

Miriam Margolyes

'I am a remarkable person'

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Joanna Trollope 'When will we stop judging each other?'

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The Guardian

Supermarkets plan to 'feed the nation' as virus spreads

Jasper Jolly
Rebecca Smithers

British supermarkets have drawn up "feed the nation" contingency plans that would help the country cope with panic buying caused by an escalation in the coronavirus outbreak.

Under the plans, supermarkets would work with suppliers to scale back the variety of foods and groceries available and instead focus on maintaining supplies of staple products.

Details of the strategy in place to ensure uninterrupted food supplies came as Boris Johnson was about to unveil "battle plans" today for tackling a potential outbreak, expected to

include steps to limit the spread within crowds and to older, more vulnerable people. "The most important thing now is that we prepare against a possible very significant expansion of coronavirus in the UK population and that is clearly on the cards," the prime minister told the BBC yesterday.

Matthew Hancock, the health secretary, said Britain may follow the lead of "European countries at more advanced stages of an outbreak", adding: "All options are on the table."

In key developments yesterday:

- Three new cases of coronavirus were confirmed in the UK, including a school pupil and a music teacher, bringing the total number to 39.
- Next week's budget will be redrawn to focus on shoring up the economy against the impact of the coronavirus, the Treasury confirmed.
- British Airways and Ryanair cancelled hundreds of flights between Heathrow and parts of Italy, France, Austria, Belgium, Germany, Ireland and Switzerland as well as New York's JFK airport.
- The Scottish government said up to 250,000 people could be taken to hospital in a worst-case scenario.
- The risk of contracting

'Yes, it will be chaotic (and expect pictures of empty shelves) ... but the industry will keep the country fed'

Bruno Monteyne
Contingency planner



Pressure on Patel grows after new bullying claim

▲ Priti Patel is driven away from the Home Office yesterday as the fresh bullying claims emerged
PHOTOGRAPH: PETER MACDIARMID/LNPL

Rajeev Syal

Priti Patel was under increasing pressure to resign as home secretary yesterday as another bullying allegation emerged just hours after the Cabinet Office launched a formal

inquiry into claims she had mistreated her permanent secretary.

The minister was accused of shouting at a former aide with "unprovoked aggression" before removing her from her job. The aide received a £25,000 government payout after a threatened lawsuit in which Patel was named, the claims reported by the BBC said,

adding that Patel was accused of shouting at the aide to "get lost" and "get out of her face".

The legal correspondence alleges that the civil servant took an overdose of prescription medicine shortly after the October 2015 incident.

The new allegations followed Boris Johnson's decision to launch a Cabinet Office investigation into claims Patel had lied and



This is Europe

Eurosceptic parties on the rise in EU

The paradox at the centre of Europe is revealed today in research that shows that the vote share for Eurosceptic parties has more than doubled in two decades, even though support for the EU is at a record high **News Page 14** →

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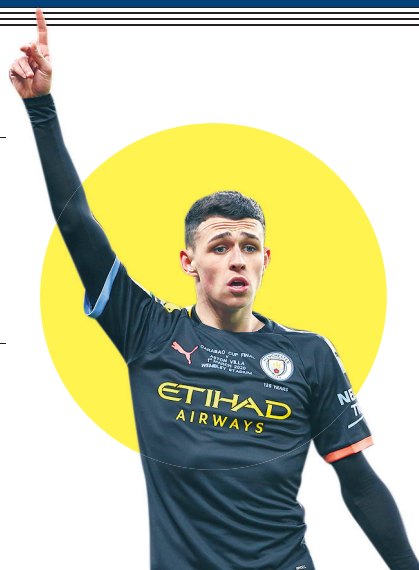
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News

'Rough sex' court defence likely to be curbed as MPs revisit domestic abuse bill

Jamie Grierson

Home affairs correspondent

The government is formally looking at what can be done to stop the use of the so-called rough sex defence in courts as the long-awaited domestic abuse bill finally returns to parliament.

The latest version of the bill is due to have its first reading in the Commons after it was stalled when Boris Johnson decided to prorogue parliament and the general election was called.

Announcing its return, the Home Office said the government was considering how it could curb use of the rough sex defence, recently highlighted by the conviction of the British backpacker Grace Millane's killer in New Zealand.

In that case, the murderer's defence counsel argued that Millane, from Essex, died accidentally in a "tragic" event that resulted from a toxic combination of alcohol, inexperience with BDSM practices and sexual passion going too far.

Following the conviction, the campaign group We Can't Consent to This revealed that in the past decade 30 women and girls had been killed in what was claimed to have been consensual violent sexual activity in the UK. Senior lawyers and women's organisations have called for a change to the law.

The domestic abuse bill looks broadly the same as before and still includes plans for forcing domestic abusers to take polygraph tests – commonly referred to as lie detectors



▲ Nicole Jacobs was appointed last year as domestic abuse commissioner

– similar to ideas mooted for monitoring terrorists.

If the law is passed, a three-year pilot scheme will be carried out involving domestic abusers deemed at high risk of causing serious harm. If successful, it will be introduced nationwide.

Among other proposals, the legislation pledges to ban alleged offenders from cross-examinations during family court proceedings, and could require councils to find safe accommodation for victims and their children – a

30

Number of women and girls killed in 10 years in the UK in allegedly consensual violent sexual activity

Continued from page 1

Supermarkets plan to 'feed the nation' as virus spreads

coronavirus within Europe was raised from moderate to high as deaths in Italy jumped from 18 to 52 and the outbreak exceeded 60 countries.

The supermarket contingency plans were detailed by a City analyst, Bruno Monteyne, of the investment firm Alliance Bernstein. Monteyne was previously a supply chain director at Tesco. Monteyne said a major outbreak could result in "panic buying, empty shelves and food riots". However, he added that retailers have "ready-made plans" to deal with disruption and move to "feed the nation" status.

"Yes, it will be chaotic (and expect pictures of empty shelves)," he wrote in a note to investors, "but the industry will reduce complexity to keep the country fed." Monteyne's note said Tesco, the UK's largest supermarket chain, had practised "multiday simulation" exercises, including mocked-up news coverage, with teams preparing responses to a flu pandemic. Tesco confirmed it carried out such preparations and said they were part of being a "responsible retailer".

Monteyne said supermarkets and suppliers would work together to agree "a major reduction in ranges" so that suppliers can run plants more efficiently. He added the big grocers were likely "to be drawing up lists right now of which products will be prioritised".

He said he did not expect prices to rise because "food retailers cannot be seen to be profiteering at a moment of crisis". However, he said disruption could cost £1.2bn in lost profits.

Monteyne added that in the event of acute food shortages he expected the army to be called in "to protect depots, food trucks and stores".

Several big food retailers reported signs of panic buying. An executive at one grocer told the Guardian it was witnessing stockpiling of bottled water, core grocery lines such as tinned food and pasta, and cleaning products.

The British online supermarket Ocado advised customers to place orders further in advance than usual because of "exceptionally high

measure which the charity Women's Aid said could be "lifesaving".

However, Crisis, another charity, said this still did not ensure that victims fleeing domestic abuse would have a "legal right to safe, permanent housing", and could risk victims spending years in temporary accommodation with their lives on hold.

Court protection orders, which ban perpetrators from contacting a victim or force them to take part in alcohol or drug treatment programmes, may also be introduced under the new legislation.

Police costs for bringing the orders to court will be paid for by the government for two years while the pilot scheme takes place.

A definition of domestic abuse will be set which recognises economic abuse – when a perpetrator controls a victim's finances – as a specific type of the crime. It will also acknowledge the use of technology to target a victim.

Last year, Nicole Jacobs was appointed as the country's first domestic abuse commissioner. The independent Office of the Domestic Abuse Commissioner, which is still being set up, will be made a statutory body and will publish reports on its findings.

Jacobs will be considering what support the government can provide for children who have been affected by domestic abuse, the Home Office said.

Of the 30 deaths linked to rough sex in the last decade, 17 resulted in men being convicted of murder, nine led to manslaughter convictions and two ended in acquittals. In one further case, there was a murder conviction but only after the victim's husband confessed; police had initially treated the death as non-suspicious. The case of one woman's death has yet to go to court.

In 1996 there were two cases in which deaths and injuries to women were blamed on "rough sex"; by 2016, that had climbed to 20 cases a year.

demand". Members of the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs' (Defra) food chain emergency liaison group are expected to meet this week to discuss the outbreak. The group links big food and drink firms and the National Farmers' Union with government departments to deal with potential disruption to food supplies, such as that which could have followed a no-deal Brexit.

Consumers have also been stocking up with frozen food, according to the supermarket Iceland. Managing director Nigel Broadhurst said it had had more shoppers in its stores, spending significantly more than normal. "Sales of frozen food have seen notable increases and we have noticed a trend towards multibuy deals."

Waitrose, Morrisons and the Co-op refused to comment on stockpiling, and said only that they were seeing more demand for cleaning products and hand sanitisers. But a senior executive at one of the UK's main supermarkets said: "All the big supermarkets have a plan B for sourcing."

Andrew Opie, director of food and sustainability at the British Retail Consortium, noted an increase in demand for hand sanitisers and other hygiene products. Ian Wright, the chief executive of the Food and Drink Federation, said his organisation was "in regular dialogue with the government".

'Sales of frozen food have seen notable increases'

Nigel Broadhurst
Iceland

Protesting comedian lets fashion firm know who's Boss

Lucy Campbell

Hugo Boss has long been a commanding brand in designer clothing and expensive fragrances, but it hasn't had much of a track record in entertainment.

That is about to change, albeit without the German fashion house's blessing, after the British comedian Joe Lycett changed his name to Hugo Boss by deed poll as part of a surreal revenge mission for a number of small businesses, including a Welsh craft brewery.

Lycett, now Hugo Boss, took the action after the other Hugo Boss was accused of taking heavy-handed legal action against small businesses and charities that use the word boss in their names. Among its targets was Boss Brewing, a craft brewery based in Swansea, whose own boss described the stunt as "brilliant from a David and Goliath point of view" that drew attention to how "silly" the fashion company's approach was.

On Twitter, where the comedian has also changed his account name to Hugo Boss, his bio now reads: "I am the comedian formerly known as Joe Lycett." His Wikipedia page has also been updated.

He tweeted: "So Hugo Boss (who turnover approx \$2.7bn a year) have sent cease & desist letters to a number of small businesses & charities who use the word 'BOSS' or similar, including a small brewery in Swansea, costing them thousands in legal fees and rebranding.

"It's clear that Hugo Boss HATES people using their name. Unfortunately for them this week I legally changed my name by deed poll and I am now officially known as Hugo Boss. All future statements from me are not from Joe Lycett but Hugo Boss. Enjoy."

Attached was an image of a deed poll letter that appeared to confirm the change - and a new signature with an unusually phallic structure.

Boss, 31, added he would be "launching a brand new product as Hugo Boss", details of which would be revealed on the new TV series of Joe Lycett's *Got Your Back*. The Channel 4 show takes on big corporations to fight for the rights of British consumers.

Speaking later on the BBC's *Victoria Derbyshire* programme, Boss said he wanted the fashion label to stop taking such legal action and to apologise to the affected businesses.

WalesOnline reported in August last year that Boss Brewing had been left with a £10,000 legal bill after the designer brand sent it a cease-and-desist letter when the brewer applied to trademark its name, a process that usually costs £300.

Sarah John, one of the founders



'This week I legally changed my name by deed poll and I am now officially known as Hugo Boss'

Hugo Boss
(formerly Joe Lycett)

PHOTOGRAPH: OLLIE MILLINGTON/GETTY



▲ Models wearing creations from the Hugo Boss fashion label's autumn-winter 2020 clothing collection in Milan last month PHOTOGRAPH: ANDREAS SOLARO/AFP/GETTY

Brand wars - a brief history

McDonald's

The fast-food titan instigated, and lost, an eight-year legal dispute against a Malaysian curry restaurant that used the term "McCurry". In 2009, Malaysia's federal court rejected a McDonald's Corporation appeal against an earlier judgment that had allowed the curry house in Kuala Lumpur to use the "Mc" prefix. McDonald's also had to pay costs.

Bentley Motors

The luxury carmaker lost a 20-year trademark dispute with a family-run clothing store in 2019. The high court ruled that the Cheshire-based company infringed the Manchester-based Bentley Clothing's trademark rights by using the name "Bentley" on its own range of clothing.

BrewDog

In 2017, the brewer threatened legal action to prevent a bar in Leeds from using the term "punk" in its name. BrewDog, which owns the "punk" trademark in relation to beer only, claimed the fact that the bar would serve beer meant its trademark rights would be infringed. After the alleged threat of legal action was published in the *Guardian*, BrewDog's director claimed in a blog that the allegation was inaccurate.

McDonald's (again)

McDonald's faced a second defeat in 2019, this time following a dispute with the small Irish restaurant chain Supermac's over rights to the "Big Mac" name. The European Union's intellectual property office ruled that McDonald's did not have the exclusive right to the "Big Mac" trademark in Europe, after the corporation tried to stop Supermac's from expanding into the continent.

Innocent

In 2011, the drinks firm wrote to a Sussex-based children's vitamins brand asking it to cease trading under the name Innocent Vitamins after it applied for trademark. It also claimed the vitamin company's logo was too similar to its own because the word "innocent" was written in lower case. The case was settled out of court and the company was rebranded as Innovitive Vitamins.

and owners of Boss Brewing, said the comedian's move was "a brilliant way of showing support".

After a long and protracted legal fight with Hugo Boss, the brewery was able to keep its name but had to rebrand two of its award-winning craft beers and stop selling clothing. John said that on top of the legal fees, the rebranding process cost more than £20,000 once the expense of relabelling items and discarding old stock had been taken into account.

"They're a premium, high-end fashion brand; we're craft beer," she said. "I really don't think there's confusion, so it was a bit unnecessary.

