardian understands that ministers will confirm they are pushing ahead with compulsory vaccination for most of the 1.5 million people working in social care in [England](#), despite employer and staff organisations in the sector warning that it could backfire if workers quit rather than get immunised. Under the plans those working with adults will have 16 weeks to get vaccinated or face losing their jobs.

The government is also keen to make it mandatory for the 1.38 million people who are directly employed by the NHS in England to get vaccinated against Covid-19 and winter flu – proposals that have already been criticised by groups representing doctors, nurses and other staff.

The Department of [Health](#) and Social Care (DHSC) will in the coming days launch two separate consultation exercises into making Covid and flu jabs mandatory for NHS staff. But ministers including the health and social care secretary, Matt Hancock, believe the arguments in favour of protecting patients from potentially infectious staff now outweigh those that allow health workers the right to choose whether or not to have either immunisation.

The British Medical Association, which represents doctors, warned on Tuesday that while they want all NHS staff to get jabbed, “compulsion is a blunt instrument that carries its own risks”.

“While some healthcare workers are already required to be immunised against certain conditions to work in certain areas, any specific proposal for the compulsory requirement for all staff to be vaccinated against Covid-19 would raise new ethical and legal implications,” it said. Staff in some areas,

such as surgery, are already obliged to get vaccinated against hepatitis B, for example.

The NHS Confederation, which represents health service trusts in England, has already described plans to move to compulsory immunisation as “unhelpful” and cautioned that hospital bosses are “unlikely to welcome a move to mandating the vaccine for NHS staff”.

One NHS boss said: “If you are going to go down this route of mandation for NHS staff, you will get into a direct confrontation with a group of staff who you’re forcing to do this at a time when you’re denying them a decent pay rise but also saying how much you love them.

“The government hasn’t thought through the consequences of this. Hospital trusts could end up having to suspend or even dismiss members of staff who continue to refuse to be vaccinated against Covid in defiance of a policy requiring them to get jabbed,” the senior figure said.

The government is pressing ahead with mandatory Covid vaccination even though [the latest figures](#) show that, as of 6 June, 89% of NHS staff had had their first dose and 82% had had both.

Take-up has been lower among social care staff. Vaccination statistics show that 83.7% of staff in adult care homes had received at least one dose by 6 June and 68.7% had been double-jabbed.

Hospital bosses are also worried that the government’s apparent readiness to force staff to get vaccinated will lead to them having to have “difficult conversations” with black and minority ethnic staff, as take-up rates are lower among them than among white NHS personnel. Persuading young female employees worried about the Covid vaccines affecting their fertility to get immunised has also been a problem in many trusts.

Ministers are keen to reduce the spread of Covid-19 in care homes and hospitals by staff who are infected. [The minutes](#) of the latest meeting of the government’s Scientific Advisory Group on Emergencies show that it is keen to see hospitals take action to reduce hospital-acquired Covid, which

[the Guardian recently revealed](#) had led to the deaths of at least 8,700 inpatients since the pandemic began in March 2020.

The DHSC also believes it would be inconsistent to mandate vaccination for care home workers but not NHS staff, given that some of the latter – such as GPs, physiotherapists and district nurses – often go into care homes to care for residents.

The Royal College of Nursing is also opposed to mandatory jabs for NHS staff. “It’s essential that staff have the opportunity to fully understand and have autonomy over what goes into their bodies,” Dame Donna Kinnair, its chief executive, said previously. “It is counterintuitive to introduce a policy which could affect recruitment and retention in a sector which is already chronically understaffed.”

However, the DHSC’s drive to make vaccination a contractual requirement for health workers has been boosted by NHS England, which had privately been concerned about the plan, changing its stance recently and deciding not to oppose the move.

Opinion is split in the NHS over mandation. Laura Churchward, the director of strategy at University College London hospital, one of the NHS’s biggest trusts, recently told the Health Service Journal that: “We probably have to accept it will have to become mandatory for roles with exposure to patients.”

And one senior official at a health union said: “The public are going to think that it’s the right thing to do – that all NHS staff should have it – because they are going to care for someone.”

A DHSC spokesperson said: “Vaccines are our way out of this pandemic and have already saved thousands of lives, with millions of health and care staff vaccinated.

“Our priority is to make sure people in care homes are protected and we launched the consultation to get views on whether and how the government might take forward a new requirement for adult care home providers, looking after older people, to only deploy staff who have had a Covid-19 vaccination or have an appropriate exemption.

“The consultation ended on Wednesday 26 May and we will publish our response in due course.”

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/jun/15/covid-jabs-to-become-mandatory-for-care-home-staff-in-england>

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[Coronavirus](#)

New drug cuts deaths among patients with no Covid antibodies

Oxford University trial reports cocktail of manmade antibodies reduces fatalities by a fifth

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Prof Sir Peter Horby, joint chief investigator for the Recovery trial, which has found a third drug that tackles coronavirus itself rather than the resulting inflammation. Photograph: Steve Parsons/PA

Prof Sir Peter Horby, joint chief investigator for the Recovery trial, which has found a third drug that tackles coronavirus itself rather than the resulting inflammation. Photograph: Steve Parsons/PA

[Sarah Boseley](#) *Health editor*

Wed 16 Jun 2021 01.00 EDT

A new drug has been found to cut Covid deaths by a fifth among the sickest patients in hospital and may change official practice so that every patient with coronavirus will have an antibody test before they are admitted.

The Recovery trial based at Oxford University has found a third drug that can help Covid patients recover in hospital – but this one is the first to tackle the virus itself, rather than the inflammation that develops in the later stages of the disease.

The monoclonal antibody combination developed by [Regeneron](#) works for those patients who do not develop antibodies in response to coronavirus infection. Without treatment, 30% of them die, compared with 15% of patients who have an antibody response to the virus.

“It’s really important,” said the joint chief investigator of Recovery, Prof Sir Martin Landray. “What we found is now we can use an antiviral treatment, in this case, these antibodies, in patients who have got a one in three chance of dying, untreated, and we can reduce that risk for them, and that opens up the whole area of future treatments targeted at the virus.”

Regeneron’s drug is a cocktail of two lab-made monoclonal antibodies, casirivimab and imdevimab, that bind to two different sites on the coronavirus spike protein, blocking the virus from getting into cells. There have been small US trials that showed some efficacy in people given it early, to prevent them getting sick enough for hospital.

Donald Trump was given a single dose when he fell ill with Covid-19 while he was president and it was later approved in the United States, although not yet in Europe or the UK.

Cancer patients, whose immune systems can be depleted by their treatment, may not generate an antibody response. However, the researchers said it is not obvious who else may not have antibodies in spite of infection. In their study of 9,785 hospitalised Covid patients, 30% had no antibodies to the virus. Half did have antibodies and the status of the rest was unknown.

In the trial, deaths of those who had no antibodies of their own were reduced from 30% to 24% – saving six lives in every 100 patients. Their stay in

hospital was cut by four days and they were less likely to end up on a ventilator. The drug had no effect on those who already had antibodies.

The scientists said a test for antibody status may now become the norm when people are admitted to hospital with severe Covid-19. The drug adds to the armoury against the disease – the same team discovered that the cheap steroid dexamethasone and the arthritis drug tocilizumab also save lives.

[Monoclonal antibodies: 'great hope' in Covid treatments fails against variants](#)

[Read more](#)

But the drug may only be available to those in wealthy nations. Prof Sir Peter Horby, joint chief investigator of the Recovery trial, said he thought it was “a scandal” that the monoclonal antibody drugs, some of which have been around for 30 years and are used to treat rheumatoid arthritis and cancer in rich countries, were not available in developing countries.

They had been trying to put a different monoclonal antibody into the international arm of the Recovery trial for several months. “This is a drug that’s been licensed for 20 years. We can’t access it overseas because it’s unaffordable. And it’s not made in those countries and it’s not marketed,” he said.

He hoped the results of the trial would put some urgency into changing this. “There really must be initiatives to make these drugs accessible ... you have to scale up manufacturing, and they have to be affordable,” he said.

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Coronavirus

Third of UK hospital Covid patients had ‘do not resuscitate’ order in first wave

Study found increase in people with DNACPR decisions compared with before pandemic

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The research found that 59% of patients with a DNACPR decision survived their acute illness. Photograph: Andy Rain/EPA

The research found that 59% of patients with a DNACPR decision survived their acute illness. Photograph: Andy Rain/EPA

PA Media

Tue 15 Jun 2021 16.33 EDT

Almost a third of patients admitted to hospital with suspected Covid-19 during the first wave of the pandemic had a “do not resuscitate” decision recorded before or on their day of admission, research suggests.

This is higher than the rates reported in previous studies of conditions similar to Covid-19 before the pandemic, according to a study from the University of Sheffield’s School of [Health](#) and Related Research (ScHARR), one of the first to quantify the use of such orders in the pandemic.

The research, published in the journal Resuscitation, found that 59% of patients with a do not attempt cardiopulmonary resuscitation (DNACPR) decision survived their acute illness and 12% received intensive treatment aimed at saving their life.

The study, funded by the National Institute for Health Research, found 31% of patients admitted to UK hospitals with suspected Covid-19 during the first wave of the pandemic had a DNACPR decision recorded before or on their day of admission to hospital.

People with a DNACPR decision received some intensive treatments as frequently as those with no DNACPR decision, researchers found, which provides reassurance that doctors were not denying patients with DNACPR decisions potentially life-saving treatment.

The research also found that people of Asian ethnicity were less likely to have a DNACPR decision on or before their day of admission to hospital.

The reasons for this are not clear and the researchers highlighted the need for further studies into the discussions that take place when people from ethnic minorities are admitted to hospital with Covid-19 or other serious illnesses.

The findings come from the University of Sheffield-led Priest study, which was originally set up to evaluate ways of assessing the severity of Covid-19 in people attending emergency departments.

The research team analysed data relating to DNACPR decisions from 12,748 adults in the study after the Care Quality Commission (CQC) undertook a

review of the use of DNACPR decisions in the pandemic.

In March, the CQC called for ministerial involvement to tackle the “[worrying variation](#)” in people’s experiences of DNACPR decisions, with some families not properly involved and others unaware that decisions had been made.

It said that a combination of “unprecedented pressure” on providers and “rapidly developing guidance” may have led to situations where DNACPR decisions were incorrectly conflated with other clinical assessments.

There were examples of good practice but the regulator also found a “worrying picture” of poor involvement of people using services, poor record keeping, and a lack of oversight and scrutiny of the decisions being made.

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[Coronavirus](#)

More countries restrict travel from UK over Delta variant fears

Ireland to double to 10 days its quarantine period for UK travellers who are not fully vaccinated

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The arrivals hall in Terminal 2 of Dublin airport. Photograph: Brian Lawless/PA

The arrivals hall in Terminal 2 of Dublin airport. Photograph: Brian Lawless/PA

[Jon Henley](#) *Europe correspondent*

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Tue 15 Jun 2021 12.07 EDT

Ireland is to double to 10 days its quarantine period for travellers from the UK who are not fully vaccinated, joining a growing list of countries imposing stricter travel rules on British arrivals due to concerns over the rapid spread of the Delta variant.

The announcement came after Boris Johnson on Monday [delayed by a month](#) the final stage of England's exit from lockdown amid accusations the government should have acted faster by placing India, where the variant was first detected, on its red restricted-travel list before 23 April.

Neighbouring Pakistan and Bangladesh had been added to the UK's red list on 9 April, with India following a fortnight later, four days after a visit to the country during which Johnson hoped to announce a new trade deal was called off.

The Delta variant accounts for 90% of new UK cases and critics have argued that since half of early infections involved international travel, a ban on all arrivals except UK citizens and residents [should, as some argued at the time, have been imposed earlier](#).

In fact, Britain was one of the first major western countries to severely restrict travel from India over Delta variant concerns. The French government announced a mandatory 10-day quarantine and test for all arrivals from India on 22 April, with Germany following suit four days later.

Berlin designated India as a “virus variant area with a significantly elevated risk of infection”, in effect barring entry to the country, even with a valid visa, for almost everyone – except German nationals – who visited India during the last 10 days.

[cases](#)

Italy's ban came on 25 April, prohibiting entry for travellers who have been in India in the past 14 days. Like many other EU states, exemptions are essentially available only to nationals, residents and to those with an urgent humanitarian reason – such as a close family bereavement – to travel.

The US did not tighten its restrictions until 4 May, after the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) placed India at the highest level on its risk scale, warning that even vaccinated travellers may get and spread variants.

Australia at first banned even its own citizens from returning from India on 27 April, with the prime minister, Scott Morrison, warning anyone who tried risked up to five years in jail and a \$50,000 fine, but backed down a fortnight later in the face of public outcry.

However, although the UK acted at about the same time as other countries, the volume of traffic between Britain and its former colony is generally higher than between India and most EU member states, potentially justifying earlier action.

In addition, most EU states earlier this year denied entry to travellers from almost all non-EU countries, with the exception of their own nationals and residents and people with proof of “an imperative personal or family reason”, an emergency medical appointment or a professional trip that could not be postponed.

According to the Civil Aviation Authority, about 50,000 people travelled between India and the UK in February, nearly 900 a day in each direction. On 13 May, Public Health England found nearly half of Delta variant cases in England were travellers.

Ireland’s transport minister, Eamon Ryan, said Dublin’s decision “reflects concern about the Delta variant, and to try to hold back the development of that variant here as much as we can and give us time to get vaccines out to give us cover against it”.

The move follows France’s recent decision to allow travellers from the UK who are fully vaccinated to enter the country with a negative test, but demand that those who are not have an essential reason for travel and a negative test. They must also complete a seven-day quarantine.

Germany declared the UK a virus variant area of concern on 23 May, meaning only German citizens or residents and their immediate family, plus

those with an urgent humanitarian reason, may enter the country from the UK.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/jun/15/ireland-double-quarantine-period-unvaccinated-uk-arrivals-coronavirus>

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Climate change

UK failing to protect against climate dangers, advisers warn

It is ‘absolutely illogical’ not to tackle the risks of heatwaves and power blackouts, says Climate Change Committee



High temperatures may be good for days at the beach but in 2020's heatwave 2,500 people died in the UK. Photograph: Steve Parsons/PA

High temperatures may be good for days at the beach but in 2020's heatwave 2,500 people died in the UK. Photograph: Steve Parsons/PA

[Damian Carrington](#) *Environment editor*

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Wed 16 Jun 2021 01.01 EDT

The UK government is failing to protect people from the fast-rising risks of the climate crisis, from deadly heatwaves to power blackouts, its official climate advisers have warned.

The [climate change committee](#) said action to improve the nation's resilience is not keeping pace with the impacts of global heating, many of which are already causing harm. The CCC's experts said they were frustrated by the "absolutely illogical" lack of sufficient action on adaptation, particularly as acting is up to 10 times more cost-effective than not doing so.

They said climate change was here now. In 2020's heatwave, 2,500 people died in the UK, but the CCC said the government had not heeded their warnings for more than a decade that homes must be made easier to cool, such as by using shutters.

Cutting carbon emissions remained vital to avoid the worst climate impacts, the CCC said, but some were inevitable. It highlighted a series of risks that required action within two years at the latest. These included damage to woodlands and peatlands by high temperatures and drought that would prevent the UK meeting its goal of net zero emissions by 2050, because these areas would be unable to remove CO2 from the atmosphere.

"Adaptation remains the Cinderella of climate change, still sitting in rags by the stove: under-resourced, underfunded and often ignored," said Baroness Brown, the chair of the CCC's adaptation committee. "Not only is it essential that we do adaptation, but it also provides economic benefit. So it's absolutely illogical that we are not doing it."

"Our particular frustration is that after the last climate-change risk assessment in 2016, the adaptation plan that was published was really inadequate," she said. "It didn't address many of the risks highlighted and it wasn't in any way action focused. A detailed, effective action plan that prepares the UK for climate change is now essential and needed urgently."

Chris Stark, the CCC's chief executive, said there was a "wilful reluctance" of ministers to factor adaptation into their policies: "That's because it's hard, it doesn't fit with the [five-year] political cycle and it doesn't have the glamour of net zero attached to it. The government has got to get real about it."

The CCC's report is based on an [independent 1,500-page analysis](#) by 450 experts from 130 organisations that provides a comprehensive view of the

climate-change risks faced by the UK.

“Alarmingly, this new evidence shows the gap between the level of risk we face and the level of adaptation under way has widened,” it said. “The UK has the capacity and the resources to respond effectively, yet it has not done so.”

The assessment considered 53 risks linked to future temperature rises of between 2C and 4C of global heating and found there was sufficient adaptation under way for only four. Even if heating was limited to 2C, an optimistic scenario, the number of risks with annual costs in the billions per year would triple by the 2080s, the CCC said.

[Climate crisis to put millions of British homes at risk of subsiding](#)
[Read more](#)

The report highlights the impact of heatwaves on human health and productivity, particularly in homes, hospitals and care homes that are unable to remain cool. Since the 2016 assessment, more than 570,000 new homes have been built that are not resilient to high temperatures and a further 1.5m such homes are due to be built in the next five years unless building policy is changed to improve ventilation and shading. More heat is also [increasing costly home subsidence](#) in some regions, with 10,000 homes affected after the 2018 heatwave.

The vulnerability of the power grid to flooding, storms and lack of cooling water is also highlighted, with the impact of future blackouts likely to be even more severe with cars and home heating becoming increasingly electrified. Another risk is that extreme weather overseas could break supply chains for food imported by the UK.

Nature and wildlife are also at risk from the climate crisis, with knock-on effects for people if ecosystems cannot absorb carbon and soak up water to reduce flood risk. The CCC said the UK will require 80m tonnes of CO₂ a year to be removed from the air by 2050 to compensate for sectors unable to completely decarbonise, such as aviation.

“We cannot expect nature to mop up all that carbon if it’s too hot and too dry for the trees to grow,” said Stark. Restoring nature now so it can survive future climate impacts is vital, the CCC said.

Peatlands can store huge amounts of carbon but Kathryn Brown, at the CCC, said they were “liable to collapse” with heat and drought if in poor condition. Today only about 5% of upland peat is in good condition and the UK’s recent commitments will [restore only another 5%](#), she said. “We need to see 100% restoration by 2045.”

The Met Office’s Prof Richard Betts, a lead author of the technical report, said he had been struck by the projected increases in landslides during heavier rainstorms, in places such as railway embankments and coal waste tips in Wales.

[Sales of peat compost to gardeners to be banned from 2024](#)

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The CCC report said there would be potential climate benefits in a hotter UK, such as longer growing seasons and reduced number of deaths due to winter cold and lower home heating bills. But these were far outweighed by the negative impacts, it said.

The [CCC’s last risk assessment](#) in 2016 warned the UK was poorly prepared for water shortages and floods, and while further adaptation action was needed, some had been taken. In 2019, the CCC repeated its warnings that the [UK had no proper plans](#) for protecting people from heatwaves, flash flooding and other impacts of the climate crisis.

A government spokesperson said: “We welcome this report and will consider its recommendations closely as we continue to demonstrate global leadership on climate change ahead of COP26 in November.” The government is consulting on regulations to reduce the risk of overheating in new residential buildings.

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[Volvo](#)

Volvo to build steel cars without fossil fuels by 2026

Swedish carmaker joins forces with steel firm to use technology that replaces coal with hydrogen



Workers assemble Volvo vehicles at the firm's Gothenburg factory.
Photograph: Bob Strong/Reuters

Workers assemble Volvo vehicles at the firm's Gothenburg factory.
Photograph: Bob Strong/Reuters

[Jasper Jolly](#)

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Wed 16 Jun 2021 01.00 EDT

Volvo plans to build cars using steel made without fossil fuels by 2026, as part of a deal that could significantly reduce the carbon emissions from manufacturing its vehicles.

The Swedish carmaker and compatriot steelmaker SSAB signed a letter of intent to commercialise technology that replaces coal with hydrogen in a crucial part of the process.

Steel is a big [contributor to global carbon emissions](#) but it is widely seen as one of the most difficult sectors to decarbonise. Blastfurnaces use huge amounts of energy, while carbon dioxide is also released when coking coal is used to remove oxygen from iron ore.

Volvo estimates the steel in its petrol and diesel cars accounts for 35% of carbon emitted during production. The figure is 20% for Volvo's electric vehicles, which use significantly more energy in making batteries, although over the lifetime of an electric car, [average resource and energy use is expected to be significantly lower](#).

Substituting coking coal for hydrogen is expected to reduce emissions from steelmaking by at least 90%.

The deal with SSAB is expected to make Volvo Cars, owned by the Chinese carmaker Geely, the first major marque to use the lower-emission steel. However, it will take some time to increase production to commercial scale and to test its safety.

Volvo hopes to use it in a concept car by 2025, with commercial applications arriving by 2026 at the earliest. That would help the company reduce its cars' average emissions before a [self-imposed 2030 deadline to make battery electric cars](#) only. By 2040, Volvo is aiming to be climate-neutral.

Kerstin Enochsson, Volvo's head of procurement, said the carmaker was in talks with other steelmakers in Europe and the US about lower-emissions technology. However, she added that progress in China – the world's largest car market – was slower because it was harder to secure renewable energy.

Volvo is a good candidate to develop the cleaner steel technology in part because of abundant renewable energy, particularly in northern Sweden. Renewable energy will be crucial to make zero-emissions hydrogen from water with electricity, rather than [relying on a fossil fuel process](#) that still releases carbon dioxide.

Enochsson said it was too early to say what effect the new technology would have on car prices, but added that the carmaker saw environmental sustainability as a key part of its attraction to buyers. She said Volvo internally referred to sustainability as “planetary safety”, echoing a marketing focus on [safety features such as three-point seatbelts](#) that it has long used as a selling point.

Carmakers have among the most complex supply chains of any consumer product, making it difficult to estimate cars’ carbon footprints. Large suppliers “realise they are not attractive over time only having good products with good prices”, Enochsson said. “They need to have a sustainability agenda.”

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Immigration and asylum

Hundreds of thousands of EU citizens in UK risk uncertain status from 1 July

Deadline to apply for settled status two weeks away, as academics warn that vulnerable groups face loss of rights



About 320,000 EU nationals do not yet have a decision on their status in the UK despite the imminent deadline. Photograph: Loic Seigland/Getty Images/iStockphoto

About 320,000 EU nationals do not yet have a decision on their status in the UK despite the imminent deadline. Photograph: Loic Seigland/Getty Images/iStockphoto

[*Lisa O'Carroll*](#) *Brexit correspondent*
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Wed 16 Jun 2021 01.00 EDT

Academics are sounding the alarm about the hundreds of thousands of EU citizens in the UK who face falling into legal limbo on 1 July with their right to rent a home, work or continue in retirement at risk.

With just 13 days to go before the government's deadline for EU and EEA nationals and their children to apply for settled or pre-settled status, a report from UK in a Changing [Europe](#) warns of the dangers ahead for those who do not apply by 30 June.

The academic campaign group is concerned that some who have applied but are still awaiting a decision from the Home Office – including children and the retired – could face difficulties if they cannot prove their status when they [try to access the NHS](#) or travel.

The latest official statistics show 320,000 people are still awaiting a decision on their status – settled status for those who have been in the country for more than five years and pre-settled for those in the country for fewer than five.

The UK in a Changing Europe report, titled [Brexit](#) and Beyond, warned: “If applicants cannot demonstrate they have a ‘right to reside’, they will lose their rights immediately, even if their application is valid.

“This is likely to impact most severely upon vulnerable applicants with complicated cases. Given delays in processing applications this difference in treatment could become quite significant.”

The government has pledged that those on the waiting list do not need to worry and “a pragmatic and flexible approach” will be taken on late applications.

However, Catherine Barnard, deputy director of UK in a Changing Europe and a professor in EU law at Cambridge University, said people should be aware of the legal importance of having status, despite government reassurances.

“In order to apply for settled or pre-settled status all you needed to be was resident in the country before 31 December. But in order to be protected

after 30 June, if you have not got the status, you have to be exercising EU treaty rights which means you have to be in work, self-employed, a student or a person of independent means,” she said.

This means that children, the retired or spouses of an EU citizen who are from a non-EU country who have applied for but have not been granted status could be in difficulty, she said.

[Boris Johnson urged to axe deadline for EU citizens to apply to stay in UK](#)
[Read more](#)

The other cohort at risk are those that did not know they needed to apply for citizenship, which could include older adults who have been in the country for decades and do not believe the scheme applies to them, Barnard said.

UK in a Changing Europe analysis showed that just 2% of the 5.4 million applications for status are in the over 65s category.

Other vulnerable categories highlighted [by 45 charities last week](#) included victims of violence, homeless people, children and adults in care.

Barnard said: “On one level, the EU settled status is a massive success in terms of providing a quick and efficient system, which has reached huge numbers of people. But it is about to enter a phase that will require sensitive management where the government will need to show pragmatism and flexibility in dealing with difficult cases.”

From 1 July landlords and employers will also face fines if they rent to or employ people without status or who have applied for status, with representatives of tenanted properties last year warning that some owners will just go for the easy option and rent to British and Irish people who have automatic rights.

Under legislation about to be updated, [landlords will be required to perform follow-up checks](#) on tenants with pre-settled status and can be fined up to £3,000 for breaking the law, while employers can be fined [up to £15,000](#), with discounts for reporting people to the Home Office early.

The future borders and immigration minister, Kevin Foster, urged those who have not applied to do so by 30 June, promising that rights would be protected for those in the backlog.

“We have already confirmed that someone who has applied to the EU settlement scheme by the 30 June deadline, but has not had a decision by then, will have their rights protected until their application is decided,” he said.

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Wednesday briefing: EU citizens must rush to stay, say UK experts

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[Israel](#)

Israel carries out Gaza Strip airstrike after militants release incendiary balloons

Fragile truce under threat after attack on the Palestinian enclave and violence amid Jewish ultranationalists parade through East Jerusalem

01:34

Israel mounts Gaza Strip airstrike in response to incendiary balloons – video

[Oliver Holmes](#) and *Quique Kierszenbaum in Jerusalem*

Tue 15 Jun 2021 19.54 EDT

Israel has launched airstrikes on the Gaza Strip, the first since a truce [ended 11 days of conflict](#) last month, in response to incendiary balloons launched from the Palestinian territory.

The flare-up in violence, a first test for Israel's new government sworn in three days ago, followed a march in East Jerusalem on Tuesday by Jewish nationalists that had drawn threats of action by Hamas, the ruling militant group in Gaza.

[British backing for Israel helps to sustain the unbearable status quo](#) | [Rafeef Ziadah](#)

[Read more](#)

The Israeli military said its aircraft attacked Hamas armed compounds in Gaza City and the southern town of Khan Younis in the early hours of Wednesday, and was “ready for all scenarios, including renewed fighting in the face of continued terrorist acts emanating from Gaza”.

The strikes, the military said, came in response to the launching of the balloons, which the Israeli fire brigade reported caused 20 blazes in open fields in communities near the Gaza border.

A Hamas spokesman, confirming the Israeli attacks, said Palestinians would continue to pursue their “brave resistance and defend their rights and sacred sites” in Jerusalem.

Earlier in the day, Israeli police fired rubber-tipped bullets at Palestinians protesting against a march by Jewish ultranationalists through Arab neighbourhoods of Jerusalem, a provocative parade that threatened to damage the fragile Gaza ceasefire.

At one point, several dozen young men and teenagers, jumping in their air, chanted: “Death to Arabs!” Palestinian medics said Israeli police had wounded more than 30 people protesting against the parade.

Along the frontier inside Gaza, Palestinians also held rallies, with an unconfirmed report that an Israeli sniper shot one person in the leg. While no rockets were fired, militants attached incendiary devices to helium-filled balloons that floated into Israel, causing dozens of fires.

In Jerusalem, thousands of Jewish ultranationalists waving Israel’s blue and white flag made their way down to the Old City as a heavy police presence blocked off roads to prevent them from confronting Palestinians.

“We come to support Israel and say that Jerusalem is ours,” said Amitai Cohen, 50, as crowds chanted behind him. “And it’s supposed to be for Israel and not anybody else.” Several Israeli parliamentarians joined the parade.

מצעד הדגלים בירושלים | חברי הכנסת שלמה קרעי מהליכוד ויו"ר הציונות הדתית
סמוטריץ' רוקדים בשער שכם
[@yaara_shapira](https://www.pic.twitter.com/jObc3KfYkH) בצלאל

— כאן חדשות (@kann_news) [June 15, 2021](#)

The protests and airstrikes posed a test for Israel's new government, [which was sworn in on Sunday](#) and is led by the far-right politician Naftali Bennett but includes parties from across the ideological spectrum, including an Arab party.

It will also be a test for the new US ambassador to Israel, former Morgan Stanley banker Thomas Nides, was appointed on Tuesday.

Mansour Abbas, whose small party is the first Arab faction to join a governing coalition, told a local radio station he was opposed to any “provocation”, adding that “anyone who has watched and followed this parade knows what its purpose is”.

Meanwhile, Yair Lapid, the country's foreign minister, [said in a tweet](#) that the marchers who shouted “Death to Arabs” were a “disgrace to the people of Israel”.



Knesset member Itamar Ben-Gvir waves an Israeli flag together with other ultranationalists during the “Flags March” in Jerusalem on Tuesday. Photograph: Ariel Schalit/AP

A similar far-right parade last month – held to flaunt Israel's control of the entire city – [played a key role](#) in building the tensions that led to the [11-day](#).

[Gaza war](#). However, Tuesday's march was less well attended and appeared more controlled by police.

Jerusalem is the emotional centre of a decades-old crisis. Israeli forces took over the holy city in 1967, including Arab neighbourhoods and the Haram al-Sharif complex, which houses al-Aqsa mosque – the third-holiest site in Islam. To many Jews, that compound is the Temple Mount, the holiest site in Judaism, and it is a deeply symbolic place for many Israelis. Christians also revere the city as the place where Jesus died.

Israel annexed East Jerusalem after the 1967 war and considers the whole area to be part of its capital, despite most world powers claiming the city's status should be decided in a future peace deal.

Annually, Israelis celebrate the capture of Jerusalem in a parade, with flag-waving nationalists marching through the Old City. Previous events have seen participants angrily bang on shuttered doors as they descend through the Muslim quarter.

Organisers complain that they were unable to properly hold the march as they usually do on Jerusalem Day, which this year came amid a surge in tensions.

On 10 May, as a weeks-long police crackdown on Palestinian protesters and the potential eviction of families from the Sheikh Jarrah neighbourhood [came to a climax](#), Israeli authorities decided at the last moment to reroute the march away from Arab districts.

However, the decision did little to calm an already spiralling situation. That evening, the parade [was interrupted by air raid sirens](#) after Hamas militants fired rockets – the opening salvo of what would become [11 days of intense fighting](#). More than 250 people were killed in Gaza and 13 in Israel before a ceasefire took effect on 21 May.

Fearing a renewed conflict Israeli police [had changed the route to avoid the Muslim quarter](#). However, the planned march will still pass through other Arab areas. [Bennett](#) comes from a nationalist political bloc that considers the cancelling of the march as a capitulation.

Asked why he had come to the parade, one 19-year-old Israeli protester, Elkana Ithaki, said: “First of all, this question is simply very stupid. This is our country, this is our holy place. Why should we be afraid to come here and raise our flag? Because there are some Arabs in Gaza who want to kill us? So what, they can just go to hell. We are stronger, we are in Israel, and we are not going to give up no matter what.”

The United Nations deputy spokesperson Farhan Haq said UN officials had urged all sides to avoid “provocations” in order to solidify the unofficial Gaza truce.

Hamas had issued a statement calling on Palestinians to show “valiant resistance” to the march. It urged people to gather in the streets of the Old City and at al-Aqsa mosque to “rise up in the face of the occupier and resist it by all means to stop its crimes and arrogance”.

Separately, Mohammad Shtayyeh, the prime minister of the internationally backed Palestinian Authority, based in the West Bank, denounced the march, calling it a “provocation and aggression against our people”.

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Joe Biden

Biden to meet Putin at highly anticipated summit in Geneva

Talks come amid tensions between US and Russia, and expected to focus on regional conflicts, climate, Covid and cybersecurity



President Joe Biden smiles as he arrives for a meeting with the Swiss president in Geneva before his summit with Putin. Photograph: Fabrice Coffrini/AFP/Getty

President Joe Biden smiles as he arrives for a meeting with the Swiss president in Geneva before his summit with Putin. Photograph: Fabrice Coffrini/AFP/Getty

[Andrew Roth](#) in Geneva

Wed 16 Jun 2021 03.10 EDT

The US president, Joe Biden, is due to meet Russia's [Vladimir Putin](#) in Geneva in a highly anticipated summit meant to prevent the two countries'

rivalry from descending into open conflict.

Biden has said he is seeking “stable, predictable” relations with [Russia](#) despite claims that Putin has interfered in American elections, provoked wars with his neighbours, and sought to crush dissent by jailing opposition leaders.

Putin brings his own list of grievances to Geneva [in his first trip abroad since the outbreak of the coronavirus in 2020](#). He has expressed anger about US support for Ukraine’s government and claims of opposition backing in Russia and neighbouring Belarus, as well as the expansion of Nato into eastern Europe.

While the two sides may seek common ground on issues such as nuclear arms control, there are numerous tripwires that could derail the conversation, prompting expectations of a careful summit that both sides attempt to navigate without causing a scandal. One analyst [described the upcoming meeting as “housekeeping”](#) after a long period of paralysing disfunction between Russia and the US.

Wednesday’s summit is the first meeting between US and Russian leaders since Putin met Donald Trump in Helsinki in 2018. In a meeting seen as deeply embarrassing for the U S, Trump appeared to kowtow to Putin by rejecting his own FBI’s assessment that Russia had interfered in the 2016 US presidential elections. “President Putin says it’s not Russia. I don’t see any reason why it would be,” he told journalists. An aide later said she had considered faking a medical emergency to end the joint press conference.

Biden appears to be taking no chances of a repeat on Wednesday. The two presidents are to meet senior diplomatic and military advisers at an 18th-century villa in Geneva’s Parc de La Grange before holding separate press conferences on Wednesday evening. Hundreds of journalists have flown in for the talks, which will shut down much of the city centre, including the picturesque coastline of Lake Geneva.

Nonetheless, Biden is under pressure for agreeing to meet Putin without any preconditions, gifting the Russian leader the prestige of a presidential summit with little expectation of any concessions or even progress in the

relationship. His advisers reportedly told him not to appear with Putin after the talks. “This is not a contest about who can do better in front of a press conference or try to embarrass each other,” Biden said last week, explaining the decision.

The talks have also raised concerns among Russia’s neighbours such as Ukraine, where President Volodymyr Zelenskiy sought an audience with Biden to argue the country’s case for Nato membership before this week’s summit. The US has left the door open to Ukraine’s accession to the alliance, but did not take meaningful steps to speed up that process.

Putin appeared defiant in a US television interview last week, refusing to give guarantees that the opposition leader Alexei Navalny will get out of prison alive and comparing his movement to the US protesters who stormed the US Capitol on 6 January.

He also dangled the possibility of arranging a trade for two Americans imprisoned in Russia – the former US Marine Trevor Reed, and Paul Whelan, a Michigan corporate executive. He said Moscow would seek the release of imprisoned Russians, including Konstantin Yaroshenko, a pilot arrested in May 2010 in Liberia on charges of conspiracy to smuggle drugs, and handed over to the Drugs Enforcement Administration, which flew him to the US for trial.

“We have a saying: ‘Don’t be mad at the mirror if you are ugly,’” Putin told an NBC journalist, accusing the US of hypocrisy.

The summit is expected to cover a wide range of topics, including strategic stability, regional conflicts, climate, the coronavirus pandemic, cybersecurity and more. There is little expected in terms of concrete deliverables from the talks but the White House has made a bet that meeting Putin and holding talks is better than the alternative.

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US politics

Jared Kushner agrees book deal for ‘definitive’ account of Trump presidency

The untitled memoir by the president’s son-in-law will be published in 2022



Jared Kushner’s book deal comes amid debate in the industry about the value of books by Trump officials – or indeed Donald Trump himself. Photograph: David Maxwell/EPA

Jared Kushner’s book deal comes amid debate in the industry about the value of books by Trump officials – or indeed Donald Trump himself. Photograph: David Maxwell/EPA

Associated Press

Tue 15 Jun 2021 23.45 EDT

Jared Kushner, the son-in-law of former president Donald Trump and a senior adviser in his administration, has secured a book deal to recount Trump’s presidency.

Broadside Books, a conservative imprint of HarperCollins Publishers, announced that Kushner's book will come out in early 2022. Kushner has begun working on the memoir, currently untitled, and is expected to write about everything from the Middle East to criminal justice reform to the pandemic. Financial terms were not disclosed.

The signing of the Kushner deal comes amid a debate in the book industry over which Trump officials, notably Trump himself, can be taken on without starting a revolt at the publishing house. Thousands of Simon & Schuster employees and authors signed an open letter this spring condemning the publisher's decision to sign up former vice-president Mike Pence.

Broadside said on Tuesday: "His book will be the definitive, thorough recounting of the administration, and the truth about what happened behind closed doors."

[Trump insists he's writing 'book of all books' but big publishers unlikely to touch it](#)

[Read more](#)

He may find himself in competition with his father-in-law, who has insisted he is writing "the book of all books" – even though major figures in US publishing [said on Tuesday](#) that no big house is likely to touch a memoir by the 45th president.

Kushner played a role in building ties between Israel and United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Sudan and Morocco – the so-called Abraham Accords – and a [criminal justice bill](#) passed by Congress in 2018.

He has also been the subject of numerous controversies, whether for his financial dealings and potential conflicts of interest or for the administration's widely criticised handling of Covid-19, which has killed more than 600,000 Americans – the highest toll of any country.

In April 2020, less than two months into the pandemic, Kushner labelled the White House response a "great success story", dismissed "the eternal lockdown crowd" and also said: "I think you'll see by June a lot of the country should be back to normal and the hope is that by July the country's

really rocking again.”

At a Simon & Schuster town hall in May, employees confronted CEO Jonathan Karp over the Pence deal. Karp responded that he felt the company had a mission to hear opposing sides of political debates.

He also said he did not want to publish Trump – who issued his 2015 book *Crippled America* through the Simon & Schuster imprint Threshold Editions – because he didn’t think the former president would provide an honest account of his time in office.

Trump issued a statement last week that he was “writing like crazy” and had turned down two offers “from the most unlikely of publishers,” a claim widely disputed within the industry.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2021/jun/16/jared-kushner-agrees-book-deal-for-definitive-account-of-trump-presidency>.

[World Trade Organization](#)

US-EU agree ceasefire in long-running trade war over aircraft subsidies

Deal agreed during Joe Biden's trip to Brussels as White House seeks to focus on threat posed by China



Billions of euros and dollars worth of tit-for-tat tariffs imposed on the US manufacturer Boeing and its European rival Airbus will be suspended. Photograph: Hannah McKay/EPA

Billions of euros and dollars worth of tit-for-tat tariffs imposed on the US manufacturer Boeing and its European rival Airbus will be suspended. Photograph: Hannah McKay/EPA

[Daniel Boffey](#) in Brussels and [Jasper Jolly](#)

Wed 16 Jun 2021 01.00 EDT

A five-year ceasefire in the long-running US-EU trade war over subsidies to aircraft makers has been agreed during Joe Biden's visit to Brussels, as the

White House sought to focus attention on the greater threat said to be posed by China.

Billions of euros and dollars worth of tit-for-tat tariffs imposed on the US manufacturer Boeing and its European rival [Airbus](#) will be suspended after both sides committed to work on removing unfair subsidies.

As an EU member state, the UK had also been hit by US tariffs linked to the dispute and the government had imposed its own on American goods. Those were [mutually suspended](#) in March.

It is understood the US trade representative, Katherine Tai, will meet the international trade secretary, Liz Truss, on Wednesday and a longer-lasting ceasefire is expected, in the mould of Biden's deal with the EU.

The European Commission president, Ursula von der Leyen, described the announcement of a suspension of tariffs between the EU and the US as a "breakthrough".

"This really opens a new chapter in our relationship because we move from litigation to cooperation on aircraft – after 17 years of dispute," she said.

Tai said it reflected the desire of the new administration to stop clashing with its allies in light of the challenge posed by Beijing and ahead of Biden's meeting with the Russian president, Vladimir Putin, on Wednesday.

"Today's announcement resolves a longstanding trade irritant in the US-Europe relationship," Tai said. "Instead of fighting with one of our closest allies, we are finally coming together against a common threat.

"We agreed to work together to challenge and counter China's non-market practices in this sector in specific ways that reflect our standards for fair competition."

An Airbus spokesperson said: "Airbus welcomes news of an agreement between the European Commission and USTR regarding the WTO dispute on large civil aircraft.

“This will provide the basis to create a level-playing field which we have advocated for since the start of this dispute. It will also avoid lose-lose tariffs that are only adding to the many challenges that our industry faces.”

The tariffs applied by both sides had been temporarily suspended since 11 March. The new agreement will officially go into effect on 11 July.

A minister-level working group will be established to discuss limits on subsidies and both sides agreed to ensure funding will not “harm the other side”. The two sides also pledged to work together in “addressing non-market practices of third parties”.

The announcement came at the end of a summit in Brussels attended by Biden, Von der Leyen and the European Council president, Charles Michel, the first such meeting in seven years.

“I think the future is very, very bright, we have the opportunity to do some very good things,” Biden said.

The US president, after [attending the G7 meeting in Cornwall](#) and a Nato gathering in Brussels, chose not to join Von der Leyen and Michel at a post-summit press conference but he will travel next to Geneva to hold talks with Putin.

Under a joint EU-US statement, it was further agreed that Brussels and Washington would establish a forum on Russia to exchange ideas on tackling disruptive moves by Moscow, including cyber-attacks and disinformation.

About \$11.5bn (£8.2bn) of tariffs had been applied on goods ranging from EU wine to US tobacco and spirits over the issue of state subsidies for aircraft manufacturers Boeing and Airbus. The row had become the longest running dispute in the history of the [World Trade Organization](#). Both sides said the disagreement had been a serious drain on economic growth.

The French president, Emmanuel Macron, welcomed the deal, saying it would help French winemakers. “This is effective cooperation. This is good news for our wine producers,” he said.

Tai said tariffs could be reapplied at any point, however, if it was found that US companies were not being allowed to “compete fairly”. There was also no commitment by Biden to lift tariffs applied by Donald Trump on EU steel and aluminium, part of a separate dispute.

Von der Leyen insisted she was confident a solution would be found before the end of the year on steel and hailed a new understanding between Brussels and Washington. She said the EU would hold fire for six months on countermeasures it could have imposed on US steel and aluminium.

Germany’s economy minister, Peter Altmaier, said the accord was “a great relief”. Bruno Le Maire, France’s minister for economy and finance, said he hoped for a “permanent” end to the dispute.

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[Energy](#).

Poorer households in UK should get free heat pumps, say experts

Help is needed to replace gas boilers with low-carbon alternatives, warn builders, energy firms and charities



Heat pumps can cost thousands of pounds to install. Photograph: KBIImages/Alamy

Heat pumps can cost thousands of pounds to install. Photograph: KBIImages/Alamy

[Fiona Harvey](#) *Environment correspondent*

Wed 16 Jun 2021 02.00 EDT

Households on low incomes should be supplied with free heat pumps in order to kickstart the market for low-carbon heating equipment and meet the UK's climate targets, experts have told the government.

[Heat pumps](#) can currently cost thousands of pounds to install, but the more that are installed, the faster that cost is likely to come down. They are widely regarded as the [best way to replace the UK's gas boilers](#) and reduce carbon dioxide emissions from homes.

More than 20 organisations representing builders and construction businesses, energy companies and civil society groups have signed an open letter calling for a “fair heat deal” that would ensure people on low incomes can gain access to heat pumps.

About 14% of the UK's greenhouse gas emissions come from heating the UK's poor housing stock, most of which is also draughty and energy inefficient. The group also called for insulation to be made available to people on low incomes.

The government [scrapped its programme](#) to install insulation and low-carbon heating, called the green homes grant, after only six months, during which a fraction of the homes targeted were insulated, and there were [widespread complaints of poor service](#).

Ministers are now working on a new heat and buildings strategy, which has not yet been published. The Climate Change Committee, the government's statutory advisers, has warned that bringing down emissions from the domestic housing sector will be essential to meeting the UK's target of net zero emissions by 2050.

Juliet Phillips, a senior policy adviser at the E3G thinktank, one of the organisations behind the call, said: “Moving from a gas boiler to a heat pump is one of the biggest carbon savings a household can make. But it must be affordable and we urge the government to support our fair heat deal to ensure no one is left behind in the green industrial revolution. If done right, the UK can lead the world in reducing carbon emissions from heat while slashing energy bills, boosting the economy and protecting the fuel poor.”

The letter also called on ministers to remove environmental levies from energy bills, to ensure it is always cheaper to run a heat pump than a boiler, and for grants to all households not on low incomes, to ensure that the cost

of a new heat pump is competitive with the cost of installing a new gas boiler.

The signatories also called for the [removal of VAT on green home products](#) and servicers, and for changes to stamp duty to reduce the cost of homes that have been fitted with low-carbon technology.

The signatories include the Federation of Master Builders, [Energy](#) UK, Friends of the Earth, the UK Green Building Council, the thinktank E3G and the CPRE countryside charity.

Mike Thornton, the chief executive of the Energy Saving Trust, said: “For the UK to reach its net zero targets, we need real pace and scale in rolling out heat pumps. A fair heat deal will provide the confidence, clarity and certainty which will unlock the investment required for this.”

A spokesperson for the Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy said: “We are already leading the way to ensure affordability and fairness are at the heart of clean heating reforms, and more detail on our approach will be provided in the upcoming heat and buildings strategy.

“We are supporting lower income households and vulnerable people to make homes greener and cut energy bills, and will continue to do so through schemes such as the home upgrade grant and the new clean heat grant from April next year.”

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2021/jun/16/poorer-households-in-uk-should-get-free-heat-pumps-say-experts>

[Peru](#)

Bridge made of string: Peruvians weave 500-year-old Incan crossing back into place

Q'eswachaka bridge connected communities divided by Apurimac river before falling into disrepair because of pandemic

01:00

Peruvians re-weave Incan hanging bridge spanning river – video

Reuters in Lima

Tue 15 Jun 2021 20.04 EDT

Peruvians from the Huinchiri community in Cusco region are rebuilding a 500-year-old Incan hanging bridge, made using traditional weaving techniques to string a crossing together spanning the Apurimac river far below.

The Q'eswachaka bridge has been used for over 500 years to connect communities divided by the river. But during the [Covid pandemic](#) it fell into disrepair and collapsed in March.

Members of the affected communities, such as the Huinchiri, decided to rebuild the 30-meter (98.43 ft) long bridge in the traditional Incan style: by weaving it.



Members of the Huinchiri community rebuild the Qeswachaka bridge in Canas province, Peru. The bridge spans the Apurimac river. Photograph: Cusco Regional Government/Reuters

Teams of workers, starting from both sides of the ravine and balancing on giant main ropes that had been stretched over the river, worked towards the centre, putting in place smaller ropes as barriers between the handrail ropes and the walkway's floor.

“Last year because of the pandemic, it wasn’t strengthened ... That is why at the beginning of this year the bridge fell,” said Cusco Regional Governor Jean Paul Benavente.

“But now it is like an answer to the pandemic itself. From the depths of the Peruvian Andean identity, this bridge is strung up across the Apurimac basin and we can tell the world that we are coming out if this little by little.”



Members of the Huinchiri community use traditional weaving techniques to rebuilt the hanging bridge in Canas, Peru, 13 June 2021. Photograph: Cusco Regional Government/Reuters

In 2013, Unesco recognised the skills and traditions associated to the reconstruction of the Q'eswachaka bridge as Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.



Members of the Huinchiri community rebuild the Qeswachaka bridge using traditional weaving techniques in Canas province. Photograph: Cusco Regional Government/Reuters

“This is history. More than 500 years of a paradox in time. The Q’eswachaka, this Incan living bridge, is really an expression and cultural manifestation,” added Benavente.