"[What Joe has done] is brilliant from a David and Goliath point of view. It's drawn attention to big corporate companies throwing their weight around. He's massively put the topic

on the agenda, everyone's talking about it, it's gone viral on social media. And by doing it with humour as well it shows how silly it all is."

The *i* newspaper reported in 2018 that a charity called DarkGirlBoss also received a legal letter from Hugo Boss when it tried to trademark its name.

The fashion house, which often styles itself as BOSS, was founded in Metzingen, Germany, in 1924. It famously produced and supplied uniforms for the Nazi party. After the second world war, the eponymous owner was tried and fined for support of nazism. In 2011 the fashion giant apologised for using forced Polish and French labour during the second world war to manufacture the uniforms.

Hugo Boss, the fashion brand, has been approached for comment, as has Hugo Boss, the comedian.

Outdoor air pollution cuts three years off average life expectancy

Nicola Davis

Humans are missing out on almost three years of life expectancy on average because of outdoor air pollution, researchers have found.

However, the study reveals that more than a year of life expectancy could be clawed back if fossil fuel emissions were cut to zero, and that if all controllable air pollution was cut – a category that does not include particles from natural wildfires or wind-borne dust – global life expectancy could rise by 20 months.

“This corroborates that fossil fuel-generated air pollution qualifies as a major global health risk factor by itself,” the authors write.

The study, published in the journal *Cardiovascular Research*, builds on previous research by the team that confirmed about 8.8m early deaths a year worldwide, twice previous estimates, are caused by outdoor air

pollution, with the new work examining the issue globally and regionally.

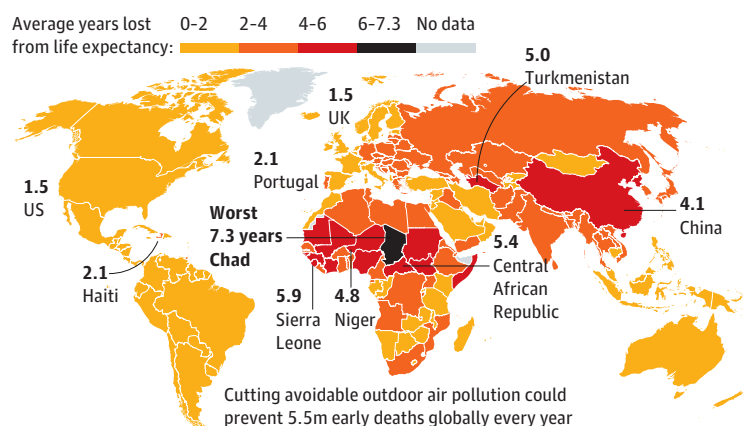
“The loss of life expectancy from air pollution is much higher than many other risk factors, and even higher than smoking,” said co-author Prof Jos Lelieveld of the Max Planck Institute for Chemistry. “That was quite unexpected, I must say.”

The new study draws on models of the impact on the body of fine particulate matter known as PM2.5, ozone, and levels of exposure, and population and mortality figures for 2015.

The team calculated the proportion of early deaths that can be attributed to outdoor air pollution across six categories, including unspecified non-communicable diseases, such as high blood pressure and diabetes.

The results reveal that, globally, 2.9 years of life expectancy on average are lost because of outdoor air pollution – a bigger toll than smoking (2.2 years lost), violence (0.3 years), HIV/Aids (0.7 years) and diseases spread by parasites (0.6 years). If avoidable outdoor

Average years lost due to outdoor air pollution



Source: Cardiovascular Research

air pollution were cut, the team adds, more than 5.5m early deaths globally could be avoided every year.

Because of variations between regions such a measure would save 2.4m early deaths a year in east Asia and regain three out of the 3.9 years of life expectancy lost because of outdoor air pollution. However, in Africa only 230,000 early deaths a year would

be saved, and just over eight months of the 3.1 years of life expectancy lost.

This is due to factors including that Africa's outdoor air pollution is dominated by wind-blown dust.

Although the proportion of premature deaths due to air pollution generally increased with age, for some regions, including Africa and south Asia, there is also a spike of premature deaths among very young children.

Coronary heart disease accounted for the largest number of extra deaths at almost 2.8m a year worldwide, and 28% of the loss in life expectancy. Deaths from lung cancer, chronic obstructive lung disease and lower

respiratory infections together made up about 2.6m early deaths from outdoor air pollution a year.

Prof Thomas Münzel, of the University Medical Centre Mainz in Germany, a co-author of the study, said the findings underscore the importance of including air pollution as a risk factor for cardiovascular disease.

However, only two air pollutants were studied, and not the chemical makeup of the particulate matter. The team notes there may be diseases that should be but are not currently associated with air pollution, and that the models are based on data from a limited number of countries.

As a result, there are uncertainties in the findings. Nonetheless, Münzel said, the study emphasised the need for governments to take action. “We need lower emission levels – 91% of the [world’s] population breathes polluted air as defined by the [World Health Organization],” he said. “We have incredibly high limits for Europe: those need to be reduced markedly.”

Prof Kevin McConway, emeritus professor of applied statistics at the Open University, said the uncertainty in the figures meant that it was not yet clear whether air pollution was a bigger killer than tobacco, but it certainly rivalled it. That, he said, is because although smoking a packet of cigarettes a day is more dangerous, a higher proportion of people inhale air pollution than tobacco smoke.

8.8m

Number of premature deaths globally estimated to be caused by outdoor air pollution each year

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National

DWP 'pressuring vulnerable claimants to accept low offers in unrecorded calls'

Frances Ryan

Vulnerable and disabled people are being pressured to accept unrecorded telephone "deals" paying thousands of pounds less in benefits than they may be entitled to, charities' lawyers say.

The Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) has been accused of making "decide right now" offers to people who have appealed against a decision to deny them benefits. In some cases the people say they were told the offer would be withdrawn if they did not accept it within minutes.

It is claimed that by making lower offers over the phone, the DWP is trying to settle cases that could lead to bigger payouts if they were to be heard by a tribunal. About 70% of such appeals go in favour of the claimants.

Several charities and law firms said they were aware of more than 100 phone deal cases between them. They accused the DWP of targeting those deemed to have a strong chance of success at a tribunal over claims involving personal independence payments (Pip) and employment and support allowance (ESA). Claimants may accept a lower offer because of long tribunal waits without any income.

The Law for Life charity said it had heard from 57 claimants and 58 welfare advisers of cases where disabled people were offered awards below what they could expect at appeal.

The Law Centres Network, the Public Law Project (PLP), the Royal National Institute of Blind People (RNIB) and Scope also reported clients receiving such calls. In many cases there was no official record of offers.

The DWP said that if someone

accepted an offer they could continue to pursue their appeal, and would have any award at a higher rate backdated to ensure they did not miss out.

But lawyers and charity workers said they were aware of many cases where claimants were not told of their right to continue with their appeal or were told of their right but were either too vulnerable to understand or felt so worn down that they just accepted it.

Claimants, some with significant cognitive disabilities, were made an offer in unannounced calls and told they would be called back within an hour for a decision. This occurred even in cases where a vulnerable appellant needed support or may have been unaware of their right to advice before making a decision. Some were given a few days, but only when they argued they needed more time to decide.

In many cases offers appeared to

have only been put in writing after the claimant agreed to the deal - a breach of typical DWP practice. There were also claims that the DWP called vulnerable claimants directly, rather than their carers or appointees.

One woman, who looks after someone with Alzheimer's, said the DWP tried to call him despite instructions to talk to her. In another case, a man with a learning disability who doctors assessed as having a mental age of six was forced to look for work after his

'She was saying I have to decide now [or] I might get nothing'

Claimant describing call from DWP

family (who took the call on his behalf) accepted a "deal".

The DWP changed its appeals process last year to allow for extra evidence to be gathered and taken into account so an appeal can end if a satisfactory conclusion is reached.

It said: "We keep cases under ongoing review to make sure the claimant gets the right outcome. We know appeals take time to be heard and if a claimant provides more evidence with their appeal, then quite rightly the decision should be looked at again."

But claimants given a lower offer told the Guardian they felt pressured to decide on the spot and were not told they could continue with their appeal.

One claimant said of a DWP worker who made an offer by phone: "She was saying I have to decide right now and if I go to the tribunal I might not get anything at all, so it's probably best to take this offer." Another said: "I very definitely was being offered a 'bribe'."

The RNIB said many of its claimants had "wanted to accept the offer and not continue with appeals despite being advised that the award is lower than their statutory entitlement".

The PLP said it knew of a number of "distressed" people receiving offers and was considering legal action.

'Poker game'

Take the money or hold out for your rights?

Frances Ryan

The call came out of the blue. Jennifer Ellis* had been rejected for personal independence payments (Pip) in October 2018,

having scored zero points, despite struggling daily with bipolar type 2.

Ellis threw herself into the standard appeals process and waited for a tribunal date. But in February last year she got a call from the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP), saying it had "re-evaluated her situation" and wanted to offer her 11 points.

Ellis described it as "a poker game": if she took the offer, she could bank the standard care rate but feared she would miss out on the higher award she needed. If she turned it down, she was told, she would go back down to zero points and have to risk it at a tribunal.

She was given five days to make a decision, and was not told she



◀ Jennifer Ellis - not her real name - says she was not told she had a right to ask for legal advice

PHOTOGRAPH: JIM WILEMAN/ THE GUARDIAN

had a right to ask for legal advice. "They were dangling a carrot. They said I might have to wait another six months for an appeal date, with no money. But [if I took it], I'd get the money now, with back pay."

Ellis turned down the offer but said she was made to feel "really uncomfortable" doing so. "It was like, 'Well, if you want to take your chances,'" she said.

The stress triggered her bipolar

condition, and she began to fixate on the calls, questioning her decision. She struggles in social situations and panicked about going to court. "In my head, going to tribunal was the process - I could have coped. But when you get a call, you think, 'Am I being stupid?' It threw me totally."

After a week, Ellis called the DWP and took the offer. "I just wanted it to stop," she said. "I thought: 'I can't take this any more.'"

In one letter seen by the Guardian, Ellis's assessor notes a number of concerns about her mental health - including her "chaotic thought process" and "difficulty making decisions" - but she was nonetheless contacted in a cold call without any support. "I've attempted suicide many times," she said. "Why would they put someone in a position that'll obviously distress them?"

Ellis said she worried about other

vulnerable people getting the same calls. "This sort of stress can push people to their limits ... There's no advice on whether this is normal, or what to do. You feel almost obliged to take it."

Months later, Ellis said she bitterly regretted accepting the offer. "I wish they hadn't called me. Now I'm stuck with the decision."

* Name has been changed

Music teacher among new confirmed sufferers, with school pupil also reported

Matthew Weaver
Denis Campbell
Severin Carrell

A music teacher is among the latest coronavirus cases confirmed in the UK, with a school pupil also being a suspected victim, as concern grows about the impact of the outbreak on an already stretched NHS.

London's prestigious Guildhall School of Music and Drama said it would close for up to a fortnight after one of its teachers tested positive. He is now in an isolation unit at the Royal Free hospital in north London, and the school has been contacting his pupils.

Three patients in England tested positive for Covid-19 yesterday, bringing the total number of UK cases to 39. A clinician at Mount Vernon Cancer Centre was confirmed positive but then tested negative, East and North Hertfordshire NHS trust said. It had earlier warned the public not to panic, saying any risk to patients was low.

Meanwhile, a survey showed that most doctors fear the NHS is ill-prepared to deal with a major outbreak, with 99% of 1,618 medics questioned by the Doctors' Association not believing the service was well enough prepared for an epidemic.

Boris Johnson accepted that a large-scale outbreak was now "very likely", while Scotland's first minister, Nicola Sturgeon, said that up to four out of five Scots could become infected.

"We're expecting perhaps 50% or as

much as 80% of the population would be infected during that epidemic," she said. The Scottish government is preparing for up to 250,000 severely affected patients to require hospital treatment in a worst-case scenario.

Johnson urged the public to help stop the spread of the disease after signing off "battle plans" that are expected to involve asking doctors and nurses to come out of retirement if the virus hits the NHS workforce.

Paul Hunter, a professor of medicine at the University of East Anglia, said the government should be planning for a situation where half the NHS workforce became ill.

"In an ideal world, it would not be safe for doctors to come out of retirement, but if half your medical workforce is off sick then that's probably the least bad option," he said.

A family doctor in Brighton and a staff member at Worthing hospital were among the first British coronavirus cases to be identified last month.

A Guardian straw poll of 30 retired doctors and nurses found most were sceptical about the idea of returning to work to tackle the likely crisis - 18 opposed the idea, saying it would not be safe for them or their patients, and a further seven expressed concerns.

99%

Percentage of doctors who do not think the NHS is well prepared for a major coronavirus outbreak

John Coakley, a 64-year-old retired intensive-care doctor from Liverpool, said: "I last dealt with an ICU patient over five years ago, and things have moved on a lot. I don't think I'd be much help. I wouldn't be confident I could insert a cannula [a tube placed in a vein] now, let alone set up a patient on mechanical ventilation."

Pamela Melding, 74, a former psychogeriatrician, said: "Retired doctors are in a demographic most likely to succumb ... so putting them on the frontline is not safe for them or the public." But Hunter, 63, who retired as a consultant virologist three years ago, said: "I guarantee there would be a lot of retired medics out there who would feel it was something they had to do, and I would be one of them."

Sarah Wollaston, a GP before her nine-year stint as an MP, raised a number of practical considerations including the greater risk to older medics if they contract the virus. The General Medical Council said it had been working with the government on a plan.

Two of the latest UK patients to test positive are from south Devon, and there were unconfirmed reports that one is a pupil at Churston Ferrers grammar school. The school was one of five in Devon to close over coronavirus fears yesterday.

The global coronavirus death toll surpassed 3,000 yesterday and South Korea reported another 500 cases.

Some of the British guests at a quarantined hotel in Tenerife are due to fly back to the UK after testing negative.