“This is community, in this particular case, the Huinchiri community from the Quehue district is currently working to string up this bridge that connects villages, but that also connects traditions and connects culture.”

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/jun/16/bridge-made-of-string-peruvians-weave-500-year-old-incan-crossing-back-into-place>

[Bristol](#)

Bristol to build ‘gap homes’ on garage sites to tackle housing crisis

Council hopes micro dwellings built on spaces between houses and gardens will revive neighbourhoods



An artist's impression of the ‘gap homes’ set to be built on old garage sites in Bristol. Photograph: No byline/Handout

An artist's impression of the ‘gap homes’ set to be built on old garage sites in Bristol. Photograph: No byline/Handout

[*Steven Morris*](#)

[*@stevenmorris20*](#)

Wed 16 Jun 2021 02.44 EDT

Unique micro homes are to be built on old garage sites in [Bristol](#) to help the city tackle its housing crisis.

“Gap homes” – so-called because they will be constructed in small spaces between houses and gardens – would be made off site and dropped into place across the city.

The concept, which its developers say is the first of its kind, features areas of shared green space, community gardens and outdoor seating to encourage neighbourly connections and interactions.

[A consultation on the first proposed site](#) in Horfield, to the north of the city centre and close to Southmead hospital, has been launched by the city council.

The council said in its consultation: “The intention is to deliver nine affordable homes on this site and we are exploring opportunities for how these will be let to benefit the local area.

“This project will revitalise the disused garage plots and deliver much-needed homes. Manufacture of the houses would largely be carried out off-site which would cause less disruption than a traditional build during the construction phase.”

The lack of affordable housing is one of Bristol’s most pressing problems, with the city’s mayor, [Marvin Rees, recently describing gentrification](#) as a “ferocious challenge”.



An old garage site in Horfield, Bristol, where the first ‘gap homes’ are to be built. Photograph: No byline/handout

[Architects BDP, which has come up with the gap house](#), said it was a “contemporary, cost effective eco-home designed to fit on to urban garage plots and super-insulated”, adding: “They are designed with large windows and low energy lighting and fitted with solar panels and air source heat pumps.

[BDP](#) continued: “Disused garage plots on housing estates have fallen into disrepair, becoming a magnet for anti-social behaviour.

“Placing these new, attractive and carefully designed houses in their place will not only help deliver much-needed homes, it will also bring new energy and life, revitalising neighbourhoods and helping to build stronger, more resilient communities.”

Bristol has an estimated 2,000 garages on 300 sites, so BDP says the concept has huge potential in terms of helping to tackle the city’s housing crisis.

[Martin Jones](#), landscape architect director in BDP’s Bristol studio, said they could work well as homes for key workers. He said “gap homes” could be rolled out in cities across the UK.

They will have two storeys, including an open-plan living/dining room and a kitchen with a bedroom upstairs. He said: “It’s important they look stylish.”

Planning permission is to be sought for the first gap homes in Horfield.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2021/jun/16/bristol-to-build-gap-homes-on-garage-sites-to-tackle-housing-crisis>

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[Euro 2020](#)

Cristiano Ronaldo snub wipes billions off Coca-Cola's market value

- Portugal captain rejects bottles in Euro 2020 press conference
- Soft drink company's share price drops by 1.6%



Cristiano Ronaldo scored twice in Portugal's opening Euro 2020 fixture against Hungary. Photograph: Hugo Delgado/EPA

Cristiano Ronaldo scored twice in Portugal's opening Euro 2020 fixture against Hungary. Photograph: Hugo Delgado/EPA

Australian Associated Press

Tue 15 Jun 2021 22.05 EDT

Cristiano Ronaldo's removal of two Coca-Cola bottles during a press conference at the Euros has coincided with a \$4bn fall in the share price of the drinks giant.

[Cristiano Ronaldo still relentlessly pursuing Ali Daei and second Euros | Andy Brassell](#)
[Read more](#)

The Portugal captain is a renowned health fanatic and made it clear what he thinks of the carbonated soft drink. The 36-year-old shifted the bottles of [Coca-Cola](#) away from him during a press conference in Budapest on Monday in the prelude to his country's Group F game against Hungary.

Ronaldo followed it by holding up bottle of water before declaring in Portuguese: “Agua!”, appearing to encourage people to choose that instead.

'Drink water'

Cristiano Ronaldo removes Coca-Cola bottles at start of [#Euro2020](#) press conference pic.twitter.com/2eBujl9vzk

— Guardian sport (@guardian_sport) [June 15, 2021](#)

Coca-Cola’s share price dropped from \$56.10 to \$55.22 almost immediately after Ronaldo’s gesture, a 1.6% dip. The market value of Coca-Cola went from \$242bn to \$238bn – a drop of \$4bn.

Coca-Cola, one of the official sponsors of [Euro 2020](#), replied on Tuesday with a statement that said “everyone is entitled to their drink preferences” with different “tastes and needs”.

A Euros spokesperson said: “Players are offered water, alongside Coca-Cola and Coca-Cola Zero Sugar, on arrival at our press conferences.”

Ronaldo is a pop culture colossus, boasting nearly 300 million Instagram followers.

On Tuesday, he scored twice in Portugal’s [3-0 win over Hungary](#) – moving beyond France great Michel Platini as the record goalscorer at the European Championship finals with 11.

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China

Covid outbreaks in Chinese ports could cause global goods shortages

Combination of rise in demand for products as some countries reopen and lockdowns in some port cities mean prices could climb



A cargo ship carrying containers is seen near the Yantian port in Shenzhen following the Covid-19 outbreak in Guangdong province. Photograph: Martin Pollard/Reuters

A cargo ship carrying containers is seen near the Yantian port in Shenzhen following the Covid-19 outbreak in Guangdong province. Photograph: Martin Pollard/Reuters

[Martin Farrer](#), and [Helen Davidson](#) in Taipei

Wed 16 Jun 2021 01.53 EDT

An outbreak of Covid-19 in southern [China](#) has combined with the rapid reopening of the world economy and a shortage of shipping containers to

cause a surge in transport costs that could fuel inflation and cause shortages of goods across the globe.

China reported 21 new coronavirus cases in the mainland on Wednesday with 15 of them in the vital industrial province of Guangdong where [restrictions have been in place for several weeks](#) to contain an outbreak linked to the Delta variant first detected in India.

There are now 150 cases of the variant, mostly in Guangzhou city, and the lockdown has caused the city's massive port to be severely disrupted. A separate outbreak in neighbouring Shenzhen – not believed to be the Delta variant – has also added to the problem. The ports are the third and fifth largest in the world and shipping costs have spiked as a result.

Transporting a 12.2-metre (40ft) steel container by sea from Shanghai to Rotterdam now costs a record \$10,522, which is nearly 300% higher than it was last year, [according to Drewry Shipping](#).

Factory costs in China, the workshop of the world, had already risen 9% in May – the most for more than a decade – because of a rapid increase in demand as the global economy reopens and as glitches in supply chains continue to be ironed out.



Aerial view of villagers queuing up for nucleic acid testing at Futian District in Shenzhen, Guangdong Province Photograph: VCG/Getty Images

Financial markets are also concerned about the spectre of rising inflation after consumer prices in the US last month rose at their fastest rate since 2008 amid a breakneck pace in economic recovery from the pandemic-induced slump.

A boost in demand for goods has helped fuel a rise in the cost of everything from food to cars and household goods.

Investors believe that the US Federal Reserve may see rising inflation as a sign that it has to begin winding down its vast monetary stimulus program and weaning stock markets off years of ultra-low interest rates.

Flavio Romero Macau, a senior lecturer in business at Edith Cowan University in Perth and an expert in supply chains, said the stoppages in China would not normally be a serious problem. But the combination of the other factors meant prices for manufactured goods and commodities could rise significantly over the next three to five years as shipping companies recouped their costs.

“The big players work with contracts set long in advance not spot prices, so the current problems won’t be replicated in higher prices now,” he said.

“But the costs will be increased eventually and this increase will be permanent in the next three to five years because shippers have to get cost back.”

The shipping squeeze was also well under way before the latest China Covid outbreak, as the post-pandemic race to begin transporting goods caused a shortage of containers, not helped by the [Ever Given blockage of the Suez Canal in March](#).

Ports in Guangdong, including Yantian, Shekou, Chiwan and Nansha, have barred vessels from entering ports without advance reservations and will only accept bookings for export-bound containers within three to seven days prior to the arrival of vessels.

Major shipping companies have warned clients of vessel delays, changes to port call schedules, and the possibility of skipping some ports altogether.

The world's leading container line Maersk said increased the duration of expected delays at Yantian to 16 days from 14 days previously.

“One of the biggest ports in China has basically closed down for close to three weeks. They have some berths in operation, but nowhere near enough”, says Nils Haupt, communications director at the German shipping line Hapag-Lloyd, told the BBC.

Ships were being diverted to other ports including Hong Kong but it would not be enough to get rid of the backlog, he said.

Romero said: “There was such a fast recovery post-Covid, with people spending like crazy on TVs, PlayStations, cars etc, the system is out of balance. Covid has created a big puzzle and it takes a long time to put it back together.”

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/jun/16/covid-outbreaks-in-chinese-ports-could-cause-global-goods-shortages>

Social care

Adult social care services face ‘deluge’ of requests for support

Care chiefs in England blame lack of government funding and resources for the strain to services

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Vulnerable and older people have requested more support as society opens up after lockdown. Photograph: Andrew Matthews/PA

Vulnerable and older people have requested more support as society opens up after lockdown. Photograph: Andrew Matthews/PA

[Patrick Butler](#) *Social policy editor*

Tue 15 Jun 2021 19.01 EDT

Adult social care services are facing a “deluge” of requests for support from vulnerable and older people as society starts to open up after the pandemic, according to council care chiefs in England.

There has been a big increase in people needing help after their condition deteriorated while waiting to be admitted to hospital for treatment, as well as a surge in those needing support after being discharged from hospital.

An ongoing lack of resources – English councils have lost £7.7bn from adult social care budgets between 2010 and 2020 – means people needing support face longer waits for less care, the Association of Directors of Adult Social Services ([Adass](#)) warned.

Local authorities were also facing a spike in demand for social care support for people with mental illness, victims of domestic violence and abuse, and rough sleepers, a survey of Adass members found.

The huge strain on unpaid carers during the pandemic was also highlighted: two-thirds of directors reported increases in requests for support from carers who had experienced breakdown or illness, possibly as a result of the stress of being unable to access support services for long periods under lockdown.

According to Carers UK, 4.5 million people became unpaid carers in the weeks after the first lockdown in 2020, on top of an estimated 9 million carers before Covid-19. However, the closure of daycare facilities and a move to online services during the pandemic meant this group became “more hidden than ever”.

Stephen Chandler, the president of Adass, which carried out the survey, said: “Some of the numbers we are seeing are phenomenal. The trends are unsustainable and show why the government must publish its plans for social care as a matter of urgency.”

Chandler added that the survey underlined the urgency of the need for reform of adult social care funding. “Adult social care has stepped up during the pandemic and is providing care and support for many more people who have been unable to get admission to hospital and for many more who have been discharged. Without social care, the [NHS](#) would collapse.”

Meanwhile, a cross-party group of MPs said the pandemic showed the UK could not afford more broken promises on adult social care, and called on the government to set out a comprehensive funding plan by the end of the year.

“The pandemic has [shone a light on the sector](#) and underlined how vital it is to so many, while emphasising that care is not properly funded, lacks transparency and urgently needs reform,” a report by the public accounts committee (PAC) said.

The committee added it was sceptical ministers could be relied on to deliver change, however, saying social care reform had not happened despite two decades of green papers, white papers, reviews and political commitments.

Meg Hillier, chair of PAC, said: “The reforms to address this now must include a long-term funding plan that allows local authorities and providers to innovate and improve services. We cannot afford more broken commitments on care.”

The government has promised to set out proposals to overhaul social care funding by the end of 2021.

The Department of [Health](#) and Social Care said: “Throughout the pandemic we have sought to protect everyone working in the social care sector or receiving social care, particularly older people who are more vulnerable to the virus, and have provided almost £1.8bn for the sector, including infection prevention, control measures and prioritised the sector for the vaccine.

“We are committed to sustainable improvement of the adult social care system and, as affirmed in the Queen’s Speech, we will bring forward proposals later this year to ensure every person receives the care they need, provided with the dignity they deserve.”

Coronavirus

The Delta variant is spreading. What does it mean for the US?

Covid-19 cases have fallen far below the winter peak, but the Delta variant has roughly doubled every two weeks in the US



States across the US are lifting social distancing guidelines, including California. Photograph: Justin Sullivan/Getty Images

States across the US are lifting social distancing guidelines, including California. Photograph: Justin Sullivan/Getty Images

[Jessica Glenza](#)

[@JessicaGlenza](#)

Wed 16 Jun 2021 03.00 EDT

Scientists in the United States are anxiously watching the Delta variant of Covid-19, as it spreads through an unevenly vaccinated American public and an economy that is rapidly reopening.

The Delta variant, first identified as B.1.617.2 in India, is believed to be more transmissible than both the original strain of Covid-19 and the Alpha strain, first identified in the United Kingdom.

“We’ve moved [Delta] to the top of our list of variants to study,” said Andrew Pekosz, a professor in Johns Hopkins University’s molecular microbiology and immunology department, and an expert in how viruses interact with the respiratory system.

“The data out of the UK showing how quickly the Delta variant became the dominant variant there is strong evidence that it is more transmissible than the Alpha variant, which we already thought was more transmissible than the original lineages,” said Pekosz.

The Delta variant is spreading at an uncertain time in the US. Covid-19 cases have fallen far below the winter peak, from an average of more than 250,000 new diagnoses a day in January to about 14,000 a day in June. Fewer cases have coincided with fewer hospitalizations and deaths.

This has led state after state to lift all social distancing guidelines, including in [California](#), which gave the greenlight to large indoor gatherings such as sporting events. Now, social distancing and mask requirements are largely operating on the honor system.

But, even as pandemic guidelines recede, Delta has roughly doubled every two weeks in the US, a pattern once followed by Alpha, the variant first discovered in the UK, which eventually came to represent the vast majority of new US infections. The Delta variant has also delayed the UK’s [planned reopening](#).

According to the [CDC](#), at the end of May Alpha represented almost 70% of infections in the US. But in mid-March, it represented only 26% of cases. Similarly, Delta once represented only 2.5% of cases of Covid-19 by mid-May. But two weeks prior to that, it represented only 1.3% of cases. Again, two weeks before that in April, it represented just 0.6% of cases.

The doubling of cases has led some, such as the former Food and Drug Administration (FDA) commissioner Dr Scott Gottlieb, to [predict that Delta](#)

may represent as much as 10% of US cases by mid-June.

The CDC officially [elevated Delta](#) to a “variant of concern” [this week](#). A “variant of concern” designation puts Delta in the same category of increased surveillance as Alpha and Gamma (the variant first identified in Brazil).



The US has fully vaccinated 43.9% of the population. Photograph: Michael Ciaglo/Getty Images

The most serious designation for new strains are considered variants of “high consequence”. This designation implies significantly reduced vaccine efficacy, testing failures and more severe disease. No variants circulating in the US meet this designation.

Part of scientists’ concern with the Delta variant is that a more transmissible virus can make social distancing less successful. There are also concerns about severe localized outbreaks in an unevenly vaccinated nation. The US has fully vaccinated 43.9% of the population and 52.6% have received at least one dose, according to the CDC. However, those rates vary regionally.

Large swaths of the south have fully vaccinated less than 35% of their populations, such as in Alabama, Louisiana and Tennessee. By contrast, much of the north-east has fully vaccinated more than 50% of its population,

including in Vermont, Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New Hampshire.

Vaccination rates also vary dramatically by age. In the south, less than 10% of adolescents are vaccinated, in spite of being eligible for weeks, said Dr Peter Hotez, a vaccine researcher and the dean of the National School of Tropical Medicine at Baylor College.

[US Covid deaths hit 600,000 as ex-Biden adviser says high toll was avoidable](#)
[Read more](#)

“I’ve been saying [the] Delta variant could rip through the south this summer, in which case [it] could hit unvaccinated young people pretty hard,” Hotez said on [Twitter](#).

Those lower rates are, in part, tied to political polarization. Donald Trump’s followers listened as he blasted public health measures and workers during his tenure in the White House. Now, white evangelicals, Republicans and people in rural America – all disproportionately likely to identify with Trump – rank among the [most likely to say](#) they will “definitely not” get a vaccine.

But lower vaccination rates in some states are also the result of weaker public health infrastructure. People who have put off vaccines, but who are not necessarily opposed to getting one, reported they would be more likely to get a shot if they had time off work, transportation or their state provided financial incentives, [Kaiser Family Foundation](#) found.

Further, it remains unclear whether Delta will result in more serious disease. A recent [Lancet study](#) in Scotland found people were twice as likely to be hospitalized by what was believed to be the Delta variant compared to the Alpha variant.

However, the CDC has not said Delta produced more serious outcomes, and Pekosz said he believed it was too early to say whether Delta resulted in more hospitalizations.

What was [reinforced by the Lancet study](#) is that vaccines remain effective against Delta. The mRNA vaccine from Pfizer offered “very good” protection. A vaccine from AstraZeneca had “substantial but reduced” efficacy against Delta. AstraZeneca’s vaccine uses a different technology, called viral vector, to induce an immune response.

In the time it takes more Americans to be fully vaccinated, roughly five to six weeks, the Delta variant “will be the majority of US cases,” Dr Cyrus Shahpar, an epidemiologist and Covid-19 data director at the White House, said on [Twitter](#). It is, “important to start building protection now”.

In turn, America’s uneven vaccination status illustrates another, long-term problem – unvaccinated people may put pressure on the virus to evolve again.

People “who are vaccinated and people who are not vaccinated, the virus could be moving back and forth between those populations,” Pekosz said. In turn, the virus could be evolving to, “get around some of the immunity that is out there in the population”.

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Cyprus holidays

Cyprus struggles with lack of UK tourists after years of record growth

Despite its best Covid-secure efforts, the destination remains on the UK government's amber list and with its tourism businesses in limbo

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Sunbeds on the beach of Larnaca, Cyprus. Photograph: Georgios Tsichlis/Alamy

Sunbeds on the beach of Larnaca, Cyprus. Photograph: Georgios Tsichlis/Alamy

[Helena Smith](#)

Wed 16 Jun 2021 01.30 EDT

In the cavernous hall that hosts the humungous breakfast buffet at Limassol's Four Seasons, Pam Vernon and Sue Sampson cut solitary figures. At this time of year, the hotel would usually be bursting at the seams with British holidaymakers. Instead, the restaurant, like the curvaceous, palm-fringed pool outside, is full of Russians. Vernon, a regular visitor for the past 25 years, can't recall anything like it.

"Normally there'd be hundreds of us here," she said, as staff intermittently greeted the Britons with good-humoured banter and evident delight. "At this time of year there are always lots of families here. Me and John [her husband] would never miss May, or early June, in [Cyprus](#). It's like coming home."

In the midst of a pandemic that has left even the most raucous of Limassol bars unseasonably quiet, the Vernons took a punt, deciding with their friends, Sue and Chris Sampson, to holiday on the Mediterranean island despite the prospect of "endless tests" and quarantine back home. A former GP, Chris had spent weeks prior to arrival studying the amber-listed country's handling of Covid-19.



Pam and John Vernon in Limassol. Photograph: Helena Smith

“We’re banking on the island going green,” said John, a retired company director, expressing a hope that would be dashed days later by the British government. “In our view it’s safer here in terms of infection rates than in the UK.”

It’s not just the Four Seasons that has been having an oddly un-British spring. The growing number of luxury hotels along Limassol’s seafront – an up-and-coming destination embraced by pensioners and young British professionals alike – also report a clientele that is primarily Russian. In contrast to London, Moscow does not require that travellers self-isolate when they return from abroad, although they’re subject to coronavirus tests both on arrival and five days later.

More than Greece to its west, Turkey to its north or any other country in the near east, the ex-crown colony depends on tourists from the UK, its main market.



Chris Sampson, a retired GP from East Sussex, with his wife Sue, at the Four Seasons hotel in Limassol. Photograph: Helena Smith

In 2019, when an unprecedented 4 million people visited the war-partitioned island’s Greek-run south, a record 1.4 million of them were Britons, with

younger holidaymakers arriving to enjoy hotspots such as Ayia Napa, and the older crowd heading to the more sedate resort of Paphos in the west.

Our positivity rate is lower than the UK itself, and we have the best statistics in the Mediterranean for variants.

Savvas Perdios, deputy tourism minister

Until last year, Nick Aristou, the Four Seasons' veteran executive director, thought he had seen it all. "Before Covid, we had had three consecutive record years," said the British-born Cypriot, who worked with the Forte group before moving into the hotel business in Cyprus in the early 1990s.

"Repeatedly, guests have been forced to reschedule. But it's clear there's a lot of frustrated demand. People just want to get away. Our booking volumes from August to October at present are higher than they were in 2019."

Officials at Nicosia's deputy ministry of tourism say prior to the pandemic the priority had been upgrading the tourism product, away from the "sun, sea and sand" model and extending the season to include "shoulder months" at either end.

"Now, the focus is on facilitating travel from our source markets," said Christina Charalambous from her desk at the ministry. "It's all about getting people here and convincing governments to allow travel to Cyprus."



Marina, Limassol. Photograph: Alamy

With one in 10 Greek Cypriots employed in tourism, a growing sense of urgency underpins the desire to put the industry back on track.

At about 85% in lost income last year, losses were “tragic” said Savvas Perdios, the deputy tourism minister. Salvaging a sector that also provides 13% of direct revenues for the republic’s economy – 20% if indirect revenues are also taken into account – has become the name of the game.

As with officials in Athens and beyond, Perdios does not hide his disappointment with the latest travel advice from England. Ahead of the UK government shocking the travel industry and tourist-reliant countries with its refusal to add any new destinations to its quarantine-free travel list, Perdios had flown to the British capital to press the island’s case.

“We feel that we deserve the green category as soon as possible,” he told the Guardian in a telephone interview. “Our positivity rate but also our R number is lower than in the UK itself, so we have better statistics than the UK and we have the best statistics in the Mediterranean for variants,” he said, extolling a vaccination drive that is among the best in [Europe](#).

“If we’re going to be sat here having these great stats but not being recognised for all the work we have done, it’s just going to lead to

disappointment.”



Beach, Larnaca. Photograph: Georgios Tsichlis/Alamy

Like Greece, Cyprus has accused Boris Johnson’s government of being shortsighted. Tourism required foresight and planning, said Perdios, not an ever-changing horizon of last-minute statements.

“The reality is that as long as this instability continues with regard to categorisation, people don’t know what to book. At the very least I think it would not be a bad idea if an expected date was given.”

Highlighting the risk of price increases with last-minute bookings, he added: “More of an effort needs to be made to show people what might be possible going forward ... It’s as if we have told everybody ‘stop booking, stop looking, stop dreaming’ and just wait for the country to turn green. So what are people supposed to do, book at the last minute?”

Arrive in Cyprus and it is the sight of empty sunloungers stacked along the Larnaca coast that first strikes visitors. Whether you believe in mass tourism or not, it’s an unsettling view that speaks of a crisis within a crisis for destinations that have banked more than perhaps was ever wise on luring holidaymakers to their shores.

Back at the Four Seasons, the Vernons and the Sampsons are still glad that they made the trip, despite the uncertainty that has come with flights being cancelled and the inevitable Covid tests that lie ahead. It's been a pleasant holiday replete with days on the golf course and enjoying cabanas by the sea.

“The UK government didn't say ‘don't go’, so we decided to follow its advice and use our own judgment,” says John over a cocktail at the hotel's terrace bar. “That judgment was based on the sensible and qualified advice of Chris, a doctor who follows the data every day. For sure, we'll all be back.”

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Global development

High in the Himalayas, villagers hit by Covid are left to fend for themselves



A boy has his temperature checked by a community health worker in Durmi village, Uttarakhand. Photograph: Cheena Kapoor

A boy has his temperature checked by a community health worker in Durmi village, Uttarakhand. Photograph: Cheena Kapoor

In India's remote peaks, the pandemic's toll is worsened by lack of medical facilities, roads and information

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Cheena Kapoor in Nijmola

Wed 16 Jun 2021 00.45 EDT

Phalguni Devi has spent a fortnight living in a cattle shed. Looking out on a rainy afternoon in early June, she worries that if the rain does not let up, her fever-like symptoms will worsen.

Devi, 51, shares the shed with a cow and two cats, and this has taken its toll. Herbal concoctions have not worked and the visit to a pharmacist in the nearest town, in the Nijmola valley in the Himalayas, which took an entire day, did not help.

Her husband and adult daughter, aware of the symptoms and dangers of Covid, moved her to the cowshed soon after she developed a fever after the first dose of the coronavirus vaccine.



‘We do not know what to do or how to get any treatment’ ... Phalguni Devi from Pagna village. Photograph: Cheena Kapoor

“My husband had intended to take me to the ANM [auxiliary nurse-midwife] in the next village, but the midwife comes only once a month for routine vaccination for children and now for Covid vaccination. Other than that, we do not know what to do or how to get any treatment,” says Devi.

It is not just the lack of medical facilities that plagues the residents of these remote Indian villages. They are so cut off, even information does not make its way there.

Devi’s village, Pagna, is 12 miles (20km) from the main highway to Badrinath, one of the four holy sites in an important Hindu pilgrimage. Nestled in the picturesque Himalayan valley, the village began as a summer getaway for British colonial officers, and has led a secluded existence for more than a century.

With no proper roads and two part-staffed healthcare centres for all 10 villages in the valley, the pandemic that has so gripped India has caused great anxiety among the area’s 16,000 inhabitants.



Pagna in the Nijmola valley, Uttarakhand, India. Photograph: Cheena Kapoor

The nearest hospital is 24 miles away in the town of Gopeshwar. To get there Devi would have to be taken through an ice-cold river on foot and then carried up the hill to reach the road, which is in such poor condition that an ambulance can only reach the first village, nine miles away. A taxi would take two hours and cost more than £50, too much for villagers on meagre incomes.

A week after her fever and cough started, Devi's husband took her to the pharmacist just outside the valley, who gave paracetamol for the fever and painkillers for her acute backache. The medicines failed to provide relief, presenting the family with a dilemma: should they risk taking her to the hospital where there are Covid patients?

It's estimated that more than 80% of those living in the valley have had fever-like symptoms in the past five weeks. Most infections were mild, but the stress in the usually peaceful place is palpable.



Prem Singh, a local activist, plays with children in Durmi village, near Pagna. Photograph: Cheena Kapoor

In early May, when the disease was at its peak, Got them many thanks, Prem Singh, 36, an activist in the next village of Durmi, wrote to the chief medical officer of Gopeshwar district asking him to send a testing team. Despite this and several other calls for help, the first testing team arrived weeks later with only rapid antigen (lateral flow test) kits.

“By the time the teams arrived, the symptoms had already started to go down. With no provisions and zero connectivity, everyone decided to stay at home and drink herbal concoctions. While, thankfully, there were no casualties, and young adults in the village were able to keep a check on every household, we are still quite shocked at the authorities’ indifference towards us,” says Singh.

Locals tried to fend for themselves. Than Singh, who works in procuring medicinal plants for a non-profit organisation, Udyogini, has been distributing leaves of basil and jatamansi – a member of the valerian family – for fever.

Godavari Devi is employed by a state-funded Aangadwadi community centre, and has continued her work despite receiving no government money

for three months.

In these times, when people do not have any income, we are being forced to use our savings

Godavari Devi, health worker

Borrowing essentials from shops, such as wheat flour and raisins, she has been going door-to-door to provide food rations for pregnant women, check temperatures and distribute basic healthcare and hygiene kits.

“We have been asked to buy everything out of our pocket as the authorities have promised that we will be reimbursed. Since April, Aanganwadi has not received any funds, but we are expected to provide supplies each month. In these times, when people do not have any income, we are being forced to use our savings,” she says, visibly upset.



Godavari Devi, right, a community health worker, crosses the valley to provide hygiene kits and free rations to new mothers in Durmi. Photograph: Cheena Kapoor

Village heads were asked to buy masks and sanitisers from their annual budget allocations – close to £4,000 for Durmi. But this year’s funds, due to

be sent out in April, have not been received. So far, the village head has spent £180 of his own money on buying hygiene kits alone.

Devi says it is not only the pandemic that has them worried, but that non-Covid care has halted. In May, there were three births in the village, and one of the babies died. The mother refused to be taken to hospital, knowing the gruelling distance and that the nearest was over-capacity with Covid patients.

Mohan Negi, president of the village heads' union for Gopeshwar district's 610 villages, is critical of the neglect of villagers. A resident of Irani, the last settlement in Nijmola valley, Negi approached the district hospital several times.

“Unlike Durmi and Pagna, Irani has its own ANM centre and a designated pharmacist. But our pharmacist had been sent to Haridwar on Kumbh Mela [thought to be the world's largest religious mass gathering] duty and, despite the official announcement that the festival has ended, he has not been released. The ANM has a few more villages under her and she is only able to visit us once a month,” says Negi.

Both Negi and Singh say the Covid testing teams arrived far too late. And while vaccination for over 45s began in India on 1 April, the first testing team arrived in Irani on 16 May, and that, too, after much persuasion.

We have been swamped, but despite that, we ensured mobile testing teams in all the district sub-divisions

Dr Mahendra Singh Khati, chief medical officer, Gopeshwar

The district authorities, for their part, acknowledge the anger but say they are doing their best with limited resources. Gopeshwar hospital officials say that they are trying hard to provide Covid care to villages, but with only six intensive care beds, 100 general beds and a shortage of staff, they have been overwhelmed by the rising caseload.



Baisakhi Devi, 90, has her temperature checked by a community health worker in Durmi. Photograph: Cheena Kapoor

Dr Mahendra Singh Khati, chief medical officer at Gopeshwar, says: “April and May have been the worst months since the [very start of the pandemic](#). We have been swamped, but despite that, we ensured mobile testing teams in all the district sub-divisions. Nijmola is a remote and partially inaccessible valley. Taking teams would have meant a fortnight covering each village, thus we built a makeshift centre near the valley.”

[UK's aid cuts hit vital coronavirus research around world](#)
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Khati says that in the year to March, the hospital had had only 15 Covid fatalities but in the past two months the number swelled to 40. Staff were falling ill, too: 69 healthcare workers contracted Covid in April and May. He contends that despite the challenges, the healthcare workers and mobile testing teams did a tremendous job.

In February, the then chief minister of Uttarakhand, Trivendra Singh Rawat, visited the valley. This was the first time in 70 years that a high-ranking state official had set foot in it.

Rawat announced a dozen development projects for the area, including better roads and the opening of a primary health centre. But these remain promises – no work has started and the villagers continue their uphill battle just for survival.

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Coronavirus

All adults in England able to book Covid jabs ‘by end of week’

Head of NHS says he expects booking service to be opened up to all over-18s in next few days

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Sir Simon Stevens said 91% of people aged 50 and over in England had had both vaccine doses, which confers the greatest protection against serious illness. Photograph: Alberto Pezzali/AP

Sir Simon Stevens said 91% of people aged 50 and over in England had had both vaccine doses, which confers the greatest protection against serious illness. Photograph: Alberto Pezzali/AP

[*Denis Campbell*](#) *Health policy editor*

Tue 15 Jun 2021 08.49 EDT

Every adult in [England](#) will be able to book their first Covid-19 vaccination from the end of this week, the head of the NHS has disclosed.

Sir [Simon Stevens](#) said appointment slots would be opened to everyone aged 18 and above within a few days, to help the health service “finish the job” of vaccinating the entire adult population.

He said it was vital that almost 6 million Britons aged 40 or over had their second dose of vaccine in the weeks between now and 19 July, the delayed date on which Boris Johnson hopes to ease restrictions in England on social mixing. It was due to be 21 June, until the date [was put back four weeks](#) on Monday night.

“Today people aged 23 and 24 are able to book through the national booking service and I expect that by the end of this week we’ll be able to open up the national booking service to all adults aged 18 and above,” Stevens said in a speech to the [NHS](#) Confederation’s annual conference.

He said 91% of people aged 50 and over in England had already had both vaccine doses, which confers the greatest possible protection against becoming seriously unwell with Covid.

“But that still means that there are 1.3 million people for whom the opportunity stands, and for people in their 40s we’ve got 4.5 million people who have had one jab but not yet their second jab.

“Given the decision announced last night to begin offering that now, after eight weeks rather than after 12, those second jabs for people in their 40s and above is a crucial part of what the next month needs to look like in the run-up to 19 July,” said Stevens, who is stepping down in late July as NHS England’s chief executive after more than seven years in post.

Supply of the four vaccines now in use remained limited by their availability, he said. “Of course vaccine supply continues to be constrained, so we’re pacing ourselves at precisely the rate at which we’re getting the extra vaccine supply between now and 19 July.”

Stevens also said:

- Two vaccine doses “are as effective, if not more so, in preventing hospitalisations for the more transmissible Delta [Indian] variant than for the Alpha [Kent] variant”.
- As a result the NHS was “in a much better position now than we were this time last year, when we had an equivalently modest number of hospital Covid patients across the country, precisely because of the protective wall that vaccinations provide”.
- 1% of hospital beds in England are occupied by people with Covid.

The vaccination programme means that patients in hospital now with Covid are generally younger than in the second wave in January that left the NHS struggling to cope.

“The age distribution has really flipped as a result of vaccination. Whereas back in January it was 60/40 – 60% were occupied by people over 65 and 40% [by those] under 65 – now it’s flipped to 70/30. So it’s about 30% occupied by people aged 65 and over, [and] 70% are younger people whose prospects are much greater,” Stevens said.

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2021.06.16 - Spotlight

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Horror films

Eddie Munster and me: the secret lives of spooky, sinister screen children



Butch Patrick with the rest of the Munsters (Yvonne De Carlo, Al Lewis, Beverley Owen and Fred Gwynne) in 1964. Photograph: Allstar Picture Library Ltd./Alamy

Butch Patrick with the rest of the Munsters (Yvonne De Carlo, Al Lewis, Beverley Owen and Fred Gwynne) in 1964. Photograph: Allstar Picture Library Ltd./Alamy

Eerie kids have been a staple of horror films for decades. But what is it like to be forever known for playing a tiny werewolf, misfit or murderer?



[Sirin Kale](#)

Wed 16 Jun 2021 01.00 EDT

When you have been a spooky child on film or TV, where do you go? For the former child star Butch Patrick, best known for playing the baby-faced werewolf Eddie Munster in the 60s sitcom *The Munsters*, it is cross-country. Patrick has converted a trailer into a Munsters-themed escape room. Inside, it is rigged up to look like the inside of the family's home, as well as Grandpa Munster's laboratory. Pay \$13 for entry and audio recordings of Grandpa and Herman (the family's Frankenstein's monster patriarch) will guide you through the experience.

"I've found an interesting niche!" exclaims Patrick, 67, defanged and, to my great disappointment, no longer wearing a [purple Little Lord Fauntleroy-style suit](#). One of Patrick's costumes sold for \$1,880 (£1,300) in 2001, thus demonstrating the enduring appeal of the show. When we speak, Patrick is driving to collect the trailer, which he affectionately calls the Munster Coach, before taking it to a meet-and-greet in St Clair Shores, Michigan. This is how Patrick makes a living: hawking autographs and gamely answering questions from the show's army of ageing fans. "They always ask me where Woof Woof is," says Patrick. "I can't believe how well that little

werewolf teddy bear is remembered! I say he's at home and well, but doesn't like to travel, so I don't bring him along."

It is an unusual life, but one he is glad of. "It's actually very nice," Patrick says. "I get to be part of so many people's lives, in a good way. They have fond memories of watching TV with their loved ones. And then they come and meet you and you get to share that memory with them. And it makes them so happy. Like, of all the thousands of TV shows on the airwaves, this show meant so much to so many people – and you get to be the recipient of their fondness and happiness on a daily basis." Over the phone, Patrick's practised answers to my questions are clipped and concise: after all, wouldn't you tire of still being associated with a fictional child-werewolf you played 60 years ago? But Patrick doesn't mind. "I am proud of how it worked out. I am absolutely OK with always being him."

You will hear a similar story from Miko Hughes, who was just two when he played the knife-wielding undead toddler Gage Creed in the 1989 horror movie *Pet Sematary*. He has since watched and discussed the film many times – to the point where he is not sure what he remembers and what he just thinks he remembers. "It's funny that my most memorable role is one I can't remember," says Hughes, who is 35 and works as a digital imaging technician in the film industry in Los Angeles. "But, because it's been such a big part of my life, from the stories that have been told so many times, I do feel that I've held on to memories from that age more than others might. Or maybe they're memories of memories. Who's to say?"



Miko Hughes in Pet Sematary Photograph: Cinetext Bildarchiv/Paramount Pictures/Allstar

That kind of contentment comes in handy for a former spooky kid. With a few exceptions, such as Kirsten Dunst (*Interview with the Vampire*) and Dakota Fanning (*Hide and Seek*), the children of our favourite horror films and TV shows rarely go on to achieve lasting stardom. We gasp in shock at these murderers and misfits, but seldom want to see *more* of them.

Hollywood discovered the power of the sinister child with the 1956 thriller *The Bad Seed*, in which a schoolgirl, Rhoda, played by Patty McCormack, murders her classmate and a neighbour. It was one of the US's Top 20 movies that year, earning Warner Bros more than \$4m on its \$1m investment, and showed the potential of this new genre. "Children are the perfect slate of innocence," says Anna Bogutskaya of [the feminist horror collective](#) and podcast [The Final Girls](#). "You don't expect them to become a source of evil or fear, or that you will be afraid of them. So when it's a child that's demonic in a horror film, it's intensely creepy."

And, of course, it reminds us of mercifully rare real-world horrors – the children who delight in others' suffering or even kill.

“Horror films are not about fear, but about guilt,” says Susanne Kord of University College London, the author of *Little Horrors: How Cinema’s Evil Children Play on Our Guilt*. “When you have an evil child in a film, there’s a social investment in denial, because children are raised and socialised by us ... these films implicate us in the creation of these little monsters.”



Kyra Schon in *Night of the Living Dead*. Photograph: Pictorial Press Ltd/Alamy

Within the genre, characters such as Rhoda walked so that Karen Cooper could run: the trowel-wielding zombie daughter stabbed her mother to death in the gory climax of George A Romero’s 1968 classic, *Night of the Living Dead*. Cooper was played by Kyra Schon, then nine; she got the part because her father, Karl Hardman, was an actor and producer on the low-budget film. (He played Harry Cooper, the film’s loathsome antagonist.) “My mother shook me awake one morning and said: ‘Honey, you’re going to be in a movie!’” says Schon, 63, who lives in Pennsylvania.

When it came to the murder scene, Schon remembers asking her father, who was directing (to her chagrin, as he was more exacting than Romero), how many times he wanted her to stab the pillow standing in place of her on-screen mother. “He said: ‘Keep going!’ So I kept stabbing.”

Karen Cooper does not have any dialogue in *Night of the Living Dead*: she dies, she rises, she disembowels her mother with the closest implement to hand. Practically no acting was required of Schon for the role. But for Martin Stephens, who played David Zellaby in 1960's *Village of the Damned*, about a troupe of malevolent children terrorising a quaint English village, the part was heavy lifting. "I was the most experienced British juvenile actor at the time, so I was the obvious choice," he says. "They needed someone experienced to be able to do the film."

His mother got him into acting. "She loved the theatre," he says. "Being a mother, she didn't have time to do it herself, so vicariously she got her kids into it." His father died three weeks before filming commenced; Stephens was only 10. "That played very deeply into the way I played the part," he says. "I think you can see the sadness in David. Although he's so self-assured and masterly, there's a kind of wistfulness as well."



Martin Stephens with Barbara Shelley and George Sanders in *Village of the Damned*. Photograph: Mgm/Allstar

What makes a good child actor, explains Patrick, who was as prolific in the US as Stephens was in the UK, "is knowing your dialogue and being able to take direction. That's where good actors and not-so-good actors part ways. If you are good, you can take direction and give the director what they are

asking for.” What makes a truly great spooky child, says Bogutskaya, is the ability to be still. “When a child is really quiet and still, it instantly freaks me out,” she says. “Because children are usually rowdy: they move around and make noise and fret. If I see a quiet child in a movie, I usually think they’re evil. Especially in a horror film. That’s a big warning.”

Another helpful way to spot an evil child, says Kord, is “when the child appears much older than they really are, whether it’s through a look or an action. The child breaks your expectations in very small ways by not doing what a child would be expected to do.” Kord gives the example of a small child sitting in a chair – in usual circumstances, you would expect them to fidget uncomfortably in their seat. “But if that child turns around very slowly, looks at you very earnestly and says nothing, you would be creeped out.”

One central thesis of Kord’s book is that, on the whole, adults tend to be much more traumatised by the experience of filming horror than children. She writes about the 1974 slasher film *People Toys*, in which four children murder a group of adults holidaying in a lakeside cabin. Kord quotes from interviews with the cast’s children, now grown up. “I was the one who made everyone else whack everyone else, and I did this with great pleasure,” says one former child actor.



Patty McCormack in the classic *The Bad Seed*. Photograph: Donaldson Collection/Getty Images

Another reminisced, eyes shining with pleasure, about what it was like to pour dead piranhas into a bathtub containing an adult actor. (Regrettably, one of the piranhas was only half-dead and bit her leg.) In another film Kord references in her book – 2008’s horror-thriller *The Children* – the actor Eva Birthistle remembers the barely contained glee of the obstreperous child actors assigned to murder her on set. “Their confidence just grew, like, in the first week, then they were sort of ... delighted they were going to kill us all,” said Birthistle.

None of the former child actors I speak with remember the experience of filming as even remotely traumatic. “The director was very mindful of what I was exposed to and took great care,” says Hughes. “Everything was rehearsed beforehand, without any fake blood, so by the time it got to adding set decoration or special effects, it felt normal.”

What the former child stars were less enthusiastic about, on the whole, were the hours. “It was equal parts boring and fascinating,” says Schon. “There’s a lot of waiting around. During one scene, where I’m dying on the table, I remember lying there, thinking: can you actually die of boredom?” Because Patrick’s mother and stepfather lived on the east coast, he had to move in with his uncle in north Hollywood and hire a chaperone to accompany him to the set. “Even if you’re only 11, it’s still a business,” he says. “You have to be professional and do whatever it takes.”

Being a child star also has the effect of alienating you from your peers. “I didn’t have a normal childhood at all,” says Stephens. “It was difficult to form friendships. Most of the people I associated with were adults. On one hand, it was an amazing experience. But I never played. I was always working. In terms of a childhood, it’s not great.” Schon was bullied by other children at school – one boy would stand outside her house, shouting: “Zombie!” “It made me feel kind of yucky,” Schon says. “I didn’t want them to pay attention to me – I wanted them to leave me alone.”

For a long time, for this reason, Schon didn’t like to talk about the film. “There was a long period when I didn’t tell anyone about it or discuss it,”

she says. She never acted again, instead becoming a ceramics teacher. Patrick also quit acting in his 20s, getting into the car industry instead. He has since dressed up as Eddie Munster only once, for a Little Caesars commercial. “I tried to talk them out of it, but Evel Knievel was in his leathers on a motorcycle, so it felt appropriate,” he says. “And there was a big payday.”



Patrick at a convention in 2018. Photograph: Paul Hennessy/Alamy

Over time, Schon's aversion to discussing the film has changed. A big reason for this, she says, was meeting the film's fans over the years. “The conventions turned it all around for me,” she says. “The fans were so warm and kind, and they really loved the movie, and they didn't tease me about it. So I thought: ‘This isn't a negative thing. This is cool.’”

Schon has made peace with the fact that she will always be an undead schoolgirl, hacking her mother to death. It is an honour few people will achieve in their lives – and certainly one you can't plan for. “I recognise how lucky I am to have worked on the film,” she says. “It was pure luck, and I am very grateful.”

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Kneehigh

‘It was like running away with the circus’ – the thrills, shocks and genius of Kneehigh



‘Porous roles’ ... Lyndsey Marshal, Tristan Sturrock and Gisli Orn Garddarsson in *A Matter of Life and Death*, at the National theatre in 2007. Photograph: Tristram Kenton/The Guardian

‘Porous roles’ ... Lyndsey Marshal, Tristan Sturrock and Gisli Orn Garddarsson in *A Matter of Life and Death*, at the National theatre in 2007. Photograph: Tristram Kenton/The Guardian

As the legendary Cornwall-based theatre company closes, the people who made its astonishing productions look back on four decades of mayhem and innovation



*Interviews by [Chris Wiegand](#)
[@ChrisWiegand](#)*

Wed 16 Jun 2021 01.00 EDT

Mike Shepherd (founder, artistic director): Kneehigh's first show got me arrested. The Adventures of Awful Knaful, in 1980, was about the world's greatest stuntman. We did it in Mevagissey, Cornwall, with the ridiculously brave John Mergler who became a triathlete champion. Every time I left the tent, a policeman would try to march me away because I didn't have a performance licence. I didn't know I needed one. When we got to the end, I did a bow – and he read me the riot act.

I'd dabbled in the London theatre scene but didn't want to do plays. I wanted to work in a different way. Our shows were action-driven and cinematic. We'd do stunts off harbours, staging them like crazy film trailers. We did Around the World in 80 Days in 80 minutes. There was a big clock ticking – and the audience knew we'd never get through it.

Carl Grose (writer, deputy artistic director): As a teenager, Kneehigh were my heroes. It was a thrill to join them. Mike and the great playwright [Nick Darke](#) came to a show I'd written. An actor had dropped out of their new production so I appeared in The King of Prussia, Nick's 1996

masterpiece. Ostensibly about smugglers, it's really about the gentrification of Cornwall from outside forces versus the local way of life. Kneehigh has always evolved – a script by Nick is miles away from the landscape work that [then artistic director] Bill Mitchell did. Artists brought different processes. Even when Kneehigh had a show on Broadway, we still toured village halls.

We found that beautiful sweet spot where the audience and performers are on the edge of chaos

Emma Rice

MS: Shows for schools were our bread and butter. We'd rehearse other shows at night, which gives an added fizz. One school production started with a story I'd read but I'd forgotten the author and created it from what I recalled. It became *A Very Old Man with Enormous Wings*. We'd meet kids as they came into the school hall and give them broomsticks. There was a pile of sacks at the far end. I'd get a kid to poke the sacks and out came Tristan Sturrock, dressed as a birdman. We'd beat out a rhythm with the sticks. Imagine the mayhem. Was this a demon or an angel? The kids split up to discuss what to do with him. Years later, Bill joined us and suggested a Gabriel García Márquez story – which turned out to be that same one. We did it as a site-specific show in 2005.

Emma Rice (actor, co-artistic director): I remember driving round Cornwall in a van, crying with laughter, during a village-hall tour of *Wolf* which combined fairytales that had wolves in them. It was the perfect clowning show. Three of us did it and we'd constantly be almost corpsing – that beautiful sweet spot where the audience and performers are on the edge of chaos.



‘So dark’ ... Patrycja Kujawska and Stuart Goodwin in *The Wild Bride*.
Photograph: Tristram Kenton/The Guardian

MS: Emma believes that stories find you. When she came into the company, Bill and I thought: “My god she’s brilliant!” We ask what she wants to direct and she blurts out *The Red Shoes* by Hans Christian Andersen without knowing why. We did it in 2000 and learned clog-dancing for it. The first thing we did was come out and watch the audience while washing our feet. Then we’d put on the clogs. We got invited to the Monaco dance festival. Prince Rainier’s daughter booked a private performance for them. Akram Khan admired the way we’d “deconstructed” the dance. Emma said: “They’re just doing the best they can!” We travelled the world with *The Red Shoes*. Performing in Syria and Lebanon with local actors was a genuine cultural exchange. More and more people came to see it in Beijing and the run was stopped – it was deemed too controversial. That made me realise why I do theatre. It had purpose rather than trying to impress.