Budget Chancellor switches focus 'to prioritise security'

Heather Stewart

The chancellor, Rishi Sunak, has been forced to redraw next week's budget to focus on shoring up the economy against the impact of the coronavirus.

After Sajid Javid's abrupt resignation last month, Sunak's first major statement was due to herald a radical departure from the cautious Tory economic policies of the past decade. But a Downing Street source said the budget would now "prioritise economic security" in the face of the growing threat from the virus.

Some potential reforms are likely to be shelved - with the possibility that the autumn statement could be upgraded to a full budget this year - while the government continues to assess the scale of the outbreak. Officials said support measures might be announced sooner if necessary.

Treasury number-crunchers are not yet convinced there is any need to stimulate demand in the economy, along the lines of the €3.6bn (£3.14bn)

package announced by Italy, which has been hit hard by the outbreak.

UK public spending was already due to increase as a result of the one-year spending settlement announced in the autumn. Sunak's immediate focus is expected to be on targeted measures aimed at minimising the effect on businesses and ensuring public services can continue to be provided.

"We understand that people across the country are worried, but I assure you that we are taking firm action to support your families, your businesses and the public services on which you rely," he said. "We are well prepared



▲ The chancellor, Rishi Sunak, will deliver his first budget next week

for this global threat and, as the wider economic picture becomes clearer, we stand ready to announce further support where needed."

He updated the Cobra emergency committee on the economic situation yesterday, as ministers signed off on the government's plan for trying to slow the spread of the virus.

Boris Johnson will announce details of the coronavirus "battle plan" at a press conference today.

The plan is expected to include a major public information campaign, stressing the importance of handwashing - keeping in reserve a "social distancing" strategy, urging people to work at home and minimise travel.

The Bank of England promised to take steps to prevent the virus destabilising markets, and "ensure all necessary steps are taken to protect financial and monetary stability."

Forecasters are scrambling to analyse the potential economic impact of thousands of workers "self-isolating", major events being reorganised and cities being cordoned off.

Johnson told the BBC: "Something like a mass epidemic is going to have all sorts of consequences and there is always the potential for an economic downside ... and we are ready for that. But don't forget the fundamentals of the UK economy are very strong."

Etiquette Are hugs, kisses and handshakes OK - or should you take a bow?

Caroline Davies

When the German chancellor, Angela Merkel, extended her hand to her interior minister, Horst Seehofer, at a meeting yesterday, he refused her handshake and waved her away.

Pre-coronavirus, his gesture would have been the epitome of bad manners. But with 150 cases now confirmed in Germany, a smiling Merkel immediately held up her hands and said: "That was the right thing to do."

In Italy, Angelo Borrelli, the special commissioner for coronavirus, has suggested that Italians' demonstrative nature

could be contributing to the virus' spread, urging citizens to be "a bit less expansive". In France, the health minister, Olivier Veran, has advised people to cut back on hugs and kisses.

In the UK, Public Health England has not gone quite as far. When Paul Cosford, emeritus medical director for Public Health England, arrived at Radio 4's Today studios yesterday, presenter Mishal Husain asked if it was OK to shake hands, assuming he would say it was not. But Cosford was quite happy to.

"We do need to get to a point where we reduce social contact if we see more widespread infection," he said. "We're in the position of we need to continue life as normal, but we need to be prepared."

Science says shaking hands is disgusting. Nicky Milner, director of medical education at Anglia Ruskin

▼ A passenger on a Piccadilly line tube train in London takes no chances mask during her journey yesterday

PHOTOGRAPH: JOHN KEEBLE/GETTY



University, pointed to research showing we carry 3,200 bacteria from 150 different species on our hands, on average, and we will shake hands 15,000 times in our lifetime.

A handshake transfers twice the amount of bacteria compared with the quicker fist-pump or high-five. The Japanese bow and the Thai “wai”, where palms are pressed together in prayer-like fashion, are healthier, she added. “In Ethiopia, they touch your elbow, then you bang opposite shoulders. In the UK, the handshake is formal, it’s professional, it’s used in meeting and greeting, it closes business. It’s such a powerful procedure that we perform. It’s not just about saying hello. So that brings us back to good hand hygiene.”

The World Health Organization’s director of pandemic disease, Sylvie Briand, has endorsed the elbow bump, footshakes, waves and the wai as safer alternatives.

Dr Adam Kucharski, associate professor at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, researches how social behaviour and immunity shapes disease transmission. On reducing handshakes and kisses, he said: “Obviously all these things can reduce transmission, but there’s no



▲ Germany’s interior minister, Horst Seehofer, keeps his hands to himself

one quick fix. We are doing a lot of modelling, and others are, to try to understand what combination [of measures] would have what effect on an outbreak.”

He added: “If this becomes an outbreak, it’s not going to be a matter of people making one small change to their behaviour. It’s going to be series of changes across a number of aspects.” Awareness of and modifying interaction with vulnerable groups such as elderly people was crucial, he said.

Church communities are among those taking precautions. Congregants with coughs and flu symptoms are advised to refrain from handshakes and to receive the communion host in their hands, rather than on their tongues. Many Catholic priests are already choosing

to deliver the host this way for all parishioners, the church said.

The Church of England advises those with cold and flu symptoms to refrain from taking wine from the common cup.

Jo Bryant, a social etiquette consultant, believes the UK may have a slight advantage over its European neighbours “because we are a non-tactile nation, and we do like our personal space”.

“This is new territory for etiquette,” she said, advising people to “hang back a little” before they go in for the big handshake. “The underlying thing is that you shouldn’t cause offence when you meet people. You should think about how you make other people feel,” she said.

“If you are going around offering your hand all the time, you are putting people on the spot to touch you when they might not want to.

“I think you shouldn’t be inflicting yourself on other people. You shouldn’t be going in for the social kiss and the hug that people might not want.”

Bryant’s advice: take time, hang back, look at how the other person is approaching the interaction as well, “and between the two of you, work it out”.

Emergency measures Lack of police and hostility to enforcement may hinder plans

Steven Morris

At first, a lockdown of cities to combat coronavirus would be voluntary, with residents simply asked to stay at home and avoid public spaces. In a worst-case scenario, the police could be asked to enforce closures of roads and buildings, the army could be drafted in – and those who breached rules could face special tribunals.

Experts in emergency planning note the UK is a long way from such a scenario but say that if it does become necessary, locking down whole cities or areas would be very difficult and cause huge hardship.

The government has a wide range of emergency powers, from banning large gatherings to asking the military to help control people’s movements. Planners are working out how to cope if a city, town or community has to be locked down. “We’re not at that point yet,” said Jacqui Semple, who chairs the Emergency Planning Society.

Semple said other measures such as stopping mass gatherings were likely to come before more drastic measures. “There’s nothing off the table because this is about how we keep people safe, but a full lockdown would be incredibly difficult,” she added.

The health secretary, Matt Hancock, said: “There is clearly a huge economic and social downside [to shutting down cities]. But we don’t take anything off the table at this stage because you have to make sure you have all the tools available if that is what is necessary.” Under the Civil Contingencies Act 2004, the government has powers to bring in emergency restrictions on people’s movement.

David Stewart, a former police officer who now heads the crisis management company Taynult Associates, said he expected lockdowns would involve health services asking people to avoid crowded places.

“It would initially be self-policed, with the option of the actual police providing assurance and potentially enforcing closure of roads, buildings, etc,” he said. But he said it was possible the military would

‘Can you see people cooperating? Are lockdowns possible?’

Simon Bennett
Leicester University

become involved – as they do to help out with flooding.

It has been reported that health check apps are being used to monitor people’s movements in China. Stewart said the authorities here did not have the technology to put such a system in place – and it was unlikely Britons would agree to be subject to it.

Clive Walker, who was a chief adviser to the parliamentary committee that scrutinised the Civil Contingencies Act, said there were “extensive plans” in place for health emergencies. He said people had generally condoned restrictions imposed during crises such as the foot-and-mouth disease outbreak or terrorist threats. But if anyone breached emergency rules, they could face the courts.

Simon Bennett, director of the civil safety and security unit at Leicester University, said he doubted lockdowns would come in and called on the government to be clearer about its thinking.

“I’m not sure lockdowns are even possible. Can you see everyone cooperating? Can you see the churches all closing, mosques closing, synagogues closing? I think the way it may work is that the government asks bodies like the Football Association and Rugby Football Union to postpone events.”

Tony Travers, of the LSE’s department of government, said there were no modern parallels to a whole city or town being locked down. “There’s no way of testing public response in advance. People react well to short-term dislocation such as train or bus network shutdowns or power cuts. There’s a communal spirit and people muddle through,” he said.

“But I don’t see how you could shut down a whole city for a long time. It’s a logistical impossibility. It would put massive pressure on the national and local government.”



◀ Police closed off parts of Salisbury following the novichok poisonings in 2018

PHOTOGRAPH: FINBARR WEBSTER/REX/SHUTTERSTOCK

▼ Tourists mingle with commuters in Bangkok yesterday, as Thailand registered its first coronavirus death

PHOTOGRAPH: MLADEN ANTONOV/AFP/GETTY



Virus 'spreading very fast' warns EU chief after deaths top 3,000

Daniel Boffey *Brussels*
Justin McCurry *Tokyo*
and Kim Willsher *Paris*

The level of risk of contracting coronavirus within Europe was raised from moderate to high yesterday, as the global death toll swept past 3,000.

"The virus is spreading very fast," the European commission president, Ursula von der Leyen, said after the latest assessment by the European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control.

Hours later, Italy, which has the third highest number of cases worldwide, announced its deaths from the virus had jumped 18 to 52. France

announced it has 191 confirmed cases - with three deaths - raising the toll from 130 on Sunday.

Indonesia, Russia, Ireland, Portugal, Jordan, Iceland, Tunisia, Senegal, Saudi Arabia and Andorra all confirmed their first cases as the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development warned global economic growth rates could be slashed.

Official statistics indicate that within the EU, the European Economic Area and the UK, 2,199 people have so far contracted the Covid-19 virus. Across the world, about 89,000 are believed to be infected.

"While we should not give in to panic, the situation is likely to get

worse," the European commissioner for crisis management, Janez Lenarčič, said of the unfolding epidemic.

During a press conference in Brussels, Von der Leyen expressed her "full sympathy for those who are suffering" as she launched a coronavirus response team of commissioners to coordinate efforts to stem infection and deal with the economic fallout.

Paolo Gentiloni, a former Italian prime minister who is European commissioner for the economy, said transport, tourism and carmakers were among the sectors most affected.

He said predictions of a "V-shaped" economic recovery from the epidemic, involving a sharp downturn and sharp recovery, could prove optimistic.

Most cases and deaths from the virus are still confined to China, whose health commission reported 202 new infections yesterday - the lowest daily rise since late January - and 42 new deaths. All the deaths were in Hubei province. But as the toll in China crept up to 2,912, there were signs of the rate of infection speeding up elsewhere.

Amid fears that the real spread of infection in Iran may be much greater than is being acknowledged, governments and international organisations offered Tehran assistance.

The World Health Organization sent its first planeload of aid as the official death toll in Iran rose to 66 - the highest outside China - with 1,501 confirmed cases. Tehran rejected an

Italy Toll passes 50

The death toll from the coronavirus outbreak in Italy rose to 52 yesterday, an increase of 18 since Sunday, as the number of confirmed cases in Europe's worst-hit country rose to 1,835. The civil protection agency said 149 people had recovered from the virus, up by 66 since Sunday. It said 742 people had been hospitalised - 166 in intensive care. Most of those infected had shown few or no symptoms and were recovering at home.

Among those to have tested positive was a councillor from the Lombardy region, where there are more than 1,000 cases. Authorities there have urged people aged 65 and over, the group most vulnerable to the virus, to "stay at home as much as possible" for the next two weeks.

Meanwhile, Rome confirmed its first cases: a police officer and a fireman. The police officer's wife, two children and sister-in-law were also infected, Rome's Spallanzani hospital for infectious diseases said.

Until yesterday, the virus in the Italian capital had only been detected in a Chinese couple from Wuhan and an Italian man repatriated from China. All three have recovered after undergoing

treatment at the Spallanzani. The coronavirus has now spread to more than half of Italy's 20 regions, as cases were confirmed in Molise and on the island of Sardinia.

Italy's economy has been badly damaged by the outbreak, with Ryanair announcing it was scaling back services to the country after a significant drop in bookings. BA and easyJet have also cancelled some flights to the country, while American Airlines has suspended flights to Milan until 24 April.

The Italian government is seeking support from Brussels to approve a €3.6bn (£3.1bn) package to help businesses withstand the economic fallout. This follows €900m of financial relief measures for 11 towns in Lombardy and Veneto that are still under lockdown.

Paolo Gentiloni, the EU's economic affairs commissioner and an ex-prime minister of Italy, said yesterday that the European commission would probably support the request.

"We will assess the requests from governments with a spirit of solidarity and understanding in these extraordinary times," he said. **Angela Giuffrida** *Rome*

'While we should not give in to panic, the situation is likely to get worse'

Janez Lenarčič
EU commissioner

offer from the US, which has subjected the country to tightening sanctions, but Beijing announced it had sent a Chinese Red Cross team to help with epidemic prevention. The German foreign ministry disclosed that France, Germany and the UK had also offered Iran a €5m package of assistance.

State radio reported that a 71-year-old member of the council advising Iran's supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, had died yesterday and that other senior officials had tested positive, as 300,000 Iranian soldiers and volunteers were mobilised.

Around the Gulf region, 129 cases have been confirmed in the UAE, Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman and Qatar.

In Italy, the European country worst affected by the virus, infections have risen to 1,835 cases, with 52 fatalities.

All members of the local government of Lombardy, the region worst hit by the outbreak in northern Italy, will undergo tests after a councillor was found to have the illness.

Cases in the US rose to at least 91, with particular focus on Washington state, where there is a suspected outbreak in a care home in Kirkland. Four more deaths yesterday brought the total fatalities in the state to six. The total cases had reached 18 by last night.