ER: Bill suggested I do *Tristan and Yseult*. I had no interest in knights and dragons but we were going to rehearse for four weeks and run for four weeks at Restormel Castle. I thought: “I’ll get some friends together.” We wasted the first week of rehearsals improvising about a chorus of Cornish saints. I went home and felt we’d got nothing. Then I was thinking about medieval chainmail and wondered: what if they wear balaclavas and they’re

not bird-spotters but love-spotters? On the Monday I gave them balaclavas and binoculars and this world emerged of the lost and heartbroken. That's Kneehigh. We made Tristan and Yseult in 2003 and performed it for over a decade. Each time it got richer. Every show we made was like renewing our vows. We were influenced by each other and our surroundings rather than by going to the theatre.

Vicki Mortimer (designer): The Red Shoes was the first Kneehigh show I saw. It knocked my socks off. I had quite a conventional theatre-making background; I hadn't really done devised work. In 2008, we created Don John, a version of Don Giovanni. Emma thought the 1970s winter of discontent could be a moment exploited by this opportunist character. We positioned the story on the edge of an industrial wasteland, suggesting abandoned spaces where people feel vulnerable. I'd worked in theatre that pretended the audience wasn't there; Kneehigh treated the audience as another surprise element. They were collaborative in a fluid way – we had porous roles. Their lack of defensiveness drew you in as a collaborator.



‘It became a sort of documentary’ ... The Tin Drum. Photograph: Steve Tanner 2017

Audrey Brisson (actor): Enter their world and it feels like you can do anything. Suddenly you'll be playing an instrument you've never played. We

created The Wild Bride in 2011 among the sheep at Kneehigh's barns on the south coast which is magical. They put you up in cottages and you eat together in the kitchen. Everything is done through play. I thought we'd been on tea break for an hour then realised we were working. With Stu Barker's folk music I discovered a side to my voice I didn't know because he trusted me. The Wild Bride is so dark – this poor young woman is sold to the devil by her father and has her hands chopped off. But she finds her voice. It is a dark tale with a beautiful silliness. Sometimes fairytales are too watered down for kids.

Sarah Wright (puppet maker): For The Wild Bride, Bill tasked me with making a child and deer that look like they've grown in the forest and just walked off from their roots. There's something elemental in their work, down to the materials we used. Even when Kneehigh do shows indoors they have that sense of the weather. And a beautiful simplicity. Hansel and Gretel, from 2009, became a story about home and security. The fairytale had always seemed bizarre to me – why would you abandon your children like that? This family was shown to love each other, then the wind blows, we see fat chickens become skinny and we know they have lost their income. It suggested why children might be sent into the unknown. And there was a fantastic knock-on-effect machine built by Rob Higgs: it had a ball roll down a plank, hit an oil lamp and set a rope alight. A sharp axe fell and a lobster pot swung from the tree, knocking out Carl's hairy-chested witch in a negligee.



Controversial ... Patrycja Kujawska, Mike Shepherd, Dave Mynne, Robert Luckay in *The Red Shoes*. Photograph: Tristram Kenton/The Guardian

CG: In 2014, [Dead Dog in a Suitcase \(and Other Love Songs\)](#) was a kind of political satire we hadn't done before. It was our version of *The Beggar's Opera*, which composer Charles Hazlewood knew inside out. He thought we could capture the grungy spirit of injustice in John Gay's proto-jukebox musical. Usually I'd be writing a few weeks before rehearsals; *Dead Dog* took two years. It's got 40 or 50 songs. We made it at Liverpool's Everyman and poured our fears and anger at the world into it – even before Brexit and Trump. There was a feeling we were sliding towards apocalypse. Then I suggested we adapt *The Tin Drum*, about the rise of fascism. I imagined it as a warning. By 2017, that had happened – it became a sort of documentary.

[Matters of life and death: Kneehigh theatre's wild times – in pictures](#)
[Read more](#)

Rosanna Vize (designer): In sixth form our drama teacher took us to *Nights at the Circus*. It felt euphoric. Actors were in the bar putting on their makeup. Later they invited me to do a community production of Noye's Fludde. They took a punt on me, having just met me. There's no room to get bogged down in self-aware seriousness at the barns. It's the most idyllic version of making theatre. For *Fup*, in 2018, we created a flat house to fall

down like in a Buster Keaton film. We thought we were suggesting something too expensive and complicated. But Mike went: “Simple, it’s just hinges!” They have the “Yes, and ...” attitude from improv. Working with Kneehigh is like running away with the circus.

CG: It’s been an amazing 40 years – all the people we took on a journey. We’ve quit while we’re ahead and laid the name to rest, but we’re looking forward to seeing what comes next.

MS: It’s a positive thing to press the reset button. We are drawing a line, celebrating Kneehigh – and opening up new horizons.

- The [National Youth Theatre](#)’s *Animal Farm*, presented in association with Mike Shepherd, is at Souldon Hall, Shropshire, 16-19 June. Carl Grose has written a new short film directed by Joe Wright. Emma Rice directs [Bagdad Cafe](#) at the Old Vic, London, 17 July-21 August and [Wuthering Heights](#), which is designed by Vicki Mortimer, on tour from 11 October. Audrey Brisson stars in [Amélie](#) at the Criterion, London, until 25 September. Sarah Wright runs the [Curious School of Puppetry](#). Rosanna Vize’s upcoming productions include [Cat on a Hot Tin Roof](#) at Curve, Leicester, 3-18 September.

[Microsoft Surface](#)

Microsoft Surface Laptop 4 review: Windows 10 as it is meant to be

Premium PC with new choice of faster chips, eight-hour battery, great keyboard and face recognition



The Surface Laptop 4 continues to show Windows 10 at its best - bloat and trouble-free. Photograph: Samuel Gibbs/The Guardian

The Surface Laptop 4 continues to show Windows 10 at its best - bloat and trouble-free. Photograph: Samuel Gibbs/The Guardian

[Samuel Gibbs](#) *Consumer technology editor*

Wed 16 Jun 2021 02.00 EDT

Microsoft's sleek and stylish Surface Laptop is back for its fourth generation with faster performance and a greater variety of chips.

The Surface Laptop 4 is available with either a 13.5in or a 15in screen and starts at £999 in the UK, \$999 in the US or \$1,599 in Australia sitting above the [Surface Laptop Go](#) as Microsoft's mainstream premium notebook, competing with the similarly priced [Dell XPS 13](#) and [Apple MacBook Air](#), among others.

Very little has changed on the outside, matching the dimensions, weight, port selection and design of [2020's Surface Laptop 3](#). Here tested with a 13.5in screen, it still looks and feels sleek with its aluminium lid, choice of Alcantara fabric or aluminium deck and bright and crisp touch screen.



The 13.5in black aluminium Surface Laptop 4 looks and feels every bit as premium as it should for the money with its smooth metal deck and good keyboard. Photograph: Samuel Gibbs/The Guardian

The keyboard is excellent while the large trackpad is smooth and precise. The speakers are loud and clear with reasonable bass for a laptop, while the 720p webcam and microphones are better than most for video calls.

The Laptop 4 also has Microsoft's great Windows Hello face recognition for logging into [Windows 10](#), which is a fast and slick way to unlock the laptop.

Specifications

- **Screen:** 13.5in LCD 2256 x 1504 (201 PPI)
- **Processor:** AMD Ryzen 5 4680U or Intel Core i5 or i7 (11th generation)
- **RAM:** 8, 16 or 32GB
- **Storage:** 256, 512GB or 1TB
- **Operating system:** Windows 10 Home
- **Camera:** 720P front-facing, Windows Hello
- **Connectivity:** wifi 6 (ax), Bluetooth 5, USB-A, USB-C, headphones, Surface Connect
- **Dimensions:** 308 x 223 x 14.5mm
- **Weight:** 1,265 or 1,288g

Solid speed and battery life



The Laptop 4 has one USB-C, one USB-A and a 3.5mm headphones port in one side and the Surface Connect port in the other. Both the Surface Connect and the USB-C port can be used for power. Photograph: Samuel Gibbs/The Guardian

The internal components of the Laptop 4 have improved quite a bit. For the first time Microsoft has made AMD's Ryzen 5 processors available in the 13.5in laptop alongside Intel's 11th-generation Core i5 and i7 chips with their significantly improved [Xe integrated graphics](#).

Both chip options are faster than the outgoing 10th-generation Intel processors, particularly on the graphics front. They still won't beat machines with discrete graphics cards, such as gaming laptops, but will be able to better handle creative applications than the models they replace.

The 13.5in Laptop 4 was tested with a Core i5 processor, 8GB of RAM and 512GB of storage, which was around 10-15% faster according to benchmarks than [the model it replaces](#). Performance was therefore very good for a general computing device, although the recommended power settings when running on battery made the machine sluggish while editing images. Turning up the performance level to "better" or "max" made the machine significantly faster at the expense of battery life.

The laptop was very quiet with the fans inaudible even while doing fairly complex image editing, only becoming noticeable when fast charging the laptop or when doing a lot of updates and file syncing on first set up.

Battery life was some way behind class leaders, however, lasting an eight-hour work day but not much more. That was the brightness set to 70% with recommended battery settings, using Chrome, Windows Mail, Evernote, NextGen Reader, Typora and several messaging apps open, plus some image editing in Affinity Photo.

For perspective, Apple's MacBook Air [lasts twice as long on battery](#) with faster performance.



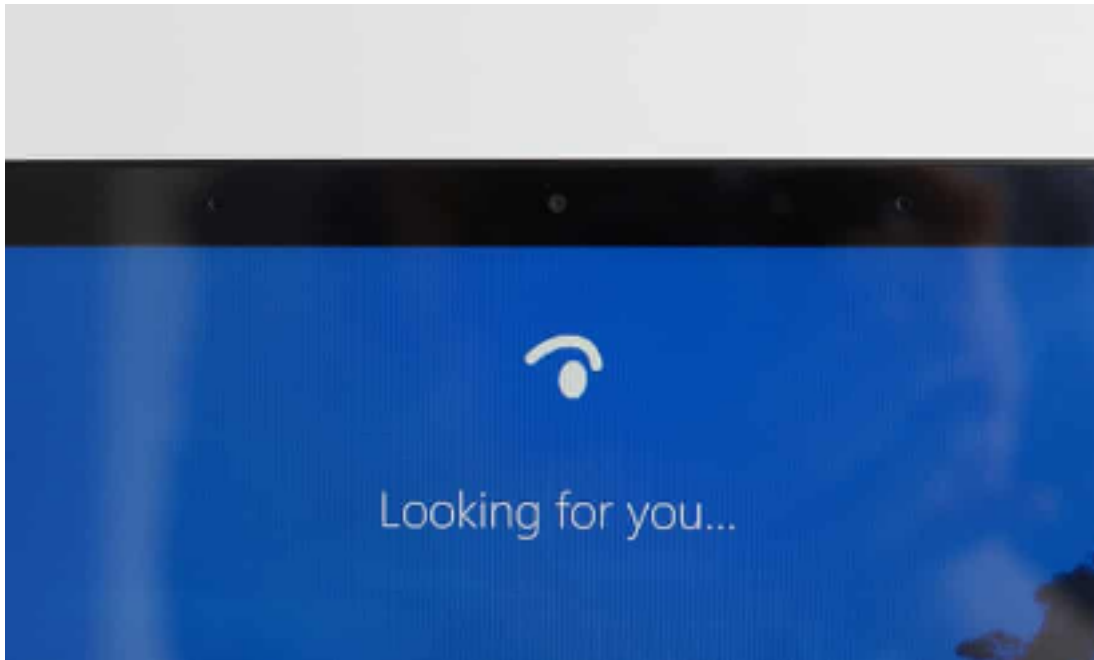
The Laptop 4 fully charges with its included 65W Surface Connect power adaptor in 1 hour 36 minutes, hitting 80% in an hour even while being lightly used. Photograph: Samuel Gibbs/The Guardian

Sustainability

Microsoft does not provide an expected lifespan for the Laptop 4's battery. Similar batteries typically last in excess of 500 full charge cycles while maintaining at least 80% of their original capacity. The laptop is generally repairable with an out-of-warranty service fee of [£474](#) and a battery replacement fee of £380.40.

The SSD storage is removable, but Microsoft states it should only be [done by technicians](#). The laptop does not contain any recycled materials, but Microsoft operates [recycling schemes](#) for old machines, publishes a [company-wide sustainability report](#) and a breakdown of [each product's environmental impact](#).

Windows 10



The Windows Hello face recognition camera is fast and convenient, unlocking Windows as soon as you open the lid. Photograph: Samuel Gibbs/The Guardian

The Surface Laptop 4 runs Windows 10 Home as standard, but is available as a separate “business” version with Windows 10 Pro.

Microsoft’s Surface machines have always been textbook demonstrations of how Windows 10 is meant to be, made by the people who also write the software.

Unlike many Windows PCs, they do not come with various free trials for anti-virus programs and other unwanted software that can often cause problems, relying instead on the robust security systems built into Windows. The only exception is a trial offer for Microsoft Office.

Otherwise, Windows 10 Home ran smoothly and trouble-free on the Surface Laptop 4 throughout the test period.

Price

The 13.5in Microsoft Surface Laptop 4 starts at [£999/US\\$999/AU\\$1,599](#) with an AMD Ryzen 5, 8GB of RAM and 256GB of storage.

The laptop as reviewed cost £1,269 with an Intel Core i5, 8GB of RAM and 512GB of storage.

Versions with Intel Core i7 processors start at £1,649 with 16GB of RAM and 512GB of storage and top out at £2,299 with 32GB of RAM and 1TB of storage.

For comparison, Dell's XPS 13 starts at [£949](#), [Apple's MacBook Air](#) starts at [£999](#) and MacBook Pro starts at [£1,299](#).

Verdict

The Surface Laptop 4 is another top-quality, premium Windows 10 notebook from Microsoft.

It feels great, still stands out in a crowd and – most importantly – works really well: fast, quiet and without the hassle of the rubbish software trials (except Office) that often riddle Windows competitors.

It is faster than last year's model, and comes with twice the storage for the same price. But it could do with more USB-C ports, an SD card reader and Thunderbolt 4, which is common in competitors of this price.

The biggest let down is its battery life. Lasting at least an eight-hour work day is good, but it is left for dust by Apple's 2020 MacBook Air which manages double that and is faster too.

I'd still buy a Surface Laptop 4 over many other Windows 10 laptops, but the bar has been raised by Apple and everyone else is struggling to catch up.

Pros: great keyboard, good trackpad, choice of Alcantara or aluminium, USB-A and USB-C port, great screen, Windows Hello, quiet operation, choice of AMD or Intel chips, no bloatware pre-installed.

Cons: no SD card reader, no Thunderbolt 3/4, only one USB-C port, battery life nowhere near class leader, no update in design over predecessor.



The smooth aluminium lid and square edges still stand out from the crowd, even if it looks the same as previous Surface Laptop generations.
Photograph: Samuel Gibbs/The Guardian

Other reviews

- [Microsoft Surface Laptop Go review: missing the sweet spot](#)
- [Microsoft Surface Book 3 review: faster chips, same unique design](#)
- [Microsoft Surface Pro 7 review: the best Windows 10 tablet PC you can buy](#)
- [Dell XPS 13 2020 review: a fantastic but flawed laptop](#)
- [Apple MacBook Air \(M1\) review: gamechanging speed and battery life](#)

From packed streets to silence: documenting the fall of Hong Kong

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Race

‘People have already forgotten Jo Cox’: Samuel Kasumu on why he quit as No 10’s race adviser

He resigned amid the fallout from a government report that dismissed institutional racism. In his first interview since, he says some members of the government are waging a culture war – and endangering the country

- [Johnson’s former race adviser accuses Tories of inflaming culture wars](#)



‘The vast majority in government recognise that we’re not a postracial society’ ... Samuel Kasumu. Photograph: Linda Ny Lind/The Guardian

‘The vast majority in government recognise that we’re not a postracial society’ ... Samuel Kasumu. Photograph: Linda Ny Lind/The Guardian



[Aamna Mohdin](#)

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Tue 15 Jun 2021 12.00 EDT

Samuel Kasumu is worried about what is to come. [The former race adviser to No 10](#) has watched, dismayed, as commentators and members of the government – who he believes should know better – engage in [a bitter culture war](#). He warns that the consequences for the UK will be severe.

“There are some people in the government who feel like the right way to win is to pick a fight on the culture war and to exploit division,” he says. “I worry about that. It seems like people have very short memories and they’ve already forgotten [Jo Cox](#).” Kasumu believes the man who killed the MP may have been radicalised and worked into a “frenzy” by the narratives in certain newspapers that are pushed by media commentators.

Kasumu is making this stark intervention while we have breakfast in King’s Cross, two months after he resigned as Boris Johnson’s special adviser for civil society and communities, a position he had held since 2019. The resignation came as no surprise, as [he first attempted to step down in February](#) – accusing the Conservatives of pursuing a “politics steeped in division” in his leaked resignation letter – but was persuaded to remain in

place by Nadhim Zahawi, the vaccines minister, whom he holds in high esteem. But it was only a brief respite. In April, he resigned in the middle of the furore over the government's [controversial racial disparity report](#).



Kasumu was the Conservative candidate in Croydon North in the 2017 general election. He finished second, behind Labour's Steve Reed. Photograph: Courtesy of Samuel Kasumu

He barely touches his food as he urgently lays out the crucial juncture at which the UK finds itself – and the desperate need for politicians to dial down the rhetoric, instead of inflaming tensions. “If I was going to go to William Hill today and place a bet on what the most likely option is, I’d probably say a Jo Cox, a Stephen Lawrence, a Windrush scandal is where we’re headed if you don’t find a way to overcome this cultural moment. I feel like the government must be the ones to try to help drive that change.”

He was born in London in August 1987 and was raised in the city apart from a short spell in Nigeria. He was six when his parents separated, and grew up in a large single-parent household with four siblings (a fifth would come later). He describes his childhood as difficult; the family moved every 18 months or so and he did not always have his parents around. His Christian faith became very important to him, igniting his passion for social justice and his belief in taking responsibility for your destiny.

“The church became my surrogate parents, because they’re the ones that taught me about having a vision,” he says. “They’re the ones that really taught me about servant leadership – not necessarily focusing on what you can get from situations and actually doing things without thinking about who gets the credit.”

He went to Brunel University in west London to study business and management accounting, becoming president of what was then the largest African-Caribbean society in the UK. He ran for vice-president of the student union; the young Kasumu is softly spoken in his 2007 campaign video, decrying the cliquiness of student politics while the song It’s a Fight by Three 6 Mafia plays in the background. He won – and became the first candidate to receive 1,000 votes for the post.

He attended National Union of Students meetings with activists who would go on to become prominent Labour MPs. But what he heard failed to resonate with him. He cannot deny there are challenges and barriers, he says, but he did not agree with the narrative that he could not get far with his gifts and talents alone.

There are some people in the government who feel like the right way to win is ... to exploit division

The conferences “brought out the things that I’m passionate about – social justice, social change, improving outcomes for students and everybody else – but I just can’t really relate with their methods”, Kasumu says. “I just can’t really relate with this idea of not having agency. I didn’t like the idea of being outside of parliament protesting. I want to be in there making those decisions.”

After working on his own social enterprise for two years to try to improve outcomes for students with similar stories – at a time when he was “completely broke” – Kasumu went to work for the Conservative party on special projects. He was interested in how the party could broaden its appeal.

While he does not describe himself as “a Cameroon”, he thinks the former prime minister David Cameron, and the party, did well to invest time in

reaching new groups in the run-up to the 2015 election. It was work he continued doing under Theresa May, in No 10's race disparity unit, fighting to overcome what she described as "burning injustices".

When May's resignation in May 2019 forced a leadership contest, there were fears that the work to reach new communities would be undone. Kasumu says he was asked to establish five principles to which every leadership candidate should agree. The teams of every candidate bar [Boris Johnson](#) signed up, according to Kasumu.

He was therefore unsure what to do when he was tapped up to be a special adviser on race for Johnson. He was scared, then, of being embroiled in a culture war. But after speaking to a few trusted individuals, including [Simon Woolley](#), who once led the disparity unit and is now a crossbench peer, he accepted the role. "I decided that, actually, on balance, if you have the opportunity to serve your country, it's probably something you should take very seriously," he says.



'It was completely unacceptable' ... Kemi Badenoch, who accused a young black journalist of 'creepy and bizarre' behaviour for asking questions about a Covid vaccines video. Photograph: UK Parliament/Jessica Taylor/PA

Kasumu argues that there is a disconnect between Johnson and “Johnsonism”. He describes the prime minister as a liberally minded individual. “When I think about my interactions with the prime minister, he was always very supportive about things that I wanted to do. And I would actually go further and say that he was often more keen for me to go further, to be even more ambitious.”

Kasumu re leading the response to [the Windrush scandal](#) and prepping Johnson before they headed into a meeting with a victim and stakeholders. “He basically said: ‘Why are we not having an amnesty for migrants?’ and he was like: ‘We need to do this because not only is it right, it will demonstrate that we genuinely are repentant.’”

Johnson, he says, added: “‘We’re leaving the European Union, we’re going to have strengthened borders, but this is a wonderful way to reset and bring people together.’ That was just one example of him always wanting to say: ‘How can we go further? How can we be more ambitious? How can we bring the country together?’”

The prime minister was always very supportive about things that I wanted to do

Kasumu is most proud of the work he did on vaccination, describing Zahawi as “the right man” for the job. Vaccine hesitancy among certain BAME groups has reduced since the first jab was administered in December, although Kasumu acknowledges that a lot more work needs to be done to ensure no demographic is left behind.

But his concerns over what he considers to be the government’s destructive rhetoric have deepened in the past year. This reached boiling point when the equalities minister, Kemi Badenoch, [accused a young black journalist, Nadine White, of “creepy and bizarre” behaviour](#) for asking questions about a Covid vaccines video. White received a torrent of abuse as a result, according to her then employer, HuffPost; the incident led to [an alert about the risk to media freedom being registered with the Council of Europe](#).

“There’s an assumption that I have issues with Kemi. I don’t have any personal issues with her. We always got along fine,” Kasumu says. “But when that happened, a lot of things went through my mind. I thought to myself: if that young journalist was my sister, or a relative of mine, how would I feel about a minister responding to her in such a way?”



‘People are holding her to account for things that she’s written in the past’ ... Munira Mirza, the head of No 10’s policy unit, has cast doubt on the existence of institutional racism. Photograph: Mark Thomas/Rex/Shutterstock

“If the journalist was Andrew Neil, or Laura Kuenssberg, or Robert Peston, would the minister have responded in the same way? Were the minister’s actions distracting people from very important public health messages? And all of those things, and a few other things, just led me to the conclusion that it was completely unacceptable.”

He became even more concerned when people within the government did not criticise Badenoch’s behaviour more strongly. Downing Street stuck by the minister, although the press secretary, Allegra Stratton, said the MP’s handling of the issue “would not be how we in No 10 deal with these things”. The Cabinet Office later dismissed a complaint lodged by HuffPost.

Kasumu is less forthcoming when the discussion moves to the race report. When it was announced last summer, Kasumu says he was the pointman for the commission that set out to investigate racial disparities in the UK, helping to recruit commissioners.

“When I was reviewing the commissioners, in my mind, there were a number of things I was looking for. I wasn’t the only one involved. There were three of us in that marriage,” he says. “I was looking for people who had direct experience of practical things, to help to improve outcomes for different groups. Also, people that didn’t seem to have already prejudged the conclusions – people that were going to be willing to objectively follow the evidence.”



‘If you have the opportunity to serve your country, it’s probably something you should take very seriously.’ Photograph: Courtesy of Samuel Kasumu

Kasumu feels that the commissioners who were selected met the brief he set, although he acknowledges [the outcry when Tony Sewell was announced as the chair of the commission](#). He believes Sewell deserved to be on the commission, describing him as a good man who has helped change the direction of thousands of young people’s lives. He also says he told colleagues that they owed Sewell a duty of care to protect him.

“But during the time that I was helping to recruit the commissioners, I felt like there should have been a chair that commanded the respect and authority from both sides of the debate. And the test was: could they have been seen to prejudge the outcome and did they have practical experience?” he says.

So does he believe the report, which did not find institutional racism in the areas it examined, was a bad-faith exercise to stoke a culture war? Kasumu refuses to comment. (He tweeted on 5 June that he had [“so many emotions”](#) reading the report and was “in total shock”.) What does he think of the sharp criticism that followed the report from a range of individuals, including Woolley and [Doreen Lawrence](#), who said it would allow racism to flourish? Kasumu refuses to comment. What role did [Munira Mirza](#), who runs Downing Street’s policy unit and has previously cast doubt on the existence of institutional racism, play in pulling the report together? Again, Kasumu refuses to comment.

“What I would say about Munira is we had a very productive working relationship. Munira is someone who’s very thoughtful and who doesn’t have the right of reply as special adviser right now,” he says. “On the left, people are holding her to account for things that she’s written in the past and, on the right, people are holding her up as some kind of hero for their position in this culture war.”



‘You are giving racists the green light’ ... Doreen Lawrence’s response to the report that claimed the UK is no longer systemically rigged against minorities. Photograph: Andy Hall/The Observer

A No 10 spokesperson said Liz Truss, the secretary of state for women and equalities, had set out plans for “an evidence-based equality agenda in the UK ... This includes racial equality, which is why the prime minister set up the Commission on [Race](#) and Ethnic Disparities and, following their detailed report, the government will shortly respond to their recommendations.”

Kasumu says he is frustrated by an unwillingness among Conservative MPs “to stand up and say: ‘Hold on a second, aren’t you going a bit too far here?’” He argues that most MPs feel the same way as him. “But the reason why they won’t say anything in public is because we do so well in the polls. So they really don’t have a leg to stand on in their mind.”

He believes most people would be foolish to deny that there are inequalities or that racism still exists in the UK. But the challenges around the nature of a culture war means that people have to take sides that ignore the complexity of the conversation.

“The vast majority in government recognise that barriers exist for certain groups and we’re not a post-racial society. The battle is: to what extent do

you accept the nuance and to what extent do you want to wage war? And I think the majority of people want to just find a way forward for us to become a lot more cohesive than we already are. A few people may have different opinions.” Those few people, he adds, have a lot of power – and the polls are working in their favour.

He hopes that someone will soon see sense and push to find a way that allows the inhabitants of these islands to live more harmoniously. But he is not holding his breath.

“Politicians – it’s in their DNA – will always think of the next election. A statesman will think of the next generation. And so the challenge is: how do you get to a point where you have somebody who’s willing to think about the dream, the narrative, the future, the legacy in a political climate where there is always a focus on polls and next elections?”

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Animals farmedBird flu

Is Poland's chicken boom behind its devastating bird flu outbreak?

Despite industry denials, many believe unchecked growth and the high density of farms created perfect conditions for the epidemic

Read more: [A bird costs less than a pint: welcome to Britain's poultry capital](#)



Thousands of birds at a chicken farm in Kondrajec Pański, Poland. The country is Europe's top poultry producer and exporter. Photograph: Wojtek Radwański/AFP via Getty Images

Thousands of birds at a chicken farm in Kondrajec Pański, Poland. The country is Europe's top poultry producer and exporter. Photograph: Wojtek Radwański/AFP via Getty Images

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[About this content](#)

Wojciech Kość

Wed 16 Jun 2021 01.30 EDT

“I’ve lost everything,” says Andrzej Lewandowski, an egg producer from the village of Brudnice in Żuromin county, about 100km north of Warsaw. Żuromin and the neighbouring county of Mława are the hub of Poland’s chicken industry.

“I had to kill 140,000 hens. I lost 500,000 eggs, 40 tonnes of feed and soon I’m going to give up 250 tonnes of cereals I was going to use to make feed,” says Lewandowski about measures to eliminate a bird flu outbreak on his farm.

Avian influenza has hit Poland hard since late last year. Carried by migrating birds, more than 330 highly pathogenic [outbreaks have been recorded](#) by the country’s veterinary officials. There were only 50 in 2019-20. About 13.5 million birds [have died](#) since the autumn of 2020, with most dying in 2021.

Avian influenza or “bird flu” occurs naturally throughout the wild bird population, but has been detected in humans too, with cases reported in [China](#) and [Russia](#) this year.

Poland's largest ever [outbreak](#) comes after more than a decade and a half of growth that has seen the country become the EU's biggest poultry producer, and a major exporter to countries including the UK.

No biosecurity standards will work in this concentration of production

Prof Piotr Szeleszczuk

Poland's EU membership was a turning point for the industry. In 2004, the year Poland became a member state, its poultry exports were just 142,000 tonnes – against overall production of about 800,000 tonnes.

The value of poultry exports last year was 12.5bn złoty (£2.4bn), a drop of 8% from 2019, although in terms of actual volume, there was [growth](#) of 3% to 1.8m tonnes.

Disease specialists say the bird flu outbreak has hit Lewandowski's region hard because of the high concentration of poultry farms.

“No biosecurity standards will work in this concentration of production. The virus can spread up to three kilometres from an outbreak. All it takes is a single farm where biosecurity wasn't up to par,” says Prof Piotr Szeleszczuk at Warsaw University of Life Sciences.

Some local communities are fighting the rapid growth of the poultry industry.



An industrial-scale chicken farm near the village of Zieluń. Photograph: Jakub Kamiński/East News/Rex/Shutterstock

After taking office in 2014, the mayor of Żuromin, Aneta Goliat, fought to push through local zoning plans to prevent poultry producers building more farms in the town and its county. After two years of legal battles, close to the entire commune is now covered by the plans.

“The stench is the worst. When it’s blowing from the farms, you have to wash your clothes after a few hours outside. You can’t go out to your garden to have a coffee, the smell is so bad,” says Goliat.

“These are not farmers, which is what they like to say about themselves. They’re industrialists that poison our lives here, wear out the roads and cause the value of property to fall,” she adds.

A local breeder agrees, although he says he cannot speak openly because “I’m one of them and I have to say what others say.”

“These farms are out of control. Is it our fault or the fault of the authorities who couldn’t put a stop to that?” he says.

Poland’s poultry producers say the industry is not out of control and that the bird flu epidemic is the result of a combination of exceptionally bad

circumstances, such as much colder weather. April this year was the coldest on record in 24 years.

“Safety measures keep getting better each year, but there was simply very little the breeders could do in this year’s conditions. All those farms were here last year, weren’t they?” says Dariusz Goszczyński, director general of the Polish Poultry Council, an industry group.

['You got it': how bird flu turned one US farmer's life upside down](#)
[Read more](#)

“The high concentration of farms is an indication for keeping the biosecurity at the highest level, but it’s not as big a problem as the environmental organisations claim,” says Katarzyna Gawrońska, director of the National Chamber of Poultry and Feed Producers.

For Lewandowski, the risk of the outbreak repeating next year is hard to think of. “I won’t start production again before August – if all goes well. We’re living off savings now and if this happens again next year, we’re done,” he says.

As well as bird flu, the poultry industry has also had to contend with [salmonella outbreaks](#) linked to Polish poultry meat. Two strains of *Salmonella enteritidis* in frozen, raw, breaded chicken products from Poland have [caused almost](#) 500 illnesses since January 2020 and at least one death in the UK.



Day-old chicks are prepared for transport at a hatchery in Skarżyszek. Photograph: Wojtek Radwański/AFP via Getty Images

Not everyone in the poultry industry is now so confident in the relentless drive to build more farms.

“Most land in Poland isn’t covered by zoning plans and if an investor wants to build a poultry farm, local authorities can’t do much but greenlight that. As you can see now, it’s risky for the producers and for the economy,” says Andrzej Danielak of the Polish Association of Poultry Breeders and Producers, a lobby group of smaller poultry farmers.

The bird flu outbreak also affected areas far from the outbreaks. In May, protests broke out at sites where thousands of dead birds were to be buried, as incinerators were unable to handle the number of slaughtered animals.

Andrzej Ołdakowski lives in Zawady Dworskie, a village 100km east from Żuromin where the veterinary authorities attempted to bury slaughtered poultry in April. He says: “We couldn’t let this happen and we blocked the trucks with the dead birds – a few thousand tonnes of poultry carrion that we were afraid would contaminate our water, soil and air. We have succeeded now, but what if there’s an outbreak next year?”

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

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US income inequality

Wealth secret of the super rich revealed: be born into a rich family

The 10 richest dynasties, such as those behind Walmart and Mars, grew their net worth by \$136bn during the pandemic, report finds



The Walton family, heirs of the Walmart patriarch Sam Walton, increased their net worth by an inflation-adjusted \$247bn since 1983, or 4,320%. Photograph: Kevork Djansezian/Reuters

The Walton family, heirs of the Walmart patriarch Sam Walton, increased their net worth by an inflation-adjusted \$247bn since 1983, or 4,320%. Photograph: Kevork Djansezian/Reuters

[*Amanda Holpuch*](#) in New York
[@holpuch](#)

Wed 16 Jun 2021 00.01 EDT

Self-made billionaires including Jeff Bezos and Elon Musk made huge [profits during the Covid-19 pandemic](#) but a new report shows there's no beating family money when it comes to getting – and staying – really, really rich.

Ten of the US's richest families, including the Walmart family and the dynasties behind industries including candy and cosmetics, also saw their assets balloon over the pandemic, with a shared increase in their combined net worth of over \$136bn in 14 months, according to [a report](#) by the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) published on Wednesday.

[Richest 25 Americans reportedly paid 'true tax rate' of 3.4% as wealth rocketed](#)

[Read more](#)

The report, Silver Spoon Oligarchs, details how these families have not only increased their wealth by billions in the last year, but have also worked to ensure the system supports this exponential growth over decades.

Chuck Collins, a co-author of the report and director at IPS, said: "If the system is functioning as it should, we should not see wealth accelerating over generations, it should be dispersing."

In 1983 the Walton family, whose patriarch Sam Walton founded [Walmart](#), were worth \$2.15bn (or \$5.6bn in 2020 dollars). By the end of 2020, Walton's descendants had a combined net worth of over \$247bn, an inflation-adjusted increase of 4,320%.

The family behind some of the US's favorite candy bars, the Mars family, have also enjoyed a sweet return on their fortunes, increasing their family wealth by 28% or \$21bn from March 2020 to May 2021.

The Mars dynasty began in 1911, when Franklin and Ethel Mars opened a candy factory that grew to produce bestsellers such as Milky Way and Snickers in the 1920s and 1930s. Today, it is run by their descendants.

In 2020, their family wealth was \$94bn, according to the Forbes magazine Billion-Dollar Dynasties List, which was a key resource for the report. IPS

compared information from the 2020 list to a similar list Forbes published in 1983 and adjusted that information to reflect what it would be in today's dollars.

Between 1983 and 2020, Mars family wealth increased by 3,517% from \$2.6bn to \$94bn. They were one of 27 families to appear on the Forbes lists in 1983 and in 2020, and together those families combined assets have grown by 1,007% in 37 years.

Even among the super rich income inequality is an issue. The very, very wealthy did even better than their less rich cohorts. The five wealthiest dynastic families in the US have seen their wealth increase by a median 2,484% from 1983 to 2020.

The numbers for an average American family are a blip in comparison. From 1989 to 2019, the most recent year the data is available, a typical family's median wealth increased by an inflation-adjusted 93%, according to the report.

Collins, director of the IPS Program on [Inequality](#) and the Common Good, said these families weren't just making more money, they were also getting better at putting it out of reach of taxation.

The report outlines six "habits of highly entrenched dynasties", which include limiting charitable donations and avoiding taxation through tools such as dynasty trusts, which protect the ultra-wealthy from getting taxed on money transfers over a long period of time.

Another habit is fighting tax increases for the wealthy. The Mars family corporation, Mars Inc, has spent more than \$20m in the past 10 years on lobbying, including \$720,000 in 2020 on "issues related to estate and gift tax reform", according to the report.

The report outlined several proposals already under consideration to curb this wealth accumulation, including the Make Billionaires Pay Act, a proposal introduced by several senators to institute a one-time 60% pandemic wealth tax on billionaires' gains in 2020. There is also a renewed

push to increase funding for the notoriously underfunded Internal Revenue Service (IRS) as well as other efforts to increase inheritance and estate taxes.

But even with the proposals, more must be done, said Collins, to stamp out tax loopholes, offshore tax havens and certain types of trusts that allow families to hide their wealth.

“There is a pretty powerful wealth defense industry that has a vested interest in keeping this dynasty system growing,” Collins said.

Just last week, [an investigation by ProPublica](#) revealed that the 25 richest Americans paid a “true tax rate” of just 3.4% between 2014 and 2018, despite their collective net worth rising by more than \$400bn in the same period.

“One reason we should be concerned about the ProPublica release, the amount of tax avoidance, is that maybe a sliver will end up in philanthropy, but most of it will be passed down the generational line,” Collin said. “So in a sense they are setting up the next generation of inherited wealth dynasties.”

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TV reviewTelevision

The Return: Life After Isis review – prepare to question all you know about Shamima Begum

This shocking film follows the so-called Isis brides stuck in a refugee camp in Syria. Their stories are terrible – and their lack of remorse is palpable



Still not safe from hardliners in the camp ... Shamima Begum in The Return: Life After Isis. Photograph: Alba Sotorra/Sky Documentaries

Still not safe from hardliners in the camp ... Shamima Begum in The Return: Life After Isis. Photograph: Alba Sotorra/Sky Documentaries



[Lucy Mangan](#)

[@LucyMangan](#)

Tue 15 Jun 2021 18.00 EDT

You begin simply marvelling at the access. The writer and director Alba Sotorra Clua spent two years filming in the al-Roj refugee camp in north-eastern Syria to create her film about the so-called Isis brides – the women persuaded by the self-proclaimed caliphate’s propagandists to come to Syria and support their fellow Muslims by joining the terrorist group. Their various governments – Belgian, French, Dutch, German, British and more – are washing their hands of them. Now, it is left to the Kurdish people to dig deep into their already stretched emotional and physical resources and take care of them as best they can.

You soon move beyond that and are drawn into the detailed depiction The Return: Life After Isis (Sky Documentaries) provides of life in the Asayis-guarded camp for now more-or-less stateless women, who arrived in the country as potential jihadists. The film is built round lengthy face-to-face interviews with many of them – including, most pertinently for a UK audience, Shamima Begum. She became the centre of a media frenzy/tabloid witch-hunt/outbreak of legitimate public concern (delete according to taste) when she ran away from her east London home with two schoolfriends at

the age of 15 to [join Isis after becoming radicalised online](#). Four years later, she expressed a wish to return to Britain, but was – in a decision that appeared to go with public feeling but against international law and has essentially been upheld since – [stripped of her citizenship](#).

In *The Return*, Begum, 19 when filming begins, gives her story in her own words. It includes her account of an unhappy, alienated childhood and her inability as a 14-year-old “to distinguish between fake and real news” online. She married a Dutch member of Isis, primarily to escape from the *madafa* (prison houses for women until they found or were allocated husbands) though there seems to have been genuine fondness between them thereafter. She bore three children, all of whom have died. She explains that she made the controversial, pro-Isis remarks in the 2019 newspaper interview that turned public opinion most firmly against her because she was not safe from the hardliners in the camp. At one point during filming, they sew a family into their tent and burn them to death.

At one point during filming, they sew a family into their tent and burn them to death.

Interviews with other women lay out similar stories of lives searching for purpose, longing for attention, restless minds seeking outlets and finding the most toxic of apparent solutions. Those who have already had their eyes opened to the cultish aspects of Isis – as victims of its “sex slave” markets and other examples of the perversion of its supposed devotion to Islam – attend workshops led by the extraordinary Kurdish women’s rights activist Sevinaz Evdike, about whom an entire film could easily be made. She helps them process their experiences and see how their vulnerabilities were exploited, and inoculates them against repetition.

Sotorra Clua does not seek to make the women sympathetic. There is no pressing of sore spots until tears come for the camera, and no lingering on signs of remorse – which in fact seem largely conspicuous by their absence. Their stories are given space, of course, and they are terrible. But a confrontation between Kimberly, who joined the terrorists from the Netherlands, and Evdike – when the former complains about the Dutch government’s attitude, saying: “I never harmed anyone, I never killed

anyone” – is included in full. “Maybe your husband killed my cousin, or my neighbour, my teacher or my friend,” Evdike says calmly. “When I see this” – meaning Kimberly’s lack of perspective – “I really feel: ‘Should I be doing this? Shouldn’t I go back home? I have nothing to do here.’” Kimberly has no reply.

Beyond the questions it poses about governmental responsibilities towards its people and the ethics of leaving 64,000 women and children as a burden on the Kurds in Syria, this is a film that makes you interrogate yourself more than any other I can remember. Are you more shocked by the fact that it is women who were radicalised? Does remorse seem lacking only because we expect women to be more apologetic in all things, from the failure to wash school sports kits in time to incitement to murder in the name of religion?

Is it wrong, in some sense, to expect more of women? Is holding them to the same lower standards as we would men a recipe for equality or madness and destruction? Where do we go – us metaphorically, the 64,000 literally – from here?

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2021.06.16 - Opinion

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Opinion**Boris Johnson**

British politics is still drunk on Brexit spirit, and Boris Johnson won't call time

Rafael Behr



The prime minister seeks to game and inflame a state of mind that rejects complex reality in favour of symbols and fantasy



‘Brexit is the drink that British politics takes in the morning to postpone the hangover for another day, and Johnson is the national bartender.’ Boris Johnson visits the Mount Tavern in Wolverhampton in April. Photograph: Jacob King/PA

‘Brexit is the drink that British politics takes in the morning to postpone the hangover for another day, and Johnson is the national bartender.’ Boris Johnson visits the Mount Tavern in Wolverhampton in April. Photograph: Jacob King/PA

Wed 16 Jun 2021 01.00 EDT

There is a simple reason why Boris Johnson and European leaders [failed to find common ground](#) over Brexit at last week’s G7 summit. They are not even talking about the same thing.

For the British prime minister, [Brexit](#) is a matter of national character that cannot be described in legal documents. For continental politicians, legal texts contain the true meaning of a project that only exists in the real world as a set of rules to be implemented. To Johnson, the withdrawal agreement was a single-use tool for leveraging himself out of a tight spot. For Brussels, it is the chamber into which Britain levered itself.

[‘Mistrusted’ Johnson feels full force of EU fury as Brexit wrecks G7 summit](#)

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That difference will continue to cause friction because it is not a misunderstanding. Johnson knows that legal [arguments over the Northern Ireland protocol](#) favour the European position. He chooses not to care. To concede on the principle that any part of the UK is subject to European regulatory standards – the compromise he signed to avoid a land border on the island of Ireland – would be to admit that a portion of sovereignty was conceded in the negotiations.

That would be a stain on his self-image as the man who made a clean break from Brussels. He finds confrontation more appealing, not least because he expects it to achieve more than compliance. Whether that is true depends on how you define achievement.

Johnson's calculation doesn't prioritise peace in Northern Ireland. If it did, he would spend time telling the Unionist community that customs checks at Irish Sea ports were an administrative fact of life after Brexit but not a precursor to severance from the UK. He would have applied some effort to rebutting the most paranoid, sectarian interpretations of the protocol. Instead he has gamed and inflamed the grievance in the belief that the threat of conflagration puts pressure on the EU to make concessions.

If Northern Ireland is on fire, any insistence from Brussels on maximum implementation of rules on sausage imports will look callous and disproportionate. The prime minister expects to avoid meeting his treaty obligations in much the same way that an arsonist expects to avoid paying insurance premiums on the house he is torching.

That technique will not do much for Britain's reputation abroad, but Johnson's mind rarely strays far from his domestic audience, to whom he will explain that everything is the EU's fault. His party and most of the media will endorse that interpretation, as it always has done. Labour will shuffle uncomfortably on the opposition benches. It is a wearily familiar conundrum for Keir Starmer: how to prove that Johnson is the author of European strife, without sounding like Brussels' barrister, appealing against a verdict already handed down by the court of public opinion.

When Johnson's critics say he must be held accountable for Brexit, they use that word to mean the process and cost of severing ties with Britain's neighbours and losing frictionless access to their markets. That is the remainder definition, even when used by people who accept there is no remainder cause left to fight. When Tories say "Brexit" they mean it in the wider sense of a cultural revolution, sustained by belief and national pride.

All revolutions demand constant vigilance against disloyalty. The project's goals are too abstract to be attainable in any economically useful sense – there are no new jobs in the sovereignty-manufacturing sector – so momentum is maintained by always reimagining and refighting the old enemy.

Starmer has no intention of disinterring EU membership. He knows that Labour's route to a Commons majority passes through many leave-voting constituencies. But for the same reason, Johnson needs Labour to represent a suite of social attitudes that indicate persistent remainishness of the heart.

In Downing Street's strategic conception of the electorate, the prime minister represents a mainstream of commonsense, red-blooded patriots, while the Labour leader stands for nitpicking, naysaying, "woke" scolds and herbivores. The [cleavage is artificial](#) but resonant. Even when Starmer is closer than the Tories to majority opinion – as he has been on the need for timely lockdowns and cautious reopenings during the pandemic – he gets no credit because he is typecast as that guy who tuts on the sidelines. He sounds remainy even though he [never talks about Europe](#).

This is the long tail of Brexitism – a political mode that has its genesis in the referendum but has evolved into something much wider. Its defining feature is the flight from complex reality to symbols and fantasy. That is the habit that devotees had to cultivate in themselves to win the 2016-19 liberation struggle.

Theresa May was broken by the attempt to divert the frothing stream of leaver demands down narrow channels of responsible statecraft. Her successor declared such restraint unnecessary, and then appeared to prove the point by getting a Brexit deal done. The trick was to sign the treaty without intending to honour it.

All who serve in the current cabinet have signed up to the Johnsonian code of conduct that makes evidence and truth subordinate to the performance of boosterism. Sometimes facts fight through. Science has prevailed in the formulation of Covid policy, but not always by the most direct route. In other areas Brexitism sets the tone. There are ambitions for “[levelling up](#)” and “[building back better](#)”, but they are rhetorical zeppelins, floating on the political horizon, carrying no cargo of policy. Real-world government is a sequence of arguments over what is available on current budgets and, if more cash is needed, who will pay. Any serious plan for green energy, or reducing NHS waiting lists or reforming social care begins by telling the public about tough choices and present sacrifice for future gain.

Johnson has been forced to deliver unpalatable messages in many live coronavirus press conferences over the past year, and visibly hated every second of it. Po-faced seriousness was supposed to lie abandoned on the far shore of the Rubicon that was crossed to reach Brexit. And the journey continues, because Brexit is not really a destination but a state of mind. It is not something that government can do, but a way of deferring all the things government should be doing but would rather not contemplate. It is the drink that British politics takes in the morning to postpone the hangover for another day, and Johnson is the national bartender. He keeps the tab open and the punters in good cheer, while the ever-sober Starmer pounds his joyless temperance drum outside.

- Rafael Behr is a Guardian columnist

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[OpinionIran](#)

Iran's next president will ride a wave of voter apathy into power

[Holly Dagres](#)

After years of government corruption, repression and violence, many Iranians are expected to boycott Friday's elections



Iranian presidential candidates Abdolnaser Hemmati, left, and Ebrahim Raisi, right, on a television debate, Tehran, 12 June 2021. Photograph: Morteza Fakhri Nezhad/AP

Iranian presidential candidates Abdolnaser Hemmati, left, and Ebrahim Raisi, right, on a television debate, Tehran, 12 June 2021. Photograph: Morteza Fakhri Nezhad/AP

Wed 16 Jun 2021 03.00 EDT

Rap and K-pop aren't music genres you'd expect an Iranian presidential hopeful to be familiar with. And yet, during the second televised debate

ahead of the countrywide poll on 18 June, one of the candidates displayed an impressive knowledge of the contemporary musical landscape.

“They play rap on their own programmes, but they have banned rap. Our teens have [moved on to K-pop](#) or Korean pop. Our own rap [music] is still underground,” said centrist Abdolnaser Hemmati, the former governor of the Central Bank of Iran.

Hemmati’s comment seemed to be directed at the hardline frontrunner, the [chief of the judiciary](#) Ebrahim Raisi, who lost the 2017 election to incumbent Hassan Rouhani. One of the running jokes at the time was that Raisi failed because of an [awkward photo op](#) with Amir Tataloo, a then-popular underground Iranian rapper with tattooed arms (who has since covered himself in tattoos from head to toe and [lives abroad](#)).

Talking about K-pop during a nationally televised presidential debate appears to be one of many gimmicks deployed in order to draw voters in. But it’s unlikely to be enough to rally Iranians – specifically Iranian youth – to an election that is expected to set new records for low turnout.

Even before the Guardian Council, a powerful vetting body, [approved only seven](#) out of 592 presidential candidates on 25 May to weed out any competition against Raisi – who is also assumed to be the top choice for the next supreme leader – voter apathy was a recognised problem. The February 2020 parliamentary elections – where reformist candidates were also disqualified en masse – had the lowest voter participation since 1979 with only [42.6% of eligible voters](#) taking part.

Iranians, growing more frustrated and disillusioned by the day, have an increasing [list of complaints](#). Perhaps ironically, this is something that has developed during the past four years of the moderate Rouhani administration.

At the top of the list is the dire state of the economy, caused by government corruption and mismanagement, and the punitive, broad-based economic sanctions that were reimposed by the Donald Trump administration after its withdrawal from the [Iran nuclear deal](#) in 2018. Additionally, the fact that the Rouhani administration has been in place since 2013, serving for two full

terms, seems to confirm that moderate and reformist factions are incapable of delivering tangible change. This is partly due to the limited powers of the presidency compared to the supreme leader, the judiciary and other positions not chosen directly by the electorate.

Finally, there is the outright repression. Fresh in the minds of Iranians are the anti-establishment November 2019 protests prompted by a fuel rise in which [security forces killed](#) and [arrested thousands](#). Then there was the [wrongful execution](#) of the wrestler, Navid Afkari, in September 2020. These two incidents deeply angered the populace. Added to this was the [shooting down](#) of a Ukraine International Airlines passenger plane by the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, killing 176, including scores of Iranians, during high tensions with the US in January 2020 – after the American drone strike assassination of the Quds Force commander Qassem Suleimani.

With these grievances in mind, there have been mounting calls to boycott the election to signal discontent with the *nezam*, the system. This includes families of the victims of the Ukrainian passenger jet and of state repression, and more than 230 dissidents in Iran who have signed [an open letter](#) calling on the Iranian people to boycott the vote. There are even trending hashtags on Twitter that translate as “No way I’m voting” and “I won’t vote”.

The Green movement leader, Mir Hossein Mousavi, who has been under house arrest since 2011, wrote that he sided with the Iranian people who were taking a stand against “[humiliating and engineered elections](#)”. While prominent activists including [Bahareh Hedayat](#) and Faezeh Hashemi, the [firebrand daughter](#) of the late president Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, have announced on the audio-only app Clubhouse that they intend to boycott the elections.

[The conflict in the Middle East is sustained by the silencing of Palestinians | Ghada Karmi](#)

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On Clubhouse, which has been making waves in Iran since March, there are nightly debates about the election. In recent weeks, there is a growing theme of Iranians expressing their dissatisfaction with what is essentially a one-horse race. “The president has [already been selected](#), now we’re just waiting

for the election,” said one Iranian. “They told me to vote for Rouhani so Raisi doesn’t become president [in 2017], but in the end, they made him judiciary chief,” said another, noting that regardless of who they vote for, the outcome will end up being what the establishment wants.

On 4 June, there was a subtle change in mood when the supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, called on the Guardian Council, a body consisting of six clerics chosen by the leader and six lawyers indirectly chosen by him, to [reverse its decision](#) and allow other candidates to run. The Guardian Council quickly shut down that notion, leading some analysts to believe this was merely Khamenei trying to absolve himself of responsibility for the state’s anti-democratic manoeuvring. The reality is that the supreme leader has wanted a “young and pious” government to take control for some time, and installing a conservative president would secure his vision of all three government branches being led by hardliners.

Some think that might hurt Raisi’s chances on 18 June – not to mention his his weak performances during the three debates – but with an official poll suggesting a low turnout of [about 37–43%](#), he is likely to be Iran’s next president.

- Holly Dagres is a senior fellow in the Atlantic Council’s Middle East programs

OpinionDonald Trump Jr

Is trouble brewing for Ivanka Trump and Don Jr? They're certainly acting like it

[Arwa Mahdawi](#)



Donald Trump's oldest son is flogging videos of himself online, while Ivanka is keeping an unusually low profile



Nothing to see here ... Donald Trump Jr and Ivanka Trump. Photograph: Mandel Ngan/AFP/Getty Images

Nothing to see here ... Donald Trump Jr and Ivanka Trump. Photograph: Mandel Ngan/AFP/Getty Images

Wed 16 Jun 2021 02.00 EDT

My father, you won't be surprised to hear, is not a billionaire who, until a few months ago, served as the 45th president of the United States. But if he was, do you know what I would be doing right now? Swigging champagne on a yacht in the Med with the internet off, I reckon. You know what I would absolutely *not* be doing? Selling sad little videos of myself saying "Hello!" and "Happy birthday!" for \$500 a pop on a video messaging service called Cameo. And yet, according to recent reports, it seems [Donald Trump Jr is spending his days doing exactly that.](#)

What gives? Is the former president's eldest child desperate for attention or desperate for money?

At first glance, the former might seem more likely. Don Jr, after all, has shown himself to be as addicted to social media as his dad – and there is no obvious financial need for him to hawk personalised videos. Indeed, Don Jr sold the fancy Hamptons house he owned with his girlfriend, Kimberly

Guilfoyle, a few months ago for more than \$8m – [almost double](#) what they paid for it in 2019. When you are pocketing profits like that, why bother flogging yourself on online video platforms?

Expensive lawsuits, maybe? For legal reasons, I should make it clear that I am in no way insinuating that the Trump family is on the verge of being bankrupted and ruined reputationally by a swathe of lawsuits. But I am also not *not* saying that.

What I am doing is simply observing some interesting developments. For example: Lara Trump, the wife of Eric Trump, recently told a crowd in North Carolina that her mooted 2022 US Senate run is a “[no for now](#)”. One imagines she ran a few focus groups, which told her, unequivocally, that no one wants to see another Trump in politics for a very long time.

Ivanka Trump may have heard the same thing. It was long rumoured that she would run for the Senate. Now, however, she seems to be spending her days walking her dog (a very small, very white dog called Winter) in Miami and telling anyone who will listen that she is “[focusing on family time](#)”. Thanks so much, Ivanka! I, for one, feel empowered hearing that.

Arwa Mahdawi is a Guardian columnist

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[First Dog on the Moon](#)Climate change

Peanuts! What is going on with nature's delicious miracle legume? Climate change that's what

[First Dog on the Moon](#)



Is the most noble and beloved of sandwich spreads in trouble?! Yes! Its main (only?) ingredient the dinky-di Aussie peanut is doomed! (Sort of)

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Wed 16 Jun 2021 02.46 EDT

[First Dog on ... peanuts! \(and climate change\)](#)

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How to win over those who will lose most from a global carbon tax

[Barry Eichengreen](#)

Those who bear a disproportionate share of a carbon tax will mobilise against it ... unless they are given reason not to



The Arctic ice sheets are melting. Photograph: Alfred-Wegener-Institut/Stefan Hendricks/PA

The Arctic ice sheets are melting. Photograph: Alfred-Wegener-Institut/Stefan Hendricks/PA

Wed 16 Jun 2021 01.00 EDT

In his classic book, [*The Logic of Collective Action*](#), the late great Mancur Olson explained that the hardest policies to implement are those with diffuse benefits and concentrated costs. Olson's argument was straightforward:

individuals bearing the costs will vigorously oppose the policy, while the beneficiaries will free ride, preferring that someone else take up the cudgels.

Olson's insight applies to the single most pressing policy challenge facing humanity today, namely the climate crisis. The starting point for addressing it, economists agree, is a tax on carbon. The resulting reduction in emissions would deliver benefits to virtually everyone on the planet. But specific segments of society – Olson's concentrated interests – will bear a disproportionate share of the costs and mobilise in opposition.

A case in point are the French *gilets jaunes* ("yellow vests"). Like any mass movement, the *gilets jaunes* had [multiple grievances](#). But their most animating complaint was a fuel tax increase imposed in the name of combating climate change. Rural residents rely more on their cars, trucks, and tractors than do urban dwellers, who can ride a bicycle or take the subway to work. The tax increase hit them where it hurt, in the pocketbook.

The diffuse interests represented in France's National Assembly had agreed to increase gas taxes in 2014. But after farmers and their sympathisers closed down roads and took their fight to the cities, President [Emmanuel Macron](#)'s government backed down and rescinded the tax hike in 2018. Olson would not have been surprised.

Other countries can expect similar resistance, and not just from farmers. In the United States, President Joe Biden's administration had to overcome the opposition of fishermen and whale watchers to [approve an offshore windfarm](#) near Martha's Vineyard, [cancelling a more ambitious project](#) off the coast of Cape Cod. We can also expect opposition to a carbon tax to be regionally concentrated. In the US, that means states such as Texas, North Dakota, and others producing oil, gas, and coal.

In addition, there is the danger that carbon taxes will worsen political polarisation and provoke a populist reaction similar to the [response to the China shock](#). Workers displaced from the energy and transport sectors will blame the tax, even if the root causes lie elsewhere. Parents struggling to feed their kids and fill their petrol tanks will dismiss carbon taxation as an elite project championed by pointy-headed intellectuals. The China shock

gave us Donald Trump. A carbon tax, imposed willy-nilly, could result in even worse.

But Olson also suggested how to overcome the problem of concentrated interests, namely by buying them off. In policy-wonk speak, revenues from a carbon tax could be redistributed to those who bear the costs. Besides enabling abatement of climate change, this would limit undesirable political consequences.

We know that carbon taxation [imposes higher costs](#) on residents of small municipalities and rural areas than on urbanites. Similarly, poorer households [spend a larger share](#) of their income on food and transport, which are carbon intensive, than do wealthier households, which spend more on more environmentally friendly services. One US study estimates that the share of income absorbed by a carbon tax would be [three times higher](#) for the lowest-income quintile than for the highest.

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Thus, a more progressive income tax that compensates the less well-off for the burden of a regressive carbon tax could overcome concentrated opposition. (The scheme would have to include a [negative income tax](#) to compensate those who do not earn enough to pay income tax.) But making policy on this basis – determining how much more progressive a future income tax should be – will require more nuanced analysis of carbon taxes in practice. And it will be important to link introduction of carbon taxes explicitly and visibly to the change in income tax, so that the compensation is clear to the public.

Then there is the question of regions specialising in the production of carbon-intensive fuels. A more progressive income tax won't solve Texas's problems, because corporations based there, not to mention the state government, rely on revenues from oil and gas production.

Biden's [budget](#) and the European Union's [recovery fund](#) both feature measures to discourage production of carbon-based fuels and speed the transition to wind and solar. The opposition sure to come from Texas and its counterparts in other countries suggests that these policies should have a

more prominent regional dimension. They need to avoid creating more Appalachias – Appalachia having been decimated by the [decline of employment in coal mining](#).

[Covid-19 and the climate crisis are part of the same battle | Jeffrey Frankel](#)
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Unfortunately, experience with “place-based” policies is [not good](#). Just ask [Sicily](#). But this is not a counsel of despair; it is an argument for trying harder. Subsidies for bringing broadband to rural areas at risk of missing out on the rise of service-sector employment would be a start. More generally, regional policies, alongside progressive taxation, will be an indispensable aspect of any politically viable strategy to combat the climate crisis.

Barry Eichengreen is professor of economics at the University of California, Berkeley, and a former senior policy adviser at the IMF.

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[Boris Johnson](#)

Ben Jennings on Boris Johnson postponing the end of restrictions — cartoon

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Peru

Peru election: socialist Pedro Castillo claims victory ahead of official result

The son of peasant farmers says ‘a new time has begun’ as vote count gives him narrow lead against rightwing rival Keiko Fujimori



Pedro Castillo has claimed victory in the Peru election despite allegations of fraud from his rightwing rival Keiko Fijimori. Photograph: Carlos Garcia Granthon/ZUMA Wire/REX/Shutterstock

Pedro Castillo has claimed victory in the Peru election despite allegations of fraud from his rightwing rival Keiko Fijimori. Photograph: Carlos Garcia Granthon/ZUMA Wire/REX/Shutterstock

Reuters

Tue 15 Jun 2021 20.51 EDT

Peru's socialist candidate Pedro Castillo has claimed victory in the presidential election after clinging on to a narrow lead as the lengthy vote

count ended, although his rightwing rival has pledged to fight the result and has yet to concede.

Castillo ended the count 44,058 votes ahead of Keiko Fujimori, who has made [allegations of fraud](#) with little proof and has tried to get some votes annulled. The result of the ballot held on 6 June has not been formally announced by electoral authorities, but Castillo hailed the win on Twitter.

“A new time has begun,” Castillo wrote, alongside a picture of himself with arms raised, the word ‘President’ in large font and his campaign slogan: “No more poor in a rich country.”

Un nuevo tiempo se ha iniciado. Millones de peruanos/as se han alzado en defensa de su dignidad y justicia. Gracias a los pueblos de todo el Perú que desde su diversidad y fuerza histórica me han brindado su confianza. Mi gobierno se deberá a toda la ciudadanía. [#PalabraDeMaestro pic.twitter.com/sOt6GResPI](#)

— Pedro Castillo Terrones (@PedroCastilloTe) [June 15, 2021](#)

He also updated his Twitter profile to include “President-elect of the Republic of Peru (2021-2026).”

The abrupt rise of the 51-year-old former teacher has rattled Peru’s political and business elite and could have a major impact on the vital mining industry in the world’s second-biggest copper producer, with Castillo planning sharp tax hikes on the sector.

Fujimori did not immediately make a public comment about the vote on Tuesday. On Monday, she repeated her fraud allegations, saying: “We are only asking for a clean vote and for all the irregularities to be checked. We are not going to give up.”

[Peru’s knife-edge election could be good news for Latin America’s left | Tony Wood](#)
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Castillo's Free Peru party has rejected accusations of fraud and international observers in Lima have stated that the elections were transparent.

Castillo had vowed earlier in the day he would not allow rivals to deny the will of the people and overturn the election, which has seen supporters on both sides take to the streets in recent days.

The son of peasant farmers, Castillo had 50.125% of the votes while Fujimori, the eldest daughter of imprisoned former president Alberto Fujimori, had 49.875%.

Castillo told reporters at the Lima headquarters of his party that he would respect electoral authorities and urged them to end the uncertainty by confirming the result quickly.

"We're not going to allow an oppressed people to continue to be discriminated against for more years," Castillo said. "Things have been put on the table democratically, and there needs to be a democratic way out."

Election observers said it could take days or even weeks for the authorities to deliberate the legal challenges and to declare a winner.

Peruvians who had cast their votes for Castillo have grown impatient.

Ricarte Vasquez, 32, a street food vendor in Lima, called the deadlock "shameful".

"If Keiko had won, it'd already be decided," Vasquez said. "I voted not only for a change in the government but also for a change in the country."

Vasquez said he hoped the situation for informal workers like himself, many of whom were hit hard during a [months-long lockdown](#) to curb the spread of the coronavirus, would change with Castillo as president.

Luz Maria Quispe, 37, originally from Cusco, said she had also voted for Castillo and did not believe fraud claims.

"We want this change for Peru," she said. "What I'm asking Senora Keiko Fujimori is that she now accepts defeat: the people have decided."

Quispe said she had studied to become a nurse but was forced to quit because she could no longer afford tuition.

Castillo has galvanized rural and poorer voters who feel left behind in the country's economic growth. His rise could portend a swing to the left in Brazil, Chile and Colombia, who will vote for new leaders this year and next.

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World news

Bear kills man in Slovakia forest in what could be first fatal attack

The 57-year old man was killed by a brown bear whose population has tripled in 20 years, sparking calls for legal hunting



A brown bear has killed a man in Slovakia. The number of bears in Slovak mountains has risen to estimated 2,760 last year from below 900 two decades ago. Photograph: Greg Norgaard/Alamy Stock Photo

A brown bear has killed a man in Slovakia. The number of bears in Slovak mountains has risen to estimated 2,760 last year from below 900 two decades ago. Photograph: Greg Norgaard/Alamy Stock Photo

Reuters

Tue 15 Jun 2021 20.46 EDT

A 57-year-old man has been killed by a brown bear in central [Slovakia](#), in what the state forestry company said could be the first confirmed deadly

attack by a wild bear, whose population has tripled in 20 years.

“An autopsy confirmed today that the man from Liptovska Luzna died from injuries caused by this predator,” the forestry company, Lesy Slovenske Republiky, said on Facebook.

Bears are common in Slovak mountains, and their numbers have swollen to an estimated 2,760 last year from fewer than 900 two decades ago, said the forestry company, which has argued for legal hunting of bears to manage their population.

[First brown bear for 150 years seen in national park in northern Spain](#)
[Read more](#)

Slovakia’s environment ministry said the bear’s DNA samples would be collected to identify the animal. It said that while there had been five bear attacks on people last year, none were fatal.

News website [SME](#) reported the man went missing after going for a walk in the forest near the village of Liptovska Luzna in the Low Tatras mountains.

“We found him lying on his stomach beside a trail,” the website quoted a friend of the victim, Matej Bodor, as saying. “He had been bitten in his throat. He had been bitten in his belly, in his ribs.”

SME described it as Slovakia’s first known deadly bear attack for at least a century, while public news agency TASR called it the first such incident in Slovakia’s modern history.

[South Korea](#)

Online sex crimes crisis in South Korea affecting all women, report finds

Human Rights Watch found sex crime prosecutions involving illegal filming rose 11-fold between 2008 and 2017



Female protesters call for South Korea's government to crack down on widespread spycam porn crimes during a rally in Seoul. Photograph: STR/AFP via Getty Images

Female protesters call for South Korea's government to crack down on widespread spycam porn crimes during a rally in Seoul. Photograph: STR/AFP via Getty Images

[Justin McCurry](#) in Tokyo

Wed 16 Jun 2021 01.03 EDT

South Korea's epidemic of online sexual abuse has left survivors traumatised for life, and is adversely affecting all women and girls in the country,

according to a new report.

[Molka](#) – the use of hidden cameras to film or share explicit images of women without their consent – is forcing victims to contemplate suicide or to consider quitting their jobs or leaving the country, Human Rights Watch (HRW) said in the report, [My Life is Not Your Porn: Digital Sex Crimes in South Korea](#).

The trauma is worsened by encounters with unsympathetic police and courts, the US-based organisation said, and called on the government to introduce harsher penalties and educate men and boys about the dangers of consuming abusive images online.

“Digital sex crimes have become so common, and so feared, in [South Korea](#) that they are affecting the quality of life of all women and girls,” Heather Barr, HRW’s interim director of women’s rights, said on Wednesday.

[Arrests over hotel spycam porn ring that filmed 1,600 guests across South Korea](#)
[Read more](#)

Barr, who authored the report, added: “Women and girls told us they avoided using public toilets and felt anxious about hidden cameras in public and even in their homes. An alarming number of survivors of digital sex crimes said they had considered suicide.

“Officials in the legal justice system – most of whom are men – often seem to simply not understand, or not accept, that these are very serious crimes.”

The report, based on 38 interviews and an online survey involving hundreds of women, said sex crime prosecutions involving illegal filming rose 11-fold between 2008 and 2017, according to data from the Korean Institute of Criminology.

In 2008, fewer than 4% of prosecutions involved molka, but that had risen to 20% – almost 7,000 cases – by 2017.

“Digital sex crimes are an urgent crisis for South Korean women and girl,” said Lina Yoon, a senior researcher in HRW’s Asia division.

The crime is having a “devastating impact” on women, Yoon added. “Police take the issue lightly because there is no physical contact involved. They don’t realise how terrifying it can be.” The sharing of covert photos and video online means the crime “never ends for the survivors,” she said. “It stays with them throughout their lives.”

‘I’m quite afraid for my future’

Oh Soo-jin* was a 20-year-old student when she agreed to pose nude for a part-time modelling job.

Despite reassurances in her contract that the photographs would remain private, more than 700 images of her appeared on a website after she quit because her boss had demanded more sexually explicit images.

More photographs of Oh appeared – even after she sought help from the police – leading her to contemplate suicide.

“I’m quite afraid for my future,” she said. “[The images] are going to always be on someone’s computer, and I don’t know when this will stop. I thought that if this can’t stop, then I want to stop my life.”

[Seoul to check public toilets daily to tackle 'spy-cam porn' crisis](#)
[Read more](#)

Barr said most women who reported digital sex crimes had “terrible experiences” with the police, with some saying they had been mocked or told they would never find a marriage partner.

While [upskirting](#) and other non-consensual sexual imagery is now a global problem, it has taken hold quickly in South Korea, where perpetrators take advantage of the near-ubiquitous use of mobile devices and the world’s fastest internet speeds.

The president, Moon Jae-in, called for police to investigate the growing number of [digital sex crimes](#) after mass demonstrations in Seoul gained global attention in 2018.

In 2020, however, perpetrators receive a fine or a suspended sentence, or both, in 79% of cases. “It is not at all proportionate to the harm that has been done,” Barr said.

A year earlier, prosecutors dropped 43.5% of digital sex crime cases compared to 27.7% of homicide cases and 19% of robbery cases, although the sex crime cases that were prosecuted usually ended in a conviction, the report said.

HRW said the government needed to introduce tougher penalties for offenders, increase the number of female police officers, prosecutors, and judges, and address South Korea’s poor record on gender inequality.

** Name has been changed*

International helplines can be found at www.befrienders.org. In the UK and Ireland, [Samaritans](#) can be contacted on 116 123 or email jo@samaritans.org or jo@samaritans.ie. In the US, the [National Suicide Prevention Lifeline](#) is at 800-273-8255 and [online chat is also available](#). You can also text HOME to 741741 to connect with a crisis text line counselor. In Australia, the crisis support service [Lifeline](#) is 13 11 14.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/jun/16/online-sex-crimes-crisis-in-south-korea-affecting-all-women-report-finds>

US Senate

Republicans move to block inquiry into Trump DoJ's secret data seizure

Democrats are pushing for investigations into Trump's justice department for data seizures from Eric Swalwell and Adam Schiff



Mitch McConnell criticized the rapidly expanding congressional inquiries as unnecessary. Photograph: Evelyn Hockstein/Reuters

Mitch McConnell criticized the rapidly expanding congressional inquiries as unnecessary. Photograph: Evelyn Hockstein/Reuters

[Hugo Lowell](#)

Wed 16 Jun 2021 03.00 EDT

Top [Republicans](#) are moving to block a Senate inquiry into the Trump justice department's secret seizure of data from Democrats to hunt down leaks of classified information, fearing a close investigation could damage the former president.

Trump, who is facing a mounting crisis of legal problems and political criticism, still wields huge power among Republicans, and has hinted recently at a return run for the White House.

[A different America: how Republicans hold near total control in 23 US states](#)

[Read more](#)

In fiery remarks, the Republican Senate minority leader, Mitch McConnell, criticized the rapidly expanding congressional inquiries as unnecessary and accused Democrats of embarking on “politically motivated investigations”.

“I am confident that the existing inquiry will uncover the truth,” said McConnell. “There is no need for a partisan circus here in Congress.”

The forceful pushback from McConnell shows his alarm about the latest aggressive move by Democrats to engage in retrospective oversight that could expose Trump for misusing the vast power of the federal government to pursue his political enemies.

It also means Republicans are certain to lock arms to block subpoenas against Trump justice department officials, including former attorneys general Bill Barr and Jeff Sessions. Democrats need at least one Republican member for subpoenas because of the even split between Democrats and Republicans on the panel.

Chuck Grassley, the top Republican on the Senate judiciary committee, suggested he would offer no such support. “Investigations into members of Congress and staff are nothing new, especially for classified leaks,” he said.

The Republican criticism came as Democrats have stepped up investigations into the justice department for secretly seizing in 2018 data belonging to two Democrats on the House intelligence committee – and some of Trump’s fiercest critics.

In the Senate, the judiciary committee chair, Dick Durbin, demanded in a letter that the attorney general, Merrick Garland, deliver a briefing and respond to a raft of questions into the seizures by 28 June. And the House

judiciary committee chair, Jerry Nadler, said his panel would launch an investigation into the “coordinated effort by the [Trump administration](#) to target President Trump’s political opposition” as he weighed hauling in Barr and Sessions.



Adam Schiff speaks to reporters with Jamie Raskin and Eric Swalwell. Trump’s justice department seized data from Schiff and Swalwell, fierce Trump critics. Photograph: Erin Scott/Reuters

The parallel investigations showed Democrats’ determination to seize the momentum, even as Republicans started rallying in opposition – for largely the same reasons that governed their motivation to sink a 9/11-style commission to examine the Capitol attack.

Democrats also said that they would press ahead with their investigations concurrently with the justice department inspector general, Michael Horowitz, whose office last week opened a separate inquiry.

“I do think there has to be a congressional role to supplement whatever DoJ doesn’t turn over,” the congressman Eric Swalwell, one of the two House Democrats who had his records seized, told the Guardian.

[‘Pure insanity’: emails reveal Trump push to overturn election defeat](#)

[Read more](#)

But in only requesting Garland's appearance before the Senate judiciary committee – and not Barr or Sessions – Democrats revealed the power Senate Republicans wield to obstruct measures they fear could anger Trump and his base ahead of the 2022 midterm elections.

The political roadblocks being laid down by Senate Republicans mean the most meaningful congressional investigation into the Trump justice department targeting Democrats is likely to come from the House judiciary committee.

On account of Democrats' majority in the House, Nadler does not suffer from the same problems besetting his colleagues in the Senate, and retains the ability to subpoena Barr and Sessions without Republican support.

The judiciary committee did not outline concrete steps for their investigation. But Nadler intends to keep the threat of subpoenas hanging over the Trump attorneys general as he ratchets up pressure over the coming weeks, said a source familiar with the matter.

The twin investigations by House and Senate Democrats follow the referral from the deputy attorney general, Lisa Mascaró, to the inspector general to launch a review, according to a senior justice department official.

The inspector general probe came after the New York Times reported that the Trump administration used grand jury subpoenas to force Apple and one other service provider to turn over data tied to Democrats on the House intelligence committee.

Although investigations into leaks of classified information are routine, the use of subpoenas to extract data on accounts belonging to serving members of Congress is near-unprecedented outside corruption investigations.

Justice department investigators gained access to, among others, the records of Adam Schiff, then the top Democrat on the House intelligence committee and now its chairman; Swalwell; and the family members of lawmakers and aides.

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[Euro 2020](#)

Several people injured after protester parachutes into Euro 2020 game

- Fans taken to hospital after incident before France v Germany
- Uefa vows to take action over 'reckless and dangerous' act



The German players look on as a Greenpeace paraglider lands in the stadium before the Euro 2020 match between France and Germany. Photograph: Alexander Hassenstein/AP

The German players look on as a Greenpeace paraglider lands in the stadium before the Euro 2020 match between France and Germany. Photograph: Alexander Hassenstein/AP

[Guardian sport](#)

Tue 15 Jun 2021 18.36 EDT

Uefa has confirmed that “several people” are being treated in the hospital for injuries caused by a protester who parachuted into the stadium before France’s victory over Germany in their [Euro 2020](#) game in Munich.

European football’s governing body said “law authorities will take the necessary action” for what it called a “reckless and dangerous” act. Debris fell on to the pitch and into the stands when the parachutist got tangled in wires carrying an overhead camera, while France’s head coach, Didier Deschamps, was seen ducking out of the way of a large piece of equipment near the dugout.

[‘A hell of a shock’: France’s Pavard lost consciousness in win over Germany](#)

[Read more](#)

The activist from [Greenpeace](#) had the words “Kick out oil Greenpeace” written on his parachute. The man landed heavily on the pitch and was given medical attention before being escorted away by security.

“Shortly before the start of tonight’s Euro 2020 match between France and [Germany](#) in Munich, a protester briefly entered the stadium from the air and tried to land on the pitch,” said Uefa in a statement.

Can't believe I just caught this on video. Parachuted into the stadium, got caught in the spider cam and nearly crashed into the crowd. Hope he's ok! [#GERFRA](#) [#EURO2020](#) pic.twitter.com/PJ49WYdFM9

— Max Merrill (@MaxMerrill_) [June 15, 2021](#)

“This inconsiderate act – which could have had very serious consequences for a huge number of people attending – caused injuries to several people attending the game who are now in hospital and law authorities will take the necessary action.

“Uefa and its partners are fully committed to a sustainable Euro 2020 tournament and many initiatives have been implemented to offset carbon emissions. The staging of the match was fortunately not impacted by such a reckless and dangerous action, but several people were injured nonetheless.”

Greenpeace’s German Twitter account confirmed that the stunt was a protest against the tournament sponsor Volkswagen, demanding an end to the sale of petrol and diesel cars. When the match got under way it was won 1-0 by France after a Mats Hummels own goal in the first half.

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[Saudi Arabia](#)

Outcry as Saudi Arabia executes young Shia man for ‘rebellion’

Rights groups say Mustafa bin Hashim bin Isa al-Darwish was a minor when alleged offences committed



Saudi Arabia last year halted its practice of executing people for crimes committed as a minor. Photograph: Cliff Owen/AP

Saudi Arabia last year halted its practice of executing people for crimes committed as a minor. Photograph: Cliff Owen/AP

Associated Press

Tue 15 Jun 2021 12.26 EDT

Saudi Arabia has executed a young man who was convicted on charges stemming from his participation in an anti-government rebellion by minority Shia Muslims. A leading rights group said his trial was “deeply flawed”.

It was unclear whether Mustafa bin Hashim bin Isa al-Darwish, 26, was executed for crimes committed as a minor, according to Amnesty International. The rights group said he was detained in 2015 for alleged participation in riots between 2011 and 2012.

The official charge sheet does not specify the dates his alleged crimes took place, meaning he could have been 17 at the time, or just turned 18.

The government maintains he was convicted and executed for crimes committed above the age of 19, though no specific dates for his alleged crimes have been given.

Last year, the kingdom halted its practice of executing people for crimes committed as a minor.

The interior ministry said he was executed on Tuesday after being found guilty of participating in the formation of an armed terrorist cell to monitor and target to kill police officers, attempting to kill police officers, shooting at police patrols and making molotov cocktails to target police.

Other charges included participating in armed rebellion against the ruler and provoking chaos and sectarian strife. The crimes allegedly transpired in the eastern province, where most Saudi oil is concentrated and home to a significant indigenous Shia population. The execution was carried out in Dammam, the province's administrative capital.

At the height of arab spring uprisings across the region, the kingdom experienced unrest among Saudi Shia youth who took to the eastern province's impoverished streets of Qatif. They demanded jobs, better opportunities and an end to discrimination by the kingdom's ultraconservative state-backed Sunni institutions and clerics.

Saudi security forces backed by armoured vehicles set up checkpoints and suppressed the protests, rounding up an unknown number of protesters. The government later razed homes belonging to Shia residents of the restive city of al-Awamiyah in 2017 in an area that was several hundred years old. Officials said the al-Musawara district had become a hideout for local militants, and promised to develop the area.

Over the years, numerous executions of Shia Muslims involved in violent protests have been carried out.

In 2019, Saudi Arabia executed 37 citizens, of which 34 were identified as Shia, in a mass execution for alleged terrorism-related crimes. In 2016, the kingdom executed 47 people in one day also for terrorism-related crimes. Among those executed was prominent Shia cleric Nimr al-Nimr, whose death sparked protests from Pakistan to Iran and the ransacking of the Saudi embassy in Tehran. Saudi-Iran ties have not recovered and the embassy remains shuttered.

The kingdom has in the past implicitly accused Iran of being behind armed Shia groups in Saudi Arabia, saying they are acting “under instructions from abroad”.

Amnesty International said al-Darwish, who was arrested when he was 20, was placed in solitary confinement, held incommunicado for six months and denied access to a lawyer until the beginning of his trial two years later by the specialized criminal court in Riyadh, established to try terrorism cases.

The supreme court upheld al-Darwish’s death sentence. Amnesty International said his case was then referred to the presidency of state security, which is overseen directly by the royal court and over which Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman wields immense power. The Saudi monarch, King Salman, ratifies executions, most of which are carried out by beheading.

The kingdom has carried out 26 executions so far this year, according to the European Saudi Organization for Human Rights. That’s compared with 27 throughout all of 2020. The sharp drop in executions last year was largely due to changes that ended executions for nonviolent drug-related crimes.

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Hungary.

Hungary passes law banning LGBT content in schools or kids' TV

New legislation outlaws sharing information seen as promoting homosexuality with under-18s



The Hungarian prime minister, Viktor Orbán, has increasingly targeted gay rights. Photograph: Bernadett Szabó/Reuters

The Hungarian prime minister, Viktor Orbán, has increasingly targeted gay rights. Photograph: Bernadett Szabó/Reuters

[Jennifer Rankin](#) in Brussels

Tue 15 Jun 2021 11.06 EDT

Hungary's parliament has passed a law banning gay people from featuring in school educational materials or TV shows for under-18s, as Viktor Orbán's ruling party intensified its campaign against LGBT rights.

The national assembly passed the legislation by 157 votes to one, after MPs in the ruling Fidesz party ignored a last-minute plea by one of Europe's leading human rights officials to abandon the plan as "an affront against the rights and identities of LGBTI persons".

Despite a boycott of the vote by some opposition politicians, the outcome was never in doubt, as Fidesz has a healthy majority and the plans were supported by the far-right [Jobbik party](#).

The measures have been likened by critics to [Russia's 2013 law against "gay propaganda"](#) that independent monitors say has increased social hostility and fuelled vigilante attacks against lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people in the EU country's eastern neighbour.

The Hungarian legislation outlaws sharing information with under-18s that the government considers to be promoting homosexuality or gender change.

"There are contents which children under a certain age can misunderstand and which may have a detrimental effect on their development at the given age, or which children simply cannot process, and which could therefore confuse their developing moral values or their image of themselves or the world," said a Hungarian government spokesperson.

The law also means only individuals and organisations listed in an official register can carry out sex education classes in schools, a measure targeting "organisations with dubious professional background ... often established for the representation of specific sexual orientations", the government spokesperson said.

Companies and large organisations will also be banned from running adverts in solidarity with gay people, if they are deemed to target under-18s. In 2019, a Coca-Cola ad campaign featuring smiling gay couples and anti-discrimination slogans prompted some prominent Fidesz members [to call for a boycott](#) of the company's products.

The law means that TV shows and films featuring gay characters, or even a rainbow flag, would be permitted only after the watershed, say campaigners who have studied the legislation.

Amnesty International's Hungarian chapter, which has spearheaded protests against the plans, described the passing of the law as a "dark day for LGBTI rights and for Hungary".

"Like the infamous Russian 'propaganda law', this new legislation will further stigmatise LGBTI people and their allies," said Amnesty International's director in Hungary, Dávid Vig, commenting on a series of amendments that were added last week to a law targeting child abuse.

"Tagging these amendments to a bill that seeks to crack down on child abuse appears to be a deliberate attempt by the Hungarian government to conflate paedophilia with LGBTI people."

András Léderer, at the Hungarian Helsinki Committee Europe, said: "This is a blanket approval to treat LGBT people with discrimination, with hatred. The idea that being gay poses a risk in itself to people under 18 is such a horrible vicious concept ... It will have tragic effects on the mental wellbeing of young LGBT people."

Anna Donáth, a member of the Hungarian opposition, who sits in the liberal group in the European parliament, called on EU authorities to take immediate action, without specifying what she had in mind.

"The law is incompatible with the fundamental values of European democratic societies as well as the values of the Hungarian citizens and is only the latest of many shameful attacks on LGBTIQ rights by Viktor Orbán's government," she said.

"We need more European examples and more acceptance instead of Russian examples of propaganda laws."

Ministers from the EU's 26 other countries have been urged to raise the law with their Hungarian counterpart at a meeting in Luxembourg next week, which is due to turn the spotlight on the rule of law in Hungary.

The latest measures follow the decision to [effectively ban adoption by gay couples](#) and end legal recognition for gender changes, including people who have already made the switch.

[Hungary orders LGBT publisher to print disclaimers on children's book](#) [Read more](#)

While Viktor Orbán's government has targeted migrants in its political messaging, gay rights have come under increasing pressure ahead of parliamentary elections in 2022.

Earlier this year, the Hungarian government ordered a small publisher to [print disclaimers in a children's book of fairytales](#) containing "behaviour inconsistent with traditional gender roles". The publishers of Wonderland Is for Everyone wanted to promote tolerance of sexual and minority ethnic groups, but Orbán denounced the book as "a provocative act" that had crossed a red line.

On the eve of Tuesday's vote, the Council of Europe's commissioner for human rights, Dunja Mijatović, described the legislation as an "affront against the rights and identities of LGBTI persons" that curtailed freedom of expression and education of all Hungarians.

"The proposed legislative amendments run counter to international and European human rights standards. It is misleading and false to claim that they are being introduced to protect children."

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[Philanthropy](#)

Philanthropist MacKenzie Scott gives away \$2.7bn to hundreds of charities

Ex-wife of Jeff Bezos gives to 286 groups and says she wants to donate ‘fortune that was enabled by systems in need of change’



It is the third round of announcements MacKenzie Scott has made regarding her philanthropy. Photograph: Evan Agostini/Invision/AP

It is the third round of announcements MacKenzie Scott has made regarding her philanthropy. Photograph: Evan Agostini/Invision/AP

[Edward Helmore](#) in New York and agencies

Tue 15 Jun 2021 12.50 EDT

The American [novelist](#) and philanthropist MacKenzie Scott said on Tuesday she had given a further \$2.7bn (£1.9bn) to 286 organisations.

Scott, who was formerly married to Amazon founder [Jeff Bezos](#), issued a statement regarding distribution of the latest tranche of her \$57bn fortune.

[Sold! Bidder pays \\$28m for spare seat on space flight with Jeff Bezos](#)
[Read more](#)

It was the third round of announcements Scott has made regarding her philanthropy, which rivals the largest of foundations. In 2020, she made two similar surprise announcements and donated about \$6bn to causes including Covid relief, gender equity, historically Black colleges and universities and other schools.

[In a post on Medium](#) on Tuesday, Scott said she had “felt stuck” over how to articulate her purpose.

“I want to de-emphasize privileged voices and cede focus to others, yet I know some media stories will focus on wealth,” she wrote. “The headline I would wish for this post is ‘286 Teams Empowering Voices the World Needs to Hear’.

“People struggling against inequities deserve center stage in stories about change they are creating. This is equally – perhaps especially – true when their work is funded by wealth. Any wealth is a product of a collective effort that included them. The social structures that inflate wealth present obstacles to them. And despite those obstacles, they are providing solutions that benefit us all.”

Scott, 51, said a number of “high-impact organisations in categories and communities that have been historically underfunded and overlooked” were among recipients of a total disbursement of \$2.739bn.

The organisations included local arts groups and institutions, including the Motown Museum, and groups working in education.

Scott and Bezos divorced in 2019. Last year, Scott’s charitable giving totaled \$5.8bn – one of the biggest annual distributions by a private individual to working charities.

In her statement on Tuesday, she said “putting large donors at the center of stories on social progress is a distortion of their role”.

She wrote that she and her husband, Dan Jewett, a teacher, and “a constellation of researchers and administrators and advisers” were “all attempting to give away a fortune that was enabled by systems in need of change.

“In this effort, we are governed by a humbling belief that it would be better if disproportionate wealth were not concentrated in a small number of hands, and that the solutions are best designed and implemented by others.

“Though we still have a lot to learn about how to act on these beliefs without contradicting and subverting them, we can begin by acknowledging that people working to build power from within communities are the agents of change.”

As higher education was a proven pathway to opportunity, she said, she had given to institutions serving “students who come from communities that have been chronically underserved”.

She also identified organisations “bridging divides through interfaith support and collaboration” against deepening discrimination against ethnic and religious minorities.

Also included were “smaller arts organisations creating these benefits with artists and audiences from culturally rich regions and identity groups that donors often overlook”.

With more than 700 million people globally still living in extreme poverty, Scott wrote, her team “prioritised organisations with local teams, leaders of color and a specific focus on empowering women and girls”.

Beneficiaries included organisations staffed by “people who have spent years successfully advancing humanitarian aims, often without knowing whether there will be any money in their bank accounts in two months.

“What do we think they might do with more cash on hand than they expected? Buy needed supplies. Find new creative ways to help. Hire a few

extra team members they know they can pay for the next five years. Buy chairs for them. Stop having to work every weekend. Get some sleep.”

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2021/jun/15/philanthropist-mackenzie-scott-gives-away-2bn-to-286-organisations>

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Science

Ultra-thin film could one day turn regular glasses into night vision goggles, researchers say

Developed by Australian and European researchers, the film works by converting infrared light into light visible to the human eye



Dr Rocio Camacho Morales says the film that could become lightweight night-vision goggles is hundreds of times thinner than a strand of human hair. Photograph: Jamie Kidston/Australian National University

Dr Rocio Camacho Morales says the film that could become lightweight night-vision goggles is hundreds of times thinner than a strand of human hair. Photograph: Jamie Kidston/Australian National University

[Donna Lu](#)
[@donnadlu](#)

Tue 15 Jun 2021 13.30 EDT

A transparent metallic film allowing a viewer to [see in the dark](#) could one day turn regular spectacles into night vision goggles.

The ultra-thin film, made of a semiconductor called gallium arsenide, could also be used to develop compact and flexible infrared sensors, scientists say.

Though still a proof of concept, the researchers believe it could eventually be turned into a cheap and lightweight replacement for bulky night-vision goggles, which are used in military, police and security settings.

The film was developed by a team of Australian and European researchers, with details published in the journal [Advanced Photonics](#). It works by converting infrared light – which is normally invisible to humans – into light visible to the human eye.

The study's first author, Dr Rocio Camacho Morales of the Australian National University, said the material was hundreds of times thinner than a strand of human hair.

The gallium arsenide is arranged in a crystalline structure only several hundred nanometres thick, which allows visible light to pass through it.

The film has certain similarities to night vision goggles.

[Blind man has sight partly restored after pioneering treatment](#)
[Read more](#)

“The way these night vision goggles work [is] they also pick up infrared light,” said Camacho Morales. “This infrared light is converted to electrons and displayed [digitally]. In our case, we’re not doing this.”

Instead, the film, which does not require any power source, changes the energy of photons of light passing through it, in what is known as a nonlinear optical process.

One likely advantage of this film over existing technologies is weight: bulky [helmet-mounted night vision goggles](#) have previously been associated with neck pain in airforce pilots, for example.

Photons of infrared light have very low energy, Camacho Morales said, which means that electronic night vision devices can be affected by random fluctuations in signal. To minimise these fluctuations, many infrared imaging devices use cooling systems, sometimes requiring cryogenic temperatures.

The advantage of the nanofilm is that it works at room temperature. “We’re avoiding the problems of having to cool down the camera and display equipment,” Camacho Morales said.

If a person were to wear glasses fitted with the film during the day, they would still be able to see what is normally visible to the naked eye, she said. “On top of that, you would see some infrared information.”

[Gallium arsenide](#) is a common semiconductor and has been used for decades in transistors and solar cells.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/science/2021/jun/16/ultra-thin-film-could-one-day-turn-regular-glasses-into-night-vision-goggles-researchers-say>.

[Climate change](#)

Climate crisis to hit Europe's coffee and chocolate supplies

Increasing droughts in producer nations will also make palm oil and soya imports highly vulnerable, study finds



The EU consumes a third of the world's coffee. Photograph: Ammentorp Photography/Alamy Stock Photo

The EU consumes a third of the world's coffee. Photograph: Ammentorp Photography/Alamy Stock Photo

[Damian Carrington](#) *Environment editor*

[@dpcarrington](#)

Tue 15 Jun 2021 11.00 EDT

Coffee and chocolate supplies in Europe soon could be disrupted by the climate crisis as droughts hit producer countries, according to a study.

The research also found a high vulnerability for palm oil imports, used in many foods and domestic products, and soybeans, which are the main feed for chickens and pigs in the European Union.

The scientists predicted a sharp rise in drought risk for EU agricultural imports overall. Only 7% were vulnerable over the last 25 years, but this grows to 37% in the next 25 years, even if carbon emissions are cut sharply. Shortages of supply could result in higher prices, they said.

The analysis only considered drought; other climate impacts such as flooding and increased pests could worsen the situation. However, some regions may have lower drought risk in future and might partially compensate for lost crops elsewhere.

“Climate change impacts are not just happening within your borders,” said Ertug Ercin, at R2Water Research and Consultancy and Vrije University in the Netherlands, who led the research. “The study gives evidence of how we are interconnected globally through trade and how climate-driven disasters outside our borders can touch our lives directly and can be really relevant to our society and economy. We cannot just ignore it any more.”



A Vietnamese farmer walks past a drought-hit coffee plantation in Daklak province. Photograph: Kham/Reuters

The study, [published in Nature Communications](#), concluded: “In the near future, supplies of certain crops to the EU could be disrupted due to increased drought in other parts of the world. Coffee, cocoa, sugar cane, oil palm, and soybean are the most climate-vulnerable imported products.”

The EU consumes a third of the world’s coffee, and half of this comes from Brazil and Vietnam, which are highly vulnerable to drought as global heating increases, the report said, though Colombia and Kenya become less vulnerable. [Heatwaves and leaf rust fungus](#) are also damaging coffee growing.

The EU produces only about 3% of the soybeans it uses, but 60% of soybean imports will come from places with a high vulnerability to drought by about 2050 in a medium emissions scenario. As soybeans are [key to feeding livestock](#), “this makes the EU highly vulnerable to any disruption of soybean production”, the scientists said.

The EU is 100%-dependent on cocoa imports for its chocolate production, and the analysis found drought vulnerability levels are projected to rise sharply in Indonesia and Malaysia, and to a lesser extent in the Ivory Coast and Ghana. The study estimated 28% of cocoa imports will be from locations with high vulnerability in 2050.

Palm oil is one of the most widely used commodities and 61% of these imports become highly vulnerable to drought, particularly those from Indonesia. Sugar cane is mostly imported to Europe in processed food and 73% of these imports become highly vulnerable. The analysis found a low drought vulnerability for corn and sunflower imports.

The analysis used data from before Brexit and therefore included the UK. It accounted for the ability of exporting countries to adapt to drought, by building more water storage, for example. But it was not able to assess whether increased exports from less affected countries might in part compensate for lost production elsewhere.

Mike Rivington, at the James Hutton Institute in Scotland and not part of the study team, said the research was sound. But he said drought was just one of many climate risks to crops, such as flooding, increased disease, and loss of

labour during heatwaves, as well as the loss of biodiversity such as pollinators.

“The study’s conclusions are reasonable in respect of droughts, but understate the overall vulnerability,” Rivington said. “Food systems will need to become more flexible to adapt to regional climate change extreme events. Open trade needs to continue without export restrictions to enable such trade movement flexibility.”

Prof Elizabeth Robinson, at the University of Reading, said: “This is an important study that highlights the complexities of food security in an increasingly interconnected and climate-insecure world. Households in Europe have already experienced increased food insecurity due to drought overseas. For example, during the 2008 food crisis, lower-income households were particularly affected by increases in food prices.”

Ercin said: “It’s fundamentally in Europe’s self interest to address climate [internationally].” He said helping poorer nations cut emissions and adapt to global heating for humanitarian reasons was important: “But maybe this kind of perspective can also wake up the businesses and policymakers in Europe.”

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Headlines tuesday 15 june 2021

- [Live UK Covid: all over-18s in England should be eligible for jabs from end of this week, says NHS boss](#)
- [Covid Gove 'pretty confident' end of lockdown in England will not be delayed again](#)
- [England PM announces four-week delay to Covid lockdown easing](#)
- [Q&A What we know about delay to ending England lockdown](#)

[Politics live with Andrew Sparrow](#)

[Politics](#)

Nicola Sturgeon suggests Scotland easing delay as cases five times higher than early May – as it happened

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[Coronavirus](#)

Gove ‘pretty confident’ end of Covid lockdown in England will not be delayed again

Minister says government trying not to impose ‘imprisonment’ of restrictions longer than necessary

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Michael Gove said only a ‘bizarre, unprecedented event’ could delay the 19 July unlocking even further. Photograph: Henry Nicholls/Reuters

Michael Gove said only a ‘bizarre, unprecedented event’ could delay the 19 July unlocking even further. Photograph: Henry Nicholls/Reuters

[Aubrey Allegretti](#) *Political correspondent*
[@breeallegretti](#)

Tue 15 Jun 2021 05.25 EDT

Ministers are “pretty confident” that the final lifting of Covid restrictions in England, delayed until 19 July, will not be pushed back again, [Michael Gove](#) has said.