The second of the six victims was a man in his 70s, who died on Saturday in the nursing home, local health authorities said.

New York state also confirmed its first positive test.

South Korea, which has the highest number of infections outside China, reported 599 new cases, bringing its total to 4,335, with 26 deaths.

More than half of its infections have been linked to the Shincheonji Church of Jesus, a religious sect in the city of Daegu. Its founder, Lee Man-hee, apologised and called the epidemic a "great calamity" yesterday, telling a news conference: "We did our best but were not able to stop the spread of the virus. I never thought this would happen, even in my dreams," he said, bowing low twice in a traditional sign of humility and regret.

The reclusive leader spoke a day after the Seoul city government asked prosecutors to begin a murder investigation against him.

Australia reported two cases of person-to-person transmission, the first of its 33 confirmed cases.

In Spain, the number of cases doubled to 120 yesterday and Fernando Simón, the doctor coordinating the country's response, suggested the government could take action against the kissing of religious images.

Health officials in Ireland said they would decide this week whether to restrict large gatherings, including the St Patrick's Day festival, as the leader of Sinn Féin, Mary Lou McDonald, said she would be staying at home after a pupil at her children's school was diagnosed with the virus.

Agencies contributed to this report



◀ *The European commission president, Ursula von der Leyen, announcing EU measures to combat the spread of virus*

PHOTOGRAPH: DURSUN AYDEMIR/ANADOLU AGENCY/GETTY

Economy Central bank pledge of action to prevent meltdown lifts markets

Rob Davies

The world's economic powerhouses launched a coordinated push to show they can cope with the fallout from coronavirus yesterday, after the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) warned global growth could be cut in half.

Governments, central banks and international economic institutions vowed to do whatever it took to prevent economic meltdown, prompting signs of recovery on stock markets still reeling from their worst week since the financial crisis of 2008.

The Bank of England joined the US Federal Reserve and the Bank of Japan in promising to take action if necessary, fuelling expectations they will turn to interest rate cuts.

Rate cuts are seen as a means of driving economic activity because they ease the burden on people and businesses struggling with debt interest payments and make it cheaper to borrow for anyone planning to invest.

The FTSE 100 climbed by 1.1%, having lost 11% last week, while the Dow Jones had gained 2.5% by lunchtime on Wall Street.

Finance ministers of the G7 group of major economies scheduled a conference call for today to discuss ways to cushion the blow to world trade.

The International Monetary Fund and World Bank issued a joint statement saying they stood ready to help the worst-affected countries by providing "emergency financing, policy advice, and technical assistance".

The display of global cooperation came after the OECD warned that an escalation in the Covid-19 outbreak could slash global growth by half this year, to 1.5%.

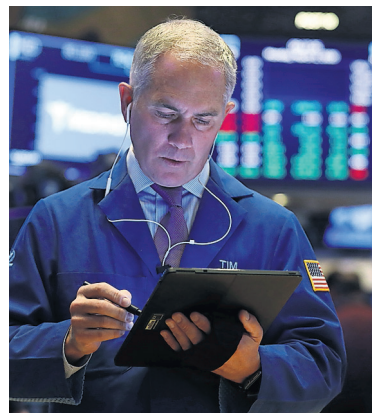
The Bank of England indicated it was ready to cut rates if necessary to shore up demand in the UK economy.

"The Bank is working closely with

HM Treasury and the FCA [Financial Conduct Authority] - as well as our international partners - to ensure all necessary steps are taken to protect financial and monetary stability," a spokesman said.

The Fed's next meeting to discuss rates begins on 17 March, while the Bank's monetary policy committee meets from 26 March. Rate-cut decisions are typically published shortly after these meetings.

Bond market movements indicate investors are expecting the US Federal Reserve to cut rates by half a basis point and the Bank of England by a quarter of a point. But even as central banks sought to bring calm to markets,



▲ A trader on the New York stock exchange where shares opened higher

'The Bank of England is working closely with ... international partners to protect financial and monetary stability'

Bank of England Spokesman

the effect that the virus is having on business widened further.

British Airways and Ryanair cancelled hundreds of flights, amid falling passenger demand. BA said it would cut 432 services, largely to Europe but including a dozen London-New York flights, from 16-28 March. Ryanair cut a quarter of its flights to and from Italy between 17 March and 8 April.

Tourism and aviation have felt the full effect of the outbreak amid curbs on travel to affected areas and sliding consumer demand. Tui, easyJet and British Airways' owner, International Airlines Group, all suffered share price falls of more than 20% last week. The holiday money firm Travelex joined them yesterday, saying it also expects to feel the effect of a slump in air passenger numbers.

Travelex said: "The outbreak of Covid-19 is an incremental negative for Travelex's business, given broad exposure to airports and travel flows."

Consumer confidence also suffered in February, according to one survey, taking its first drop in five months. The measure of overall confidence in the economy slipped from 107.6 in January to 107.1, according to the analysis from YouGov and the Centre for Economics and Business Research.

UK factory output experienced "a noticeable impact on supply chains during February", according to the latest survey of manufacturing by the data firm IHS Markit.

The Unison trade union called on the government to ensure that workers ineligible for sick pay are not penalised for self-isolating themselves if they believe they have symptoms of a disease that has infected more than 85,000 people and killed more than 3,000. The Unison general secretary, Dave Prentis, said: "Employees on zero-hours or precarious contracts are already on low wages. They now face financial hardship if they have to self-isolate."

"The government must bring in emergency measures so these low-paid workers are protected financially, particularly those caring for the most vulnerable in society."

"It should be made compulsory for employers to give them sick pay, even if they're not officially eligible."

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Journal Tony Yates Page 4 →

United States Trump accuses Democrats of fearmongering

Martin Pengelly New York
Julian Borger Washington

Donald Trump has accused Democrats of "fearmongering" over the coronavirus outbreak while claiming his decisions had "saved many lives" and asking drug companies to accelerate work on a vaccine.

The US president made the claim on Twitter yesterday morning, continuing a spat that has seen him accused of politicising the health crisis as new cases were reported in Washington state, New York, Florida, Rhode Island and Illinois. Six people have died in the US and at least 91 confirmed cases have been recorded.

"The country's doing very well, our professionals are doing an incredible job," Trump told journalists yesterday. "We're also working with other countries to help them because they really have a fear of the unknown."

"Also, I'm meeting with the pharmaceutical companies later on this afternoon; we have a big meeting with the biggest companies. We're talking about a vaccine, maybe a cure."

The Trump administration announced new measures to contain the outbreak on Saturday but the vice-president, Mike Pence, refused to condemn remarks by Trump supporters including Donald Trump Jr.

Appearing on Fox News on Friday, Trump Jr said: "For [Democrats] to try to take a pandemic and seemingly hope that it comes here and kills millions of people so that they could end Donald Trump's streak of winning is a new level of sickness." Pence told NBC on Sunday: "When you see voices on our side pushing back on outrageous and irresponsible rhetoric on the other side, I think it's justified."

Tweeting yesterday, the president returned to the offensive. "I was criticized by the Democrats when I closed the Country down to China many weeks ahead of what almost everyone recommended," he wrote. "Saved many lives. [Democrats] were working the Impeachment Hoax. They didn't have a clue! Now they are fear mongering. Be calm & vigilant!"

Trump did not close travel from China but did impose controls. Several airlines have suspended flights.

The Democratic challenger Joe Biden, who won the South Carolina primary the night before, tweeted: "Only Donald Trump could make the coronavirus about him."



▲ Donald Trump called on drug firms to accelerate work on a vaccine and claimed to have 'saved many lives'

Wild world McCartney casts her animal-free magic on Paris crowd



A person in a cow costume models a bag

Jess Cartner-Morley
Paris

The singer Janelle Monáe and actor Shailene Woodley were in the front row but two rabbits, a fox, a horse, two cows and a crocodile stole the show. People in animal costumes, of the kind more often seen at theme-park parades than at Paris fashion week, joined models for the finale of Stella McCartney's show, swinging their new-season handbags and posing for the cameras.

The optics were fun, but the message was serious: that there are animals on almost every catwalk, it's just that they are usually dead. The half-moon shoulder bag carried jauntily by a brown cow here was made from a vegan alternative to leather, while other bags were created from second-life plastic.

"What we try to do here at Stella is to sugarcoat a powerful, meaningful message in a little bit of humour and fun, to make our point in a palatable and digestible way so that people listen," said McCartney. "These animals are the ingredients of everyone else's fashion shows. We are the only luxury fashion house in the world that isn't killing animals on the runway. I wanted to make



▲ Stella McCartney's ready-to-wear collection for autumn-winter 2020 blends utility and chic, and features more leather alternatives than ever before

that point, but in a joyous way."

The Stella McCartney brand has worked without leather, fur, skins, feathers or animal glues since its launch in 2001, "but it has taken me my entire career to get the fabrics to the stage they are at now, where our animal-free leather is soft enough,

and has enough luxury to it", the designer said after the show.

This collection featured more leather alternatives than ever before, not only in bags and shoes but in decoratively perforated lightweight trench coats and fluffy shagpile shearling coats. "We do it like this

because it's better for the animals and better for the planet." Last year, McCartney sold a stake in her brand to LVMH in a deal that gave her a role as special adviser on sustainability to the luxury group's chairman and chief executive, Bernard Arnault. The role poses a challenge - Arnault was widely criticised last year after describing Greta Thunberg as "demoralising" - but McCartney is confident she can have an impact.

"I think the sheer fact that he has invested his time and his money and mindset into a different business model [at Stella] already has an impact. You don't come onboard at Stella and not start to think differently. My goal is to make changes more broadly at LVMH. Mr Arnault's goal is to respond to what people are asking for today, and to learn, and to change."

McCartney described her role as "about bringing information, talking about alternatives in manufacturing and sourcing. I'm introducing the technologies and techniques and suppliers that we use here at Stella to the other LVMH brands."

Coats, a focal point of every Stella winter collection, looked strong this season, an appealing blend of utility and chic.

Knitwear was another strong point, with three-piece looks - a tunic, a midi skirt and a polo neck - in toning lumberjack checks.

It took an owner, an imports coordinator, a saw operator and a Relationship Director from Lloyds Bank to help Beers Timber improve their timber sales by 41%.

Working with the business, Alistair Pike provided the finance to help Beers Timber with their acquisition of Tonge Bridge Timber.

By the side of business

LLOYDS BANK

▼ West Bay, Dorset – western Dorset is predicted to be among the UK coastal regions worst hit by loss of beaches

PHOTOGRAPH: GRAHAM HUNT/ALAMY



Sands of time 'are running out for world's beaches'

Stefano Valentino

Almost half of the world's sandy beaches will have retreated significantly by the end of the century as a result of climate-driven coastal flooding and human interference, according to research.

The sand erosion will endanger wildlife and could take a heavy toll on coastal settlements that will no longer have buffer zones to protect them from rising sea levels and storm surges. In addition, government measures to mitigate against the damage are predicted to become increasingly expensive and in some cases unsustainable.

In 30 years, erosion will have destroyed 36,097km (22,430 miles), or 13.6%, of sandy coastlines identified from satellite images by scientists for the Joint Research Centre (JRC) of the European commission. They predict the situation will worsen in the second half of the century, washing away a further 95,061km or 25.7% of Earth's beaches.

These estimates are far from the most catastrophic; they rely on an optimistic forecast of international action to fight climate breakdown, a scenario known as RCP4.5. In this scenario of reduced ice-cap melting

and lower thermal expansion of water, oceans will have risen by only 50cm by 2100.

However, if the world continues to emit carbon at its current rate, sea levels will rise by an estimated 80cm, according to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. If this happens, a total of 131,745km of beaches, or 13% of the planet's ice-free coastline, will go under water.

Around the globe, the average shoreline retreat will be 86.4 metres in the RCP4.5 scenario, or 128.1 metres in the high-carbon scenario. Flatter or wilder coastlines will be more affected than those where waterfronts are steeper, or those artificially maintained as part of coastal development.

The UK will lose 1,531km or 27.7% of its sandy coast in the best-case scenario, and 2,415km (43.7%) in the worst case. Australia (14,849km lost) and Canada (14,425km) are predicted to be the worst affected countries, followed by Chile (6,659km), Mexico (5,488km), China (5,440km) and the US (5,530km). West Dorset, north Devon, Barrow-in-Furness, north-east Lincolnshire, Great Yarmouth, and south-east England will be among the hardest hit areas in the UK.

Michalis Voudoukas, an oceanographer at the JRC and lead author of the study, published in the journal Nature Climate Change, said the 100-metre

threshold used "is conservative since most beaches' width is below 50 metres, especially near human settlements and in small islands, such as the Caribbean and the Mediterranean".

Large beaches will narrow by 100-200 metres on Atlantic and Pacific coasts and the Australian side of the Indian Ocean, wiping out more than 60% of sand deposits in a number of developing countries that are heavily dependent on coastal tourism.

But swift action to limit emissions and fight climate breakdown could help reduce the impact, experts say. "Moderate emissions mitigation could prevent 17% of the shoreline retreat in 2050 and 40% in 2100, thus preserving on average 42 metres of sand between land and sea," Voudoukas said. The researchers projected the future anthropogenic and geological changes based on 30 years of observations.

Sea-level rise is exacerbating problems caused by construction on the shoreline, such as buildings, roads or dams, which have changed the natural replenishment cycle of sandy beaches.

"In the UK, part of manmade erosion results from protecting cliffs whose wearing would normally top up the associated beaches with gravel,"

said Robert Nicholls, the director of the Tyndall Centre at the University of East Anglia in Norwich. "This happens, for example, in Bournemouth, to safeguard luxury properties built on top of fancy viewpoints."

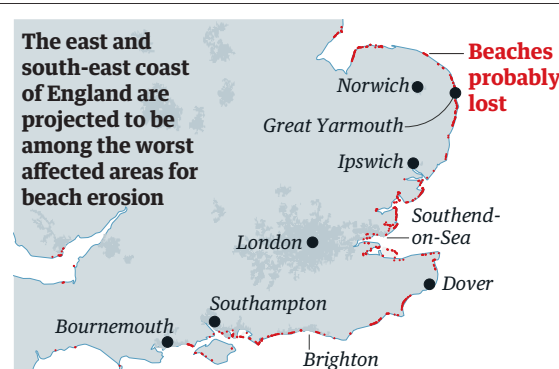
A third driver of erosion is the intensification of storms, which is associated with climate breakdown. These look on course to further erode the most vulnerable beaches.

By the end of the century up to 63% of low-lying coastal regions worldwide will be threatened. In these areas, both population density and development tend to be higher than inland. "Seaward human expansion will continue, mostly in unspoiled coastlines that are particularly extensive in Asia and Africa," Voudoukas said. "Adaptive measures are urgently needed."

Dr Sally Brown, deputy head of life and environmental sciences at Bournemouth University, said: "Building defences helps maintain coastline position, but defences are known to reduce beach width or depth over multiple decades. Responding to sea-level rise means looking strategically at how and where we defend coasts today, which may mean protecting only limited parts of the coast."

'Responding to sea-level rise means looking strategically at how and where we defend coasts'

Dr Sally Brown



Source: Joint Research Centre of the European Commission. Note: Projected beach erosion under the RCP4.5 pathway by 2100

Nando's menus used as sexting codes by girls as young as 10, app reveals

Robert Booth

Social affairs correspondent

If children text about enjoying "peri peri" or "coleslaw", parents may be unnerved to discover they may not be talking about a family meal out.

An internet safety service that monitored the online interactions of more than 50,000 children has discovered that young girls are using code words drawn from the Nando's restaurant menu to obscure sexual conversations.

SafeToNet has screened more than 65m texts sent since November and found that girls aged 10, rather than teenage boys, use the most explicit and potentially harmful sexual language.

"We weren't expecting to see that," said Richard Pursey, the founder and chief executive of the service, which monitors WhatsApp, Facebook Messenger, Instagram and Snapchat. As well as overtly graphic terms, they use "peri peri" to mean a well-endowed male and "coleslaw" to mean a bit on the side, he said.

The SafeToNet app looks for language indicating sexual talk, abuse, aggression and thoughts about suicide and self-harm. It applies a threat level to each and 10-year-old girls were the most prominent in category 3 of sexual references, which relates to the most explicit and harmful language.

In December, it emerged that more than 6,000 children under 14 have been investigated by police for sexting offences in the past three years.

Pursey said: "We don't think it is as sinister as it seems. We think it is a rite of passage and is related to that rather than actual sexual activity." He said the high incidence of sexual language appeared to coincide with girls texting in large groups of other girls.

SafeToNet also found boys were more abusive and aggressive, and children fear bullying the most on a Sunday evening.

Half of 10-year-olds have a smartphone and ownership doubles between the ages of nine and 10, according to the regulator, Ofcom. Almost half of parents of children aged five to 15 are concerned about their child seeing content that could encourage them to harm themselves, the regulator found.

The SafeToNet app screens children's texts and warns them when they are engaged in risky online behaviour, sometimes blocking a text. It provides parents with a report about the level of risky language their children are using but does not reveal what they wrote.

It uses artificial intelligence and only flags phrases if they are being used in a way that indicates potentially harmful behaviour. Rapid exchanges of short texts can indicate bullying or sexual dialogue. Calling someone an "idiot" could flash amber. Worse language may trigger a red light and block the text. "It is trying to educate the child in real time," Pursey said.

◀ Clockwise from top left: Viktor Orbán of Fidesz, Hungary; supporters of Poland's populist PiS; Pablo Iglesias of the Spanish leftwing Podemos party; and a Five Star Movement rally in Rome



Hungary



Poland

PHOTOGRAPHS: ATTILA VOLGYI/POLARIS; ARTUR WIDAK/NURPHOTO; BORJA HOJAS/GETTY; GENARO LEONARDI/SHUTTERSTOCK



Italy



Spain

Eurosceptic parties thrive across EU, but public in no mood to quit the bloc

Jon Henley
Europe correspondent

The paradox at the heart of Europe is revealed today in research that shows the vote share for Eurosceptic parties has more than doubled in two decades, even though support for the European Union remains at record highs.

The sharp increase in the electoral success of parties that are hostile to the EU to a greater or lesser extent is shown by research conducted by academic experts in populism, radicalism and Euroscepticism across the EU, who shared their work with the Guardian.

"European leaders who support the EU integration process can absolutely not afford to sit back and be complacent," said Matthijs Rooduijn, a political scientist at the University of Amsterdam, and one of the PopuList project leaders. "Eurosceptic parties

are thriving and it is unlikely that this is going to change anytime soon."

The project defines Euroscepticism as encompassing both a "hard" variant - outright rejection of European political and economic integration, and fierce opposition to remaining in the EU - and softer, more qualified objections to particular aspects of the European project.

The research shows that since 1992, the first year in which there were free and fair elections in every country now a member of the EU, combined support for European far-right, far-left and other Eurosceptic parties has surged from 15% to almost 35%.

After more or less flatlining for more than a decade, support for Euroscepticism - which began to emerge as a fringe electoral theme for European far-right parties after the 1992 Maastricht treaty - started climbing rapidly from 2005.

Rooduijn attributes this rise mostly to the sharp Eurosceptic turn taken by Poland's Law and Justice (PiS) party, which sees itself as a Christian bulwark. He notes a similar big increase in 2010 when Hungary's Fidesz - "the future of Europe" according to its leader, Viktor Orbán - fully embraced Euroscepticism.

A third jump in support came in 2013, reflecting the emergence of the Five Star Movement (M5S) in Italy.

Far-right and far-left Euroscepticism made further gains in 2015 with the growing popularity of Alternative für Deutschland in Germany and Podemos in Spain.

35%

The level of support for leftwing and rightwing Eurosceptic parties across the EU, contrasting with 15% in 1992

Rooduijn suggested these distinct waves of Eurosceptic success may be related to the EU's eastward expansion in 2004, the 2005 French and Dutch referendums on the proposed EU constitution, the eurozone crisis of 2010, the migration and refugee crisis of 2015 and the 2016 Brexit referendum.

"This new data shows that the rise of these parties' electoral successes is steeper than previously thought," Rooduijn said. "It's striking because it means that today more than one in every three Europeans votes for a party that is critical of the EU."

The success of Eurosceptic parties, however, "is only partly due to their actual Euroscepticism", Rooduijn said. "For almost all of them, the issue of European unification is only of secondary - or even tertiary - importance. Their electoral successes are primarily due to their positions on other issues."

He cited the example of Eurosceptic far-right parties. "These parties focus first and foremost on the issue of immigration," Rooduijn said. "So although the EU plays an important role for them and their voters too, it is not their core issue."

Several studies have shown that public opinion about the EU has become more positive in the last four years, apparently reflecting the upheaval of Britain's Brexit vote and the election of Donald Trump, who

has made no secret of his hostility to the EU. In a Eurobarometer survey last year by the European parliament, 68% of those polled felt EU countries overall had benefited from being part of the EU, the equal highest level since 1983, while 61% believed their country's membership was a good thing, a figure previously recorded only after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989.

A Pew Research Center study last October also reported high general approval ratings and strong feelings that EU membership had been good for respondents' countries, with satisfaction levels particularly high in central and eastern European countries, and more than 80% in the former communist states of Poland and Lithuania.

At the same time, alarmed by the popular backlash against Brexit, European populist leaders such as France's Marine Le Pen, Italy's Matteo Salvini and the Netherlands' Geert Wilders are no longer demanding Frexit, Italexit or Nexit.

Instead, said Cas Mudde, a populism specialist at the University of Georgia in the US, while most of Europe's populist radical right parties remain Eurosceptic, they now seek to "reform the EU into a looser, more democratic organisation that returns national sovereignty to member states - although they differ on the nature of the future Europe they want."

Analysis
Matthijs Rooduijn

One in six Europeans now vote for the far right. We're not more anti-immigrant, so what's new?

Over the last three decades, far-right parties in Europe have tripled their vote share, from about 5% in the early 1990s to more than 15% today. One in six Europeans now vote for parties such as Marine Le Pen's National Rally (known as the National Front until two years ago) in France, Matteo Salvini's League in Italy, or Viktor Orbán's Fidesz in Hungary.

This is one of the most striking findings of a new edition of the PopuList, a research collaboration supported by the Guardian, which launches today.

Political scientists have demonstrated that the single most important reason why people vote for far-right parties is their attitude towards immigration. In other words, those who support these parties tend to do so because they agree with them that immigrants are "dangerous others" who form an economic and/or cultural threat to their own native group.

This in itself is not remarkable - it just shows that many supporters of far-right parties are rational voters in the sense that they opt for outlets that express ideas they agree with and deem important.

What is remarkable, however, is that people's attitudes towards immigration have not changed much over the years. They have become neither more positive nor more negative about the influx of immigrants.

This confronts us with an interesting puzzle: how is it possible that the electoral successes of far-right parties have increased so much, while the main determinant of far-right support - anti-immigration sentiment - has remained relatively stable? Let me mention three developments that can help us understand what is going on.

First, far-right parties have learned how to better mobilise voters. Until the turn of the millennium, most far-right parties were generally conceived of as beyond the pale. Voters associated them with fascism and violent skinheads. This has changed as many far-right parties have succeeded in moderating their images. A good example is Le Pen's "detoxification" strategy. She cut connections to extremists, changed her party's tarnished name and distanced herself from her father, Jean-Marie, the party's more radical previous leader and founder.

It is important to emphasise,

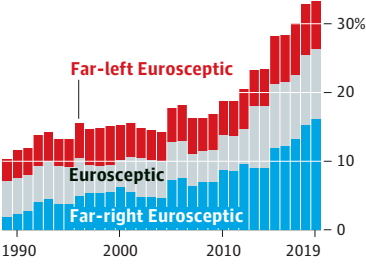
Mainstream parties played an important role - they legitimised ideas by incorporating watered-down versions in their own politics

however, that although various far-right leaders have succeeded in moderating their party's reputation, when it comes to their programmes most of them have remained as radical as ever.

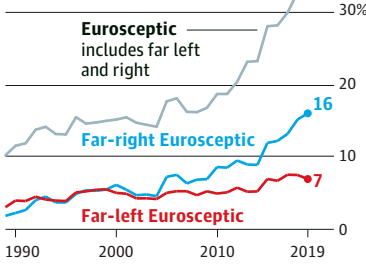
Mainstream parties have also played an important role in this process of reputation moderation. They have legitimised the ideas of far-right parties by incorporating watered-down versions in their own political programmes.

Many academic studies have shown that when it comes to their positions on immigration and integration, mainstream parties have moved towards the far right. The Dutch prime minister, Mark Rutte, for instance, wrote a letter to all citizens in the Netherlands in which he argued they had to actively defend the country's values against people who refused to integrate or who acted antisocially. "Behave normally or leave," was one of his

The vote share of Eurosceptic parties has more than doubled in two decades



16% of votes in Europe went to far-right Eurosceptic parties in 2019



Source: Matthijs Rooduijn, University of Amsterdam, The PopuList

core messages. Similar strategies have been used by mainstream parties in Austria, Denmark and France.

Second, it is not only political parties that have adapted their behaviour - voters have also changed. Not so long ago the average voter was loyal to their political party; a typical social democrat remained a social democrat for ever, and did not even consider voting for a conservative or liberal party.

Yet processes of individualisation and emancipation have changed people's electoral behaviour. Slowly but steadily, loyal voters became floating voters, and many of them started to switch between parties - in particular in multi-party democracies. These voters often have a "choice set" of several parties to which they feel attracted, and base their eventual choice on things such as election promises, the performance of party leaders, or parties' past behaviour in parliament. Voters have started to actually vote, and have thereby become available for mobilisation by far-right parties.

Third, the issue of immigration has become increasingly salient. As a consequence of the large societal impact of immigration-related events such as, for instance, the refugee crisis and the Brexit vote, journalists have become obsessed with the topic. It has become one of the most widely debated issues in the European media.

As a result, citizens are increasingly exposed to immigration-related news and discussions, and this has probably activated their ideas about the topic. In other words, although voters have on average barely changed their ideological positions, the issue of immigration has become more important to them. Most importantly, it is likely that this has also made their attitudes towards immigration more consequential for their voting behaviour.

So voters with anti-immigration attitudes have become increasingly likely to vote for far-right parties because these parties have managed to create a more moderate reputation; more voters have become available for far-right mobilisation; and the core issue of these parties - immigration - has become more salient. There is a much better match now between the supply and demand sides of anti-immigration politics.

On the one hand, this is good news for democracy, because it gives those who previously felt neglected a political voice. On the other hand, it is bad news, because several of the ideas of the far right are incompatible with core democratic values such as pluralism and the protection of minority rights. What this means in practice can be observed in countries including Hungary and Poland, where far-right governments are destroying their formerly liberal democracies.

Matthijs Rooduijn is a political scientist at Amsterdam University



All this week

This is Europe is a new stream of Guardian journalism that examines the big challenges that transcend Europe's borders and seeks out the

solutions that could benefit us all. These are testing times, and crises - climate, migration, contagious diseases - are not limited by national borders. But then neither are we.

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Stage review

Musical fable about sex work hits wrong notes

Pretty Woman

Piccadilly theatre, London

★★★★☆

Arifa Akbar

A businessman picks up a sex worker to turn her into his high-class escort for the week and they fall in love. However distasteful the pitch for *Pretty Woman* may sound, it was a romcom that won hearts in 1990 and became the stuff of box-office dreams.

This musical adaptation about Vivian the prostitute and Edward the corporate culture comes amid a surge of 1980s and 90s nostalgia, including stage adaptations of *Back to the Future* and *Indecent Proposal*.