The Cabinet Office minister sought to reassure people the government was trying not to impose “imprisonment” any longer than necessary, after [Boris Johnson announced](#) the Delta variant of the coronavirus, first discovered in India, had derailed his roadmap for easing restrictions.

Businesses shut since the start of the pandemic, such as nightclubs, and hospitality firms which complain they cannot operate profitably with social distancing, will have to follow the existing rules for up to a further four weeks. Johnson said this was to offer all adults a first vaccine dose by the point of unlocking and promised a review on 5 July, although No 10 admitted it was unlikely curbs would be dropped at that point.

Gove defended the decision he made along with other senior ministers, including Johnson, the chancellor and health secretary, over the weekend, to [remove the cap on attendance at weddings](#).

Asked if Johnson was guaranteeing step four of the roadmap would go ahead on 19 July, given he had described it as a “terminus date”, Gove told BBC Radio 4’s Today programme he was “pretty confident” there would be no need for further delay.

“None of us can predict with perfect foresight the circulation rate or potential new variants,” he said, stressing that ministers were confident the current vaccines provide the “highest level of protection, come what may”.

Gove added the delay would take England up to the start of the school holidays, which should cut transmission further, though he added: “We are going to have to live with Covid.”

Speaking to LBC, Gove said only a “bizarre, unprecedented event” could lead Johnson to push back the 19 July unlocking even further.

He also dismissed calls the government should have acted faster to put India on the red list by restricting travel from it at the same time as Bangladesh.

“You can only take a decision based on the evidence you’ve got at the time,” Gove said. “So we can all look back and think ‘hmm, if only?’ but we took the decision to put India on the red list before the Delta variant was a variant under investigation, before it was designated as a variant of concern.”

02:05

Boris Johnson announces four-week delay to England lockdown easing – video

However, he was warned by a member of the government’s Scientific Advisory Group for Emergencies (Sage) that the number of Covid-related deaths could easily rise to hundreds a day again.

Prof Graham Medley told BBC Radio 4’s Today programme: “Although the numbers of deaths are low at the moment, everyone expects that they will rise. The question is really as to what level they will rise.”

Asked if the country could see hundreds of fatalities a day, he said: “Oh easily. I think we still might at some point.”

Some restless Conservative MPs think it was wrong for the government to delay the easing meant to take place next Monday, on 21 June.

[Chart](#)

Mark Harper, the chair of the Covid Recovery Group and a former minister, told LBC: “We could have moved ahead perfectly safely on the 21st of June.”

He said Johnson’s optimistic comments about 19 July “are exactly the same words as he was using about 21 June, so some of us, I’m afraid, are a bit worried that we’re not going to actually move forward on the 19th of July”.

He continued: “Ultimately we’ve reduced the risk of this disease hugely by our fantastic vaccination programme, and, as the government says, we’ve

got to learn to live with it, but the problem is every time we get to that point, ministers seem to not actually want to live with it and keep restrictions in place.”

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/jun/15/gove-pretty-confident-lockdown-easing-in-england-will-not-be-pushed-back-again>

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[Health policy](#)

PM announces four-week delay to Covid lockdown easing in England

Boris Johnson says more time needed to tackle Delta variant but signals he will not tolerate further suspension

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- [What we know about the delay to ending lockdown in England](#)

02:05

Boris Johnson announces four-week delay to England lockdown easing – video

[Jessica Elgot](#), [Aubrey Allegretti](#) and [Nicola Davis](#)

Mon 14 Jun 2021 14.51 EDT

Boris Johnson has halted the final easing of lockdown restrictions in England and ordered a four-week delay to speed up the vaccination programme, but signalled afterwards he would not tolerate any further suspension.

The prime minister said 19 July was a “terminus date” and that all restrictions on social contact could be lifted, barring the emergence of a gamechanging new variant.

The chief medical officer for [England](#), Prof Chris Whitty, suggested that within four weeks the additional jabs would offer sufficient protection to halt a surge in hospitalisations and said there would come a point where the country would be able to live with the virus in relative normality.

But Whitty and Johnson said a speeding up of second vaccine doses for the over-40s combined with a four-week delay could prevent thousands of

unnecessary deaths. Although the data will be reviewed after two weeks, No 10 said it was unlikely restrictions would change.

Johnson said the data was now clear that two doses of the vaccine were needed to combat the Delta variant, first discovered in India, and said it was right to allow extra time to give millions more people second doses.

“Now is the time to ease off the accelerator, because by being cautious now we have the chance in the next four weeks to save many thousands of lives by vaccinating millions more people,” he said.

Whitty said nobody should think that from 19 July, the risk of Covid-19 would disappear – but signalled there was a point where the risks could be managed. “There will still be ... substantial numbers in hospitals and sadly there will be some people who will go on to die of this – the question is a matter of balance,” he said.

“We will have to live with this virus – which will continue to cause severe infections and kill people – for the rest of our lives.”

[Impact of delaying step 4 - graph](#)

Johnson is likely to face a significant backlash from Conservative MPs, some of whom warned that the public was reaching its limit, though polls suggest the majority back a short delay. A senior Tory MP accused the government of shifting the goalposts from making sure the NHS is not overwhelmed to avoiding all Covid-related deaths.

“I can just about tolerate this but it’s to the end of my tolerance levels,” they said, adding ministers should know: “This is it, no more – you’re out of lives.”

But a minister dismissed grumblings from colleagues, saying there was a “huge disconnect between a minority of parliamentarians making a loud noise and mainstream opinion”.

Announcing the delay, Johnson also slashed the interval between the first and second jabs from 12 weeks to eight for the over-40s, a step that has

already been taken for older adults.

[England's Covid lockdown lifting: is a four-week delay enough?](#)

[Read more](#)

Whitty said the link between cases and hospitalisations had been “substantially weakened” but not “completely stopped” by the vaccine rollout.

Hospitalisations could hit the peak of the first wave if step 4 of the roadmap proceeds, according to modelling by the government’s Scientific Pandemic Influenza Group on Modelling (SPI-M) committee.

He warned that given a 50% rise in hospitalisations in the last week, if the current trajectory continued and restrictions were loosened “then we would run into trouble” fairly quickly.

Weddings [will be given a limited reprieve](#) with lifting of the cap at 30 guests, but venues must stick with social distancing requirements and table service. The advice will still prohibit singing and dancing.

The chancellor, Rishi Sunak, has rejected business demands for an extension of the furlough scheme and business rates relief as sources close to him said he believed sufficient economic support measures were already in place to cope with a delay.

Hospitalisations have risen by 50% across England, while the north-west has recorded a rise of 61%. The vast majority of patients – over 70% – admitted to hospital are under 65, while the over-65s make up fewer than 30%.

This is a “complete reversal” of the picture during the first wave, Whitty said, pointing to the success of older people having had two vaccine doses in preventing hospitalisations.

The delay of four weeks should mean all over-40s who received a first dose by mid-May will have been offered their second dose by the week commencing 19 July when the final restrictions lift, and all over-18s will

have been offered a first dose. From Tuesday, all those aged 23 and over will be offered their first dose.

Minutes from the Scientific Advisory Group for Emergencies (Sage) also reveal that a four-week delay would be advantageous because it would push the easing of restrictions closer to the school holidays, when transmission of Covid is likely to be reduced.

The prime minister, who met Sunak, Matt Hancock and Michael Gove on Sunday to agree the delay, judged two of the four tests for easing restrictions had not been met – the tests that highlight the effects of new variants as well as increases in infection rates leading to possible hospitalisations and deaths.

Ahead of the decision, Gove, the Cabinet Office minister, also held a meeting of the first ministers in the devolved administrations and a cabinet call was convened. But the decision to announce the delay at a press conference provoked ire from the House of Commons Speaker, Sir Lindsay Hoyle, who said he had had to intervene to force the government to make a statement in parliament on Monday.

02:13

'Totally unacceptable': Speaker condemns sidelining of Commons over England lockdown delay – video

He said the prime minister making such a significant announcement at a press conference instead of in the chamber was “totally unacceptable” and that he had been “misled” into thinking no final decisions had yet been taken.

MPs are expected to vote on the change to the roadmap on Wednesday and Labour will back the change, although there is likely to be a sizeable Conservative rebellion.

Jon Ashworth, the shadow health secretary, said the delay was “predicted and predictable” and that the blame lay squarely with the prime minister. “We are here because Boris Johnson left our borders as secure as a sieve with a weak, puny border policy that allowed the Delta variant to reach our shores.”

He confirmed Labour would support the extending of restrictions to 19 July “with a heavy heart” when a vote is held in the Commons on Wednesday.

On Monday, Public [Health](#) England also released encouraging data suggesting Covid jabs appeared to offer substantial protection against hospitalisation from the Delta variant. The Pfizer/BioNTech vaccine is 94% effective against hospital admission after one dose, rising to 96% after two doses. The Oxford/AstraZeneca vaccine is 71% effective against hospital admission after one dose, rising to 92% after two.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/jun/14/pm-announces-four-week-delay-to-covid-lockdown-easing-in-england>

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What we know about the delay to ending Covid lockdown in England

The fourth and final step of the roadmap has been put back by four weeks – with a few exceptions

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02:05

Boris Johnson announces four-week delay to England lockdown easing – video

[Peter Walker](#) *Political correspondent*
[@peterwalker99](#)

Mon 14 Jun 2021 13.09 EDT

The planned fourth phase of removing lockdown in [England](#), due to take place on 21 June at the earliest, has been delayed for four weeks – with a few exceptions. Here's what we know.

What has been announced?

As widely expected, Downing Street has decided to delay the final unlocking, which would have allowed businesses like nightclubs to reopen and lifted many other restrictions. This will now almost certainly not happen until 19 July at the earliest. There is a midway review point, which could see the change happening on 5 July, but No 10 has warned this is “unlikely”. No new rules will be reimposed, and there are some specific easing measures, notably to do with weddings.

Why has the decision been made?

For one reason: the Delta variant. Now dominant in the UK this variant, first identified in India, is between 40% and 80% more transmissible than the Alpha variant it supplanted, with infection numbers rising 64% week on week, and doubling by the week in some parts of the country. Hospitalisation numbers are rising 50% week on week, and by 61% in the north-west of England, with modelling suggested that if the 21 June easing went ahead as plans, patient numbers could approach those seen in the peak of the first wave of coronavirus in spring 2020. The verdict is that one of the four tests needed to be passed for step 4 to happen – no significant change to the amount of risk because of variants – has not been met, with another, on the prospect of hospitalisation levels, placed into uncertainty.

What will the delay do?

Again, the reasoning is very simple: to allow more people to be vaccinated, whether with a first injection or both. The plan is to step up vaccinations, and by 19 July to have offered all adults at least a first vaccination, and to have offered two to all people aged over 50 or clinically vulnerable, against the earlier target of the end of July. The wait time between the first and second injection for the over-40s will also be shortened from 12 weeks to eight weeks. With two jabs shown to be especially effective in mitigating against serious illness, and even one playing a significant role in reducing someone's propensity to transmit Covid, No 10 says modelling shows a four-week delay could thus save "thousands" of lives.

What's happening with weddings?

Mindful of the fact that many people will have organised weddings for this period, and the impact on the weddings industry if they are cancelled, the current limit of 30 people at weddings and receptions has been lifted, and also for wakes. There are still rules in place. For example, tables are limited to six, dancing and singing is not permitted, and capacity will depend on the size of the venue, allowing for social distancing. This was already the case for funerals.

Any other exceptions?

The current rule by which care home residents who go out on a trip have to then self-isolate for 14 days on their return – one much criticised by relatives' groups – will be scrapped. However, it will stay in place for people returning or coming into a care home from hospital. Also, pilots for mass events, including at arts venues and at the Euro 2020 tournament, will continue as planned.

What about the reviews into future rules?

Reviews into potential longer term social-distancing measures, and into the possibility of so-called Covid status certificates, which might be required to allow people into mass events, were due to have been published ahead of 21 June. This has now been put off to coincide with the new deadline.

Will MPs get a say?

Yes. The regulations governing the current restrictions were due to lapse on 30 June, and will be extended to 19 July. As it is a substantive change, MPs will debate the measures, most likely next Wednesday, and will have a vote. While a number of Conservative MPs will be unhappy, the expected backing of opposition parties means the measures will almost certainly pass. Ahead of this, on Monday evening the health secretary was to explain the revised plan in a statement to MPs.

What about the rest of the UK?

Public health is a devolved matter, and so varies in each of the UK nations – although Michael Gove, the Cabinet Office minister, has discussed the latest plans with the leaders of the other UK nations. Scotland has varying restrictions, from level 0 to level 2, and does not have a 21 June-style date to consider further reopening. In Wales, restrictions eased on 7 June to allow more people to meet indoors and outdoors, and to permit some mass outdoor gatherings, but some unlocking measures were delayed. Northern Ireland has similar unlocking measures to the rest of the UK, with a review under

way into, for example, allowing outdoor events beyond the current cap of 500 people.

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[Coronavirus](#)

Coronavirus outpacing vaccine effort, says WHO, after G7 doses pledge

Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus joins other health figures in criticising G7 countries for offering too little, too late

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In terms of Covid vaccine doses administered, the imbalance between the G7 and low-income countries, as defined by the World Bank, is 73 to one. Photograph: Iván Alvarado/Reuters

In terms of Covid vaccine doses administered, the imbalance between the G7 and low-income countries, as defined by the World Bank, is 73 to one. Photograph: Iván Alvarado/Reuters

Agence France-Presse

Mon 14 Jun 2021 21.03 EDT

The [World Health Organization](#) has warned that Covid-19 is moving faster than the vaccines, and said the vow by G7 countries to share a billion doses with poorer nations was simply not enough.

“This is a big help, but we need more, and we need them faster. Right now, the virus is moving faster than the global distribution of vaccines,” World Health Organization (WHO) chief Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus told journalists. “More than 10,000 people are dying every day ... these communities need vaccines, and they need them now, not next year.”

Global health leaders also warned the pledge was too little, too late, with more than 11bn shots needed.

Faced with outrage over disparities in jab access, the Group of Seven industrialised powers pledged during a weekend summit in Britain to take their total dose donations to more than a billion, up from 130m promised in February.

[Delta variant of Covid spreading rapidly and detected in 74 countries](#)
[Read more](#)

While people in many wealthy nations have some sense of normalcy thanks to their vaccination rates, the shots remain scarce in poorer parts of the world. In terms of doses administered, the imbalance between the [G7](#) and low-income countries, as defined by the World Bank, is 73 to one.

Many of the donated G7 doses will be filtered through Covax, a global body charged with ensuring equitable vaccine distribution.

Run by the WHO, the Gavi vaccine alliance and the Coalition for Epidemic Preparedness Innovations (CEPI), it has so far shipped more than 87m vaccine doses to 131 countries – far fewer than anticipated.

The WHO wants at least 70% of the world’s population vaccinated by the next G7 meeting in Germany next year. “To do that, we need 11bn doses. The G7 and G20 can make this happen,” said Tedros.

Medical charity Doctors Without Borders questioned how sincere the G7 was in pursuing vaccine equity.

“We need to see more clarity around the actual number of doses donated, and exactly how long it’s going to take to translate their pledges into real impact and access,” Hu Yuanqiong at the charity said.

As well as dose sharing, the G7 pandemic battle plan includes commitments to avert future pandemics – slashing the time taken to develop and license vaccines to under 100 days, reinforcing global surveillance and strengthening the WHO.

[Delta variant Covid symptoms ‘include headaches, sore throat and runny nose’](#)

[Read more](#)

But observers voiced scepticism of their willingness to follow through on the last point especially.

“I will believe [that] point when the contributions to WHO are increased,” tweeted Ilona Kickbusch, founding director and chair of the Global Health Centre in Geneva.

Others stressed the need to quickly resolve the issue of Covid vaccine patent protections, to boost production.

Fully-fledged negotiations towards a possible suspension of intellectual property protections for Covid vaccines, as well as other medical tools needed to battle the pandemic, have just begun at the World Trade Organization after months of contentious debate.

G7 leaders “say they want to vaccinate the world by the end of next year, but their actions show they care more about protecting the monopolies and patents of pharmaceutical giants,” said Max Lawson, Oxfam’s head of inequity policy.

Human Rights Watch agreed. “Focusing on vaccines and making charitable donations are not enough,” Aruna Kashyap, its senior counsel for business

and human rights. “The G7’s failure to unequivocally support a temporary waiver of global intellectual property rules is deadly status quo.”

WHO and its partners also highlighted the desperate need for funds to overcome the pandemic.

More than \$16bn is still needed this year to fully fund efforts to speed up production and access to Covid-19 diagnostics, treatments and vaccines.

That figure represents less than one percent of annual global defence expenditure, the WHO’s emergencies director Michael Ryan said, adding: “Surely we can afford one percent of that to save lives and bring this pandemic to an end.”

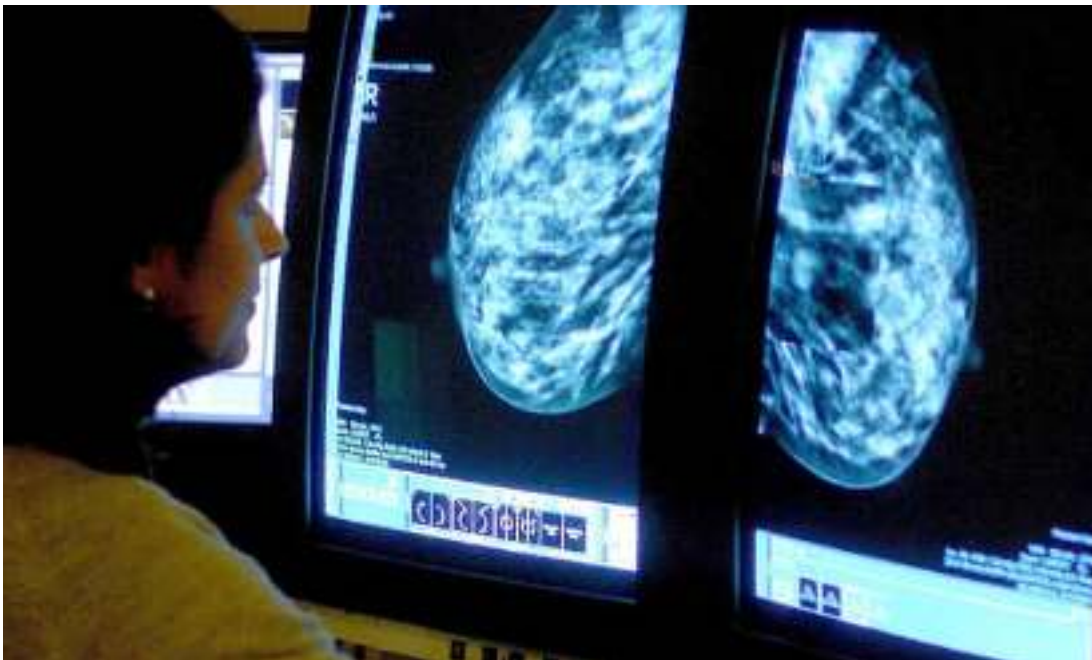
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[Breast cancer](#)

Fears England breast cancer deaths may rise as Covid hits screenings

Charity warns 10,600 fewer women started treatment for the disease in past year, compared with year before

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The charity said the cancers may not have been picked up in part because of the pause in breast cancer screening during the first wave of Covid. Photograph: Rui Vieira/PA

The charity said the cancers may not have been picked up in part because of the pause in breast cancer screening during the first wave of Covid. Photograph: Rui Vieira/PA

[Nicola Davis](#) *Science correspondent*
[@NicolaKSDavis](#)

Mon 14 Jun 2021 19.01 EDT

Progress in reducing breast cancer deaths may be under threat, a leading charity has warned, as figures reveal more than 10,000 fewer patients in [England](#) started treatment for the disease in the past year compared with the year before.

According to an analysis of NHS England figures by [Cancer](#) Research UK (CRUK), about 38,000 fewer cancer patients began treatment between April 2020 and March 2021, compared with the same period a year earlier. Just under 28% of these were breast cancer patients, equating to about 10,600 people.

[Four-week cancer treatment delay raises death risk by 10% – study](#)
[Read more](#)

With CRUK noting that 2018 figures suggest about 15% of new cancers are breast cancer, it seems the disease has been disproportionately affected by the Covid pandemic, with the charity saying the majority of those who have missed out on breast cancer treatment are likely to be people who have yet to be diagnosed, with the vast majority in an early stage of the disease.

Cancer that is detected early is generally more treatable.

The charity said the cancers may not have been picked up in part because of the pause in breast cancer screening during the early part of the coronavirus pandemic.

According to another charity, Breast Cancer Now, almost 1 million British women, including about 838,000 in England, [missed a breast cancer screening appointment](#) during the height of the first wave of coronavirus.

However, CRUK said other factors behind the drop may include the reluctance of some to seek help for symptoms when the Covid waves were at their peaks, either because of concerns about burdening the NHS or because they were afraid of catching Covid.

The charity said the figures suggested progress in reducing breast cancer deaths could be at risk: while the disease is the fourth most common cause of cancer death in the UK, [mortality rates have dropped](#) almost 40% since the 1970s.

Dr Ajay Aggarwal, a consultant clinical oncologist at Guy's and St Thomas' NHS trust, whose own work has suggested diagnosis delays caused by the pandemic may lead to [3,500 deaths in England](#) from four main cancers in the next five years, said the latest figures confirmed what was feared at the beginning of the Covid outbreak when cancer services were significantly disrupted.

“This also confirms work recently undertaken in south-east London, where during the first wave of the pandemic, across a region of 1.7 million people, there were 30% fewer diagnoses of breast cancer,” he said. “This is likely to worsen when considering the cumulative impact of the second wave.”

He said similar trends were being seen across a range of other cancers. “For those eventually presenting, the data suggests – and clinical experience – that patients are presenting with more advanced, complex disease, which is either incurable or associated with worse prognosis compared to if they had been diagnosed earlier.”

Prof Charles Swanton, CRUK's chief clinician, said the figures reflected the impact of the pause to breast cancer screening, which detects almost a third of breast cancer cases.

“But it's important to remember that cancer screening is for people without symptoms,” he said. “So it's vital that if people notice anything unusual for them, please don't wait for screening – get in touch with your GP. In most cases it won't be cancer, but if it is, catching it early gives the best chance of survival.”

An NHS spokesperson said: “The NHS is working hard to treat more cancer patients than ever before and the latest figures show that treatment levels are now back to pre-pandemic levels, with more than 200,000 people referred for cancer checks in April following a record high the month before, and more than nine in 10 people started treatment within one month.

“Breast screening services are open with extra clinics put in place and thousands of invites being sent every month, so if you are invited please book your appointment.”

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2021/jun/15/fears-england-breast-cancer-deaths-may-rise-covid-hits-screenings>

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[Health policy](#)

Weddings with more than 30 people can go ahead as England's Covid limit lifted

Nuptials are the exception to the four-week delay in lifting the final stage of lockdown

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The decision to make an exception for weddings – it also applies to wakes – had been widely expected. Photograph: Image Source Plus/Alamy

The decision to make an exception for weddings – it also applies to wakes – had been widely expected. Photograph: Image Source Plus/Alamy

[Peter Walker](#) *Political correspondent*

[@peterwalker99](#)

Mon 14 Jun 2021 14.02 EDT

The limit of 30 people at weddings in England is being lifted despite the decision to [delay most other Covid reopening measures](#) by four weeks, Downing Street has said.

The decision to make an exception for weddings and wakes had been widely expected, with many people having planned events for the weeks following 21 June, a number of which had been postponed from last year.

[PM announces four-week delay to Covid lockdown easing in England](#)
[Read more](#)

The new regulations, which will bring weddings in line with funerals, means the maximum number of people who can attend will be dictated by the ability of the venue to hold a given number of people with social distancing.

Boris Johnson outlined the plan at the Downing Street press conference held to explain the wider delay, and was asked about the issue by a member of the public selected for a question, who said her own wedding had been postponed twice.

The prime minister said he was “sorry for all the disappointment that’s going to be caused by going a bit slower”, but explained that weddings with more than 30 people could happen from 21 June “providing social distancing is observed”.

He added: “I hope that works for you, and I think everyone would wish you every possible fortune with your wedding.”

02:05

Boris Johnson announces four-week delay to England lockdown easing – video

The full rules, which have not yet been published, are fairly complex. Commercial venues will need to carry out a risk assessment beforehand, with wedding organisers needing to do a simplified equivalent if the event is taking place on private property.

People will have to eat with table service, with a limit of six at a table, while dancing and singing will not be permitted.

The rules vary according to where the event is held. For example, while the maximum number of guests at a commercial venue depends on the size, if a wedding takes place inside a private home, the maximum number is six, in keeping with wider rules for home-based mixing.

The one exception to the six-person limit for in-home weddings are deathbed weddings, where one partner is terminally ill. Here there is no limit.

In another slight complication, while rules barring things such as dancing are part of the law for weddings at commercial venues, for those taking place on private land, for example in a garden, they are only guidance, and not set down in the law.

[What we know about the delay to ending Covid lockdown in England](#)
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Marquees in gardens will count as outdoor spaces, but only if at least two of the sides are raised to provide ventilation.

Ministers had heavily hinted at the exception for weddings, mindful that many Conservative MPs are likely to be angry at the decision to delay the final lifting of lockdown from 21 June to 19 July.

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Rape and sexual assault

The sexual assault of sleeping women: the hidden, horrifying rape crisis in Britain's bedrooms



‘There is a big difference between gently waking your partner and initiating sexual activity and penetrating someone while they’re still asleep’ ... Katie Russell, Rape Crisis. Illustration: Virginie Garnier/The Guardian

‘There is a big difference between gently waking your partner and initiating sexual activity and penetrating someone while they’re still asleep’ ... Katie Russell, Rape Crisis. Illustration: Virginie Garnier/The Guardian

A recent survey suggested a shockingly high proportion of women have been sexually assaulted by a partner as they slept. Now more and more are speaking out

[Anna Moore](#)

Tue 15 Jun 2021 05.00 EDT

Niamh Ní Dhomhnaill had been with her partner for almost a year when she discovered that he'd been raping her while she slept. At the time, she was 25, and a language teacher in a Dublin secondary school. Her partner, Magnus Meyer Hustveit, was Norwegian. The couple had moved in together within a few months of meeting, but things were tense. It wasn't a happy relationship.

On that particular night, Ní Dhomhnaill had been out with Hustveit and other friends, but left early, alone, because she felt unwell. "I'd only drunk water but I'd gone to bed and was out for the count," she says. "I didn't hear Magnus come back, which is unusual because I'd always been a light sleeper."

When she did wake, she was no longer wearing her pyjama bottoms and had semen on her body. Magnus was sleeping beside her.

"I asked him: 'Did you have sex with me while I was asleep?' and he said, 'Yes.' I was so shocked and really confused. How could I not have known? I felt really ill, too, I was trying to figure it all out. I said: 'I can't give consent when I'm asleep. Don't ever do that again.'"

But two weeks later, Ní Dhomhnaill awoke at 3am just knowing he had. "I said, 'You've done it again – I felt it,' and then I asked: 'Have you been doing this regularly?'" "The whole time," was Hustveit's devastating reply. "He told me he'd been doing this on average three times a week ever since we'd been together."

Her first response was to vomit. "I sat there heaving into a bucket," says Ní Dhomhnaill. "I now know the physical reasons for that response, but at the time, I'd never experienced anything like that. It was a clear indication of the shock. It was 3am, I had nowhere to go, I didn't know what to do.

"I left as soon as I knew there'd be a cafe open and my friend came to meet me. I told her that Magnus had been having sex with me in my sleep and she said: 'That's not 'sex'. That's rape.' At that point, I couldn't go there. I couldn't use that word."



Photograph: Rafia Elias/Getty Images (posed by model)/Guardian Design

It's impossible to know how many women have been raped or sexually assaulted by their partners while they slept, although a recent piece of research has suggested the number might be far, far higher than we'd like to think.

In April, Dr Jessica Taylor, [founder of VictimFocus](#), an independent consultancy and research firm working in forensic psychology, feminism and mental health, released a report on a study that had set out to gauge the extent of violence against women. Naming specific acts, rather than using broad – and loaded – terms such as “abuse” or “rape”, her survey asked more than 22,000 women if, for example, they had ever been spat at, or strangled, kicked or bitten. It also asked respondents if they had [ever woken to their male partner having sex with them](#) or performing sex acts on them while they slept. To this question, 51% answered yes.

This was not randomised sampling – the survey was widely shared online and participants were self-selected. For this reason, it's hard to extrapolate from the findings. The results sparked a predictably polarised online response. “This was extremely validating for me after years of thinking, ‘Am I being raped?’ I’m not alone”, tweeted one woman. “It’s why I now jerk awake if someone even gently brushes against me while I’m sleeping,

13 years later,” wrote another. Other comments included, “Only chance I get!” and “the other half was OK with it!”

Katie Russell, spokesperson for Rape Crisis, says she was “not massively surprised” by the findings. “There isn’t a lot of research into the multiple ways [women experience violence from known men](#), but we do know the numbers are so much higher than any official statistics,” she says.

“Rape myths are still incredibly pervasive. It’s commonly believed that if it’s your boyfriend or your spouse, if you’re sharing a bed, if you’re naked, if you consented earlier, then it can’t be rape. There is a really big difference between gently waking your partner and initiating sexual activity and actually doing something sexual or penetrating someone while they’re still asleep.

“The 2003 Sexual Offences Act is crystal clear,” she continues. “Consent can only be agreed when you have the capacity to make that choice – and if you’re asleep or unconscious, you don’t. We’re talking about rape – one hundred per cent.”

In Russell’s experience, rape while sleeping happens more commonly in [abusive, coercively controlled relationships](#). In these cases, the psychology isn’t hard to understand. Martha*, 21, a student at the University of Oxford, who experienced such rape with her first boyfriend, believes it was all about power, his right to do whatever he wanted when he wanted.

“I was 16, I didn’t know what was normal in a relationship,” she says. “He was in the year above me and at the start it was really nice, but he became very abusive. He tried to control everything I did in all sorts of ways that I didn’t realise were wrong – where I went, what I could wear. I wasn’t allowed to smoke or chew gum. He’d log on to my social media to check on me.”

To this day, probably the one thing that still affects me is the time he had sex with me when I slept

Martha

Twice, he slapped her and threw her against a wall, whacked the back of her head, and kicked her because he had seen her smoking on someone's Instagram Story. (At the time, he was being unfaithful, but according to him, smoking was worse than cheating.)

“All of that, I'm over,” says Martha. “But to this day, probably the one thing that still affects me is the time he had sex with me when I slept.”

This happened in her single bed in her family home. They were spooning, with Martha sandwiched between him and the wall. “I woke up suddenly and realised what he was doing and just froze. It was towards summer and I fixated on a spot of morning light on the wall.

“I said nothing, never moved, never raised it with him, which is why I'm angry with myself to this day. I felt sick afterwards and in the morning, when he'd left, my 16-year-old self Googled it. I read that it was rape. Even now, if I'm sleeping with someone, I'll never sleep against a wall where I can't get out of bed easily and I always stay awake until I know they're asleep – I haven't had a proper relationship since.”

In Martha's case, the rape happened once, but for some men, seeking sex with a sleeping woman is an active preference, a fetish known as somnophilia. Svein Overland, a Norwegian psychologist, is one of the few to have studied it – his interest sparked partly by his work in prisons, trying to understand the motivations of sex offenders, and also by his work with victims of what Norwegians call “after-party rapes” – attacks on vulnerable women who were either sleeping or drugged.

Overland believes somnophilia is part of the wider growth of what he calls “one-way sex”. His research into online porn showed a steep rise over the past decade in categories such as “sleeping sex”, as well as other forms of sex that are based on unresponsiveness, on only meeting your own needs. (“Flexi dolls” is another example – where women pretend to be sex dolls.)

These preferences overlap with porn itself, says Overland. “With one-way sex, with porn, with masturbation, there's no dance, no seduction, no interaction and no pressure to perform,” he says. “The more I looked at this area, the more you see that a lot of men are afraid of having sex. Society is

becoming more pornified but, at the same time, many studies show that people are becoming less sexually active. We have young men buying Viagra, unable to keep an erection.”

[Yes, there is such a thing as rape within marriage](#)

[Read more](#)

A sleeping woman is no threat – she’s absent, an object, a receptacle. When Overland asked sex workers in Oslo if somnophilia was something they encountered with clients, several had. “It wasn’t common, but it wasn’t uncommon, either,” he says. “One told me that she had customers that she really trusts so she has let them drug her so they can go ahead.”

As a kink between two consenting adults, somnophilia comes with rules and (problematic) terms such as “blanket consent” and “consensually non-consensual”. It requires deep trust and constant communication. However, it’s hard to believe that the 51% who responded to Dr Taylor’s survey come from this community, and for most women the impact can be devastating, says Russell.

“There seems to be a perception that something like this is a ‘lesser crime’ because it might not be at the hands of a stranger but your partner. But what would feel worse? Being pickpocketed by a stranger or robbed by someone you love and trust?” she asks. “The idea that you’re asleep so it didn’t require violence is also very dangerous. Penetrating someone’s body without their permission is an inherently violent act.

“Imagine being asleep and waking to find someone going through your personal things,” she continues. “Now imagine it’s your actual body that has been intruded into.”

I wouldn’t sleep. I’d lie awake all night and have hallucinations – him raping me

Niamh Ní Dhomhnaill

For Ní Dhomhnaill, the fact that she’d been sleeping, and for some inexplicable reason hadn’t woken, was terrifying. (She asked Hustveit if he

had drugged her, especially since by the end of the relationship, she felt ill and permanently exhausted, but he has denied this.) “Because the memories I have are so vague, it leaves you with this sense of uncertainty and guilt and shame,” she says. “When we only have bits of information, our brains tend to fill in the gaps.

“When I first left him, I wouldn’t sleep. I’d lie awake all night and have hallucinations – him raping me. Those flashbacks, that trauma response, was the mind and body trying to piece things together. Even now, nine years on, I still wake at two every morning. I don’t even need to check the clock. We know that the body stores memories of trauma – and I think 2am is when it used to happen.”

How hard is it to successfully prosecute these cases? Given that recent Home Office figures showed that, in England and Wales, [fewer than one in 60 recorded rapes resulted in a charge](#), the answer, says Russell, is very hard. “I don’t want to discourage people from reporting,” she says. “If it happens, it’s a crime and cases have been prosecuted. But when there’s no physical evidence, no witnesses, sometimes no recollection ... there are added challenges.”

Lisa*, 40, did report her former partner for raping her while she was asleep. It had happened at the start of 2019 after they had separated and Lisa was treading a difficult line, trying to remain amicable, to avoid what she knew could be a bitter custody battle over the couple’s daughter. “He’d always been extremely domineering, whether it was over what I wore, what I bought, where I put things in a room, where we went,” says Lisa, “and he never respected boundaries. He’d choked me during sex before, he always did what he wanted.

“On that night, I’d made dinner. He’d drunk too much so I let him stay in the spare room – but I woke up to find him in with me, having sex.”

The next morning, she went to her local police station. “I wasn’t sure if I was overreacting,” she says. “Two officers asked if he had forced himself on me? No, I’d been asleep. He didn’t pin me down, there was no struggle. They said they weren’t sure there’d been any crime here.”

The next day, a sergeant rang Lisa to say he'd read the officers' report and was concerned that this hadn't been recognised as rape. "He actually rang a few times but I didn't want to talk about it," says Lisa. "They'd lost my trust."

Ní Dhomhnaill never doubted that she wanted to prosecute Hustveit. "It was really clear to me that his behaviour was dangerous, it was a pattern," she says, "but I had no evidence. The only action available was to get him to admit it."

She sent him an email asking exactly what he had done and why – and, to her shock, he responded almost immediately with a great deal of detail. "It was clinical, procedural, there was no sense of atoning. He seemed completely detached from his words. The reason he gave was just his own gratification. At the end, he said: 'You could have me prosecuted and I really hope you don't.'"

She did. In July 2015, Hustveit pleaded guilty in Ireland's central criminal court to one charge of rape and one charge of sexual assault. He received a seven-year wholly suspended sentence but the next year the court of appeal in Dublin found this "unduly lenient" and Hustveit was jailed for 15 months. Ní Dhomhnaill also launched high court civil proceedings seeking damages for multiple acts of rape and sexual assault while she slept.

[Quarter of adults think marital sex without consent is not rape, UK survey finds](#)
[Read more](#)

In February 2020, she told the jury: "There has never been a part of me that has not been profoundly impacted," and that in the immediate aftermath, she suffered PTSD and had tried to take her own life. She said she had felt "unsafe everywhere", frightened to trust anyone, even her parents. Hustveit offered no defence and the jury awarded damages of €1m (£863,000).

The last nine years have been a slow but solid process of recovery. Ní Dhomhnaill, now 34, retrained as a psychologist, and is currently in clinical training. She believes her past makes her better at her job. "I think the beautiful and important thing I can bring when I'm in the room with

someone who is hurting, who is suicidal, is that sense of hope,” she says. “Even if they don’t believe it, I know myself that something can change, something can shift, and so I can hold that hope for them.”

Yet, despite everything, she still catches herself doubting everything that happened to her and her own response. “At times, I still have thoughts that maybe I just made a big deal out of nothing – I still think that to this day,” she admits. “I think that’s an indictment of the world we live in.”

- Starred names have been changed.
- *In the UK, the Rape Crisis national freephone helpline is on 0808 802 9999 (12-2.30pm and 7-9.30pm every day of the year). Rape Crisis also operate a [live chat helpline](#), open Monday: 2pm-4.30pm, 6pm-9pm; Tuesday: 2-4.30pm, 6pm-9pm; Wednesday: 12pm-2.30pm, 6pm-9pm; Thursday: 12pm-2.30pm, 6pm-9pm; Friday: 9am-11.30am, 2pm-4.30pm. In the UK, Samaritans can be contacted on 116 123 or email jo@samaritans.org. You can contact the mental health charity Mind by calling 0300 123 3393 or visiting mind.org.uk. The 24-hour [freephone National Domestic Abuse Helpline, run by Refuge](#), is on 0808 2000 247. In the US, Rainn offers support on 800-656-4673. In Australia, support is available at [1800Respect](#) (1800 737 732). Other international helplines can be found at ibiblio.org/rcip/internl.html*

[Comfort Eating](#) with Grace Dent [Food](#)

S1 E1: Russell T Davies, screenwriter

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‘The Silicon Valley of turf’: how the UK’s pursuit of the perfect pitch changed football

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Time travel, killer aliens and a monster showdown: the best films of 2021 so far

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2021.06.15 - Opinion

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OpinionMigration

How the 2001 northern riots boosted the far right – and reshaped British politics

[Daniel Trilling](#)

The BNP's explicitly racist politics only had limited appeal – but more adept politicians have seized on the myths they exploited



Clashes between police and young people in Bradford, on 7 July 2001.
Photograph: Stringer/UK/Reuters

Clashes between police and young people in Bradford, on 7 July 2001.
Photograph: Stringer/UK/Reuters

Tue 15 Jun 2021 02.00 EDT

Twenty years ago this summer, a series of riots broke out in parts of northern England that would have a profound effect on British politics. They began in Oldham in late May 2001, spreading to Burnley in June, and Bradford in July. All had their own specific local triggers, but all involved clashes

between men of white and of south Asian background. This racialised dimension ensured that they became a matter of national concern, prompting warnings that some of the country's diverse communities were, [in the words of an official report](#), living “parallel lives”.

In national debate, this quickly became a narrative that “multiculturalism” had failed, and helped to cement two powerful stereotypes that continue to dominate our politics. One is of the immigrant community – frequently Muslim – that fails to integrate, and stands repeatedly accused of [creating “no-go zones”](#) in parts of our towns and cities. The other stereotype is of the disaffected, “left behind” white working class, rarely treated as more than a caricature.

The most immediate effect of the riots was to help Britain's far right to an unprecedented wave of electoral success – which further entrenched this simplistic narrative. Those first riots in Oldham came after several weeks of agitation by far-right activists, who were hoping to capitalise on recent local tensions between white and Asian residents. In the aftermath, the British National party leader, Nick Griffin, positioned himself as a voice for the white community, advocating Belfast-style “peace walls”; he was [invited onto the BBC's Today programme](#) to have his say. The following year, BNP candidates won a string of council seats in Burnley, heralding a series of victories in English local government.

This might seem like ancient history today, but for Mike Makin-Waite, a former Burnley council officer who saw up close a fascist party's first serious incursion into UK politics, it was the forerunner to a much bigger shift. As he recounts [in a new book](#), this was just a precursor to the ultimately successful effort by the right to “link people's sense of abandonment to the idea that a strong and exclusivist sense of national identity is the answer”.

The BNP's explicitly racist politics only ever had limited appeal, but other more adept politicians – first Nigel Farage, then Boris Johnson – took the problems the BNP had exploited and went much further. In 2019, Burnley – a former mill town with a strong Labour and trade union history – [elected a Conservative MP](#) for the first time in more than 100 years.

Makin-Waite, a long-time anti-racist activist who was appointed council officer in the wake of the riots to lead Burnley's efforts at "community cohesion" (the official jargon of the time), has an instructive account for anyone who wants to understand today's politics. He recalls the dilemmas he faced as a formally impartial official in working with representatives of a party whose leaders were veteran neo-Nazis, and writes with frustration about the distance between the reality on the ground and the way places like Burnley were talked about nationally. This was an era when the New Labour government was losing support among working-class voters, but the attitude of some of its leading figures was "they've got nowhere to go" – as the former minister Peter Hain characterised the view of his colleague Peter Mandelson to me.

While the causes of racial division were complex – mutual distrust between communities that had little daily interaction, the legacy of racist housing policies, persistent deprivation and an effectively segregated school system, for instance – people on either side of the divide were caricatured in public debate as "problem" communities. Those of Asian heritage were accused of being backward – in July 2001, one Labour MP [appeared to blame](#) arranged marriages and a failure to learn English for the riots. Meanwhile, white voters susceptible to the BNP's messages were either dismissed out of hand (Makin-Waite recalls leftwing friends in the Yorkshire town of Hebden Bridge describing voters who selected a BNP candidate in neighbouring Halifax as "scum"), or patronised by New Labour politicians who promised tough action on immigrants in an attempt at [triangulation](#).

Makin-Waite is clear that the BNP's offer to voters was profoundly racist – deliberately aiming to foster white resentment – and that many of its voters accepted that premise. But he sees its brief success as raising a wider and potentially more unsettling question about the state of democracy in the UK. Imagine a political movement that had made some local residents, young and old, feel like they had a voice for the first time, Makin-Waite would tell visitors who came to Burnley to study the town during its years of notoriety. After years of low turnout, elections seemed to matter again. "Only one problem," he'd say. "The movement is the BNP."

It's easy for liberals to recoil in horror at the suggestion that people might find a kind of empowerment in such a form of politics. But a better response

would be to ask how badly mainstream politics must have decayed to produce this outcome. In other words, why would people come to feel that they had lost any voice in decisions about their lives to the extent that some saw voting for the BNP as the best remaining option? As one former BNP voter told me when I was reporting from Burnley a decade ago, “Once you vote for them, people listen.”

While explicitly far-right parties are at a historically low ebb – turning in [a dismal performance](#) at last month’s local elections, for instance – that’s mainly because the mainstream right has been so successful in claiming their territory. Whatever Johnson’s commitment to “levelling up” might turn out to be in reality, its appeal rests on a promise that it will restore power and dignity to parts of the UK where people feel economically and socially neglected. As [a recent analysis](#) of the levelling-up agenda by the political scientist Will Jennings and colleagues notes, the right’s version of this is heavily symbolic, offering the prospect of national revival through Brexit, coupled with selective, targeted investment doled out from Westminster. The government, though, remains hostile to the forms of devolved and local democracy that would put actual decision-making power into the hands of communities around the UK.

If we think the right’s promise is false, then the challenge is to think about what a genuine form of empowerment might look like, a comprehensive redistribution of economic resources and political power that rejects both the racist division on which the far right insists, and the nationalist culture-war politics of our current government.

As Makin-Waite puts it, recalling a meeting with Whitehall civil servants in which council officials were essentially asked what the point of Burnley was now that its industries had largely died: “Towns and communities do not vanish simply because the system’s ‘justification’ for them has been taken away. People have the bad manners to carry on living, and having families, and holding proper hopes for a decent life, even after capital no longer has a use for them.”

Daniel Trilling is the author of *Lights in the Distance: Exile and Refuge at the Borders of Europe* and *Bloody Nasty People: the Rise of Britain’s Far Right*

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[OpinionPolice](#)

How can women trust British police when so many have been accused of abuse?

[Joan Smith](#)

It's not just 'bad apples': a toxic system allows too many serious crimes to go unpunished. We urgently need an inquiry



A memorial site at the Clapham Common Bandstand in London in March 2021, following the kidnapping and murder of Sarah Everard. Photograph: Hannah McKay/Reuters

A memorial site at the Clapham Common Bandstand in London in March 2021, following the kidnapping and murder of Sarah Everard. Photograph: Hannah McKay/Reuters

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Hardly a day passes without another report highlighting violence against women. It's a symptom of a toxic culture that allows far too many serious crimes to go unpunished, including thousands of rapes. Yet hundreds of police officers – the very people we are supposed to turn to for protection – have themselves been accused of abusing women.

The stock police response to such accusations is that there will always be a few bad apples in the ranks. It was the excuse reached for last week by the Metropolitan police commissioner, Dame Cressida Dick, when she talked lamely about the occasional “[bad 'un](#)” in her force. It is unedifying to see the country's most senior officer trivialising legitimate concerns in this way, but especially so on the day that one of her own officers [pleaded guilty](#) to the kidnap and rape of Sarah Everard.

There is no doubt that the disappearance of this young woman in south London in March has brought women's fears into sharp focus. PC Wayne Couzens has yet to enter a plea to a charge of murder and there are legal restrictions on what can be said about this and other ongoing cases, such as the killings of Bibaa Henry and Nicole Smallman. High levels of sexual harassment at school, in the workplace and in public places mean that women are angry about the precautions we all have to take, while doubting the capacity of a manifestly failing criminal justice system to deal with perpetrators.

But we can't have a sensible discussion about male violence without acknowledging the existence of a profoundly misogynist culture in some police forces – and a failure to act swiftly and impartially when serving officers are accused. The Centre for Women's Justice has brought a “[super-complaint](#)” involving 15 forces, raising serious concerns about the way they handle accusations of domestic abuse, rape and stalking against serving officers.

Its submission alleges that women face difficulties in reporting abusive partners, that accused officers use their status and friendships to impede investigations, and that poor charging decisions are made in relation to serving officers. “At the heart of the concerns is lack of integrity, of officers manipulating the system and acting in bad faith in a variety of ways,” [it alleges](#).

Almost [600](#) complaints of sexual misconduct were made against Metropolitan police employees between 2012 and 2018, according to documents obtained by the Observer, but only 119 were upheld. A Met officer who was accused in 2017 of raping two female colleagues was allowed to continue working for three years, even though both women were awarded compensation by the Criminal Injuries Compensation Authority; the Met did not start proceedings for gross misconduct until February this year. An officer in the Dorset force who strangled his lover in a car went on being paid for two months after he admitted manslaughter at a court hearing; PC Timothy Brehmer was described in court as a “womaniser” who used coercive control techniques to groom women, including a fellow officer.

In April this year, a Met officer faced a disciplinary hearing after hitting a vulnerable teenage girl with his baton “at least 30 times”, according to the Independent Office for [Police](#) Conduct. The girl, who has learning disabilities, approached PC Benjamin Kemp for help after she had run off from her group during an escorted walk in Newham. Kemp was dismissed from the force and the girl’s family has called on prosecutors to review a decision not to charge him with assault.

Last week it emerged that an officer in the Hampshire force had been found guilty of gross misconduct after threatening a female colleague’s face with scissors at a police station in Portsmouth. PC Simon Hawxwell also put his arm around the woman’s throat and asked her if she liked being “choked”. In a revealing aside, a disciplinary panel described his behaviour as an attempt at “dark sexual humour”, a comment that will prompt a weary sigh among women. Six officers from the same force, based at an organised crime unit in Basingstoke, were found guilty in December last year of gross misconduct after being recorded making sexist, racist and homophobic comments.

The “bad apples” theory falls apart in the face of this catalogue of appalling behaviour. Senior officers are reluctant to acknowledge that they have a systemic problem, yet it is clear that some predatory men are drawn to jobs that allow them to exploit their authority and status.

The harsh fact is there are not sufficient safeguards in place to identify and discipline police officers who abuse women, yet we are expected to trust the very same men to investigate crimes against the most vulnerable female

victims. If women in this country are ever to feel safe – and it is something that should be ours by right – we urgently need a public inquiry into institutional misogyny within the police.

- Joan Smith is a journalist and co-chair of the mayor of London's Violence Against Women and Girls Board

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OpinionMicrobiology.

Whether Covid came from a leak or not, it's time to talk about lab safety

[Gregory D Koblentz](#) and [Filippa Lentzos](#)

We studied biosecurity at the world's most sophisticated laboratories, and found their policies often left much to be desired

- Dr Gregory D Koblentz is an associate professor at George Mason University, and Dr Filippa Lentzos is senior lecturer in science and international security at King's College London



Researchers at the Wuhan Institute of Virology in Wuhan, China, February 2017. Photograph: AP

Researchers at the Wuhan Institute of Virology in Wuhan, China, February 2017. Photograph: AP

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The debate on the origins of the Covid-19 pandemic has recently focused on the potential for the Sars-CoV-2 virus to have escaped from the [Wuhan Institute of Virology](#), located in the Chinese city of Wuhan, the centre of the pandemic. This institute houses a maximum containment laboratory, more commonly known as a [biosafety level 4 \(BSL-4\) lab](#), designed to handle dangerous pathogens for which there are no available treatments or vaccines.

The controversy has brought renewed attention to biosafety, biosecurity, “[gain-of-function](#)” and other “[dual-use](#)” research, along with consideration of the level of oversight that such labs should be operating under. Although this debate has become polarised and politicised, we should not lose sight of the importance of these issues, even if it turns out this lab had nothing to do with the emergence of the novel coronavirus. According to [a database](#) maintained by the American Biosafety Association (Absa), since 2003 there have been four incidents of researchers being exposed, but not necessarily infected, while working in a BSL-4 lab. Concerns about whether labs are conducting their research safely, securely and responsibly are not new, or of relevance solely to labs in China – as revealed by a comprehensive study on global BSL-4 labs that we recently completed.

Based on open-source research, we have compiled a list of BSL-4 labs around the world in the form of an interactive website at [globalbiolabs.org](#). Our research identified nearly 60 BSL-4 labs in operation, under construction or planned across 23 countries, including seven in the UK. Given recent concerns about biosafety, it is worth noting that three-quarters of these labs are located in urban areas. More than half are government-run, public health institutions. The remaining labs are evenly split between being housed at universities and located at government agencies involved in biodefence, with a small number of private labs in operation as well. Regardless of who runs them, they are used either to diagnose infections with highly lethal and transmissible pathogens, or conduct research on such pathogens to develop new medical countermeasures and diagnostics tests or to improve our scientific understanding of how these pathogens work.

Our study also revealed that there was significant room for improvement in the policies in place to ensure that these labs were operated safely, securely and responsibly. Only about one-quarter of the countries with BSL-4 labs received high scores for biosafety and biosecurity – as measured by the

Nuclear Threat Initiative's [Global Health Security Index](#). This index measures whether countries have the requisite legal and institutional components of national biosafety and biosecurity oversight systems. We also found that only three countries with BSL-4 labs have national policies for the oversight of dual-use research. The vast majority of countries with BSL-4 labs do not conduct oversight of the type of gain-of-function research that has been a central feature in the debate on Covid-19's origin, as potentially responsible for the possible leak from the Wuhan Institute of Virology. So even if you do not believe that the current pandemic was the result of a gain-of-function experiment gone wrong, it doesn't mean that this type of work couldn't be the source of the next pandemic.

We expect more countries to build these labs in the wake of Covid-19 as part of a renewed emphasis on pandemic preparedness and response. In addition, gain-of-function research with coronaviruses, and other zoonotic pathogens with pandemic potential, is likely to increase as scientists seek to better understand these viruses and to assess the risk they pose of jumping from animals to humans or becoming transmissible between humans.

These trends make it increasingly urgent to put in place higher national and international standards to address the safety and security risks of working with dangerous pathogens. A good place to start would be for BSL-4 labs, and other labs that conduct research with hazardous pathogens, to adopt the recently developed international standard for biorisk management known as [ISO 35001](#). This standard does not require any expensive hardware upgrades. Rather, it requires the establishment of a management system designed to identify safety and security risks, and to evaluate the effectiveness of the lab's mitigation measures. This is low-hanging fruit since the standard has already been negotiated, is sitting on the shelf and can be adopted relatively quickly.

At a national level, countries with BSL-4 labs should have whole-of-government systems that can conduct multidisciplinary risk assessments of proposed research for safety, security and dual-use activities, such as certain gain-of-function research, that have significant potential to be repurposed to cause harm. These countries should also continue providing complete, regular and transparent reporting under international agreements that they

are party to, such as the [biological weapons convention](#) and UN security council [resolution 1540](#).

At the international level, we recommend that structures be put in place to systematically oversee maximum containment facilities. The World Health Organization (WHO) could be made directly responsible for this oversight, in much the same way that it conducts biennial biosafety and biosecurity inspections of the [two labs](#) in the United States and Russia that store the remaining samples of the variola virus that causes smallpox. Alternatively, the WHO could organise regular biorisk management peer review exercises by international teams of government and non-government experts. Another option would be to expand the membership and mission of the [International Experts Group of Biosafety and Biosecurity Regulators](#), which currently serves as an information-sharing forum for national regulatory authorities from 11 countries, to validate that labs in members states are implementing ISO 35001.

In addition to oversight structures of maximum containment laboratories, there is also a need for the WHO to develop internationally recognised guidelines to govern dual-use research and the handling of potential pandemic pathogens.

Covid-19 was a wake-up call about the vulnerabilities of our modern, globalised societies to a novel respiratory virus. Preventing the next pandemic should be a priority for all countries. Ensuring that research with hazardous pathogens, especially those with potential pandemic properties, is conducted safely, securely and responsibly must be a key element of that strategy.

- Dr Gregory D Koblentz is an associate professor and director of the Biodefense Graduate Program at George Mason University and a member of the scientist working group on chemical and biological weapons at the Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation in Washington DC. Dr Filippa Lentzos is senior lecturer in science and international security and co-director of the Centre for Science and Security Studies at King's College London

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Opinion**Vaccines and immunisation**

China and the west must now cooperate to achieve global Covid vaccine coverage

[Sophie Zinser](#)

Given the G7's underwhelming pledge, WHO approval for two Chinese jabs is a welcome boost



A health worker with a vial of the Chinese Sinovac vaccine in Manila on 14 June. Photograph: Ted Aljibe/AFP/Getty Images

A health worker with a vial of the Chinese Sinovac vaccine in Manila on 14 June. Photograph: Ted Aljibe/AFP/Getty Images

Tue 15 Jun 2021 03.00 EDT

“Vaccine diplomacy” has evolved into a dirty phrase, not least in relation to China and the notion that its government could be exchanging ineffective

jabs for geopolitical capital. At the weekend, the G7 [pledged](#) just 1bn of the 11bn vaccines needed to immunise low- and middle-income countries, suggesting that the west cannot vaccinate the world alone. But, over the past month, international scientific and public health authorities have confirmed an exciting finding: despite the doubts of some critics, vaccines made by Chinese companies [actually work](#). While they may remain ideological adversaries, China and the west now have no choice but to collaborate on vaccinating the world.

On 2 June, the World Health Organization finally [approved Sinovac](#) for emergency use. Just days earlier, China's largest state-owned pharmaceutical manufacturer, Sinopharm, had released peer-reviewed phase III clinical trial data proving its vaccine's efficacy to western sceptics – and had it [published](#) in the the Journal of the American Medical Association, no less. Phase III's "[golden seal](#)" means that each vaccine is effective enough to be widely distributed. But critical gaps in safety data for patients over the age of 60 remain for [both](#) Sinovac and Sinopharm jabs. While significant, these data holes notably did not deter a major approval from the world's highest public health authority. With [only 6%](#) of the globe fully vaccinated, the need for doses clearly outweighs the risks the vaccines may pose.

Both jabs' efficacy has been publicly doubted; most recently when the UAE began offering a [third Sinopharm](#) "booster shot". Vaccines produced in China – alongside the Chinese Military Academy of Medical Sciences' partner producer [CanSinoBio](#) – have been largely ignored by the WHO's [Covax initiative](#), a multilateral attempt to vaccinate the developing world. According to reports, [Sinopharm and Sinovac](#) could have been clearer about dose availability or production capacity earlier on if they really wanted a bigger seat at the Covax table. But since April, the tragic Covid-19 situation in India has made doses from Covax's largest supplier, Oxford/AstraZeneca, impossible to procure. Particularly in light of the underfunding pledged by leaders of G7 countries, the WHO has had little choice but to [ask Sinopharm](#) – and now Sinovac – for help, as the initiative trudges along towards vaccinating the world.

If vaccines made in China could support gaps in Covax, then, what's left of China's vaccine diplomacy? Beijing is trying to halt the narrative that it wields doses for political power. The phrase "vaccine diplomacy" now only

appears in Chinese media when it's being used to condemn western commentary on the topic; a practice that China's leading state-run news agency Xinhua calls "sinister". Some of the Chinese population are increasingly concerned that vaccine diplomacy is becoming another "[wolf warrior](#)", a phrase that many consider overtly demonising of China's influence abroad. Users on Chinese social media giants WeChat, Weibo, and [DouYin](#) are actually more inclined to use the phrases "vaccine assistance" or "vaccine donation".

Thus far, Chinese vaccination donations abroad have been conducted bilaterally rather than through Covax. However, framing win-win vaccine distribution as topping up Beijing's moral currency reserves is a careful choice linked directly to China's stated foreign policy aims. The language of China's "International Development Cooperation in the New Era" white paper, launched in January, paints China as a developing nation that considers its homemade vaccines as a "[global public good](#)". Its draft 14th five-year plan, published in March, alludes to financial motivations for vaccine diplomacy, citing the nation's hopes to become a global pharmaceutical tech leader.

Outside the west, coverage has been mixed on the usage of Chinese-made vaccines. Some has been outright political, including coverage of China pressuring [Paraguay](#), [Honduras](#) and other nations to cut ties with Taiwan in exchange for doses, or [delayed dose distribution](#) of Chinese-made vaccines in south-east Asia. Headlines in the Middle East have reflected a more moderate approach. They have thanked China for its generosity and reflected efficacy scepticism. Amplified anxieties surrounding the blood clot concerns over AstraZeneca pushed many in the region to choose Sinopharm as a "safer dose".

Chinese-made vaccines may have increased the nation's soft power abroad; however, reducing the conversation to purely political motivations extrapolated via headlines ignores hard truths. Vaccine hoarding by the west during the pandemic's early months put Covax far behind its target of [vaccinating 2.3 billion people](#) by the end of the year. China's vaccine factories can generate [3bn](#) vaccines a year and have already exported 250m while the US is [just getting started](#). Further, Covax's total aim is to vaccinate just 20% of people from lower- and middle-income countries by the end of

the year, leaving 80% of the market up for grabs by corporate interests. This could be an extraordinary opportunity to spread global wealth. Manufacturing of Chinese companies' vaccines overseas may benefit diverse economies across Indonesia, Egypt and, most notably, the UAE, where Sinopharm has already been [rebranded as Hayat-Vax](#).

When it comes to vaccines, G7 countries' adversarial attitude towards [China](#) must take a moral pause. Covax and international governments looking for doses should increase collaboration, rather than competition, with vaccine companies across the world – including those in [China](#). At worst, continuing to question Sinopharm and Sinovac's efficacy may increase vaccine hesitancy. While rightly delayed on the grounds of data, late approval for Sinopharm and Sinovac's vaccines undoubtedly cost many lives globally.

After a year and a half of pandemic madness, the world is tired of blurred lines between proof and politics. While the west and China may remain adversaries, global public health initiatives must be careful to keep putting evidence and necessity – rather than geopolitical rivalry – first.

- Sophie Zinser is a Schwarzman Academy fellow at Chatham House jointly hosted by the [Asia Pacific](#) Programme and Middle East and North Africa Programme (Menap)

OpinionMilk

I've been trying milk substitutes in my tea – it's a stomach-churning experience

[Emma Beddington](#)



Pea milk, oat milk, soya milk ... they all claim to be the ethical holy grail for tea-drinkers. But did any of them work for me?



The dairy-free milk market is likely to be worth billions in the next few years. Photograph: SophieOst/Alamy

The dairy-free milk market is likely to be worth billions in the next few years. Photograph: SophieOst/Alamy

Tue 15 Jun 2021 02.00 EDT

Following my bleating about the [ethical complexities of milk](#), I have been experimenting with plant-based options, prompted by many helpful suggestions from non-dairy evangelists. This has involved numerous sacrifices to the dark lord Tetra Pak, and the kind of side-effects you see on medicine packaging: nausea, dysphagia and vomiting. I'm ultra-sensitive to tannin, but addicted to tea, and plant milks do not seem to neutralise its nausea-inducing effect the way cow's milk does.

A coconut-based contender, which got rave reviews for its “neutral taste” (if you've tried pea milk, you'll understand), seemed perfect for the first few mouthfuls, but by halfway through my cup, I was rushing to throw up: not the optimum start to the day.

Rice milk – also highly recommended – was oddly reminiscent of those soya desserts my mum's hippy friends used to pretend were “just like chocolate mousse” when I was little: a lie then and a lie now.

Oat, of course, is the plant milk du jour: a market predicted to be worth \$6.8bn (£4.6bn) by 2026. Disinclined to support market leader Oatly [with its hard-to-recycle zany “wackaging”](#) (I don’t want to be jollied along by my breakfast, thanks), I went for doorstep-delivery glass bottles. Unfortunately, the sight of this in my morning brew – a chilling, perpetual-motion [snowstorm of oat scum](#), seemingly alive – is stomach-churning.

Now Alpro, a brand that languished on patchouli-scented health-food shop shelves next to flower essences for so long it must be due a comeback, has launched the unpleasantly named, soya-based My Cuppa, specifically targeting the tea problem. I managed one mug of it without even really noticing: the holy grail of a plant milk. The second attempt was less successful. It’s close, but slightly spooky-tasting; the uncanny valley of milk substitutes.

I’m not giving up. Science has offered hope of eradicating malaria and HIV, and given us some highly effective vaccines against Covid in a matter of months. We can even send billionaires into space (please, let’s do more of that). Surely a non-dairy liquid that does not turn tea into a curdled, nightmarish broth is within our grasp?

Emma Beddington is a Guardian columnist

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Nato

China hits back at ‘slanderous’ Nato claim it poses threat to west

Beijing’s EU mission issues forceful response to Nato communique, saying it shows ‘cold war mentality’



Nato leaders in Brussels. China has hit back against a statement saying it represents ‘systemic challenges’. Photograph: Jacques Witt/AP

Nato leaders in Brussels. China has hit back against a statement saying it represents ‘systemic challenges’. Photograph: Jacques Witt/AP

[*Helen Davidson*](#) in Taipei

[@heldavidson](#)

Tue 15 Jun 2021 04.19 EDT

China’s mission to the EU has accused Nato of slander and of “hyping up the so-called ‘China threat’” after leaders of the western alliance warned that

the country presents “systemic challenges” to international order and security.

On Monday, at a summit in Brussels, leaders from the transatlantic security alliance, with Joe Biden in attendance for the first time, took a [forceful stance towards Beijing](#).

[Expect China to be furious at being cast as a threat to the west](#)
[Read more](#)

The new US president has urged his fellow [Nato](#) leaders to stand up to China’s authoritarianism and growing military might – a change of focus for an alliance created to defend Europe from the Soviet Union during the cold war.

China’s EU mission hit back on Tuesday, saying in a post on its [website](#) that the [communiqué](#) published at the end of the one-day summit “slandered” China’s peaceful development, misjudged the international situation, and indicated a “cold war mentality”.

“China urges Nato to view China’s development in a rational manner, stop hyping up in any form the so-called ‘China threat’, and stop taking China’s legitimate interests and rights as an excuse to manipulate bloc politics, create confrontation, and fuel geopolitical competition.”

China is always committed to peaceful development, it said. “We will not pose a ‘systemic challenge’ to anyone, but we will not sit by and do nothing if ‘systemic challenges’ come closer to us.”

The mission said China was committed to a defence policy which was “defensive in nature”, and its pursuit of military modernisation was “justified, reasonable, open and transparent”. It said it had far fewer nuclear warheads than Nato members and had committed not to use or threaten their use against non-nuclear states, and spent a smaller proportion of its GDP on defence than the Nato minimum.

The lengthy statement was in response to the first ever significant mention of China in a Nato summit declaration, and was widely disseminated across

state media in Chinese and English.

On Sunday night, Jake Sullivan, the US national security adviser, had pledged increased focus on Beijing by Nato, adding that it would “feature in the communique in a more robust way than we’ve ever seen before”.

00:34

'The United States is there': Biden reassures Europe over China and Russia – video

The G7 nations meeting in Britain over the weekend criticised China over human rights abuses in Xinjiang, called for Hong Kong to retain a high degree of autonomy and demanded a full investigation into the origins of coronavirus.

China’s embassy in London said it was resolutely opposed to mentions of Xinjiang, Hong Kong and Taiwan, which it said distorted the facts and exposed the “sinister intentions of a few countries such as the United States”.

China is under increasing pressure over its [human rights abuses against ethnic minorities in Xinjiang](#) and other regions, a draconian intervention in Hong Kong’s semi-autonomy, and threats towards Taiwan, which it considers a breakaway province to be reclaimed, by force if necessary.

The G7 had called on [China](#) to “respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, especially in relation to Xinjiang and those rights, freedoms and high degree of autonomy for Hong Kong enshrined in the Sino-British Joint Declaration and the Basic Law”. It also underscored “the importance of peace and stability across the Taiwan Strait”, and said it encouraged “the peaceful resolution of cross-Strait issues”.

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Rights and freedomSouth Korea

South Korea says consensual sex act between male soldiers ‘bordered on rape’

Activists decry discrimination as court finds men guilty of indecency and hands down a six-month suspended sentence



South Korean activists condemning article 92-6 at a local pride event.
Photograph: Raphael Rashid

South Korean activists condemning article 92-6 at a local pride event.
Photograph: Raphael Rashid

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[About this content](#)

Raphael Rashid in Seoul

Tue 15 Jun 2021 05.03 EDT

A South Korean military court has been accused of discriminating against sexual minorities after it found two male soldiers guilty of indecency for engaging in consensual oral sex.

The ruling, which took place in March but emerged last week, found the soldiers' actions "bordered on rape" and handed them a six-month suspended prison sentence by applying the controversial article 92-6 of the Military Criminal Act. This punishes "anal sex and other indecent acts" between military personnel with up to two years in prison.

['Sexual minorities are often invisible': meet Seoul's only LGBT mayoral candidate](#)

[Read more](#)

According to an eight-page ruling seen by the Guardian, in December 2020 a soldier entered another's tent over the course of two nights at a time when they were part of a group isolating due to Covid-19. By engaging in mutual oral sex, they "molested" one another, the ruling reads.

The pair's lawyer said the act "was consensual" and therefore they were innocent.

The court disagreed. It interpreted that oral sex, according to the military code, "bordered on rape". The defendants' conduct, it said, "is considered contrary to good sexual morality," and was "seriously infringing" on the maintenance of military discipline.

While homosexuality is not illegal in South Korea, it remains taboo in a largely conservative society. President Moon Jae-in – a former human rights lawyer – said prior to becoming president that he was [against](#) homosexuality and "did not like it".

Gay soldiers can be prosecuted. In 2017, article 92-6 was used to indiscriminately monitor and punish gay men in the military, a move human rights campaigners at the time [called a "witch-hunt"](#). More than 20 people were charged. There are also cases of gay soldiers being [sent to psychiatric wards](#).

The law does not differentiate between whether the act was consensual, off-base, or off-duty.

Discriminatory attitudes towards LGBTQ soldiers resurfaced in 2020 when Byun Hee-soo, a staff sergeant, was forcibly discharged after undergoing gender confirmation surgery and being classified as "disabled". She was found dead [earlier this year](#).

[South Korea struggles to contain new outbreak amid anti-gay backlash](#)
[Read more](#)

Both local and [international human rights groups](#) have called for article 92-6 to be abolished. There has also been mounting pressure from the United Nations.

Politician Yong Hye-in of the Basic Income party recently announced she is seeking to propose a bill to abolish article 92-6, claiming it contradicts the principle of equality under the country's constitution.

Since 2002, the constitutional court has ruled three times that article 92-6 is constitutional, and has [made it clear](#) the law is only relevant to acts between soldiers of the same sex. It acknowledged that while this may lead to discrimination compared with opposite-sex soldiers, such discrimination is reasonable to preserve the army's combat power. The court has been asked to [review the law](#) again.

The South Korean government [told the UN human rights commission](#) in 2017 that “indecent acts” under article 92-6 did not punish sexual orientation. In 2020, it said in a [draft report](#) to the UN committee against torture that the law “only” punishes such indecent acts that “hinder military discipline”.

This latest case was “undeniable discrimination against sexual minorities,” said Kim Hyung-nam, director at the Center for Military Human Rights Korea.

“Article 92-6 preservationists say the military will suffer damages due to the collapse of military discipline, but it’s difficult to see how same-sex sexual relations under mutual consent inflict such damage,” Kim told the Guardian. He also noted that soldiers have been charged even [when off-duty](#).

Amnesty International, which recently [published a report](#) on the systematic discrimination against LGBTQ people in South Korea’s military as a result of article 92-6, said the law “violates international human rights obligations the South Korean state has signed on to and as well the right to equality before the law safeguarded in the South Korean constitution”.

The group also said that the law fuels discriminatory attitudes that extend far beyond the barracks. South Korea has no comprehensive anti-discrimination legislation.

“It is shameful that this discriminatory and antiquated law is still in effect,” Yoon Ji-hyun, director at Amnesty’s Korean branch, told the Guardian. “Article 92-6 must be scrapped.”

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[Jacinda Ardern](#)

Jacinda Ardern criticises new biography, saying author misled her

New Zealand prime minister says she agreed to interviews on basis that it was about a group of female leaders and ‘not specific to me’

01:34

‘It’s not accurate’: Jacinda Ardern distances herself from new biography – video

[Tess McClure](#) in Christchurch

[@tessairini](#)

Tue 15 Jun 2021 02.22 EDT

Jacinda Ardern has distanced herself from a recently released biography documenting her leadership style, less than a week after joining widespread criticism of a film that focuses on her role leading New Zealand during the Christchurch terror attacks.

The new book – Jacinda Ardern: Leading with Empathy – was written by activist and journalist Supriya Vani, and writer Carl A. Harte, based on “Vani’s exclusive interviews with Ardern”, according to its seller, Simon & Schuster.

But at a press conference on Monday, the prime minister said that she was “clearly” misled by Vani about the intent of the interview and premise of the book. Ardern said she was approached in 2019 and “told the author was writing a book on women and political leadership”.

“I was told there were roughly 10 other female political leaders involved,” she said. Ardern said she agreed to the interview only “on that basis, given it was not specific to me”.

[Christchurch attacks: producer resigns from film They Are Us as criticism grows](#)

[Read more](#)

She said that “the claim that it was an exclusive interview for the purpose of writing a book of that nature [a biography] is not true”, and said she would ask that the claim be clarified.

Harte denied the claim she was misled, saying Ardern’s office was later made aware the book’s framing had changed to become a biography.

The spat comes at a moment when presentations of Ardern in international media – often glowing - are under particular scrutiny in New Zealand. A proposed film about the Christchurch mosque attacks, called They Are Us and starring Rose Byrne as Ardern, [has been fiercely criticised](#) over accusations that Muslim victims have been sidelined in favour of a focus on Ardern.

Ardern said on Sunday she was not an appropriate focus for a film about the 2019 mosque attacks. “There are plenty of stories from March 15 that could be told, but [I don’t consider mine to be one of them](#),” she said. Ardern reiterated that she has no involvement with the film.

In a statement to the Guardian, Harte confirmed the original interview was for a book profiling a number of female leaders. “Prime Minister Ardern was, however, not misled, because at the time of the interview, we had no intention of writing a biography on her alone,” he said.

Harte said they shifted tack to a biography of Ardern after Covid-19 precluded plans for interviews with other world leaders, and because “her story deserved a book in itself, for her model leadership”.

“Our decision to change direction – something that, I must say, is the hallmark of many creative endeavours – was made in 2020.”

He said Ardern’s office was aware the book’s framing had changed to biography, saying that in January, Vani had “informed the prime minister’s

office of our intention to publish our biography of Jacinda Ardern, and shared the cover”.

“We regret the misunderstanding,” Harte added. “We stand by our book”.

Vani did not provide independent comment, but said she would refer the request to her co-author.

The book’s claims of exclusive interviews with the prime minister raised some eyebrows in [New Zealand](#), because Ardern does not typically grant interviews to biographers. Two senior [New Zealand](#) journalists, Madeleine Chapman and Michelle Duff, have written biographies of Ardern. Neither were able to secure an interview.

A brief excerpt from Vani’s interview was published by Vani in a Writers Digest article about how to write and research a biography. Vani asks: “I feel that you laid the foundation of your personality when you instantly empathised in your own childhood with the children on the streets of New Zealand without shoes on their feet or anything to eat. Would you agree with me that you could observe all these things because you were born an empathetic person”? Ardern responds, “I would like to believe that it is something that is an inherent trait for all of us. It’s about having the space to be empathetic.”

Simon & Schuster quote Booklist as having called the book a “readable, admiring biography”. In a review for the Spinoff, [Toby Manhire calls it](#) “utterly uncritical, fawning, cloying”.

A passage describing Ardern’s outfits on her visit to Europe reads: “In London, she upped the ante, featuring perhaps the most graceful, regal attire ever worn by a New Zealand prime minister at an international event.”

It goes on: “The effect was breathtaking ... Even the Queen looked impressed.”

Another compares her favourably to the great British wartime leader Winston Churchill because of her response to the pandemic. “If there is a Winston Churchill of the war against Covid-19, for her success in rallying

her country to fight the virus, there's a good argument to say it's Jacinda Ardern."

The book is sold by Simon & Schuster and appears to have multiple publishers across different jurisdictions, including [Harper Collins India](#), [Hardie Grant](#) in Australia and New Zealand, and [Oneworld Publications](#). The Guardian has approached Simon & Schuster, Oneworld Publications, Hardie Grant and Harper Collins India for comment.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/jun/15/jacinda-ardern-biography-criticism-leading-with-empathy-new-zealand>

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Rights and freedomGlobal development

Nicaragua rounds up president's critics in sweeping pre-election crackdown

Arrests of opposition figures, including revered former guerrillas, represent 'last gamble of a dictator's family'



Police officers keep watch outside the attorney general's office where Félix Maradiaga, an aspiring opposition candidate, was summoned by authorities, in Managua, Nicaragua, last week. Photograph: Carlos Herrera/Reuters

Police officers keep watch outside the attorney general's office where Félix Maradiaga, an aspiring opposition candidate, was summoned by authorities, in Managua, Nicaragua, last week. Photograph: Carlos Herrera/Reuters

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[Wilfredo Miranda](#) in Managua

Tue 15 Jun 2021 05.00 EDT

Nicaragua's Sandinista rulers have launched an unprecedented crackdown on the country's opposition, arresting a string of prominent critics of President [Daniel Ortega](#) and his wife, Vice-President Rosario Murillo, in an apparent attempt to crush any serious challenge in November's elections.

Six opposition figures were arrested at the weekend, including revered former guerrillas who fought alongside Ortega during the campaign to topple the dictator Anastasio Somoza and went on to serve in the first Sandinista government.

The former health minister Dora María Téllez and former general Hugo Torres, as well as the former deputy foreign minister Víctor Hugo Tinoco were all arrested on Sunday. Their detention brings to 13 the number of prominent opposition figures – including four possible presidential candidates – arrested in the past two weeks.

“Ortega is terrified at the idea of elections which could end to his rule,” Téllez told the Guardian before her arrest. “They are going to remove the

whole opposition from the ballot. The only names that will appear will be [Daniel Ortega](#), Rosario Murillo and the parties which are collaborating with the Sandinistas.”

During the guerrilla war to topple Somoza, Téllez and Torres participated in some of the most audacious strikes against the dictatorship, but [both later split with Ortega](#), 75, who they accuse of betraying the revolution.

In 1978, the two helped lead a small guerrilla unit which took over the National Palace and held 2,000 government officials hostage in a two-day standoff. The attack was seen as a key moment that indicated the Somoza regime could be overthrown.



Hugo Torres, who in 1974 led a Sandinista guerrilla operation that freed Daniel Ortega from imprisonment by the Somoza dictatorship, has been arrested. Photograph: Moisés Castillo/AP

Four years earlier, Torres seized the house of a Somoza minister, forcing the government to release a group of political prisoners – including Daniel Ortega.

In a video recorded before his arrest, Torres said: “Forty-six years ago I risked my life to rescue Daniel Ortega and other political prisoners from

prison, but that's how life goes: those who once held their principles high have now betrayed them.”

Speaking before his arrest, Torres told the AP: “This is not a transition to dictatorship, it is a dictatorship in every way.”

Tinoco is the leader of Unamos, a party formed by [former Sandinistas](#) disillusioned by Ortega's nepotism, autocracy and perpetual re-election.

The opposition figures, now either held in detention or isolated under house arrest, have been detained under a controversial law passed in December, which grants the government the power to unilaterally classify citizens as “traitors to the homeland” and ban them from running as political candidates.

[Nicaragua police detain opposition leader and expected Ortega challenger](#)
[Read more](#)

Treason is punishable by prison terms of up to 15 years. Some of the detainees have also been accused of crimes including money laundering and terrorism.

The crackdown began with [the arrest last week of Cristiana Chamorro](#), who was widely seen as the leading candidate to beat Ortega in November's election.

Riot police raided Chamorro's home last Wednesday just moments before she was due to address a virtual press conference. Prosecutors say they are investigating allegations of money laundering at the organization she runs, the Violeta Barrios de Chamorro Foundation, an NGO which for more than 20 years has provided training and support to local journalists.

Two employees of the foundation have also been arrested. About 30 local reporters have been summoned for questioning at police headquarters, and several of them have been warned that they could also face charges.

Chamorro has described the legal moves against her as a “judicial monstrosity” and said that the only aim is to block her run for the

presidency.



Daniel Ortega returned to power in 2006 and has seen off all opposition since. Photograph: Oswaldo Rivas/Reuters

Chamorro's father was Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, a prominent newspaper editor, whose assassination in 1978 helped galvanise the uprising against Somoza. Her mother Violeta Barrios de Chamorro defeated Ortega in 1990 elections.

"This is Daniel Ortega's vengeance against the legacy of my mother. They want to stop Nicaraguans from voting, and prevent a transition to democracy," she said before her capture.

After Chamorro's arrest, three other possible candidates were detained: the academic Félix Maradiaga, who was beaten by police, the economist Juan Sebastián Chamorro, who is Cristiana Chamorro's cousin, and former ambassador to the US Arturo Cruz.

The government has dismissed claims that the opposition figures were targeted for political reasons.

"Persecution? They are persecuted by themselves, by their scandals and their crimes," Murillo said last week. "How many of this bunch can call

themselves honorable? Honour is a gift from God.”

The crackdown has prompted international condemnation. Luis Almagro, the head of the Organization of American States, described Ortega as a “dictator” and called for a meeting on Tuesday to consider suspending Nicaragua from the regional body.

After Chamorro’s arrest, the US slapped sanctions on four Nicaraguan officials, including one of Ortega and Murillo’s daughters.

[Barricades draw battle lines over Nicaragua's revolutionary heritage](#)
[Read more](#)

Julie Chung, the US state department’s acting assistant secretary for western hemisphere affairs, said on Twitter that Ortega’s “campaign of terror continues with more arbitrary arrests this weekend. OAS members must send a clear signal this week: enough repression. The region cannot stand by and wait to see who is next.”

After his defeat at the hands of Violeta Chamorro, [Ortega returned to power in 2006](#) – partly thanks to an alliance with the Catholic church which [supported his anti-abortion policies](#) – and he has ruled the country with Murillo ever since.

But growing accusations of cronyism and corruption erupted in 2018 with a nationwide uprising in which demonstrators took to the streets chanting “*Daniel! Somoza! ¡Son la misma cosa!*” – “Daniel! Somoza! They’re the same thing!”



Dora María Téllez. Photograph: Héctor Retamal/AFP/Getty Images

The uprising was brutally [repressed](#) by the national police and armed pro-government paramilitaries, leaving 300 people dead, 2,000 injured and hundreds of people arbitrarily detained and prosecuted.

Since then Ortega and Murillo have cemented their control of the electoral system by rewriting legislation and naming loyalist magistrates. The presidential couple claim that the US has financed the opposition and critical media outlets to promote a coup d'état.

“They are gambling on staying in power through blood and fire,” Téllez told the Guardian before her arrest. “But that is a risky bet – it’s the last gamble of a dictator’s family.”

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[Carlos Ghosn](#)

Men who helped Nissan boss Carlos Ghosn flee Japan admit their role

Michael and Peter Taylor tell Tokyo court of their part in spiriting away executive in musical instrument case



A transport vehicle arrives for the trial of Michael Taylor and his son, Peter, at the Tokyo district court on 14 June. Photograph: Yuichi Yamazaki/Getty Images

A transport vehicle arrives for the trial of Michael Taylor and his son, Peter, at the Tokyo district court on 14 June. Photograph: Yuichi Yamazaki/Getty Images

AP in Tokyo

Mon 14 Jun 2021 17.27 EDT

Two Americans charged with helping former Nissan chair [Carlos Ghosn](#) flee Japan while he was facing accusations of financial misconduct have told a

court that they took part in a scheme for him to escape the country.

Statements by Michael Taylor and his son, Peter, on the opening day of their trial in Tokyo suggested the pair don't plan to fight charges of assisting a criminal, which carry a possible penalty of up to three years in prison.

Keiji Isaji, one of the attorneys for the Taylors, told the Associated Press after the court session that he wants the trial to "proceed efficiently". He said ending the trial quickly is "in the best interests of his clients".

He declined to confirm his team was hoping for a suspended sentence if they are convicted, meaning no time would be served. He stressed the decision was up to the judge.

The Taylors appeared calm as they were led into the courtroom in handcuffs, with ropes tied around their waists.

They said little except to answer the judge's questions when asked about simultaneous interpreting relayed through headphones.

[Carlos Ghosn escaped Japan 'hiding in a musical instrument case'](#)

[Read more](#)

Prosecutors read out a statement accusing Michael Taylor, a former Green Beret, and Peter Taylor of [arranging to hide Ghosn in a musical equipment case](#). It was loaded on to a private jet that flew him from the western city of Osaka to Lebanon via Turkey in December 2019.



Carlos Ghosn being interviewed by Reuters in Beirut, Lebanon on 14 June.
Photograph: Mohamed Azakir/Reuters

Ryozo Kitajima, one of the prosecutors, said Peter Taylor met Ghosn at a hotel several times in 2019 and introduced Ghosn to his father. He said Peter Taylor received \$562,500 in two transfers to pay for chartering the jet and other expenses.

Peter Taylor arranged for Ghosn to change his clothing at a Tokyo hotel. His father and another man, George-Antoine Zayek, later accompanied Ghosn to the Osaka airport, Kitajima said. Zayek has not been arrested.

The prosecutors said bitcoins worth \$500,000 were transferred from Ghosn's son Anthony's account to Peter Taylor in 2020, purportedly to cover the Taylors' defence costs.

Prosecutors said that during their detention the Taylors had expressed remorse and that the pair had been misled to believe helping someone to jump bail was not illegal in [Japan](#).

They said Ghosn's wife, Carole, told them Ghosn was being tortured. The prosecutors quoted the Taylors as saying they were not tortured and were treated in a way that was "fair and professional".

The trial's next session is set for 29 June, when prosecutors will continue their questioning.

The Taylors were arrested in Massachusetts last year and extradited to Japan in March. Ghosn has French, Lebanese and Brazilian citizenship and [Lebanon](#) has no extradition treaty with Japan. The authorities say Ghosn paid the Taylors at least \$1.3m (£920,000).

Ghosn led [Nissan](#) Motor Co for two decades before his arrest in 2018. He was charged with falsifying securities reports in under-reporting his compensation and of breach of trust in using [Nissan](#) money for personal gain. He says he is innocent and says he fled Japan because he did not expect to get a fair trial. More than 99% of criminal cases in Japan result in convictions.

No Japanese executives have been charged in the scandal at Nissan, the Yokohama-based manufacturer of the Leaf electric car, March subcompact and Infiniti luxury models. Extraditions between Japan and the US are relatively rare, even for serious crimes.

The possible penalty of three years in prison is the minimum required for an extradition.

[Who is Carlos Ghosn?](#)

[Read more](#)

Before his arrest, Ghosn was an motor industry star, having orchestrated Nissan's rebound from the brink of bankruptcy after he was sent to Japan by its French alliance partner Renault in 1999.

Ghosn's pay was halved, by about 1 billion yen (\$10 million), in 2010 when Japan began requiring disclosure of high executive pay.

The concern was that his relatively high compensation might be viewed unfavourably since Japanese top executives tend to draw lower pay packages than their peers in other countries.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2021/jun/14/men-who-helped-nissan-boss-carlos-ghosn-flee-japan-admit-their-role>

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Matt Hancock faces MPs over England's delayed Covid lockdown easing – as it happened

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2021/jun/13/uk-covid-live-news-boris-johnson-coronavirus-delay-lockdown-vaccine-delta-variant-latest-updates>

[Coronavirus](#)

Delaying England's Covid reopening 'could keep thousands out of hospital'

Research backs four-week delay on lifting restrictions to allow more people to get jobs

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A rapid vaccination centre is set up outside Bolton town hall to help curb the spread of the Delta variant in the north west of England. Photograph: Christopher Furlong/Getty Images

A rapid vaccination centre is set up outside Bolton town hall to help curb the spread of the Delta variant in the north west of England. Photograph: Christopher Furlong/Getty Images

[Ian Sample](#) *Science editor* [Heather Stewart](#) *Political editor*

Sun 13 Jun 2021 15.33 EDT

Ministers have been told that a four-week delay to easing all Covid restrictions would probably prevent thousands of hospitalisations, as [Boris Johnson](#) prepares to tell the English public they will have to wait up to another month for “freedom day”.

The government roadmap out of lockdown earmarks 21 June for the last remaining coronavirus restrictions to be lifted in England, but the prime minister is expected to announce on Monday that the [timetable will be pushed back by two to four weeks](#) amid a rapid rise in cases of the Delta variant first detected in India.

The BBC reported that senior ministers had approved a four-week delay, during which [most existing restrictions would remain in place](#).

The [Delta variant is rising across the UK](#), where it now makes up more than 90% of new coronavirus infectious. Public health officials are concerned about the variant because it partially evades vaccines, is at least 40% more transmissible than the Alpha variant first detected in Kent, and appears to double the risk of hospitalisation.

The prime minister will attend a Nato summit in Brussels on Monday before returning to Downing Street to deliver the news.

Any delay will infuriate lockdown sceptics on the Tory backbenches, who are concerned about the impact on hospitality businesses and have begun to claim they fear the government will never feel confident enough to lift restrictions. On Sunday, Johnson declined to answer the question of whether the delay could be for more than four weeks.

The latest modelling of the Delta variant shared with ministers suggests that even with the rapid rollout of vaccines, the UK will face a third wave of infections mostly among younger people who have yet to receive their immunisations. While many older people are now well-protected from two doses of vaccine, hospital admissions are still expected to rise because not all vulnerable people have had their shots, and some do not mount a robust immune response.

Modelling to be released on Monday shows that a four-week pause on lifting the restrictions would probably prevent thousands of hospitalisations as it would keep the brakes on the pandemic – albeit lightly – while more people receive their second shots. A surge in the coming weeks would hit the NHS as emergency departments warn they are already struggling with intense demand.

“In terms of emergency admissions, last month was the busiest since the start of the pandemic. We are much busier now in emergency departments than at the peaks of either the first or second wave,” said Dr Raghieb Ali, an honorary consultant in acute medicine at the Oxford University hospitals NHS trust. “In other parts of the hospital we are catching up with a lot of elective work because of the backlog, so for both of those reasons it’s a very bad time to have additional pressure from Covid.

“Before vaccination, all a delay did was push cases into the future, but we can vaccinate millions of people in those four weeks and that will substantially reduce the size of the peak hospitalisations because of that increased coverage,” he added.

About 44% of UK adults are not yet fully vaccinated against Covid and more than 2 million of these are aged 50 and over. At the current rate of rollout, a delay of four weeks would mean another 9 million people could have their second doses. Half of these would have time to produce a substantial immune response by the end of the fourth week.

A further 7,490 people tested positive for coronavirus in the UK on Sunday, and a further eight people died, bringing the UK total to 127,904 deaths, according to government figures.

The importance of second shots emerged from Public Health [England](#) research which found that a single dose of Covid vaccine was only about 33% effective against symptomatic disease caused by the Delta variant. The protection ramps up substantially, to about 81%, with the second dose, but in either case the immune system needs at least two weeks to respond.

“There are a couple of things that are happening that should make a big difference in the next few weeks. First of all, vaccinations. Second, and slightly more subtly, schools will be out soon, and every week closer to that means less mixing in schools and more people likely to be off work, both reducing transmission,” said Prof Rowland Kao of the University of Edinburgh. “Both of those things, vaccinations and schools, means that the delay has real benefit right now.”

[Lifting Covid rules could mean repeat of winter wave of cases, says Sage adviser](#)

[Read more](#)

Postponing step four of the roadmap would also give scientists more time to collect data on some of the most crucial questions around the Delta variant. Key among these is how much has the vaccination programme weakened the link between infections, hospitalisations and deaths, given that the Delta variant is so much more transmissible, somewhat resistant to vaccines, and appears to cause more severe illness.

“To my mind it’s essential we give ourselves more time to get vaccination rates up,” said Prof Peter Openshaw, a member of the New and Emerging Respiratory Virus Threats Advisory Group that feeds into the Scientific Advisory Group for Emergencies (Sage). “It’s not good enough, where we are. We need more time for vaccinations and more time to see what the severity of the disease is like. If it’s causing double or two and a half times the hospital admissions, we need to understand that better.”

Graham Medley, professor of infectious disease modelling at the London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine and a member of Sage, said: “The evidence has all gone into government, and I don’t want to comment as anything I say will be seen as a preference or a steer for the decision.

“It’s a government decision, quite rightly, how to balance the health and healthcare outcomes with all the other harms that Covid-19 and restrictions bring. The evidence from the epidemiology will all be published and open to scrutiny.”

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/jun/13/experts-back-four-week-delay-lifting-covid-restrictions-england-more-people-vaccinated>

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[Health policy](#)

Wedding rules may be eased if England lockdown extended, minister suggests

Edward Argar says couples waiting to wed are ‘very much’ in Boris Johnson’s mind

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A one-month delay would mean another 10m second coronavirus vaccine doses going into arms, Argar said. Photograph: Parliament/Jessica Taylor/PA

A one-month delay would mean another 10m second coronavirus vaccine doses going into arms, Argar said. Photograph: Parliament/Jessica Taylor/PA

[Caroline Davies](#)

Mon 14 Jun 2021 04.28 EDT

Restrictions on weddings in [England](#) could be eased should Boris Johnson announce a delay in lockdown easing, the health minister Edward Argar has suggested.

With the prime minister expected to announce a four-week delay to the lifting of all restrictions on Monday evening, Argar said couples waiting to wed were “very much” in Johnson’s mind.

“There will be a lot of couples who planned, hoped, to do it, put a line through it, done it again and rescheduled again,” Argar told Sky News. “Not only does that cost money, but emotionally that is incredibly difficult for couples who want to have their special day and want to get married.”

Though he refused to pre-empt what Johnson would announce, Argar said: “I know that weddings and people in that particular situation will be very much in his mind at the moment, it’s one of the things he has been looking at.”

Under stage four of the government’s roadmap out of lockdown all legal limits on social contact in England are scheduled to be removed on 21 June. Johnson is also expected to address the issue of support for businesses should the [21 June easing](#) be delayed when he sets out his plans.

Asked if the furlough scheme would be extended, Argar replied: “I know that when he addresses his decision, sets out what he intends to do around the easing on the 21st, he will address those points as well. I think he is very mindful of the need for businesses and others to get the support they need if they continue to be locked down or unable to open. But I don’t want to pre-empt what he will say, but I know he is very sensitive to those factors.”

A one-month delay would mean another 10m second coronavirus vaccine doses would go into arms, he said. “Were there to be a delay, were that to be what the prime minister announces, we will see what he says and he will make a judgment if he were to delay it on how long by,” he told BBC Breakfast. “If we are going at a run rate of about 250,000 to 300,000 second jabs being done each day, a month gives you roughly that 10m, which closes

the gap ... 10m you have got to do to get from 29m to 40m, so that all 40m have had their second jabs.”

Argar did not rule out shortening the gap between vaccine doses for younger adults in England. “We have shortened the gap for the over-50s from 12 to eight weeks,” he told BBC Radio 4’s Today programme. But we will be guided by the advice of JCVI [Joint Committee on Vaccination and Immunisation] and the scientists on this. At the moment, we believe the right thing to do is to shorten the gap for the over-50s, but we are always open to scientific advice.

“If that is the scientific advice, of course we will look at it very carefully – but at the moment the advice we are getting is the approach that we are following, which is the over-50s, and we have got the supplies to do that.”

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Exams

Ofqual wanted to scrap last year's A-levels, says former chair

Roger Taylor says England's exam regulator backed down to government, leading to use of algorithms to award grades



Taylor said Ofqual wanted to issue ‘non-qualification’ leaving certificates in place of A-levels when it became clear that socially distanced exams could not be safely taken. Photograph: Photofusion/UIG/Getty Images

Taylor said Ofqual wanted to issue ‘non-qualification’ leaving certificates in place of A-levels when it became clear that socially distanced exams could not be safely taken. Photograph: Photofusion/UIG/Getty Images

[Richard Adams](#) Education editor

Mon 14 Jun 2021 01.01 EDT

England's exam regulator wanted to scrap last year's [A-levels](#) but backed down rather than risk a “foolish” confrontation with the government, leading

to the disastrous use of an algorithm to award grades, the regulator's former chair has revealed.

Breaking his silence for the first time since resigning as chair of [Ofqual](#), Roger Taylor said the regulator wanted to issue “non-qualification” leaving certificates in place of A-levels last summer, when it became clear that socially distanced exams could not be safely taken.

But ministers said GCSE and A-level grades should be issued, based on a “colossal error of judgment” that awarding grades calculated by algorithm would be acceptable to the public, according to Taylor.

[Ofqual's A-level algorithm: why did it fail to make the grade?](#)
[Read more](#)

Ofqual's algorithm was scrapped after public outcry and a week of furious infighting between the watchdog and the Department for Education that culminated in grades instead being awarded on the basis of teacher assessment – a policy that will be repeated this year.

In a [paper for the Centre for Progressive Policy](#), billed as “reflections on qualifications and the pandemic”, Taylor says it was wrong to blame the algorithm that took account of prior attainment and school performance.