Its wide-eyed worship of wealth

makes no apology for the idea that everything – even love – emanates from the exchange of hard cash. Can the story still win us over? Not exactly. This feels like a shallow and at times tasteless show but, within the rules of a romcom, it works in its central, schmaltzy storyline of love despite the odds. There is also some attempt, however bolted on, to update the story's sexual politics.

Aimie Atkinson plays Vivian as wholesome but slightly harder-faced than Julia Roberts. Her romance with Danny Mac, as Edward, feels undercharged. Discomfiting lines emerge in songs: "I'll be a hooker in a raincoat," she says to Edward when he makes her look respectable on entering his upmarket hotel. "He will want to see you with your buttons undone," a character sings.

Jerry Mitchell's production has an ersatz feel; sex workers lining Hollywood Boulevard are in retro leather miniskirts and jean jackets.



◀ Aimie Atkinson as Vivian and Danny Mac as Edward with the rest of the cast of *Pretty Woman: The Musical* at the Piccadilly

PHOTOGRAPH: HELEN MAYBANKS

Atkinson looks like she has dressed up as Roberts in black thigh boots and blonde wig. Mac appears to be channelling Richard Gere, not only in his look but also in the woodenness of his performance.

Vivian is emphatically the brighter of the couple. She quotes George Bernard Shaw in a nod to the Pygmalion myth that resonates through the film. Later, she sings: "It's me who's in control ... I say who, I say when, I say how much." However saccharine the story's

'It feels like a shallow and at times tasteless show but it works in its central schmaltzy storyline of love despite the odds'

ending, Vivian at least wins Edward on her own terms.

Bryan Adams and Jim Vallance's songs often veer to bland but there are some strong voices and a few winning songs. Rachael Wooding, as fellow sex worker Kit, is impressive, as is Bob Harms in his double role as hotel manager and the "Happy Man". Roy Orbison's signature song at the end is the best of the night.

Pretty Woman: The Musical is booking until January 2021

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Inquest criticises 'all agencies' over death of ill man held in immigration centre

Diane Taylor

Neglect and a series of gross failures by the Home Office and other agencies contributed to the death of a vulnerable man from hypothermia, dehydration and malnutrition, an inquest jury has found.

In a damning narrative conclusion yesterday, the jury found that Prince Fosu, a car parts dealer, had died suddenly after developing the conditions while suffering from psychotic illness.

The jury criticised many aspects of the healthcare systems in Harmondsworth immigration removal centre (IRC) at the time of Fosu's death and

said there were "gross failures across all the agencies".

It found that Home Office staff failed to spot and respond to Fosu's deteriorating condition and failed to monitor their contractors adequately.

After the inquest, Fosu's father, Prince Obeng, welcomed the jury's conclusions. "The jury have done their job," he said. However, he added, "everyone at every level at Harmondsworth" had failed his son.

Fosu, 31, from Ghana, died at the IRC near Heathrow in October 2012. After six days in segregation, he was found naked and without bedding in a cell peppered with debris.

Checks every 15 minutes had shown no evidence that he had eaten, drunk or slept over his six days there.

He was seen lying naked on a cold concrete floor, in unsanitary conditions, behaving "bizarrely", not communicating with anyone and with no bedding or mattress.

During the inquest hearing, a member of the independent monitoring board (IMB), Tony Smith, told the jury: "Mr Fosu died in plain sight. We let him down, big-time."

As well as the IMB, other interested parties in the case before the coroner, Chinyere Inyama, included the Home Office, the contractors Mitie and GEO, and the chief constable of Northamptonshire police. Three doctors, Wesley Joseph, Anna Sharif and Kirpal Singh, face a General Medical Council review of the way they cared for Fosu.

The jury criticised GEO for removing Fosu's bedding when it held him in segregation, saying it was indicative of a "casual approach" to his welfare. Doctors showed insufficient professional curiosity about his condition and the IMB failed to monitor the situation effectively, it added.

The jury found that control points put in place to protect vulnerable detainees were grossly ineffective.

Fosu entered the UK on a valid business visitor visa. He was then refused leave to remain on entry, but appealed. He was booked on a flight to leave Britain in November 2012.

On 21 October that year, he was



▲ Prince Fosu, from Ghana, was detained at Harmondsworth removal centre, where he died in October 2012

arrested as he ran down the road naked in Kettering and was detained in Corby police station for three days. A check on his immigration status found he had overstayed his visa.

Despite police officers' concerns, a mental health assessment in Corby police station concluded Fosu was fit to be detained and on 24 October he was transferred to Harmondsworth.

In detention, Fosu was found ranting into a mirror. He was then

restrained and put into segregation shortly after his arrival. He remained there until his death six days later.

During the period of segregation he lost 15% of his body weight. He was found to have died of cardiovascular collapse with psychosis, malnutrition and hypothermia.

Prince Obeng said his son was a quiet and obedient man who had never previously experienced comparable episodes of ill health. "I never knew that things like this could happen in Europe," he said. "The Home Office has not been in touch with me but I would like them to apologise for their failure to protect Prince."

He criticised the time it had taken for the inquest to be held: "When Prince came to the UK for a visit, his daughter was just one year old. Now she is eight."

He said the findings were shocking. "He died in the most painful and degrading way on a cold cell floor surrounded by debris."

"My son's death was entirely preventable: food, fluids and warmth would have saved him. It is still inexplicable how all these people walked away and left him to die like that."

Deborah Coles, the director of the charity Inquest, said: "Prince was failed at every level by individuals and agencies who owed him a duty of care."

Yorkshire flood victims offered temporary flats 50 miles away

Amy Walker

The situation in flooded areas of east Yorkshire continues to be chaotic, with some residents of the town of Snaith being offered temporary accommodation almost 50 miles away.

Courtney Marshall, 17, who is pregnant, lives in the town's worst hit area, around George Street, with her boyfriend and their one-year-old son. The family had settled into a privately rented home three weeks ago, but yesterday were offered a one-bedroom flat 46 miles away in Hull by East Riding of Yorkshire council.

Marshall's father, Alistair Hannah, 63, who also lives in Snaith, disagreed with his daughter being moved so far away from familial support at such a stressful time. "They've never been to Hull in their lives," he said.

The council confirmed that 24 properties in Snaith, and 69 in the village of East Cowick, two miles from Snaith, had flooded since the River Aire overflowed last week.

A few doors down George Street, Kevin Lorryman was planning to demolish his home after the sewage-tainted flood water almost submerged the entire bungalow. "I don't want to go in there, dry it out, give it a lick of paint. I want to protect the property from this ever happening again," said Lorryman, 56, speaking at Snaith sports hall, which is currently acting as an emergency refuge centre.

Lorryman, a project manager, said



▲ Steve and Geraldine Lister outside their home in George Street, Snaith, which they have been forced to leave
PHOTOGRAPH: FABIO DE PAOLA/THE GUARDIAN

the last few days had been such a whirlwind he had forgotten what day it was.

Water started to seep into the home he shares with his wife, Catherine, their daughter and son-in-law and two grandchildren on Wednesday morning. A day later, the water had reached the roof gutters. "At that point, I was just a blubbing wreck," he said.

Most of their belongings were lost, with the couple managing to save only a handful of family photographs and clothing. "I wanted to go in and get the children's toys," said Lorryman. "But my wife told me if I went back in I would be killed."

The family are currently staying in their towable caravan but are hoping to move into a rental property tomorrow.



▲ Curate Diane Ryan sorts donated clothes at St Laurence Priory church

Ban lifted on subsidies for new onshore windfarms

Jillian Ambrose
Energy correspondent

The UK has abandoned its opposition to subsidising new onshore windfarms, four years after ministers scrapped support for new projects.

The government will allow schemes to compete for subsidies alongside solar power developments and floating offshore wind projects.

The U-turn follows the government's pledge to cut emissions to virtually zero by 2050, a feat that its climate advisers believe will require the UK's onshore windpower capacity to triple in the next 15 years.

An auction will take place in 2021, allowing new renewables projects to be up and running from the mid-2020s.

Alok Sharma, the secretary of state for energy, said that ending the UK's contribution to the climate crisis "means making the UK a world leader in renewable energy".

Windfarm developers will need to comply with tough new proposals on community consent to qualify for the auction process. Those hoping to build a windfarm in England will also need the consent of the local community through existing planning codes.

Alethea Warrington, of the climate charity Possible, said: "As our cheapest source of clean energy, onshore wind is hugely popular with people in the UK, who understand that we need to use all the tools in the box to tackle the climate crisis."

UK economy will barely benefit from trade deal with US, minister admits

Heather Stewart
Richard Partington
Mathilda Walters

The British economy would be at most 0.16% larger by the middle of the next decade under a comprehensive trade deal with the US, the government has admitted, laying bare the limited benefits of striking an agreement with Donald Trump.

In a document published yesterday by Liz Truss's Department for International Trade designed to kick-start post-Brexit trade talks with the Trump White House, the government said the British economy stood to benefit from an "ambitious and comprehensive" trade deal worth a fraction of GDP, equivalent to £3.4bn after 15 years.

Prompting warnings from economists that the benefits would be far outstripped by the losses from crashing out of the EU, the official analysis also showed that a more limited trade deal with the US would deliver benefits to the UK economy worth just 0.07% by the middle of the 2030s, or about £1.4bn.

The government had previously estimated the economy would shrink by up to 7.6% should Britain leave the EU without a deal, and by about 4.9% under Boris Johnson's preferred Canada-style agreement.

Dr Peter Holmes, an academic at the UK Trade Policy Observatory at the University of Sussex, said: "The

numbers are very small. It just goes to show how tiny the gains are from a free trade agreement with the US compared to losing our present arrangements with the EU."

Outlining the start of deeper talks with Washington, the government insisted it would not water down welfare standards or put the NHS up for sale to secure a trade deal with Trump.

However, the US trade representative Robert Lighthizer immediately poured cold water on several aspects of the UK's negotiating position and made it clear it will be pushing for access to the NHS and to get chlorinated chicken on British dinner plates.

He said he hopes the UK "doesn't just adopt European standards" which bans the practice of washing chicken in acid and claimed the practice, which is designed to secure animal welfare was a "labelling question" not a food health question.

"I think it's a bit of a false problem. Science-based standards, and then consumer preference. That's what's going to sort out this problem. The US and the UK are not going to go separate ways based on chicken," he said.

He accepted that the UK was sensitive about access to the NHS but said

£3.4bn

The boost to the UK economy of a comprehensive US trade deal, according to government figures

it should be open to it as there were areas of the service that were privatised. "We would expect that we should have access in the healthcare area to the respect that there's private section competition," he said.

In a document, published by Truss's department, the government said it was aiming to reduce tariffs and other barriers to trade, but without compromising standards. Overall, the government said it was seeking to achieve "broad liberalisation of tariffs" and "simple and modern rules of origin", to determine which goods can pass freely between the two markets.

Fears have been expressed that the UK is preparing to water down standards in areas including food production - allowing imports of chlorinated chicken, for example. These were intensified when Johnson said last month such rules should be "governed by science, not mumbo-jumbo".

But the document reiterates the Tories' manifesto pledge not to allow welfare standards to be compromised.

"The government's manifesto has made it clear that in all of our trade negotiations, we will not compromise on our high environmental protection, animal welfare and food standards," the document says.

It also insists that NHS drug prices will not be up for negotiation, saying explicitly: "The price the NHS pays for drugs will not be on the table. The services the NHS provides will not be on the table."



Continued from page 1

Patel: pressure grows after new bullying claim

bullied her permanent secretary, Sir Philip Rutnam. He quit on Saturday after accusing Patel of orchestrating a "vicious" campaign against him, of lying about her involvement and of creating a climate of fear.

Soon after the government conceded in a response to an urgent question from Jeremy Corbyn that there would be an inquiry into Patel's actions, the new allegations accused her of acting "without warning" and with "an unprovoked level of aggression".

After being dismissed from her job, the former aide launched a formal complaint of bullying and harassment against the department and Patel, according to the BBC report. Her grievance letter claims she attempted to kill herself after reporting allegations of workplace bullying in 2014, before Patel was a minister.

The ex-aide also alleges she was told

the decision to dismiss her was made because Patel did not "like [her] face", according to comments attributed to her line manager and a colleague. The Department for Work and Pensions did not admit liability and the case did not come before a tribunal, the BBC said.

In the Commons, Corbyn said if the earlier "serious allegations" raised by Rutnam about the home secretary's conduct were true, "that would clearly constitute a breach of the ministerial code". He added: "Why, without a proper investigation, has the prime minister defended the home secretary, calling her 'fantastic' and saying he absolutely has confidence in her?"

"It's not enough just to refer this to the Cabinet Office. The government must now call in an external lawyer as quite rightly suggested by the union for senior civil servants, the First Division Association," he said.

Responding to Corbyn, the de facto deputy prime minister, Michael Gove, said: "Allegations have been made that the home secretary has breached the ministerial code. The home secretary absolutely rejects these allegations."

"The prime minister has expressed his full confidence in her, and having worked closely with the home secretary over a number of years I have the highest regard for her - she is a

Analysis

Richard Partington



Big deal: dividend equal to year's output from Brentwood or Bury

It was supposed to be one of the biggest Brexit dividends. According to Liz Truss, the international trade secretary, an "ambitious and comprehensive" trade agreement with Donald Trump would reflect Britain's unique relationship with the US, cutting red tape and tariffs to help British businesses and the economy grow.

The value to the nation: at most, an economy 0.16% bigger after 15 years. In the cold language of economic benefits, such a small number is almost a rounding error. The gains in cash terms are roughly £3.4bn under the best-case scenario, an amount worth less than the current annual contribution of Brentwood or Bury.

Compared with the plan to add a small town's worth of economic output to Britain over 15 years, failure to strike an EU trade deal would result in an economy 7.6% smaller than under current arrangements. That's according to the official economic impact assessment published by the government late in 2018. The report also suggested that a Canada-style deal - of the type sought by Boris Johnson - would still leave the UK about 4.9% worse off.

Any deal with the US could influence a deal with the EU. It will be imperative for both to know what Britain wants, putting Johnson in a bind, even should he aim to play one off against the other.