“The mistakes were made by humans, not machines,” Taylor said. “The problem was not the algorithm, it was what we were trying to do with it: it was human decision-making that failed.”

Taylor claims the decision to award grades via data and algorithm by the governments in England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland was initially backed by a broad consensus among the public and policymakers. But the consensus disappeared when it became clear what the consequences would be for students missing out on university places.

Taylor says policymakers were “hopelessly naive” to distribute university places “on the basis of an estimate of what might have happened if exams had taken place”. By August last year, Taylor said the initial optimism among governments was replaced by “a queasiness about the whole plan”.

The best solution in the absence of exams would have been to expand the number of places available at university to compensate: “Allowing a much larger number of students to be admitted would limit the number who were wrongly excluded,” Taylor said. “This option was, to my knowledge, never seriously considered. But by a painful, chaotic and unplanned route, it is where all four countries ended up.”

The 2020 exam debacle “has given algorithms a reputation as a mechanism for injustice” that is undeserved, according to Taylor. “It prompts the question of why exams are fair in normal times, when pupils also experience very different levels of educational support, differences that are reflected in the exam results they achieve.”

[Headteachers in England call for refund of £220m summer exam fees](#)
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Taylor’s comments came after research found that scrapping the algorithm-based grades in favour of those awarded by teacher assessment benefited students from highly educated backgrounds. A [study by academics at UCL and the LSE](#) found that students whose parents were graduates were 15% more likely to get a better grade from their teachers last year than from the process created by Ofqual.

Charlotte Alldritt, director of the Centre for Progressive Policy, said: “The events of 2020 plunged the government into a trap of its own making. The system delivered to replace exam results merely replicated past patterns of inequality and attainment gaps between advantaged and disadvantaged children across the country, showing a blatant disregard for individuals.”

Instead, Alldritt argues: “The pandemic has shown that examination results can and should only ever be part of a wider set of information available to young people, employers, education providers and policymakers.”

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Brazil reports 827 more deaths – as it happened

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Business

Women working more hours in Covid crisis than first thought, study finds

Full-time female employment in UK has actually risen over the crisis as average working hours slip less than men



While working hours have fallen overall during the pandemic, average working hours among women without children reached a record high by the start of 2021. Photograph: Rex/Shutterstock

While working hours have fallen overall during the pandemic, average working hours among women without children reached a record high by the start of 2021. Photograph: Rex/Shutterstock

[Julia Kollewe](#)

Mon 14 Jun 2021 01.01 EDT

Women's average working hours in the UK have taken a far smaller hit during the pandemic than men's, according to the Resolution Foundation.

Defying predictions of a “[shecession](#)” at the start of the pandemic, the [thinktank’s quarterly labour market report](#) found that women were not as hard hit by the Covid-19 pandemic as initially thought.

[Early evidence suggested that women](#) – many of whom work in badly affected, low-paying sectors such as retail – were significantly more likely than men to lose their jobs. However, while the situation for working mothers has been difficult, a different picture has emerged for women as a whole over the past year.

The employment rate among men has fallen by 2.4% since the start of the crisis, driven by a big drop in self-employment. This is a much sharper drop than the 0.8% decline for women. Full-time female employment has actually increased over the course of the crisis.

And while working hours have fallen overall during the pandemic, the average woman without children was working more than her pre-crisis hours by the start of 2021, with an average increase of 5% since the start of the pandemic in March 2020.

Overall, the fall in women’s total hours worked has been around a third smaller than the decline in men’s hours. The thinktank said this was partly because of women’s dominance in the public sector, including education and health, where they account for 70% of the workforce, and where employment has been relatively steady.

It also reflects the continuation of pre-crisis trends, as women have worked longer hours to protect stagnant household incomes.

However, the picture is different for working parents. Last July, when businesses began to reopen but schools remained closed, mothers’ working hours were down by almost a quarter (24%) on their pre-crisis level, a fall four times as large as that for fathers (down 6%) and almost twice as big as that of non-parents (down 13%).

While the gap between mothers and fathers had largely closed by January, almost one in five (18%) of mothers said they had adjusted their working

patterns to accommodate childcare or home schooling, compared with 13% of fathers.

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The UK jobs market is looking brighter, as retail and most of hospitality have opened up since mid-April. [Payroll employment has risen for five consecutive months and vacancies are recovering](#), although they remain below pre-pandemic levels, according to official figures.

Hannah Slaughter, economist at the Resolution Foundation, said: “The overall impact of the crisis has been much more equal between the genders than expected. But with the crisis still with us, and the future of home working unclear, the lasting gender impact of the crisis is still highly uncertain.”

The thinktank noted that fewer women than men say they want to return to the office full time – a change that could potentially damage their long-term career prospects if office presence continues to influence pay rises and promotions.

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Coronavirus

Covid cases fall across US but experts warn of dangers of vaccine hesitancy

Health experts emphasize need for even those who have had disease to get inoculated



RaShunda St George prepares a dose of vaccine in Tuskegee, Alabama. The state has a lower than average vaccination rate and is among those that have seen infection rates rise recently. Photograph: Andi Rice/The Guardian

RaShunda St George prepares a dose of vaccine in Tuskegee, Alabama. The state has a lower than average vaccination rate and is among those that have seen infection rates rise recently. Photograph: Andi Rice/The Guardian

Associated Press

Sun 13 Jun 2021 17.13 EDT

New cases of Covid-19 are declining across most of the US, even in some states with vaccine-hesitant populations.

But almost all states where cases are rising have lower-than-average vaccination rates and experts warned on Sunday that relief from the coronavirus pandemic could be fleeting in regions where few people get inoculated.

Case totals nationally have declined in a fortnight from a seven-day average of nearly 21,000 on 29 May to 14,315 on Saturday, according to data from Johns Hopkins University.

For weeks, states and cities have been ending virus restrictions and mask mandates, even indoors.

Experts said some states were seeing increased immunity because there were high rates of natural spread of the disease, which is on the verge of having killed 600,000 people in the US.

“We certainly are getting some population benefit from our previous cases, but we paid for it,” said the [Mississippi](#) state health officer, Thomas Dobbs. “We paid for it with deaths.”

More than 7,300 Mississippians have died in the pandemic, and the state has the sixth-highest per capita death rate.

[Black and Latino communities are left behind in Covid-19 vaccination efforts](#)
[Read more](#)

Dobbs estimated that about 60% of the state’s residents now had “some underlying immunity”.

“So we’re now sort of seeing that effect, most likely, because we have a combination of natural and vaccine-induced immunity,” Dobbs said.

Just eight states – Alabama, Arkansas, Hawaii, [Missouri](#), Nevada, Texas, Utah and Wyoming – have seen their seven-day rolling averages for infection rates rise from two weeks earlier, according to Johns Hopkins data.

All of them except [Hawaii](#) have recorded vaccination rates that are lower than the US average, according to the US Centers for Disease Control and

Prevention (CDC).

The 10 states with the fewest new cases per capita over that time frame all have fully vaccinated rates above the national average.

That includes the nation's three most vaccinated states: Vermont, Massachusetts and Connecticut.

Medical experts said a host of factors was playing into the drop in case counts across the country, including vaccines, natural immunity from exposure to the virus, warmer weather and people spending less time indoors.

But Leana Wen, a public health professor at George Washington University, said she was concerned that the natural immunity of those who have been exposed to coronavirus may soon wane. And she's worried that states with low vaccination rates could become hot spots.

"Just because we're lucky in June doesn't mean we'll continue to be lucky come the late fall and winter," said Wen, the former health commissioner for the city of Baltimore.

"We could well have variants here that are more transmissible, more virulent and those who do not have immunity or have waning immunity could be susceptible once again."

In Mississippi, about 835,000 people have been fully vaccinated, or 28% of the population, compared with the national average of 43%.

But despite the lagging vaccination rate, the state's rolling average of daily new cases over the past two weeks has decreased by about 18%, according to Johns Hopkins.

Albert Ko, who chairs the department of epidemiology of microbial diseases at Yale University, said there was no accurate data to show what percentage of the population in "high burden" states such as [Alabama](#) or Texas had been exposed to the virus, but he said estimates had put it as high as 50%.

“I think it doesn’t deny the importance of vaccination, particularly because the levels of antibodies that you get that are induced by natural infection are lower than that of what we have for our best vaccine,” Ko said.

Even those exposed to the disease should get vaccinated because natural immunity does not last as long as vaccine immunity and the levels of antibodies are lower, Ko said.

Wen said research strongly suggested that vaccinations provide a benefit to those who already have some antibodies due to infection.

“I think it is a fallacy many people have, that recovery means they no longer need to be vaccinated,” she said.

- This article was amended on 14 June 2021 to clarify that the decline in national cases from nearly 21,000 to 14,315 occurred over a fortnight, not a week as stated in an earlier version.

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G7

Concerns grow in St Ives over Covid cases linked to G7 summit

At least five hospitality venues close as two police officers and Extinction Rebellion camp report cases of virus

- [G7 summit: latest news and reaction](#)
- [Coronavirus – latest updates](#)
- [See all our coronavirus coverage](#)



Police officers patrol along the route Joe Biden's motorcade took through St Ives on Sunday. Photograph: Jon Super/AP

Police officers patrol along the route Joe Biden's motorcade took through St Ives on Sunday. Photograph: Jon Super/AP

[*Steven Morris*](#)

[*@stevenmorris20*](#)

Sun 13 Jun 2021 11.45 EDT

Concerns are growing that St Ives may face a spike in Covid cases as the [G7](#) summit winds up with hospitality venues, police officers and a protest camp all reporting cases of the virus.

At least five venues in St Ives, the town closest to the main venue summit, Carbis Bay, have closed or are limiting their operations because of cases.

Two police officers have had positive tests and one protester at an [Extinction Rebellion](#) camp is also isolating.

Andrew George, who speaks for the Liberal Democrats in [Cornwall](#) on health, said he was concerned about the cases.

He said he did not believe the leaders were “vectors” for Covid. “But other people associated with G7 – security staff, police, media have been intermixing.”

Ahead of the event, George had called for the UK government to publish advice on the possibility of the summit leading to a Covid spike but said it had refused on security grounds. “We won’t know the full consequences of what has been going on possibly for a fortnight.”

Among the venues that have shut or restricted their business are the Pedn Olva hotel and the Lifeboat Inn. The Porthgwidden Beach Cafe said it had decided to close its doors “due to the uncertainty over local Covid-19 cases”.

The bar at the Western Hotel was closed and another harbourside hotel had a note pinned to its window saying: “Closed until further notice.” Staff at nearby venues said it too was closed because of Covid.

Sarah Green, a theatre director who also runs an online business training the NHS, said: “It’s getting really worrying.”

She said it was difficult to know how much the G7 was to blame as there were also many tourists in the town. “But there has been a massive influx of support workers into town from major cities,” she said.

There has also been a case at the Extinction Rebellion campsite. It said: “Prior to this gathering a full Covid-safe risk assessment had been

performed by Extinction Rebellion. Full liaison with Devon and Cornwall police up to the level of gold commander was carried out. The main Extinction Rebellion campsite has been organised in a Covid-safe manner.



Extinction Rebellion demonstrators protest on the beach in St Ives during the G7 summit in Cornwall. Photograph: Tom Nicholson/Reuters

“An isolated suspected case of Covid was reported to us by an individual. Lateral flow tests were performed and were positive. This person subsequently left the site. Contact tracing has been performed and all identified contacts have had negative lateral flows and are now self-isolating.”

Meanwhile, an organiser of a food bank in St Ives said he expected life to get tougher for poorer local people because the focus on the town was likely to lead to house prices rising.

[‘We’ve had Biden’s security and US marines here’: Cornwall crowds enjoy G7 circus](#)
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The Rev Chris Wallis said the food bank provided more than 100,000 meals for local people last year. “The G7 showcases Cornwall, but it will make the

poverty worse,” he said. “House prices are already up because people are leaving the cities for the countryside. As more people move here it will be harder for local people to find homes.”

The property website Rightmove reported that searches for Carbis Bay doubled as the summit opened and last week a single parking space sold for £45,000.

Two of the St Ives food bank users are living in a caravan after their private landlord moved them out. Wallis said he also faces losing his home because his landlord believes he can get more rent for it.

It has not helped that the distribution centre for the food bank is at a chapel within the G7 ring of steel, which means that two weeks of food had to be issued to people before the summit began.

Wallis said: “It’s good they are meeting to discuss climate change and recovery from the pandemic, but holding the summit in Cornwall is probably going to make things worse here.”

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2021.06.14 - Spotlight

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The G2 interviewBeauty

Caroline Hirons, outspoken queen of skincare: ‘I’m not so fragile that I care what you think about me’



‘I’ve been spoken of, in some circles, as having a big mouth’ ... Caroline Hirons. Photograph: David Levene/The Guardian

‘I’ve been spoken of, in some circles, as having a big mouth’ ... Caroline Hirons. Photograph: David Levene/The Guardian

One of the most powerful people in the beauty industry, she is reportedly able to make or break a new product. She discusses self-confidence, online abuse – and daring to criticise Gwyneth Paltrow



[Emine Saner](#)

[@eminesaner](#)

Mon 14 Jun 2021 01.00 EDT

It was her husband, Caroline Hirons likes to say, who marvelled at her stardom: “Who would have thought that being gobby and opinionated would become a career?” Perhaps he hadn’t banked on how big social media would become – party central for the gobby and opinionated – or how many people, mostly women, would welcome Hirons’ brisk advice.

In the world of skincare, Hirons is a big deal, with a devoted following, the power (reportedly) to make or break a product – and a low tolerance for marketing hype. Last month, her book [Skincare](#) – a practical guide to looking after your face – [won the lifestyle category at the British Book awards](#). She was, she says, “a bit gobsmacked”. Her family had tried to manage her expectations. “My mum said: ‘That Nadiya from Bake Off [who was also nominated] – she’s very popular, love,’ with that concerned face of: ‘Don’t get your hopes up.’”

Hirons, 51, is probably used to confounding expectations. In a sea of extremely young social media beauty influencers, she is the middle-aged matriarch who made it. Her book came out last year and she was warned that

launching it amid a pandemic wasn't ideal. "I sensed the publishers were trying to let me down gently," she says. But it was, it turns out, perfectly timed: it became a bestseller.

While sales of makeup went down, for obvious reasons, [people started to embrace skincare](#). "People had more time in the mirror, instead of putting on their face and rushing out the door," says Hirons. Has endless time in video calls made some of us more conscious of our faces? "I think most people were already aware," she says. "I would like to think it gave people more time to think: 'What can I do to help myself?' I hope it doesn't make people aware of an insecurity that they didn't have before."

I catch sight of myself on my laptop screen – we are speaking on a video call – and wish I had taken her advice to wear sunscreen every day, year round, more seriously. Hirons is sitting in her PR company's office, skin glowing. She seems less confrontational than her online persona sometimes suggests, but get her on to the subject of "clean" beauty ("probably my No 1 target") or the government's treatment of the beauty industry in the pandemic and her frustration shows – simmering anger, but delivered with humour.



'When you take better care of yourself, it includes your face' ... Hirons on ITV's This Morning in March 2020. Photograph: Ken McKay/ITV/Rex/Shutterstock

In August, Hirons co-founded [the Beauty Backed Trust](#), to support those in the industry she felt had been forgotten (it raised £600,000 between then and December). She was driven, she says, by rage – “and the absolute audacity of the government in completely disregarding an industry that’s [worth £28bn to the economy](#). We were hearing rumblings that they weren’t going to open beauty salons when they opened everything else. These people have had no income; a lot of them are self-employed.”

She adds that the workforce is predominantly young and female – a demographic that includes an above-average proportion of women who have taken maternity leave since 2016 and thus were [affected negatively when they sought financial support through the UK government’s Covid self-employment income support scheme](#). She knew beauty therapists who were using food banks to survive. “I’ve been spoken of, in some circles, as having a big mouth, but if you put it to good use I don’t mind that.”

Beauty is so often dismissed as “frivolous”, she says, because it is largely for, and staffed by, women. “It counts for something if you realise that betting shops and barbers opened before beauty,” she says. “I was angrier than I think I’ve ever been. It just took a really angry menopausal woman who is over your shit, Boris,” to get something done, she says, with a withering laugh. “They were making jokes in parliament about getting haircuts and I was like: this is a laughing matter to you, but we’ve got people crying on Instagram because they can’t feed their kids. It’s unacceptable.”

Hirons has worked in skincare for almost 25 years. She grew up in Liverpool (with a brief spell in the US), where her mother and grandmother worked on department store beauty counters. As a child, she remembers going to visit her grandmother, who worked on the Guerlain fragrance counter, “so she always smelled incredible. We’re talking early 70s, 80s, so they always looked immaculate, all had full uniforms.”

Her mother supplemented her job on the Helena Rubinstein counter by doing wedding makeup at the weekend. Her father was a mechanic who worked his way up to warehouse manager. “What I really remember is the work ethic,” she says. “That’s passed down to my brother and me. We joke that we have an unhealthy work ethic, but I enjoy it.” When she was writing her book, Hirons was diagnosed with attention deficit disorder: “I’m not so

much hyperactive.” She was told she was “a classic example of someone who’s made new habits and made it work for them. I spin a lot of plates.”

When she was 17, Hirons moved to London and got a job in a record shop. Ten years later, in 1997, after having her first two children (she and her husband, Jim, now have four, as well as a granddaughter), she started working part-time on the Aveda counter in Harvey Nichols. Engaging and able to get straight to customers’ concerns, she was a natural. She then worked for the beauty company Space NK and, between having more children, trained as a beauty therapist.

By 2009, she had set up her own consultancy business, advising beauty brands. [Social media](#) was taking off and Hirons would give people the same advice she dispensed on the beauty counters – instead of selling them an expensive foundation, she would steer them towards products that could help their skin. “Then someone said: ‘Just blog it,’ and I did.”

They were joking in parliament about getting haircuts and we had people crying because they couldn’t feed their kids

She launched her blog in 2010, when she was just in her 40s, and it took off. “I think it was just the perfect storm of me being older, qualified, being connected in the industry and trying to balance making sure readers get something that’s of value and truthful, but not being unnecessarily aggressive towards the industry,” she says. She was also not easily intimidated. “I think a lot of people, when they first get online, if someone challenges them, they back away. Whereas I was just like: ‘I don’t care – fine, if that’s your opinion.’”

I find her style – jocular, yet quite bolshie – entertaining, but I can see how it could also come across as aggressive, particularly when backed up by her legion of devoted fans. There are numerous threads on internet forums claiming her Facebook group (it has more than 93,000 members) is heavily moderated and won’t tolerate criticism. But Hirons has probably had to develop a tough – if beautifully moisturised – skin. Any woman, particularly any woman who dares to be older than 35 while in possession of an opinion, will get online abuse.

Hirons recently referred someone who had been sending abusive messages to her to the Metropolitan police. “I wasn’t going to, but a family friend works for the Met and was like: ‘You need to give this to us, because that’s actually a threat,’” she says. “I was like: ‘Oh, OK. I get these all the time.’” She smiles. “I’m not so fragile that I care what you think about me – I mean that in the healthiest way and I wish the same for everyone. I don’t think I would have lasted as long online if I was concerned every time someone called me old. They always go for old, as if I give a shit. Or fat. Actually, I’m 5ft 11in – I’m not that fat. Calm down.” She laughs.

Another criticism is that she is part of a system that fuels endless consumption. But she is hardly the worst offender; of her last nine Instagram posts at the time of writing, two are adverts and one promotes her “kit” – a selection of products – which she sells at a discount. Individual influencers – although she would balk at being described as one – are easy targets, but the beauty industry has always been about profit, with glossy magazines often too close to big advertisers.

Skincare has become huge in recent years. What happened? “Awareness, social media, Instagram,” suggests Hirons. “More pictures of people online, so they’re thinking they’re going to take care of their skin. If you think about the generation now compared with when I was in my 20s, [they don’t drink as much](#), they eat better; [my daughter’s group of friends are all gym addicts](#). When you take better care of yourself, it includes your face.”



‘These people have had no income; a lot of them are self-employed’ ... a treatment centre in Knutsford, Cheshire, prepares to reopen in December 2020. Photograph: Martin Rickett/PA

A multistep skincare routine has become part of many women’s self-care – and the only time they get to themselves, which seems a little sad. “I get that,” says Hiron. “I’ve got four kids; I know what they mean. If you’re at work all day and you’ve got children, you pick the kids up, get home, do dinner ... by the time the kids are in bed, you do think: ‘I need 10 minutes to myself’ – to lock yourself in the bathroom, brush your teeth and do your skincare routine.”

But do people need so many products? “No, not at all. I always say: if it ain’t broke, don’t fix it. But if it’s something you like to do, and it makes you feel good and you can afford it, there’s no harm in it,” she says. “I’ve always said: ‘Don’t credit-card your skincare.’” But she offers customers the option to pay in instalments, I point out. People wanted it, she says. “I’m not here to make people go into debt – that’s not what I’m interested in. When someone asks [in her comments]: ‘Do I need this?’ I’m more likely to say: ‘No,’ or: ‘If you get this kit, you’re going to want to give this cream to your mum, because it’s not suitable for you.’ That’s how you get loyalty and become trustworthy.”

She has been open about her use of fillers and botulinum toxin (marketed under brand names including Botox). “I had one person say: ‘I’m so disappointed that you’re using filler,’ and I was like: ‘Why? Would you rather I lied? Would you rather I said it’s just a cream?’”

Such procedures have become normalised – does that bother her? “No, why would it?” she says. “I’m not interested in putting shame on people, especially women. I think we could do with a bit more regulation – legally, there’s nothing to stop me giving you Botox or fillers.”

‘Clean’ beauty is probably my No 1 target ... It’s disingenuous – it was started by white, wealthy women in California

Does she not think it puts pressure on women who don’t want to have it done? She takes a rare pause. “That’s down to someone’s self-esteem. I don’t want to have a facelift; seeing Jane Fonda doesn’t make me feel bad. Jane Fonda looks fantastic with her facelift, but I don’t feel bad because I don’t want one. No one’s trying to make you feel bad, certainly not coming from my camp. Obviously, there is a side of the industry that’s ... I can’t understand why anyone would have liposuction, for example, but if someone wants to, it’s none of my business.”

She wishes celebrities were more open about the work they have had done. “When Hollywood stars say they don’t wash their face, I’m like: ‘Yes, they do. And they also have Botox and filler.’ Why would you try to make people feel bad about themselves?”

One of the reasons she became popular, she thinks, is because “I don’t mind calling out things. I don’t like confrontation and yet people assume that I do – it highlights how little other [people in the industry] call things out, almost like it’s my job.”

Hirons has challenged the beauty industry over issues such as a lack of diversity – and she can’t bear labels such as “clean” and “non-toxic”. “I just don’t understand why the industry all jumped on this bandwagon,” she says. “I thought: ‘Get a grip: just push back on it and say, actually, cosmetics are safe. It’s not toxic. Relax.’” She says the idea of “clean” beauty is

“disingenuous, started by white, wealthy women in California”. Last week, she took the actor Kate Hudson to task for posting a list of “toxic” ingredients commonly found in products on social media. “I just thought: ‘Here we go again!’”

When, in April, she accused Gwyneth Paltrow – the queen of “clean” beauty – of putting lives at risk by using an “imperceptible” amount of sunscreen in a video for Vogue about her skincare regime, Hirons says she received messages of support from others in the industry, but not publicly. “I was like: ‘If you call it out, too, then maybe we can push back against this tide of utter bullshit.’” Why don’t people speak out? “Because it was Gwyneth Paltrow, because it’s Vogue. It is like sticking your head above the parapet. You get abuse, you get shouted at.”

But if it is not brands claiming to be “non-toxic” (as if others are positively radioactive), it is companies implying products can work miracles. The beauty industry makes wild, anti-scientific claims – how does it get away with it? “People are afraid to call things out, so people let things slide,” says Hirons. “And then, once it’s been said two or three times, and it’s reprinted in a magazine beauty section, it becomes ‘fact’ without any semblance of truth ... Sometimes I feel like the lone voice going: ‘That’s not true.’”

She is scathing about the term “anti-ageing”. “I prefer to use terms like ‘ageing skin’ – that is scientifically correct. Anti-ageing is more like a stance, like it’s a shameful thing to get older.” She was recently talking to a brand, which she says has been trying to work with her for years, about including one of its products in a menopause skincare kit she is putting together. “They came back and said: ‘No, we don’t want to reach that demographic – we’re shooting for a younger audience.’ And I was like: ‘And you’re happy to say that to me? A menopausal woman? You’re happy for me to sell your product, but not to people my age?’” She smiles brightly. “And then I did basically tell them to fuck off.”

Skincare: The Ultimate No-Nonsense Guide by Caroline Hirons is out now (HQ, £20). To support the Guardian, order your copy at guardianbookshop.com. Delivery charges may apply.

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Promises and protests at the G7 in Cornwall – photo essay

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[Walking holidays](#)

Roads taken: the Gloucestershire footpaths that were the making of Robert Frost



Poets' corner ... The Gallows, near Dymock, Gloucestershire, where Robert Frost and family stayed in 1914. Photograph: Liz Boulter/The Guardian

Poets' corner ... The Gallows, near Dymock, Gloucestershire, where Robert Frost and family stayed in 1914. Photograph: Liz Boulter/The Guardian

We follow the trails trodden a century ago by a band of revolutionary poets who fell for this corner of England

[Liz Boulter](#)

Mon 14 Jun 2021 02.00 EDT

The cows clocked us as we started across a neighbouring field, and by the time we reached the stile a dozen beasts – some with pointy horns! – were jostling for an eyeful, snorting and stamping an occasional hoof. Continuing

would have meant shouldering our way through the herd. We plucked up the courage to go on once the cows lost interest, but our townie fright at these gentle, curious creatures might have wrung a smile, even a wry verse or two, from the man whose writing had brought us to this part of north-west Gloucestershire.



Robert Frost is a renowned American poet who won four Pulitzer prizes; what is less known is that he first found fame in Britain, and his poem [The Road Not Taken](#) was written right here.

Our route led – over more stiles, meadows and streams – to a village that, just before the first world war, gave its name to a revolutionary literary group. The Dymock poets, as they came to be known, rejected Victorian poetry's high-flown moralising to write in simple language about everyday things.

Frost had always yearned to be a poet, and in late 1912 moved to England in an attempt to kickstart a literary career. It worked: two books of verse published in London won great acclaim. He fell in with writers Lascelles Abercrombie and Wilfrid Gibson, who were living near Dymock, and moved his family into a little black-and-white house a few miles away.

Other poets, including [Rupert Brooke](#) and [Edward Thomas](#), joined them, and all were enchanted by the area's woods, farms and little valleys.



Robert Frost at about the time he lived in Dymock. Photograph: Everett Collection Historical/Alamy

The idea of “less-travelled” trails has a particular appeal right now – and in late May we met just one dog walker in two days of hiking. Exploring the routes is easy thanks to the [Windcross Paths Group](#), who maintain and signpost routes the poets are known to have walked. They publish guides to two circular routes – Poets’ Paths I and II – each about eight miles, and both now marked on the OS Landranger 149 and 162 maps.

Our holiday let in Broom’s Green, just north of Dymock, made the perfect base for communing with poetic minds. Stables Cottage is part of [Horseshoe Inn House](#), once the village pub, and the story goes that on a ramble nearby, Frost and Thomas fell foul of a gamekeeper who threatened them with his shotgun, and dodged in here for a steadying glass of cider. The beam above the bar, complete with hooks for tankards, is still there in the cottage’s sitting room. The rare Old Gloucester cows that graze the field behind the garden belong to nextdoor neighbour Charles Martell, who uses their milk to make [Stinking Bishop, officially Britain’s smelliest cheese](#).

The leaflets were useful, but we were glad of the OS app, with its arrow showing our exact location. Poets' Path I is all intimate paths and ancient byways, and takes in the former home of Barbara Davis, who drew the leaflets' exquisite maps. A hut in the garden is a free resource for walkers, with picnic tables and information. Next door is half-timbered The Gallows, where the Frost family stayed with the Abercrombies in 1914. The bridle path from here was glorious: lined with shoulder-high cow parsley between a steep wooded hillside and a meadow ablaze with buttercups. Further south, bluebells thronged a slope above the winding River Leadon. As the sun came out the land was, in Abercrombie's words, "one great green gem of light".



A peaceful footpath near Dymock. Photograph: Susan Heller/Alamy

Path II takes in wide views often dominated by undeniably breast-shaped [May Hill](#), topped by its "nipple" of trees, and several poets' homes: Little Iddens cottage, which must have been a squeeze for the six-strong Frost family; and Oldfields, where Edward Thomas lived. I stopped here to ask for a drink and the owner filled my bottle with sweet-tasting water from the house's own well. The Old Nail Shop is a corner cottage that was the setting for Gibson's poem *The Golden Room*, in which the friends listen to Frost talking in his "slow New England fashion", his "ripe philosophy" having the "body and tang of good draught cider".

Frost was amused in later life by the philosophical meanings read into *The Road Not Taken*, which was in fact a dig at his dear but indecisive walking companion Thomas, who would always pine for sights not seen. “No matter which road you take, you’ll always sigh, and wish you’d taken another.”



Poets’ Path II follows the chocolate-coloured River Leadon for a while. Photograph: Liz Boulter

The group’s Dymock idyll was short lived: by 1917, Brooke was buried in “some corner of a foreign field” (in Greece) and Thomas had been killed at the battle of Arras. Frost returned to the US and success, but said he “never saw New England as clearly as when I was in Old England”.

On our last day we ditched the leaflets and pushed through a hedge to follow a weathered footpath sign across a copse, in front of Georgian Haffield House, then over a broken stile to a pond at the foot of a secret valley. Toiling up to its rim, we stopped and gazed open-mouthed: the panorama stretched north to the dark tops of the [Malvern Hills](#), and west in the setting sun to Marcle Ridge. Following the Poets’ Paths had been fun, but we found our best reward on one less travelled-by.

Accommodation was provided by [Horseshoe Inn House](#) (sleeps four from £120 a night). Unlike in the poets’ time there are no pubs on the routes: buy

picnic supplies at the volunteer-run [Shop at Bromsberrow](#), or barista coffee from [Nick Marlowe's trailer](#) outside Redmarley village hall

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Literary trips

Five great British walks with a literary twist



Corfe Castle in Dorset, the inspiration for Enid Blyton's Kirrin Castle.
Photograph: Henk Meijer/Alamy

Corfe Castle in Dorset, the inspiration for Enid Blyton's Kirrin Castle.
Photograph: Henk Meijer/Alamy

From Boswell and Johnson bickering in Scotland to the coast that inspired Enid Blyton's Famous Five

Peter Fiennes

Mon 14 Jun 2021 02.00 EDT

Enid Blyton, Isle of Purbeck, Dorset

Enid Blyton took her holidays on the Isle of Purbeck (not in fact an island, but a chunky peninsula, with cliff-top walks, moors, hidden coves, a steam

train, ruined castle and a lingering air of adventure). She came up with the idea for The Famous Five when staying at the [Ship Inn](#) in Swanage in 1942, so that's as good a place as any to set off for a bracing walk in the company of the hyperactive Enid.

Head south, then west along the coastal path, past the lifeboat station, perhaps with one of her evocative nature books in hand, with the waves slapping in the caves to your left, along banks of blackthorn, gorse and teasels, with larks in the air. You could take a dip at Dancing Ledge: dynamited to create a swimming pool by a local headteacher in more anarchic times, it appears in the Malory Towers books. And then cut north to the unimprovable [Square & Compass](#) pub at Worth Matravers, before reaching Corfe and its jackdaw-infested castle, inspiration for the Famous Five's Kirrin Castle. It's time to raise a glass of ginger beer in honour of Enid, whose dubious vision of cheery bobbies and suspicious outsiders retains a suffocating resonance. *Toot toot!* The steam train's waiting to take us back to Swanage.

JB Priestley, Wharfedale, Yorkshire Dales



Photograph: Alamy

How long you make this walk is up to you. Jack Priestley wrote that in his youth there were Bradford folk who'd think nothing of tramping 30 or 40 miles every Sunday; and when he returned to the city in 1932 (he'd left to join the army in 1914, aged 19, and got stuck in the south), he walked from Ilkley to Hubberholme before lunch. Or so he implies in his peerless travel book, *English Journey*. But that's 25 miles, along the banks of the Wharfe, and he says he rolled into the [George Inn](#) ("soup, yorkshire pudding, roast chicken and sausages, two veg, pudding, cheese ... all for two and sixpence each") before taking the long route home via Blubberhouses. He was probably driving.

Anyway, I would start nine miles away at Kettlewell, or even the [Buck Inn](#) at Buckden a couple of miles away ("a notable goal for Bradfordians, who have emptied the barrels at the inn there many a time"), before following jolly Jack and the Wharfe to Hubberholme. The George is still there and Jack's ashes are buried outside the little Norman church. You can sense somehow he's still relishing the land, its lark song and the eternal bloom of the ling. "With you, have I not fleeted the time carelessly, as they did in the golden world?"

**Ithell Colquhoun, Mousehole to Lamorna,
Cornwall**



The Merry Maidens of Boleigh stone circle. Photograph: Cliff Hide News/Alamy

When the artist and writer [Ithell Colquhoun](#) (try: Eyethull Kerhoon) wanted to escape London and a disastrous marriage to an Italian surrealist, she came to [Lamorna Cove](#) on the south Cornish coast. She had visited the area once before, during the second world war, staying in Mousehole, and that's where this walk starts, joining the [South West Coast Path](#) on the outskirts of the still magical fishing- and second-home village. The path enters one of its wilder stretches here, dipping through scrubby woodland, scrambling close to the ragged cliffs, the salty Cornish air breezing in from an iridescent Cornish sea.

Lamorna Cove is a rocky jumble of deserted quarries, a quay and a car park, and a handful of grey cottages, but inland is the damp river valley where Ithell lived in a tin shack, overhung with dripping trees, infused with “streams and moon-leaves, wet scents and all that cries with the owl’s voice ...” as she put it in her visionary book [The Living Stones](#). The shack’s still here, but spruced up. Further up the valley there’s a soothing pub, the [Lamorna Wink](#). And afterwards, follow footpaths over fields to the [Merry Maidens](#), the standing stones that Ithell painted in [Landscape with Antiquities](#). Maybe stay awhile in the moonlight and bear witness, with Ithell, to the shifting of the “landscape-veil”.

Edith Somerville and Violet Martin, Snowdon



Photograph: Alamy

We should have a mountain to climb, and who better to follow than Edith Somerville and Violet Martin (who wrote under the pseudonym Martin Ross), the creators of the Irish RM stories, who scaled [Snowdon](#) in 1893 when researching their travel book *Beggars on Horseback* and didn't, in fact, like mountains at all. After shivering through the night on the summit (there was a shack calling itself a hotel in those days), they pronounced that mountains were best viewed *en profile* and that “a beautiful view is not a mere matter of miles seen from a great height”.

They started from [Rhyd Ddu](#), which now has a car park next to a one-track railway station, and walked at their ease across grassy fields (dressed in Victorian long skirts and wide hats), before following their unforgiving guide, Griffith Roberts, up the misty slopes, scrambling along scree and through shallow streams, over rocks and boulders, and on to the horseshoe cliff-top that curves around to the summit. Edith at this moment had “an almost uncontrollable desire to traverse it after the manner of a serpent”. Swallow your vertigo and you'll be rewarded with a vast panorama over Wales and England. Or a fog. The hotel-shack is now an Alpine visitor centre and cafe, and [there's a train](#) (inaugurated three years after Somerville

and Ross's ascent) to take you back down. But really, you've done the hard part.

Samuel Johnson and James Boswell, Urquhart Bay Woods, Loch Ness



Photograph: Alamy

In 1773 James Boswell finally managed to persuade his friend Samuel Johnson to accompany him on a tour of the Highlands and Western Isles (he'd been trying for years), and the garrulous couple spent three months travelling from Edinburgh to Skye and back. They both wrote books: Boswell's is gossipy and preoccupied with his friend's temper; Johnson is magisterial, fulminating ambivalently on the effects of English colonialism (Culloden was in 1746), and surprisingly agitated about how few trees they were seeing ("a tree might be a show in Scotland as a horse in Venice").

This is changing, we hope (head north to [Glen Affric](#) to see the rewilding work of Trees for Life), but the bickering duo would have ridden through the ancient wet woodland of [Urquhart Bay](#), on the upper banks of Loch Ness, now managed by the Woodland Trust, and there are still trees in abundance here. The woods are bounded by the rivers Coiltie and Enrick, and they can flood in wet weather, and it is a scramble to get to the shores of the loch, but

they are still a joyful example of low-lying birch, alder and willow woodland, crisscrossed by loamy footpaths and seemingly remote for much of the year. [Urquhart Castle](#) is close, for tea and shortcake.

Peter Fiennes is the author of [Footnotes: A Journey Round Britain in the Company of Great Writers](#) (Oneworld Publications), available for £9.56 at [the Guardian bookshop](#)

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Relationships

‘It was so nasty. He laughed in my face’: How to love and trust again after a big romantic betrayal



‘That switch from being safe to being unsafe, the loss of a sense of the other, is quite traumatic.’ Illustration: Christine Rösch/The Guardian

‘That switch from being safe to being unsafe, the loss of a sense of the other, is quite traumatic.’ Illustration: Christine Rösch/The Guardian

When a long-term partner cheats on you it can be devastating, but it is possible to move on in time. Here, experts and Guardian readers explain how best to rebuild your life

[Moya Sarner](#)

Mon 14 Jun 2021 05.00 EDT

Sarah and her husband were anchored in a remote harbour – more than a year into their round-the-world sailing voyage, and decades into their

relationship – when she read a message on his tablet that made her collapse to the floor of their boat. It was from a man on a gay pornography website. Others like it revealed six years of betrayal by her husband, including a long-term relationship with a married man.

Sarah was one of many Guardian readers who responded to our invitation to share experiences of betrayal. Although every respondent's circumstances were unique, and they were of different nationalities, backgrounds, ages and sexualities, there was one thing that linked all their experiences: mind-shattering suffering. I could understand why in his *Inferno* Dante reserved his ninth and deepest circle of hell for those who committed treachery. Avishai Margalit, the philosopher and author of [On Betrayal](#), tells me that whether we are reading Dante or the Bible, Shakespearean tragedy, Greek mythology or Guardian readers' stories, we can empathise with the pain of someone betrayed. It endures across time and space, culture and history.

James, 75, remembers clearly how it felt to be betrayed 40 years ago. He and his partner had decided to leave Glasgow. He bought a house in both their names and left his job and friends to start a new life with her, on the understanding that she would soon join him. But she never did move in. After five years in a long-distance relationship, he discovered that she was having an affair. He confronted her and “she turned up with a removal van, took her belongings and disappeared”, he says.

The consequences of this were severe for James. His self-esteem plummeted as he struggled to focus, his thoughts constantly returning to his former partner and the questions left unanswered. He experienced insomnia and depression, and withdrew into himself. On several occasions, he considered suicide.

What helped, he says, was routine: going to work, doing the washing, the cleaning, the ironing, and, “in better weather, being out in the garden with your hands in the soil”. He confided in a handful of trusted friends, “without overburdening them”. He learned to drive. “Strangely enough, something simple like that gave me a lot more flexibility, and boosted my confidence. It was a practical, constructive thing that really helped,” he says. After 18 months, he signed up for a walking holiday in Europe. “When you join a

group of strangers in a different country, it gives you a kind of freedom. You are unknown, so you can, to a degree, reinvent yourself if you want to.”

I found loads and loads of messages. So many messages to so many women in different countries

Saskia

Four years after the betrayal that left him so broken, James met a woman who became a friend, then partner. Trust came incrementally; at first he was guarded, assuming she would “move on”, he says. But she didn’t. “She has a remarkably open personality, very kind and considerate. Through the practicalities of seeing her in operation, through giving her time, I came to understand what kind of person she is. You learn to trust someone because of your direct experiences with them.” Sixteen years in, he proposed. They’ve now been together for 35 years.

What James says about trust developing through experience is true not just for adults with partners, but also for infants and parents, says Catriona Wrottesley, a couples psychoanalytic psychotherapist at Tavistock [Relationships](#) London. “In order to trust, you have to have an experience that gives you the knowledge that it’s safe to trust,” she says. It is built by the repeated everyday experience of being fed, held and comforted, and, crucially, of not being abused. This epistemic trust – trust gained through knowledge and the validation of experience – “sounds ordinary, but it’s very special. It’s built up in a safe attachment relationship,” she says. To have your trust broken and exploited, whether in infancy, adulthood or both, she says, “is shattering. It doesn’t matter at what age that happens, that switch from being safe to being unsafe, the loss of a predictable, ongoing and continuous sense of the other, is quite traumatic. And that happens in couple relationships where there’s been a betrayal.”

It was shattering for Saskia, who is in her 40s. “I have no idea how I would begin to trust again,” she says. “I wonder if I would worry about what lies hidden in his phone; whether I would believe declarations of love. Sometimes, I think: you’re safer on your own.”

Three years ago, she looked at her partner's laptop: "I found loads and loads of messages. So many messages to so many women, in different countries. They were so explicit. Videos, images – his images and their images. Very sexual messages. And I read them all." There was evidence of physical encounters, too. She ended the relationship and moved out, but he continued contacting her, and her resolve buckled under the weight of the feelings she still had. "When someone does that to you, the love doesn't stop," she says. "There's a whole load of anger – but the other feelings don't stop."

Months passed, and, after discussing what went wrong and the importance of transparency, she agreed to try again. At first, "it was lovely". But not for long. "I was highly suspicious. I couldn't trust him. Every time there was a little buzz of a message, I jumped, I looked. And he felt spied on – and I understand why, I was kind of spying on him. It was horrible." One day, he asked her to fix his tablet, and she saw another message; he denied it existed. She threw all her possessions in a van, drove to her sister's and blocked him from contacting her.

Saskia cries freely during our interview, and in her determination to persevere, I can hear they are tears of pain, but also of relief that she is being heard; that this entanglement with him is in the past and that, although it still hurts, she can bear it. Nevertheless, she says, "I'm clearly not in any position to even consider a relationship yet. I'm focusing on me."

Her revenge fantasies, like slashing his tyres, have become less compelling as she is occupied with a creative project. Her voice lifts as she talks about the charity she is starting, which she has been dreaming about for a decade. As she tells of the skills she is learning that she never thought within her capacity, Wrottesley's words come to mind: "Seeing the betrayer as a complete bastard may be satisfying and necessary for a while, but, longer term, it leaves you rather stuck, and you end up carrying the wound inside you rather than being able to recover. There's something important about trusting your own capacity to change, to trust that something may be transformed – that something new, that you don't yet know about, might emerge."

Olivia was a fresher at university when she met the "really charming, really extroverted" man who would betray her. They had been together a few

months when, while using his tablet, his browser opened on a dating website, with his username and password in the login. She confronted him. He claimed it was from when he was single; she pointed out it was a new tablet; he blamed the password keychain, and said it was all in her mind. She now knows what was happening: “He gaslit me,” she says. “I was a teenager, and I didn’t have a word for it. But that’s what it was.” This act of psychological manipulation, lying to make Olivia turn the focus of her mistrust on to her own mind and away from him, where it was warranted, was as effective as it was noxious. She says: “I didn’t have that trust in myself to say: ‘You know what? You’re full of shit, you’re lying.’ So I stayed with him.”

Olivia finished her degree, and they left the city centre for the suburbs. She says, “We had decent jobs, we saw our friends. Our relationship wasn’t the best, but it was fine.” She always felt suspicious that “something wasn’t right”. Eight years in, she trusted her own sense of mistrust and read his messages, which were suggestive of infidelity. “It was so nasty. He laughed in my face. He said: ‘You’re mental, you’re crazy,’ – all these awful, stigmatising, gaslighting words.” She went to stay with her aunt for a few days.

While there, she discovered he had been using the infidelity dating site Ashley Madison and was having an affair with a married woman. At that moment, Olivia experienced an unexpected sense of calm: “All of my fears and anxieties melted. It was a weird moment of peace. I had been gaslit for so long that I didn’t trust myself, but I had proof. After years and years, I finally had the truth.”

She moved in with her aunt, and started therapy. Over the next year, she noticed how much she had been avoiding her feelings – including doubts about her relationship. “One of the powerful things I’ve learned in therapy is how to sit with my emotions. I actually find them really interesting now,” she says. She stayed single for over a year. She is loth to give advice to others, but, for her, this was crucial: “It’s hard because a partner makes you happy. But after a betrayal, you don’t pick your partner correctly. You need to allow yourself to be unhappy for a while because you’ll learn a lot about yourself, and what you think you want in a partner might not be what you actually want.”

“The trust issues that I had were in myself,” says Olivia. “I knew, deep down, that the relationship wasn’t right, but I was scared to leave because I had never been single. I didn’t know how to be an adult or how to be a woman on my own.” That is what she has learned over the past year. Going to view the flat she now lives in, she says: “I just knew, I had this gut instinct.” This time, she followed it. She describes picking the bed for her new home, choosing a sofa, rebuilding her confidence with every choice she trusted herself to make. The sign that she can trust again does not lie in the fact that she has a new partner who she loves, who is her best friend, who she trusts “a hundred thousand million percent” – but in what she says next: “If he was ever unhappy enough to want to cheat, I feel I would recognise the signs and be tough enough to do something.”

Margalit says the defining feature of betrayal is not the suffering inflicted on its victims, nor the damage it does to their sense of trust. “It is the injury to the relationship that makes it betrayal,” he says: the ungluing of the “thick relation” that binds partner to partner. It empties the relationship of all its meaning. And when it comes to repairing that? “That’s a really tricky one,” he says.

For Sarah, who discovered her husband’s betrayal on their boat halfway through circumnavigating the world – “really tricky” is an understatement. They had spent their life savings on this trip and she had just turned 65 when she discovered that the man she trusted with her life – a must on a two-person sailing trip – had broken his vows.

At that point, fearing she might push her husband off the boat, Sarah rowed the inflatable dinghy ashore and checked into a hotel. She called her closest friends every day and swam lengths in the hotel pool. She decided they would sail their boat, together, to a safe boatyard, then fly home to begin couples therapy – but not before going on a long-anticipated wildlife river trip. Against a backdrop of wild orangutans and magical birdlife, a new kind of communication opened up between them. “We spent a phenomenal amount of time talking, more than we had ever done – honest, out there in the open, talking,” she says.

The wound would start to heal, then fester a bit more, then heal again.
And now there’s just a scar

Sarah

After intensive couples counselling, they spent some time apart. For the first time in her adult life, she was alone. She says: “It gave me the time to look at all this without my husband beside me. I thought about being alone – and, yes, I definitely could do that. Or, I could be back with my sailing partner, doing what I love.” They decided to fly back to their boat and sail it home together.

At first, Sarah monitored all her husband’s devices, something he accepted. She describes “a wound that was festering. Then it would start to heal, then fester a bit more, then heal again. And now there’s just a scar. But there’s still a scar, you can see it.” The messy truth is that their relationship is irrevocably damaged. A decade on, they do not have sex – with anyone. That side of the marriage, of themselves, has been “cauterised”. She feels sad that her husband, who secretly always felt he was gay, did not “step forward with his sexuality and lead that life in a full way”. But she recognises that that was and is his choice; they have each made their choice. “We’re the kind of people who would go into a bookstore, each go our own way, and end up at the counter with the same book in our hands. We decided that the life we have together is better than the lives we would have apart,” she says.

Hearing these stories may make us want to stay single for ever or lock up our partners – and their devices – to protect ourselves from the possibility of betrayal. But if there is no possibility of betrayal, there can be no possibility of trust. This is what Wrottesley calls “the creative aspects of uncertainty”. Uncertainty and unpredictability do not only lead to trauma; they are also “valuable allies”, she says. “They mean that something good may emerge at some future point in life, in a way that you could never have brought about through your own agency and control. But only if you can remain open.”

Names and some details, including ages and locations, have been changed to protect identities.

In the UK and Ireland, [Samaritans](https://www.samaritans.org) can be contacted on 116 123 or email jo@samaritans.org or jo@samaritans.ie. In the US, the [National Suicide Prevention Lifeline](https://www.nationalsuicideline.org) is at 800-273-8255 or chat for support. You can also text

HOME to 741741 to connect with a crisis text line counselor. In Australia, the crisis support service [Lifeline](#) is 13 11 14. Other international helplines can be found at www.befrienders.org

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It's fruitless to debate the culture-war confections of the rightwing press

[Nesrine Malik](#)

The newspapers promoting myths about Muslims and 'snowflakes' are making news, not reporting it



MailOnline has claimed that Didsbury, in Greater Manchester, is a 'no-go area' for white people. Photograph: Christopher Thomond/The Guardian

MailOnline has claimed that Didsbury, in Greater Manchester, is a 'no-go area' for white people. Photograph: Christopher Thomond/The Guardian

Mon 14 Jun 2021 02.00 EDT

Earlier this month, MailOnline brought us another dispatch from the colonised towns of the UK. Muslims, [we were told](#), had turned several towns into “no-go areas” for white people. Less than a month before, one of those particular areas – Didsbury, in Manchester – had been described by the

very same newspaper website as a “[posh and leafy suburb](#)”, a popular “hotspot” for homebuyers. If you are wondering which story to believe, then perhaps I can help by telling you that the no-go areas story, long and detailed as it was, was not based on original reporting, but on a book by an ex-Islamist in which he makes several controversial claims that support his thesis of a divided Britain.

Some suggested that perhaps this laughable portrayal wouldn't have slipped through if MailOnline had had [greater geographical diversity](#) among its reporters. Reporting from the ground is, of course, the only way to get at the truth. But where does reporting get you if the story you're investigating is based on a preconceived view of the world?

There is a saying popular among journalists criticising false balance in the media: “If someone says it's raining, and another person says it's dry, it's not your job to quote them both. Your job is to look out of the window and find out which is true.” As sound as the logic of that statement is, it still doesn't quite cover the scale of the problem when it comes to our information ecosystem. The media are often not the impartial observers that this scenario assumes. Sometimes, the journalist looks out of the window, finds that it is dry, but ends up giving the impression that it is raining anyway.

[In the city where Colston's statue toppled, there are signs a culture war can be averted](#) | [Francis Welch](#)
[Read more](#)

There are certain stories that are teased into headlines based on exaggeration and a loose relationship with the facts. In another example of narrative-first journalism, we were told last week [on a newspaper front page](#), that there was a clamour to “axe” the Queen herself because some Oxford students in a common room had taken her picture down. The story that should catch our eye here is not what Oxford students did or did not do, but the machine that continues to churn out such inflammatory interpretations.

It's a claim that put baldly can sound too vast and conspiratorial to be credible, but there are some parts of the British press that, for a long time, have not simply reported the news, but done their bit to create it, so that it conforms to a pre-existing narrative.

It is not the first time that claims about “no-go areas” or unpatriotic students have been made by the press. It’s hard to escape the idea that the purveyors of such stories have an interest, both ideological and commercial, in convincing the public that Muslims are patrolling Britain’s streets and young people are on a campaign to erase British traditions via its most treasured symbols.

But we continue to make the mistake of engagement: of either taking these accounts at face value, or becoming embroiled in fact-checking them. Cornered on LBC last week, Andy Burnham, the mayor of Greater Manchester, reflexively [defended the Queen](#) against her “cancellation”, without pausing to think or question the source. He delivered perfectly the sort of line that these stories are meant to embed in the public’s mind: “These kinds of gestures are getting a bit out of hand. We all should respect the Queen.” The gestures are “divisive” he added. On Muslim-dominated no-go areas, I have already had one invite from a prestigious BBC programme to discuss this allegation, and others, with the author of the book on which MailOnline’s extensive article was based.

This is how we become numb to the extent of the distortion, and its dangers. Once the account is made respectable by publication and then discussion, it passes into the realm of “difficult truths” that must be addressed. It puts on a different, more respectable shirt. The no-go areas tale become not a perennial story that the papers have been pushing for years, it becomes a “row”, a “controversy”, a “debate”. Something spontaneous and organic, rather than manufactured and recycled.

This is also how these narratives are shorn of the motivation behind them, which makes them harder to challenge. The frequency and spuriousness of the allegations against Muslims often amounts to defamation. Last year, the Times, Telegraph, Mail and Express all had to [pay libel damages](#) and publish apologies to a Muslim Scout leader for false extremism allegations. The Times separately [paid and apologised](#) to a Muslim advocacy group for defamation. And these are just cases that I have the space to mention and whose victims had the stomach to sue. Is it any wonder, then, that something like [a third of British people believe](#) in the no-go areas myth, that Islamophobia has replaced immigration in fuelling far-right movements in the UK, that the Conservative party’s anti-Muslim prejudice stirs not a hair

on the public's head? Some journalists in those very papers are [beginning to tire](#) of the intensity of conflict over race, gender, language and history, but still fail to make the connection with real-life consequences. That there is a high incidence of hate crime against Muslims is entirely to be expected, or, if one takes a look at the deluge of hostile false allegations in the press against anti-racism movements, it's not surprising that people are [booing footballers taking the knee](#). These aren't mysteries, they are inevitabilities.

But still we will not treat these provocations as what they are. No politician should dignify them with comment and the rest of us should not legitimise them with debate or even with fact-checking. It's unpleasant to contemplate the idea that important institutions in our cultural landscape may be shaping the narrative in harmful ways. There must be another explanation: naivety, London-centrism, or misunderstanding. But we are naive ourselves if we believe that. Any puzzlement about intolerance in this country needs to start not with vox pops on the streets or in the football stands, but with questions about the bad-faith actors in our media who fuel bigotry, and the good-faith ones who, in their responses, unwittingly perpetuate it.

- Nesrine Malik is a Guardian columnist

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[Opinion](#)Coronavirus

Despite the grand words, this G7 falls devastatingly short on vaccines

[Gordon Brown](#)



The summit was a golden opportunity to avoid countless deaths. History will judge the rich world's failure harshly

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‘Less than 1% of sub-Saharan Africa has been fully vaccinated.’ Vaccine doses provided through the Covax global initiative arrive in Mogadishu, Somalia. Photograph: Farah Abdi Warsameh/AP

‘Less than 1% of sub-Saharan Africa has been fully vaccinated.’ Vaccine doses provided through the Covax global initiative arrive in Mogadishu, Somalia. Photograph: Farah Abdi Warsameh/AP

Mon 14 Jun 2021 01.00 EDT

The history of international summits is a tale of missed opportunities. When the US and Europe [met in Evian in 1938](#), with the evidence of Nazi antisemitism stunningly clear and the risk of a looming holocaust all too real, they turned their backs on the truth.

In 1990, as the cold war ended, Germany focused on German unification, France on European unification and the US on holding Nato together – and summit after summit lost sight of the even bigger prize, to unite the world by integrating Russia into the international community.

The financial crisis of 2009 was the opportunity to do more than prevent a recession becoming a depression; but the failure to rebuild the broken international architecture of economic decision-making led directly to the

protectionism of “America first”, “China first”, “India first” and “Russia first”.

Now the 2021 G7 will go down in history as another turning point where history failed to turn. Long after this weekend summit is over and the handshakes, photocalls and communiques fade from memory, it will be remembered only for failing to honour Boris Johnson’s pre-summit [promise to vaccinate the entire world](#): an unforgivable moral lapse when every three months Covid-19 is destroying 1 million lives.

At least [11bn vaccine doses are needed](#) to guarantee all countries the same levels of anti-Covid protection as the west. Without that worldwide coverage, the disease will continue to spread, mutate and return to threaten even the vaccinated. It is an undeniable fact that all of us will live in fear until no one lives in fear. So providing the vaccines is not just an act of charity: it is a form of self-protection, perhaps the best insurance policy in the world.

But less than 1% of sub-Saharan Africa has been fully vaccinated. With a population of 1.3 billion, Africa as a whole has received just [41m of the 2.5bn ordered doses](#). On current trends, says Unicef, [it could be 2024](#) before western levels of vaccination are reached, if at all.

The [gift of 1bn doses](#) from the richest countries to the poorest is headline-grabbing and welcome. But it falls billions of doses short of a solution and does not answer what Johnson called “the greatest challenge of the postwar era”. We need to do for the world what Britain has done for itself: to construct a virtuous circle, starting with guaranteed G7 funding that underwrites the pooled purchasing of vaccines, which in turn generates new manufacturing capacity on every continent.

In front of the leaders was a comprehensive delivery plan prepared by [ACT-Accelerator](#) – the respected health coalition – to deliver vaccines through Covax, and a burden-sharing formula, proposed by Norway and South Africa, under which G7 attendees would pay two-thirds of the cost

G7 leaders were informed that only half the [\\$33bn \(£23bn\)](#) urgently needed for vaccines testing and protective equipment this year has been raised, with

at least the same again needed for 2022. Yet, instead of the G7 paying their share, they offered up [about \\$7bn worth of vaccines](#).

[Drop Covid vaccine patent rules to save lives in poorest countries, UK and Germany told](#)

[Read more](#)

Nor did they solve the immediate emergency. To vaccinate only their most vulnerable 10%, [Africa needs 225m doses](#) now. African cases rose by 25% last week, but Britain was able to offer [only 5m shots by the end of September](#), 2% of the required doses, and, with most of the US vaccines arriving later, millions of health workers will remain unprotected even as they risk their lives to save lives.

No progress was made either on the demand from 100 poorer countries for the temporary [patent waiver](#) that would transfer vaccine technology to them. Just as the G7 left unfilled an embarrassing pre-Cop26 hole in climate funds, it stopped short of another big decision: to use \$100bn of new international money – so-called special drawing rights from the International Monetary Fund’s reserves – to help low-income countries . Campaigners will now demand that October’s G20 step up where June’s G7 fell short, but if the world’s richest countries sitting round the same table cannot offer more, it is difficult to see how Jonson’s promise to deliver “the single greatest feat in medical history” will be met. It was said of early 20th-century British political leaders that they never missed a chance to let slip an opportunity. As the global death toll mounts – towards 4 million and beyond – history will judge today’s leaders much more harshly.

- Gordon Brown is a former prime minister and author of Seven Ways to Change the World

[Opinion](#)**Economic policy.**

The UK economy could be transformed by a central bank digital currency

[Josh Ryan-Collins](#)

The Bank of England's consultation on public digital cash could represent the biggest shift in the monetary system for 200 years



The Bank of England, London, November 2020. Photograph: John Sibley/Reuters

The Bank of England, London, November 2020. Photograph: John Sibley/Reuters

Mon 14 Jun 2021 04.00 EDT

Last week, the Bank of England launched [a consultation](#) on a UK central bank digital currency (CBDC) and the regulation of private digital currencies, joining dozens of other central banks around the world who are

investigating “digital cash” and some, like the Chinese, who are [already trialling it](#).

Modern digital money that we use for everyday transactions on our credit cards and for online transactions has become increasingly important to the functioning of the economy, accounting for 97% of the circulating money supply. But unlike physical cash and coins, digital money is not created by the central bank or government but [by commercial banks](#). When a bank makes a loan, it creates new, sterling-denominated electronic deposits in your bank account: money. The total “money supply” in the economy is determined by the rate of new loans issued to households and firms and the rate of repayment by those borrowers.

This arrangement is best described as an accident of history. Modern “[fractional reserve](#)” money was the product of bankers issuing deposit receipts in return for safekeeping people’s precious metals. It was more convenient to use such notes for payments than the metals themselves, so they took on money-like qualities. Bankers realised they could issue more notes into circulation than they had backed by metals, since people infrequently withdrew their metals, and bank “lending” was born. Today, these deposit receipts are the numbers we see when we look at our digital bank balances.

With the abolition of the gold standard, bank money is no longer backed by anything physical. However, the [central bank still has some influence](#) over the money supply since commercial banks must settle payments using “reserves” that they hold in separate deposit accounts held at the central bank. Central banks try to affect the economy through changing the interest rate they charge on lending these reserves.

CBDC would allow households and firms, not just banks, to hold digital money directly at accounts with the central bank. The primary motivation of the [Bank of England](#) to examine CBDC appears to be the threat of non-bank digital currencies issued by unregulated entities outside central banks’ purview – the best known are the “crypto-assets” such as bitcoin.

But central banks are more worried about currencies issued by large corporations with billions of users and international reach such as [the Diem](#)

[currency](#), which is partly backed by Facebook, or redeemable platform tokens that large retail tech companies such as Amazon could issue, backed by the ability to spend on goods the platform sells. As these are generally pegged to one or more state currencies, they are less volatile and have the potential to become “systemic stablecoins”, to use the Bank of England’s terminology, becoming widely used as a trusted form of payment by households and non-financial businesses. The worry is that such stablecoins could draw people’s savings away from the public-private hybrid system we have today and weaken the central bank’s regulatory power.

By creating a CBDC, a central bank would considerably reduce the threat posed by these non-bank currencies. A key advantage would be that public digital cash would never be subject to a risk of a “run” as with commercial bank money and would not require vast taxpayer bailouts for banks at times of crisis or deposit insurance. It would be the safest “store of value” possible, backed by the state itself.

But a well-designed public digital cash could also provide the central bank with a new and potentially highly effective tool for monetary policy. The impact of changes in interest rates would be more direct on households and firms and not reliant on banks making loans, an issue that also [came to the fore](#) during the Covid-19 crisis.

Relatedly, during severe economic downturns central banks could [directly credit households’ CBDC accounts](#) with new money rather than relying on banks and financial markets passing on the new money created by central banks through [quantitative easing \(QE\) programmes](#) to the real economy. QE has been criticised for pumping up asset prices and contributing to [widening inequality](#). A CBDC could also considerably reduce the costs of implementing a [universal basic income](#)-type policy.

A CBDC could also reduce rent extraction by the financial sector and enhance financial inclusion. Currently, banks and payment companies act as middleman in a privatised, [cartel-like payments system](#), charging fees that could be socialised. Public digital cash could be accompanied by the establishment of a [public company](#) with the job of providing universally accessible digital cash accounts, and a specific remit to develop payment services to serve those whose needs are unmet by the banking system,

including [many on low incomes](#). Digital cash could help to reduce the entry barriers on the payment market and stimulate innovation.

In addition, sterling notes and coins generate so-called [seigniorage profits](#) – the difference between the amount central banks receive on issuing money and the much lower cost of printing it. This money ultimately goes to the Treasury as the owner of the central bank. A CBDC would massively scale up these profits, which could help support the public sector balance sheet in the aftermath of Covid.

But a CBDC also has potential drawbacks. It would create direct competition for banks in terms of a place for people to keep their money. This could lead to a loss of funding for banks, affecting their ability to make loans to businesses and households with negative effects on the wider economy. This could be addressed by the Bank of England offering a below-market or zero-rate of interest on CBDC or providing banks with a flexible central bank loan facility that would enable them to expand their lending despite liquidity constraints. The central bank could use this facility to encourage banks to [lend to more productive or sustainable sectors of the economy](#); currently only around £1 in every £10 lent by UK banks supports businesses.

A second concern is privacy. A CBDC would in theory enable the state to monitor digital payments. However, the Bank of England would be subject to the same rules around privacy as any other technology provider, including the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR). Privacy concerns also need to be counterbalanced by the fact that an increasing amount of [illegal activity and money laundering](#) is moving to non-bank digital currencies (notably bitcoin) because of the anonymity they provide.

Public digital cash represents potentially the most profound shift in the monetary system since the introduction of central bank monopoly on notes and coins almost 200 years ago. A well-designed digital cash with appropriate attention to the functioning of the banking system could increase the resilience of the economy, enhance the effectiveness of monetary policy and help reduce unnecessary rent extraction by financial institutions.

- Josh Ryan-Collins is head of finance and macroeconomics at University College London's Institute for Innovation and Public Purpose

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[Opinion](#) **Arms trade**

British backing for Israel helps to sustain the unbearable status quo

[Rafeef Ziadah](#)

Diplomatic and military support – and a thriving arms trade – make the UK complicit in the oppression of Palestinians



Protesters outside a facility used by the Israeli arms manufacturer Elbit in Oldham last month. Photograph: Kenny Brown/Rex/Shutterstock

Protesters outside a facility used by the Israeli arms manufacturer Elbit in Oldham last month. Photograph: Kenny Brown/Rex/Shutterstock

Sun 13 Jun 2021 13.29 EDT

I often tell my first-year politics students that the study of politics is the study of power. And what we saw last month, above all, was the glaring disparity in power between [Israel](#) and the Palestinians.

When Palestinians in Gaza and around the world [celebrated the news of a ceasefire](#), breathing a sigh of relief, many commentators hailed it as a return to calm. For Palestinians, however, “calm” means a status quo of occupation, blockade, and repression.

In fact, one can say the true nature of this conflict is what happens *between* the periodic escalations – the constant grind of life [under apartheid](#). Israeli power over the Palestinians is not simply military, and it is not only maintained by force; it is sustained by international support. The significance of this support becomes obvious during Israeli military offensives – last month, the US [wilfully obstructed a UN security council statement on Gaza](#) to buy more time for Israel’s bombing campaign – but the key elements of this international support are consistent.

The most substantial diplomatic and financial support comes from the US – [\\$3.8bn \(£2.7bn\)](#) annually, most of which is in military aid and circulates back to the US arms industry. International governments’ support for Israel has continued even as Israeli political and military leaders have been accused of serious violations of international law and the illegal use of force – abuses serious enough to warrant an [international criminal court investigation](#).

The UK has also given Israel its full backing. While Britain has a particular legacy in the conflict, as the former colonial power in historical Palestine, support continues today with a thriving arms trade between the two states. [Approved export licences](#) for arms sales from the UK to Israel cover components for small arms, ammunition, night-sight technology and intelligence.

The UK also imports Israeli-made weapons. For example, in 2016, Israel’s major arms producer, Elbit, in conjunction with Thales UK, completed delivery on most of the 54 Watchkeeper drones as part of an £800m contract. Between 2018 and 2020 the British Ministry of Defence bought [£46m worth of military equipment](#) from Elbit. Such weapons are marketed as “battle-tested” – demonstrating the ways that day-to-day violence against Palestinians spurs a profitable industry with international reach.

[The conflict in the Middle East is sustained by the silencing of Palestinians | Ghada Karmi](#)

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[Recent research revealed](#) that British-made military components and hardware were used by Israeli forces during last month's airstrikes on Gaza, in spite of government claims about Britain's tough arms export controls. The Israeli F-35 warplanes that are used to bomb the densely populated territory have component parts from a host of UK suppliers, including BAE Systems, GE Aviation, Martin-Baker, Selex, Cobham, Ultra Electronics, UTC Actuation Systems and Rolls-Royce.

According to [Campaign Against Arms Trade](#), between 2016 and 2020, the UK issued single individual export licences for arms sales to Israel to a value of £400m. This is a significant increase from the £67m in licences from 2011 to 2015.

Last month in Leicester, campaigners [occupied the rooftop](#) of UAV Tactical Systems, a subsidiary of Elbit Systems. Elbit Systems UK has nine production sites and offices in the country. The Leicester facility manufactures the Hermes drone that has been used by Israel's military in Gaza. Campaigners managed to disrupt production for several days before [another protest](#) started against an Elbit factory in Oldham.

These actions highlight just how much Britain is entwined with Israel's military power. Within innocuous buildings hidden in industrial estates in England, one of Israel's major private weapons firms operates freely, with no consequences for how its weapons are used in Palestine or elsewhere.

The quintessential British company JCB, which makes bulldozers, was one of three British firms listed by the UN as complicit in the construction of illegal settlements and demolition of Palestinian homes. JCB is currently being "[examined](#)" by the UK government to determine whether its due diligence process complies with human rights guidelines set by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.

While Israel portrays itself as a small state simply acting in self-defence, in reality it is carrying out a decades-long military occupation, denying

Palestinian refugees the right to return and continuing to displace hundreds of families. It has one of the strongest militaries in the world, aided and abetted by the backing of international powers. This is why Palestinians have appealed to people of conscience around the world to protest against such blatant complicity with Israel's violations of human rights and international law.

01:52

Israeli elections: Raucous scenes in Knesset as Benjamin Netanyahu ousted from office – video

British-based organisations such as [War on Want](#) and [Campaign Against Arms Trade](#) have called for an end to military exports to Israel and a review of UK arms sales. This is an important step in challenging the unequivocal support Israel receives in military aid while it continues to violate Palestinian rights daily. When MP Zarah Sultana held up pictures of Palestinian children killed during the latest assault on Gaza and directly asked Boris Johnson if UK-made weapons were used in the bombardment of Gaza, he did not deny it. But he quickly deflected the question with a string of platitudes about Britain's support for a two-state solution.

[Why Israel fears the ICC war crimes investigation](#)
[Read more](#)

The endless lip service to the two-state solution rings hollow as the US, UK and EU assist Israel in creating facts on the ground that have made it functionally impossible – including ongoing illegal settlement construction, land confiscation, displacement, restrictions on Palestinian movement and the incarceration of thousands of Palestinians. Hiding behind the smokescreen of “quiet diplomacy”, these states continuously [undermine](#) Palestinian attempts to hold Israel to account; Boris Johnson, for example, has [opposed the international criminal court inquiry](#) into atrocities committed in the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem.

In the face of this, Palestinians can only point out the hypocrisy as they continue to protest. The general strike called on 18 May by all Palestinians was a heartening moment of unity, breaking the barriers imposed by military checkpoints and walls. Palestinians also rely on the power of ordinary

people around the world willing to speak out and challenge the complicity of their own governments in maintaining this conflict. The demonstrations around the world, across many capitals and small towns – and the statements of solidarity by trade unions, artists and academics – attest to the fact that more and more people are coming to understand the status quo is untenable.

Some may choose to avert their eyes after Gaza, Jerusalem, Lydd (Lod) and Haifa are no longer dominating the headlines. But Palestinians do not have that option. Ending the arms trade with Israel is a crucial step for unmasking the illusion of “calm” that obscures the ongoing oppression of Palestinians, and for honestly confronting Britain’s role in maintaining this brutal status quo.

Rafeef Ziadah is a lecturer in comparative politics of the Middle East at Soas University of London

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[G7](#)

G7 partners survive small talk at ultimate office awayday

[Helen Pidd](#)



Some summit spouses must have trust issues – why else would they turn up?



The Sun observed hilariously that Carrie Johnson ‘blue’ the other world leaders away. Photograph: WPA/Getty Images

The Sun observed hilariously that Carrie Johnson ‘blue’ the other world leaders away. Photograph: WPA/Getty Images

Sun 13 Jun 2021 14.15 EDT

It could be said that anyone who voluntarily attends their partner’s office party is either a masochist or has trust issues. So, why, then, do the spouses of world leaders feel obliged to turn up to global summits?

Ordinarily, it appears that their only duty is to make small talk with their fellow spare parts while their other halves chew over the big issues of the day. At the [G7](#) meeting in Cornwall this weekend, the Wags and Habs were also required to admire Boris Johnson’s latest child when he was rolled out before their beachfront BBQ.

Some of the first ladies – Jill Biden, Brigitte Macron, Kim Jung-sook, the wife of the South Korean leader, and Amélie Debré, the partner of Charles Michel, the president of the European Council – did a decent job of looking like they were enjoying this display of toddler diplomacy. Heiko von der Leyen, the husband of the EU Commission president, appeared

unmoved by the latest Johnson progeny, but perhaps he has tired of children after siring seven with Ursula.

Joachim Sauer, aka Herr Merkel, was nowhere to be seen during Wilfred's star turn, though he was papped by an AFP photographer earlier in the day emerging from Carbis Bay in a pair of tiny trunks.

No doubt his female counterparts would love a wild dip, but could never risk it for fear of their bottoms being dissected by the tabloids for eternity. It's 13 years since Angela Merkel wore a low-cut dress to the opera, causing such a furore that she's never again shown even the merest hint of cleavage in public, lest there be a repeat of the "weapons of mass distraction" headlines of 2008.

Beyond a few remarks about Justin Trudeau's lockdown beard, male political leaders can attend a summit without any stories being written about their bodies, clothes and hair. Johnson got his kit off for his own early-morning dip, but no one bothered to research his brand of Bermudas or pass judgment on his dad bod.

His wife, on the other hand, makes headlines every time she gets dressed. The Sun called her a "RADIANT eco-girl" who "BLUE" the world leaders away by wearing ... a blue suit. Mail Online decided to compare the various women, saying that while Mrs Biden and Johnson plumped for a "breezy" style, "Emmanuel Macron's wife, Brigitte, opted for a more glamorous look in a black dress, believed to be from Louis Vuitton."

It appears the partners aren't allowed to do anything interesting or say anything apart from confirm to their PRs where they have purchased (or, in Johnson's case, rented) their outfits. Their only job is to laugh when the men agree that they are all punching above their weight and coo at the host's baby, a tiny, unruly-haired pawn they must all know is being used to detract from the awful things his dad has said about their countries in the past.

Kudos, then, to Maria Serenella Cappello, the wife of Italy's prime minister, Mario Draghi, and Sophie Grégoire Trudeau, the wife of the Canadian PM, who both sat the G7 out. According to the Telegraph, Sophie decided to stay at home to look after the children and wanted to avoid the mandatory

quarantine that her husband will be required to undertake on his return. Maria did not feel the need to justify her absence.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/jun/13/g7-partners-survive-small-talk-at-ultimate-office-awayday>.

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WhatsApp

WhatsApp boss decries attacks on encryption as Orwellian

Will Cathcart likens governments' stance to insisting a 1984 telescreen be installed in every living room



WhatsApp's end-to-end encryption means that no one, including the app itself, is able to intercept users' messages. Photograph: Mayank Makhija/NurPhoto/REX/Shutterstock

WhatsApp's end-to-end encryption means that no one, including the app itself, is able to intercept users' messages. Photograph: Mayank Makhija/NurPhoto/REX/Shutterstock

[Alex Hern](#)
[@alexhern](#)

Mon 14 Jun 2021 02.02 EDT

Government attacks on WhatsApp's end-to-end encryption are akin to demands that an Orwellian telescreen be installed in every living room, the app's head has said as it launches a major advertising campaign in defence of privacy.

Will Cathcart told the Guardian in an interview that the abstract nature of digital communications can obscure huge violations of personal freedom.

“Imagine there was a proposal from the government to put a video camera in every living room in a country hooked up to the internet, so the government can turn it on when they're investigating a crime,” he said.

“I think people immediately recoil in horror at that proposal, because they have a built-up understanding of just how bad that would be. And yet it feels like people can make identical proposals for a digital world. And because it's technical, sometimes the horror of what's being proposed is lost.”

The campaign is being launched after a turbulent six months for WhatsApp, in which a user revolt forced the company to delay plans to update its terms of service. Rival messaging apps including Telegram and Signal received millions of new signups, and the company ran a publicity campaign to reassure its users that they did not need to worry about the coming changes.

Cathcart said the backlash was further evidence that users wanted end-to-end encryption on their devices, a technology that protects communications so that no one – including the messaging service – is able to intercept them.

“The concern we heard, and the proof that they care, was ‘We're worried you're gonna start reading our messages’. We're not. The privacy of people's personal conversations did not change at all in any way with our update, let alone around end-to-end encryption. We think it is very important that people in the long term understand how the privacy of their personal messages is protected.”

WhatsApp is seeking to present a positive image of private messaging, said the company's director of brand and consumer marketing, Eshan Ponnadurai. “We want to talk about the everyday benefits of end-to-end encryption and how that impacts your life,” he said.

The company is having to contend with increasing pressure from governments around the world, including the UK, which view end-to-end encryption as an unreasonable burden on law enforcement activities.

In a statement, Home Secretary Priti Patel said: “Social media companies like WhatsApp have a moral duty to protect children from horrific abuse on their platforms.

“Facebook’s end-to-end encryption plans will be detrimental to law enforcement’s ability to tackle this abuse, as well as the risk posed by terrorists who wish to inflict maximum harm on the public.

“We must work together to find a mutually acceptable way to protect public safety without compromising user privacy.”

Andy Burrows, NSPCC’s Head of Child Safety Online Policy, said: “WhatsApp should be showing a stronger commitment to protecting children, rather than spending money on an advertising campaign promoting its commitment to end-to-end encryption.

“NSPCC research shows 10% of child sex offences on Facebook-owned platforms take place on WhatsApp. But because they can’t see the content of messages, WhatsApp accounts for less than 2% of the child abuse that Facebook reports to police. Tech firms need to balance the fundamental rights of all users to privacy and safety, rather than simply ignoring the needs of children.”

Cathcart argues that the job of law enforcement is ultimately made easier by technology. “If you compare us with 30 years ago, today much more of our lives are digital ... there’s much more available for law enforcement and police to look up on people to solve crimes than there was.

“All we’re saying is that the most sensitive thing, which is the private messages people send, should stay private. Beyond that, we do incredible work with the limited data we have,” he said.

The company bans 300,000 accounts a month on suspicion of sharing images of child sexual abuse, he said, and reports 400,000 leads to the

National Center for Missing and Exploited Children in US every year, based on information such as IP addresses, profile pictures and user reports. “That is far ahead of any other end-to-end encrypted messaging service, big or small,” he said.

15-week ad campaign

The new ad campaign is “probably one of, if not the most significant that we’ve launched,” Ponnadurai said. The company hopes to reach 80%-90% of the UK and Germany, the two countries where it is running, over the next 15 weeks with a mixture of radio, TV and outdoor display advertising.

The initial focus will be short films that show the benefits of privacy. In one, a couple on a double date are shown sharing personal messages that help bring them closer together. In another, someone uses WhatsApp to privately land their dream job.

“It’s helping people feel the power of end-to-end encryption, but really understand that and how it works for them, as well as the intimacy that end-to-end encryption gives them every day.” Ponnadurai said.

It is a stark reversal of wider messaging from Facebook, which six months ago launched [a major US ad campaign](#) attacking Apple’s new privacy settings. Facebook’s head of advertising said at the time that the iPhone maker’s ability to let users block tracking was “trying to take the world back 10 or 20 years”.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2021/jun/13/whatsapp-boss-decries-attacks-on-encryption-as-orwellian>

Global development

UK aid cuts to Bangladesh NGO a ‘gut punch’, says charity head

Withdrawal from long-term partnership catastrophic, says Brac, affecting women and girls’ education and those in extreme poverty



Women take part in non-formal lessons in Demra, Bangladesh. Brac said the cuts will force a dramatic scaling down of projects in the country. Photograph: Majority World/Rex/Shutterstock

Women take part in non-formal lessons in Demra, Bangladesh. Brac said the cuts will force a dramatic scaling down of projects in the country. Photograph: Majority World/Rex/Shutterstock

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Mon 14 Jun 2021 03.00 EDT

The UK government's funding cuts to the world's largest international non-governmental organisation are a "gut punch" after a successful 10-year £450m partnership, according to a director.

Asif Saleh, executive director of Brac [Bangladesh](#), said the cuts will leave hundreds of thousands of girls without an education, millions of women and girls without access to family planning and hundreds of thousands of people in extreme poverty without support.

Saleh's comments followed an announcement on Friday that the UK would spend an extra £430m on girls education in 90 countries over the next five years. The [announcement](#), made at the G7 summit, prompted accusations of hypocrisy. Sarah Brown, chair of global children's charity Theirworld, called the funding a "drop in the ocean" compared to the scale of the global education crisis and in the face of "savage cuts to the international aid budget".

Evidence submitted by Brac to the international development committee's investigation into the aid cuts described the withdrawal of support as "catastrophic" for the tens of thousands in Bangladesh who live on under a dollar a day.

"The dramatic fall is completely unexpected," Saleh said. "It's like a gut punch. We did not anticipate it would be a complete withdrawal from the partnership. From a commitment of £200m over five years to absolutely nothing – it's a mistake."

About 16 million Bangladeshis have slipped into extreme poverty since the pandemic, and the [World Bank estimates an additional 150 million people globally](#) will be in extreme poverty by 2021 because of Covid-19.

With British support, Brac ran the largest non-formal school programme in Bangladesh from which 12 million children have graduated. A world-renowned programme, the "graduation model", was also developed with the help of UK aid. It has lifted 2 million households out of extreme poverty in the country and is used in Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Pakistan, Honduras and Peru.



Asif Saleh, executive director of Brac Bangladesh. Photograph: Courtesy of Brac

Saleh said that, while he expected a cut, Brac's alignment with the government's stated priorities – girls' education, poverty reduction and addressing the climate crisis – made him hope some of it would continue.

Figures calculated by Save the Children estimate the aid cuts in education between 2019-20 and 2021-22 to be 36%, from £821m to £528m. Humanitarian assistance and water and sanitation will be reduced by an estimated 45% and 47% respectively.

The Foreign Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO) withdrawal from Brac strategic partnership arrangement (SPA) will mean a “dramatic scaling down” of programmes running since 2011. The SPA has helped 110 million people in Bangladesh, with 4 million children enrolled in its schools that actively seek girls and children with disabilities.

Brac's programmes have also been cut in other countries, Saleh said.

“There have been programmes that have been shut down with 90 days notice,” said Saleh. “We are trying to fill the gaps. Our health programme is continuing because of Covid. Our ultra-poor graduation programme, our education programme, is being scaled down. I'm having to make tough calls. When I'm not being able to start schools, when I'm having to stop programmes to reduce child marriage, to those people, it will be seen as a betrayal.”

['A hammer blow': how UK overseas aid cuts affect the world's most vulnerable](#)

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Saleh said FCDO officials in Bangladesh had made the case for “phase 3” of the partnership, with additional funding from Australia and Canada. But last month, Saleh was told nothing would be available for 2021-22.



A learner driver in Dhaka, Bangladesh. The lesson was part of project run by Brac to empower women and improve road safety. Photograph: Allison Joyce/Getty Images

Chief economist for FCDO, Rachel Glennerster, considered the Brac model a “best buy” in terms of development, according to a report by the Independent Commission for [Aid](#) Impact, in 2018. The report found that a consultation with partners “confirms progress in achieving results that align with UK priorities, at scale, in the right places and to the right target groups”.

“The UK has given support to a global south organisation that has delivered and provided transparency,” said Saleh. “To take it away so abruptly sends the wrong message. The UK should not abandon the amazing reputation it has built as a global development powerhouse. Britain has been a great friend. This needed a thoughtful response. These are people’s lives.”

The Guardian approached the FCDO for comment but it was unable to respond in time for publication.

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France

Marine Le Pen sets sights on territory of traditional right

Côte d'Azur is among areas where French far-right leader seeks to make inroads in regional elections this month



Marine Le Pen, the leader of Rassemblement National, is portraying regional elections as a launchpad for her third presidential bid. Photograph: Guillaume Souvant/Sipa/Rex

Marine Le Pen, the leader of Rassemblement National, is portraying regional elections as a launchpad for her third presidential bid. Photograph: Guillaume Souvant/Sipa/Rex



[Angelique Chrisafis](#) in Cannes

[@achrisafis](#)

Mon 14 Jun 2021 00.30 EDT

At 4am on weekdays, Isabelle often thought about the French far-right leader [Marine Le Pen](#). An airport worker in her 50s, she had a pre-dawn commute along the Côte d’Azur and spent it worrying that her pension wouldn’t be enough, that crime was increasing. She began to believe the far right’s promise to give “national priority” to French people over non-nationals in jobs, housing and welfare, driven by her feeling that “immigrants” seemed to be doing better than her.

“Emmanuel Macron cares more about foreign policy than French people’s struggles, but Le Pen, a lawyer and mother of three, understands French workers,” she said. For decades, Isabelle voted for the mainstream right, but not in the forthcoming regional elections. “I’ve become one of those women who once voted Nicolas Sarkozy and now votes Marine Le Pen,” she shrugged.

The rise of the far right is dominating this month’s regional elections in [France](#). Le Pen is reaching out to traditional centre-right voters and styling

the battle as a launchpad for her third presidential bid next spring, when she could once again reach the final round against Macron.

“There is a kind of snowball effect,” said Stewart Chau, a sociologist and consultant at the pollsters Viavoice. “Marine Le Pen has not changed register or softened her key ideas. The social context in France means she is benefiting from the fact her traditional themes have anchored down deeply in public opinion in the past six years: the feeling of insecurity and crime, a feeling of decline and social inequality, and her linking those issues to immigration, [Europe](#) and globalisation. The Covid crisis has reinforced the idea of living in anxious times, the need for protection and national sovereignty.

“The more other parties place Le Pen at the very centre of the political debate by focusing on what scores she can reach and how they can lower those scores – and the more other parties seize on her topics – the more they normalise her party.”

Taking control of a French region would be a political earthquake for Le Pen’s nationalist, anti-immigration party, giving it potential new credibility. The renamed Rassemblement National (RN), founded as the Front National by Le Pen’s ex-paratrooper father, Jean-Marie Le Pen, nearly 50 years ago, runs about 10 town halls across France, but it has never headed a French region, where budgets are in billions and responsibilities include high schools and transport. In the past, tactical voting – often with the left pulling out to allow the right to “stop the far-right peril” – has always limited the party’s regional scores.

But in the south of France, the Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur (Paca) region, which stretches from the high-income villas of the French Riviera to poorer villages in Vaucluse and Marseille’s low-income housing estates, is seen as a political laboratory for Le Pen. Polls show that a second-round win for Le Pen’s party in Paca is possible and that far-right regional representatives could be standing on the red carpet at next month’s Cannes film festival, in a public relations nightmare for the government.

To win the region, Le Pen’s party needs to heavily target traditional rightwing voters. The [Fondation Jean Jaurès thinktank](#) warned recently that

although a 2022 Le Pen presidential win remained unlikely, it could happen, depending on her managing one of three factors.

First, Le Pen needed to win over high numbers of centre-right voters. Second, her public relations drive to [“detoxify”](#) her party’s image and move it away from its jackbooted overtones of the past would need to be so successful that mainstream voters no longer saw her as a danger and didn’t bother to vote tactically to stop her. Finally, Macron would have to be viewed with the same general level of mistrust as Le Pen herself to make voters refuse to vote for him.

Those factors are not yet lined up, but the Paca region – where voters’ top concerns are Le Pen’s key themes of crime and immigration – is being scrutinised as a litmus test. Across France, the proportion of people who see Le Pen’s party as a danger to democracy has dropped to 49%. Those on the traditional right who have a [positive view](#) of Le Pen are increasing. In an unusual move, Macron’s party has already pulled out of the Paca regional race and lined up with the right to try to stop Le Pen.

“This election is a test,” said Thierry Mariani, Le Pen’s regional candidate, after greeting applauding fishermen at a stall at Cannes market. “Paca is unique because the [traditional right] Les Républicains have teamed up with Emmanuel Macron against us. If they lose, it would show that Macron, even after lining up with others, is in big difficulty. It would show that Les Républicains have no political line any more and Macron’s La République En Marche has failed to anchor itself in grassroots France.”

Mariani, 62, who was a government minister under the rightwing Nicolas Sarkozy, is the public face of Le Pen’s drive to poach figures from the mainstream. He set up his own section of hardline rightwing MPs then jumped ship to be elected to the European parliament with Le Pen’s group in 2019.

Mariani grew up in northern Vaucluse, where he headed an opera festival, and argues his long career in politics means he can’t be seen as “dangerous”. He claims Sarkozy did not go far enough after his controversial 2005 comments about [cleaning up crime in multiracial suburbs with a power hose](#). “Our problem was we never plugged in the hose,” he said.

Cannes, a bastion of the old-school, traditional right Les Républicains, is not Le Pen's usual territory. Its rightwing mayor, a defender of the 2016 [ban on "burkinis"](#) on French Riviera beaches, was recently re-elected with a staggering 88% of the vote. But along the coast between Cannes and Nice, far-right canvassers said people were softening to their ideas.

"We used to have to put up posters under cover of night and change them a lot because they were vandalised," said Gabriel Tomatis, a 22-year-old history student from Nice who joined the party aged 17. "Now we've been putting them up in broad daylight and people stop to congratulate us."

He said local youth membership in the Alpes-Maritimes area had grown in recent months. "In my student union, I can see more interest in Le Pen, particularly with the difficulties students have faced since Covid."

Le Pen is currently appealing to voters increasingly worried about violence and delinquency. She has linked crime to "massive, unregulated immigration", saying France faces "chaos".

While the left counters that this is statistically wrong, the far right has been boosted by Le Pen's language seeping into the mainstream. Macron's interior minister, Gérard Darmanin, talking of crime, has warned of the "growing savageness of a part of French society".

At the Cannes flea market, Paul, 83, had risen at 5am to drive from Nice to set out his stall of antique cutlery. He used to vote for the traditional right, but now would chose Le Pen. With very few tourists because of Covid, times were hard. He sometimes only made €10-€15 (£8-£12) at the flea market, barely covering petrol costs. His pension was €700 a month. "There's a big economic crisis coming," he said. "Crime is up, there aren't enough police. People around me are saying: Why not try Le Pen?"

Christel, 73, a former tour operator and a lifelong voter for Sarkozy's party, said she would never choose Le Pen for president. But for the regional elections, she was open-minded. "I'm disappointed by politics and I can feel myself getting more radical," she said.

Christèle Lagier, a lecturer in politics at Avignon University, described the RN's southern supporters on the right as having jobs where "they do not have large spending power, but they nonetheless work, pay taxes and have the feeling that the system of social redistribution isn't working to their advantage". She said RN voters felt they were not getting back the same advantages as others, and – in Le Pen's rhetoric – felt they weren't getting as much as immigrant populations.

Christophe Castaner, a key Macron figure in the south, recently called the RN's anti-immigration rhetoric false and "anti-republican", saying it was a "racist party", with historical convictions for antisemitism and funded from abroad.

In Cannes, Jean-Luc, a partner in an architecture firm, who always voted traditional right, said Le Pen's party's high polling was worrying. "I'll stick with the [traditional] right because they can be trusted on the economy, that's all that matters."

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[Fox News](#)

Fox News host Kayleigh McEnany says she ‘never lied’ as Trump press secretary

- Ex-White House official complains about press calling her a liar
- Politifact rates denial Trump played down Covid ‘pants on fire’



Kayleigh McEnany speaks during a briefing at the White House in Washington. Photograph: Evan Vucci/AP

Kayleigh McEnany speaks during a briefing at the White House in Washington. Photograph: Evan Vucci/AP

[Martin Pengelly](#) in New York

[@MartinPengelly](#)

Mon 14 Jun 2021 02.00 EDT

The White House press secretary turned Fox News contributor Kayleigh McEnany has claimed she “never lied” while speaking for [Donald Trump](#).

[Trump finds historical muse in tourmate and ex-Fox News anchor Bill O'Reilly](#)

[Read more](#)

[Addressing](#) a conservative group on Sunday, McEnany said of her first steps in the role: “And then there was the question, ‘Will you ever lie to us?’, and I said without hesitation, ‘No’, and I never did, as a woman of faith.

“As a mother of baby Blake, as a person who meticulously prepared at some of the world’s hardest institutions, I never lied. I sourced my information, but that will never stop the press from calling you a liar.”

The [press](#) has questioned the veracity of McEnany’s claims. So have political [factchecking](#) sites. For instance, [Politifact](#) gave McEnany a “pants on fire” rating last September after she told reporters: “The president never downplayed the virus.”

She was responding to questions about reporting by Bob Woodward of the Washington Post, to whom Trump [said](#) in March 2020, as the coronavirus pandemic took hold: “To be honest with you, I wanted to always play it down. I still like playing it down, because I don’t want to create a panic.”

Politifact said: “The record shows she’s wrong.”

McEnany restarted White House briefings after more than 400 days without one under Stephanie Grisham. Sean Spicer and Sarah Sanders also presided over a deterioration in relations between the press and the White House and, critics said, the relationship between the White House and truth.

Reporting McEnany’s first appearance, on 1 May 2020, the Guardian [said](#) that “even on an assured debut, McEnany skated close to peddling dodgy information about Trump’s responses to the coronavirus pandemic (‘This president has always sided on the side of data’) and allegations of sexual misconduct (‘He has always told the truth’).”

The Washington Post's factcheckers put Trump's final tally of false or misleading claims [at 30,573](#).

At the Turning Point USA Young Women's Leadership Summit in Dallas, McEnany said she came up with a motto for her press operation: "Offense only."

"Because I knew what we were up against. Republicans always get the bad headlines, always get the false stories, always get the lies, if I can use that word, told by the press. There is one standard for Democrats and another for Republicans, and we must be on offense, confident, bold and willing to call it out. We cannot be silent."

Regarding supposed lying by the press, McEnany cited coverage of the [clearing of Lafayette Square](#), intelligence on [Russian bounties on US troops](#) and the theory the coronavirus [escaped a laboratory](#) in China – all stories subject to evolving reporting.

[Jen Psaki likens Fox News reporters to Russian and Chinese propagandists](#)
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McEnany is one of a number of veterans of the Trump White House to have found roles at Fox News, [where](#) she is a commentator and co-hosts Outnumbered.

But when she was press secretary, even [Fox News](#) cut away from her remarks when she advanced Trump's lie that his defeat by Biden was the result of electoral fraud.

In March, responding to news of McEnany's new job, an anonymous Fox News staffer [quoted by the Daily Beast](#) referred to the 6 January attack on the US Capitol in calling McEnany "a mini-Goebbels" who "helped incite an insurrection on our democracy".

On Sunday, amid uproar over her claim never to have lied in service of Trump, she [tweeted](#): "Haters will hate!"

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2021/jun/14/fox-news-host-kayleigh-mcenany-never-lied-trump-press-secretary>.

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Christchurch attacks: producer resigns from film *They Are Us* as criticism grows

Jacinda Ardern says subject still feels ‘very raw’ amid ongoing accusations that film sidelines Muslim victims of 2019 massacre



Jacinda Ardern is to be played by Rose Byrne in the film *They Are Us*, about the Christchurch mosque attacks in New Zealand. Photograph: Don Arnold/WireImage

Jacinda Ardern is to be played by Rose Byrne in the film *They Are Us*, about the Christchurch mosque attacks in New Zealand. Photograph: Don Arnold/WireImage

[Tess McClure](#) in Auckland

[@tessairini](#)

Sun 13 Jun 2021 23.27 EDT

A producer for a controversial Hollywood film depicting Jacinda Ardern's response to the Christchurch terror attacks has resigned from the project after criticisms that it sidelined Muslim victims.

The premise of the film, *They Are Us*, has also been criticised by its proposed subject, [New Zealand](#) prime minister Ardern, who is slated to be played by Rose Byrne. Ardern said on Sunday it felt "very soon and very raw" for [New Zealand](#), and that she was not an appropriate focus for a film about the 2019 mosque attacks. "There are plenty of stories from March 15 that could be told, but I don't consider mine to be one of them," she said. Ardern has reiterated that she has no involvement with the film.

The movie [was announced by the Hollywood Reporter on Friday](#), and billed as an "inspirational story about the young leader's response to the tragic events".

[Move to make Christchurch massacre film all about Jacinda Ardern sparks anger](#)
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It immediately [came under fire](#) for centring on the leadership of a white woman against the backdrop of the mass murder of 51 Muslims by a white supremacist. [Many Muslim New Zealanders criticised the move](#) as "exploitative", "insensitive", and "obscene". A petition to shut down the film's production has gained about 60,000 signatures over the past three days.

On Monday, New Zealand producer Philippa Campbell announced that she was resigning from the proposed production. "I've listened to the concerns raised over recent days and I have heard the strength of people's views. I now agree that the events of March 15, 2019 are too raw for film at this time and do not wish to be involved with a project that is causing such distress," she said in a statement released to media.

"The announcement was focused on film business, and did not take enough account of the political and human context of the story in this country. It's the complexity of that context I've been reflecting on that has led me to this decision."

When the film was announced on Friday, writer and community advocate Guled Mire told the Guardian that the premise was “completely insensitive”.

“The reality is many victims are struggling right now. They’re really still trying to pick up the pieces – financially, everything,” he said. “This tapped into that vulnerability to make the most out of the situation.”

The film will be directed and written by New Zealander Andrew Niccol, who wrote and directed Gattaca. Niccol has not yet commented on the response to the film’s announcement. The Guardian has contacted the associated production companies for comment.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/jun/14/christchurch-attacks-producer-resigns-film-they-are-us-jacinda-ardern-criticism>

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