One perhaps surprising point

about the government analysis is the seemingly frank assessment of the limited benefits. This suggests the trade department was not leant on or refused to be cajoled into producing trumped-up estimates, according to Dr Peter Holmes, an academic at the UK Trade Policy Observatory at Sussex University.

He adds that such small gains probably reflect the relatively low tariff barriers between the US and the UK. The trade department estimates US tariffs on UK exports are worth about £493m, out of a relationship worth a total £220.9bn.

It could also reflect that non-tariff barriers - the red tape that Truss says she would like ripped apart - can be particularly tough to get rid of, especially should Britain refuse to bend to every demand made by Trump. Truss warns a deal must protect the NHS and uphold the UK's "very high standards on food safety and animal welfare".

Johnson has set a deadline of the end of the year for an agreement with the EU. Trump will want to show progress before the US elections in the autumn. Tougher and more detailed decisions over Britain's post-Brexit trade priorities will soon need to be made.



◀ Priti Patel joined Boris Johnson on the campaign trail in Southampton in the run-up to December's general election

PHOTOGRAPH: ANDREW PARSONS/I-IMAGES

Sketch John Crace



Mikey the Knife just can't resist delivering a masterclass in honey-toned duplicity

On reflection, Priti Patel would have preferred almost anyone but Michael Gove to defend her reputation in the Commons. A junior Home Office minister would have been so much better. Someone who could be bullied into taking a 45-minute punishment beating while under instructions to say nothing of any interest.

Mikey is an entirely different proposition. A politician mistrusted by everyone who has met him. Especially those who know him well. A man rejected by the Tories as leader twice, principally because no one could be sure he wouldn't stab himself in the back. Give him a knife and he can't help himself. There will be blood.

So the home secretary's heart must have sunk when she saw that the Govester had been put up to answer Labour's urgent question about her bullying allegations and the resignation of her permanent secretary, Philip Rutnam. What followed was an absolute Mikey masterclass of duplicity. He began in honeyed tones. Patel was a superb minister whom he admired almost as much as he admired himself. No one does self-love quite like Gove. Then again, perhaps it's just as well he loves himself, for no one else does. He is the bagman who inspires only fear and loathing. And just as he had lured Patel into believing she had the wholehearted confidence of both him and the prime minister, he announced – just for the hell of it – that he was opening an independent inquiry into her behaviour.

Back in the Home Office, Patel held her head in her hands. She'd just been thrown under a bus. There had been no need for any of this. Boris had promised that the official line would be a full support with no comment on any of the allegations due to the impending employment tribunal. But Mikey just hadn't been able to resist

making trouble for her. Now all sorts of other allegations would inevitably tumble out of the cupboard and she was living on borrowed time. Her job was no longer as safe as she had imagined. Predictably enough, another bullying claim, linked to a £25,000 payout, materialised a couple of hours later.

Even Jeremy Corbyn seemed rather taken aback by the ease with which Gove had washed his hands of the home secretary. He contented himself with asking why the prime

minister hadn't appeared in person to answer questions on the conduct of one of his ministers, and if Patel had made illegal demands of her own officials. He ended by calling for her dismissal. Gove shook his head but his eyes sparkled. There's nothing he would like more. It was nothing personal between him and Patel. Just that he can never pass up a chance for double-dealing.

Labour MPs tried to press for a few more details. How many allegations against Patel were there? How much had the permanent secretary been offered to keep quiet? Was Gove actually aware that bullying could be quite nuanced? That someone could be quite nice to you one day, and unpleasantly aggressive and vindictive the next? Mikey nodded with faux sincerity and humility. Westminster's very own Uriah Heep. No one took bullying as seriously as him. No one loved Priti more than him. Now that he had undermined her, he could afford to appear more gracious. "I've always been happy to admit when I'm wrong," he insisted. Cue a moment's silence. It has never once occurred to Gove that he might be wrong about anything. Not even the odd coke binge.

Patel was a superb minister whom he admired almost as much as himself. No one does self-love quite like Gove

superb minister doing a great job. As is usual, the independent adviser on ministerial interests, Sir Alex Allan, is available to provide advice to the prime minister."

Asked by Labour MP Hilary Benn if there were any complaints about Patel when she was international development secretary or an employment minister, Gove said the inquiry would consider all complaints against her.

Dave Penman, general secretary of the FDA union which represents senior civil servants, said the cabinet inquiry fell short of the independent inquiry his members had demanded.

"The government is establishing an inquiry that civil servants are expected to have trust in, while at the same time ministers stand at the dispatch box and pledge their confidence in [Patel].

"We will of course work with the cabinet secretary in relation to his inquiry. However, the decision is symptomatic of the broader concerns we have on the lack of an independent, transparent and fair process," he said.

Patel, who was international development secretary from July 2016 until November 2017, has been beset by a series of reports alleging she bullied and belittled officials at both the Home Office and the Department for International Development, where she

reportedly openly described staff as "fucking useless".

Allegations that Patel bullied staff emerged 12 days ago when she was accused of belittling officials in meetings, making unreasonable demands and creating an "atmosphere of fear".

Rutnam claims he was briefed against across the media by sources said to be either from No 10 or friends or allies of Patel. He was accused of being unable to do his job, of being undeserving of his pension, and was compared to Eeyore.

The Cabinet Office tried to negotiate a leaving package including a payoff for Rutnam if he left the department quietly. But the negotiations broke down late on Friday night.

Bruce Carr QC, who reviewed the UK's employment legislation on behalf



▲ Michael Gove backed Priti Patel in the House of Commons yesterday

of the coalition government, said Patel would be expected to appear before an employment tribunal under the usual circumstances. "If the Home Office is going to defend the claim properly then it's going to be quite difficult to do so without her coming and giving an explanation for her own conduct. It doesn't look great from the tribunals perspective if the main protagonist doesn't turn up and explain themselves," he said.

Johnson and his most senior aide, Dominic Cummings, could be asked to appear before the tribunal, but this remains "unlikely" Carr said. "It is not impossible but I would think they will do their utmost to avoid it."

If Rutnam wins a claim of unfair dismissal without an additional "protected characteristic" such as a discrimination or whistleblowing claim, his potential compensation would be severely limited, Carr said.

"He doesn't appear to have a whistleblowing claim. So it is an ordinary unfair dismissal claim as to which the maximum you would get is something around £80,000, as a basic award tied to his length of service. So it would not exceed around £85,000," he said.

A spokesperson for Patel said: "The home secretary completely rejects all allegations made against her."

World

Boy dies off Lesbos coast as crisis escalates over Turkey's decision to 'open the gates'

Helena Smith
Lesbos

The first victim of the worsening crisis that has engulfed Greece following Turkey's abrupt decision to open its borders to thousands of refugees desperate to reach Europe has been confirmed with the death of a child in the sea off Lesbos.

Authorities said a four-year-old Syrian boy died early yesterday when an inflatable dinghy carrying people from the Turkish coast capsized off the island. "Doctors rushed to save the child but it was too late," a police source on the island said.

"As is customary, the boat was deliberately sunk so that people inside would be rescued and allowed to come ashore and that, we believe, is when the tragedy happened."

The death came as Greek government sources confirmed that border forces had thwarted 9,877 people trying to cross the country's borders overnight. At least 1,000 people have managed to circumvent a flotilla of naval vessels and coastguard patrol boats to reach Greece's eastern Aegean islands since Sunday morning.

Reports have been rife of people being transferred to the borders en masse by Turkish authorities in buses and military vehicles.

The centre-right government in Athens announced it was ratcheting up its frontier defences to the highest possible level late on Sunday, saying the EU member state was facing "an asymmetric threat" to its security.

As of yesterday both the army and border patrol forces had been

placed on maximum alert, with the military engaging in exercises using live ammunition along the Evros land frontier with Turkey and as far south as Lesbos, according to the defence ministry. The exercises were interpreted as a covert effort to deter people from making the journey to Greece.

The crisis marks the worst deterioration in ties between the EU and Ankara since a landmark accord to curb migratory flows in March 2016.

The Turkish president, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, said he was prompted to "open the gates" to Europe by relaxing border controls partly because Brussels had failed "to keep its promise" and provide funds for the 3.7 million Syrian refugees currently residing in his country.



▲ Migrants walk away from the Greek border after a failed attempt to cross

Amid mounting international alarm, the Greek prime minister, Kyriakos Mitsotakis, said he would visit the Evros region today with senior EU officials, including the EU commission chief, Ursula von der Leyen, and the president of the European council, Charles Michel. The trip is expected to be a show of solidarity for Greece.

EU ambassadors held an emergency meeting yesterday afternoon to discuss the escalating situation at the border between Greece and Turkey, after several thousand people gathered at crossing points at the weekend.

"The borders of Greece are the external borders of Europe," Mitsotakis tweeted. Greek officials said Athens had submitted a request to Frontex, the EU border agency, to mobilise its rapid border intervention force to help reinforce the bloc's external frontiers. Coastguard vessels manned by agency personnel and border guards were expected to arrive in coming days.

Athens has accused Ankara of deliberately encouraging the mass movement of thousands of people towards Greece in what it has described as an open violation of the 2016 agreement it reached with the EU.

"Instead of restricting rings that traffic in migrants and refugees, Turkey herself has become a trafficker," the Greek government spokesman, Stelios Petsas, told reporters after the an emergency meeting of the country's security council. "These people are being used as pawns by Turkey to exercise diplomatic pressure."

Additional reporting
Jennifer Rankin Brussels



Refugee convoy 'They won't be able to stop us'

Ghaith Abdul-Ahad
Edirne, Turkey

It was, or so they believed, the start of their journey to the promised land, a place of safety they had longed for. Hours after the Turkish government announced that it would not stop refugees from attempting to reach Europe, a stream of people from the Middle East and Africa, seeking refuge from wars and economic hardship, left a bleak bus

station in the Turkish town of Edirne and began their journey.

After leaving the buses they broke into smaller groups based on the countries they had left. Ethiopians stood in an orderly queue, as one of the crowd went to negotiate with taxi drivers. Algerians looked at their phones and argued loudly, while two Palestinian couples from Gaza stood by a pillar and debated in hushed voices whether they could afford the nine-mile taxi ride to the border.

The Algerians decided to walk, resigning themselves to the fact

there were no cars to take them further. They marched in a long column down the well-lit and empty main road in the provincial Turkish town, their entire belongings packed into school backpacks and small plastic shopping bags. As if on cue, a drizzle of rain started falling, further testing men, women and children who had already endured unimaginable hardship.

The men in front pointed at a small road and the group followed, crossing the highway and walking through an industrial area. A tall young man from the Comoros, east Africa, asked the Algerians in French if they were now in Greece. "No," they answered, "we are still in Turkey."

The rain was pelting down now, and the small gravel road filled with puddles. A few attempted to shield themselves with plastic bags. One

of the Palestinian men wrapped his arm around his young female companion to shield her. Dogs in the vicinity began barking as the group moved past them and the Algerians urged the stragglers to go faster.

"If we cross the border in a large group they won't be able to stop us; move quick," urged a young man.

Close to the town of Pazarkule, the group crossed two bridges across the Meriç River, which runs along the border with Greece.

As the sodden caravan marched in silence, a small white van drove slowly past. From the back seat a man swore at the group and spat out racist slurs. They responded with smiles and asked for water.

An Ethiopian man who was travelling with his wife despaired when he heard it was another half an hour to actually reach the border. He told the Guardian how he had

fled Ethiopia and arrived in Turkey four months ago. Upon hearing of the borders announcement by the Turkish president, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the couple decided to take their chances and try to leave.

After the bridge, the group left the narrow road and plodded through muddy fields until they came across a ditch. Young men crossed first, attempting to help the elderly and the women. A few metres on and there was another, deeper ditch. Again, the young Comoran man asked: "Is this Greece?"

A grove of poplar trees on the banks of the river provided a welcome rest stop. Those who had maps checked them. Some sat exhausted in the mud while the Algerians who were leading shouted at anyone who used a mobile phone, urging them to switch it off lest border guards spotted the light.

Super Tuesday
The biggest day in the
Democratic primaries
Page 25

Floods, bombs, riots
Paris mayor on leading
in turbulent times
Page 26



◀ Refugees take in their new surroundings after making the boat crossing from Turkey to the Greek island of Lesbos yesterday
PHOTOGRAPH: ARIS MESSINIS/AFP/GETTY

The group started walking again along the sandy banks of the river, this time more slowly and stopping every few minutes to listen. The lights of the Greek border post were now visible. Beyond it lay Europe, and with it their notions of freedom. Now crouching, the group formed lines, as the young Algerians explained they were planning to run through the fence, one line after the other. The advice to the others was stark: if one of the party fell or was struck down, don't wait for them, just run, they said. Some collected dry branches and twigs and held them over their heads to disguise themselves. Slowly, they crawled towards the fence and disappeared, their fates uncertain. By the next morning, the trickle of refugees had turned into a crowd of many thousands gathering at the official crossing in Pazarkule.

Thousands huddled around smouldering pinewood fires. They had torn down the metal fence on the Turkish side of the border and stood facing a line of Greek police in riot gear. They represented countries torn apart by civil war or unrest: Syria, Libya, Iraq,



Iran and Afghanistan, but also from as far as Eritrea and Bangladesh. Many had been in Turkey for years waiting to cross to Europe, while others were recent arrivals. Three young Syrian men were in the crowd. "I can't go back to Syria because I will be drafted to the army," said one, from Aleppo. By noon many had broken through the Turkish side of the border fence and pushed into the no-man's land between the two nations, where they set up camp. Others stood facing the Greek police. Young men began hurling stones and the police responded by firing stun grenades and teargas canisters that spiralled into the air before falling among families and children. By the evening, it was too overwhelming for some, who decided to head back to Istanbul. Yet many more continued to arrive.

Analysis
Jennifer Rankin



*EU's failure to agree
a common migration
policy is in danger
of being exposed*

It was described as the moment when the European Union lost its political innocence. Nearly four years ago, in March 2016, EU leaders signed a deal with Turkey aimed at preventing asylum seekers from travelling to Europe. The pact was "celebrated by people who are dancing on the grave of refugee protection", said the Europe boss of Amnesty International. But the realpolitik worked: the number of people arriving on the Greek islands from Turkey dropped drastically from a peak of 7,000 a day to a few hundred, although numbers began creeping up again in 2019. Now that Turkey's president, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, claims to have opened the gates to Europe, the EU's failure to agree a common migration policy during the intervening four years is in danger of being exposed. Brussels officials say the EU is in a much stronger position than it was in 2015 when a million people made life-threatening journeys in boats or squeezed through gaps in fences. A report from the European commission in October 2019 said the EU had "stronger systems to control its borders and can now quickly bring the necessary financial and operational support to member states under pressure". The EU is setting up a European border and coast guard, which is meant to have 10,000 officers by 2027. Officials argue they have delivered on their bargain with Erdoğan. The EU has allocated nearly all the promised €6bn (£5.25bn) fund for Syrian refugees in Turkey, although only €3.2bn has been spent on projects, which have included building schools and health centres. Turkey says the money is inadequate and claims to have spent more than \$30bn helping 3.6 million Syrian refugees living on its territory. It is also sheltering 360,000 other people who have fled repression and war, mostly from Afghanistan, Iran and Iraq. The EU has made much less progress on the exchange of people. At the heart of the EU-Turkey deal was a one-for-one offer: a Syrian refugee on the Greek islands would be returned to Turkey, while another Syrian refugee in Turkey would be found a home in Europe. Greek authorities, buckling under years of public sector cuts, have managed to send 1,908 asylum seekers back to Turkey - a policy heavily criticised by human rights lawyers who argue that Turkey is not a safe country of return. The EU found a home for about 25,000 Syrians who were in Turkey, but this falls well short of the 72,000 upper limit in the original deal and the 108,000 that international aid agencies said would be a fair contribution by some of the world's richest countries. (The EU says it has resettled a total of 63,000 refugees since 2015 from the Middle East and Africa.) As the EU declared the migration crisis over, the Greek islands became a dumping ground for asylum seekers who were marooned in filthy camps such as Moria on Lesbos or the Vathy reception centre on Samos. Vathy last October had eight times more residents than it was designed for. Four years since the EU-Turkey deal was signed, the EU seems even further away from a new asylum system.

The EU found a home for 25,000 Syrians who were in Turkey, but this falls well short of the 72,000 upper limit in the original deal

Eyewitness



▼ **Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso**
Motorcyclists surround a land art painting by the French graffiti artist Saype at the Monument of Heroes in the west African nation's capital. The

200-metre-long painting is the fifth in his series *Beyond Walls*, which aims to create a symbolic human chain around the world
PHOTOGRAPH: VALENTIN FLAURAUD/SAYPE/GETTY



Israeli election exit poll puts Netanyahu ahead but just shy of majority

Oliver Holmes
Jerusalem

Exit polls from Israel's third election within a year suggested Benjamin Netanyahu and his rightwing allies were ahead but still one seat short of a parliamentary majority.

The unofficial figures released last night showed the prime minister's Likud party with around 37 seats. The retired general Benny Gantz and his Blue and White alliance, which ran a campaign focused on Netanyahu's pending criminal corruption trial, had about 33 seats.

Post-voting polls have proved unreliable in the past. Netanyahu could win if his alliance with smaller rightwing parties gains a 61-seat majority in the 120-seat Knesset, Israel's parliament.

However, if the official results due this morning are the same, they will only get 60 seats and Israeli politicians could again be plunged into weeks of high-stakes negotiations and even the

possibility of a fourth election. More than 6.3 million people were eligible to cast their votes in polling stations that closed last night.

Separate polling stations made of plastic sheeting had been set up for the more than 5,500 Israelis under precautionary home isolation after returning from areas of the world affected by the coronavirus.

Ten Israelis have contracted the virus and are quarantined. The health ministry, however, told people it was safe to vote.

Over the weekend, in the final stretch of a campaign that increasingly descended into mudslinging, Netanyahu and Gantz ripped into each other.

Netanyahu said Gantz was not fit to be prime minister. "He is weak; he's not a leader," he said. Gantz said in another interview that his opponent was acting as if he was part of a mafia.

The country has been in a state of political crisis for almost 12 months after two general elections failed to produce a clear winner.

▼ Benjamin and Sara Netanyahu cast their votes in the third parliamentary election in Israel in less than a year

PHOTOGRAPH: ATEF SAFADI/AFP/GETTY IMAGES



Israel votes

37

The number of seats the Likud party has won, according to unofficial figures from three major TV stations

6.3m

The number of Israelis eligible to cast their votes in polling stations, which closed last night

Central to the deadlock is the Israeli prime minister, the longest-serving in the country's history, who has managed to persuade allies and even some foes that rematch after rematch is preferable to any deal that does not include him as leader.

Gantz has focused his campaign on Netanyahu's alleged corruption and anti-democratic moves, but he also failed to form a government after coming out marginally ahead in the previous election.

In an embarrassing blow to Gantz four days before the election, a recording emerged last week of his top strategist, Israel Bachar, privately

complaining to his rabbi of his boss's lack of "courage".

Gantz fired Bachar but the words played into one of Netanyahu's biggest campaign tactics - arguing that Gantz does not have the stomach to face the country's security issues.

Netanyahu's other election strategy has been to energise his hardline nationalist base, with promises of land grabs from Palestinians.

Last week, he announced he would go ahead with a highly controversial plan to build settlements east of Jerusalem. The plan would almost completely encircle Palestinian neighbourhoods in the holy city.

The prime minister made similar appeals before the previous votes. In April, he said he would annex all current settlements, and in September he promised to go further, by claiming sovereignty over a third of the entire West Bank.

He has also looked to his rightwing global ally, Donald Trump, to help him convince Israelis that he is the only leader able to gain concessions from world powers.

In late January, the US president appeared to gift Netanyahu just that, revealing a "vision for peace" plan that read like a checklist of demands from the Israeli far right. It gave the country Jerusalem, huge swaths of the Palestinian territories and permanent security control over Palestinians, whose leadership rejected the plan.

Ethical consumption: Should we change how we eat?

Join our panel of speakers, including Councillor Asher Craig, deputy mayor, Bristol City Council; Guardian columnist and author of *Eating for Pleasure, People & Planet*, Tom Hunt; Tim Lang, professor of food policy at City University; and Carolyn Steel, author of *Sitopia: How Food Can Save the World*, as they discuss the issues we face on the environmental impact of our food consumption and production.

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The
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Live

Moderate Democrats rally behind Biden as millions take to the polls on Super Tuesday

Lauren Gambino
Los Angeles

Super Tuesday – the most consequential voting day of the Democratic presidential primary race – is under way, with millions of voters across the US casting their ballots for the candidate they want to see take on Donald Trump in November's election.

Yesterday, Amy Klobuchar, the moderate senator from Minnesota, announced she was dropping out of the contest for the Democratic presidential nomination and would be endorsing the former vice-president Joe Biden – part of an effort among party moderates to consolidate their vote and stop Bernie Sanders, the

socialist senator for Vermont, at what may prove to be a defining moment.

Emboldened after his resounding win in South Carolina at the weekend, Biden claimed he had the greatest momentum going into the crucial elections. Sanders was pointing to his potential mathematical advantage, while the billionaire former New York mayor Michael Bloomberg has finally appeared on the ballot after skipping earlier contests and having poured hundreds of millions of dollars into his campaign.

“You’ve been knocked down, counted out, left behind; this is your campaign!” Biden said to his supporters following his win in South Carolina. “Just days ago, the press and the pundits had declared this candidacy dead.

Now thanks to all of you – the heart of the Democratic party – we’ve just won, and we won big because of you!”

Fourteen states from Alaska to Massachusetts and California to Virginia are holding caucuses or primaries as the race moves from a series of intimate, single-day contests to something more akin to a national vote. By the time polls close, nearly 40% of the total delegates to the party’s convention will have been awarded.

Today has the potential to clarify a dramatically unsettled race. But it is still unclear if any candidate will establish a controlling advantage. If there isn’t one, it would pave the way towards a contested convention, the likes of which the party has not seen since 1952, when Democrats

nominated Adlai Stevenson on the third ballot.

The field of major Democratic candidates – which reached more than two dozen last year – has narrowed to five: Biden, Sanders, Bloomberg, the Massachusetts senator Elizabeth Warren and the Hawaii congresswoman Tulsi Gabbard.

The California billionaire Tom Steyer dropped out on Saturday, having spent many millions of dollars on his campaign. On Sunday, Pete Buttigieg, the former mayor of South Bend, Indiana, who was a moderate and a relative political unknown – ended his campaign, with a warning against Sanders-style politics, though he did not invoke the senator’s name.

“We need leadership to heal a

divided nation, not drive us further apart,” said Buttigieg. “We need a broad-based agenda that can truly deliver for the American people, not one that gets lost in ideology.”

Sanders, who raised \$46m (£36m) in February alone, has benefited from a fractured opposition. While Biden, Bloomberg, Klobuchar and, to a lesser degree, Warren, compete for overlapping shares of the Democratic electorate, Sanders has edged past by consolidating support among the party’s leftwing.

Democratic leaders and officials fear that a splintered Super Tuesday result will pave the way for Sanders’s nomination. “You’re making them really nervous,” Sanders told a rally of 15,000 people in Los Angeles on Sunday. “They’re getting quite upset.”

Perhaps no candidate stands to lose more today than Bloomberg. His support has more than doubled since his late entry in November but polls suggest he lost ground after his widely criticised performance in last month’s debate.

Bloomberg Contender under fire for record with women

Lucia Graves

Mike Bloomberg has poured almost half a billion dollars of his vast fortune into the most expensive bid in history to become a US presidential candidate.

But as he tours the country, seeking to be the Democratic pick to fight Donald Trump – and his adverts swamp the airwaves and social media – the former New York city mayor’s record on his behaviour towards women has come under intense scrutiny.

The picture that has emerged is widely seen as an ugly one. From lewd comments in the workplace to sexual harassment and vetoing women’s rights legislation, Bloomberg’s record could be a drag on his campaign.

For years he has battled claims that he called women “fat broads” and “horse-faced lesbians”. He allegedly announced within an employee’s earshot that he would like to “do that piece of meat”, according to court and other documents (Bloomberg has denied saying “meat”).

In 1990 his employees compiled a book of quotes attributed to him, including such lines as: “If women wanted to be appreciated for their brains, they’d go to the library instead of to Bloomingdale’s,” and: “I know for a fact that any self-respecting woman who walks past a construction site and doesn’t get a whistle will turn around and walk past again and again until she does get one.”

Bloomberg’s spokesman, Stu Loeser, said of quotes attributed to him in the book: “Mike simply did not say the things somebody wrote in this gag gift.”

In his memoir, Bloomberg by



Mike Bloomberg has almost 40 lawsuits against him and his organisations

PHOTOGRAPH:
OLIVIER DOULIERY/
AFP/GETTY

come down dramatically, particularly with a lot of the quality of life crimes,” Bloomberg said during his speech. “If you think about domestic violence and sexual abuse as a quality of life crime, you realise just how much more has to be done. A battered woman – that’s a quality of life crime. Abuse of a child – that’s a quality of life crime.”

As mayor of New York in 2003, Bloomberg vetoed legislation requiring emergency contraceptives to be made available to rape victims in hospitals. New York city council later overrode Bloomberg’s veto.

That Bloomberg is out of step with much of the Democratic party on these issues has been highlighted in recent presidential debates. Senator Elizabeth Warren and others attacked him for his record on women and his refusal to issue a blanket release from nondisclosure agreements for any women who signed them with his financial services company.

At last Tuesday’s debate in South Carolina, Warren spoke of how when she was a teacher at the age of 21 she lost her job after superiors discovered she was pregnant, adding: “At least I didn’t have a boss who said to me, ‘Kill it,’ the way that Mayor Bloomberg is alleged to have said.”

Warren was referring to allegations by Sekiko Sakai Garrison, who said in a 1998 lawsuit that while she was working for Bloomberg in the mid-1990s she told him she was pregnant and he told her to “kill it,” which she interpreted as meaning she should terminate her pregnancy to keep her job.

The case was settled out of court and Bloomberg denied the allegation at the debate, as he always has.

Now, under pressure about his former employees’ NDAs, Bloomberg has offered to release certain people willing to get in touch with the company, adding that after an internal review his team had found only three women to whom this would apply.

He also announced that his companies will no longer use NDAs in settlements with employees who complain about harassment. But with nearly 40 sex discrimination and sexual harassment lawsuits out against him and his organisations, including three active cases, for many voters this statement may not be enough.

Under scrutiny Some of the alleged comments

‘If women wanted to be appreciated for their brains, they’d go to the library instead of to Bloomingdale’s’

Mike Bloomberg quoted in a novelty book of statements attributed to him, compiled by employees in 1990

‘I travelled with a big expense account – I had a girlfriend in every city’

Bloomberg recalls the first decade of his career in his 1997 memoir

‘A battered woman – that’s a quality of life crime. Abuse of a child – that’s a quality of life crime’

Bloomberg addresses a domestic violence victim support organisation in New York, 2001

‘At least I didn’t have a boss who said to me, “Kill it,” the way Mayor Bloomberg is alleged to have said’

Elizabeth Warren on losing her position as a teacher after she became pregnant

Bloomberg, the billionaire wrote that as someone who “travelled with a big expense account, I had a girlfriend in every city”.

In a 1996 interview with the Guardian, he described his single bachelor life in New York as being a “wet dream”. In a radio interview in 2003 he talked about how he would “really want to have” Jennifer Lopez, a remark he later explained away as wanting to “have dinner” with her. He has been accused in court documents of telling employees: “You must be a great fuck.”

Bloomberg has also made comments downplaying the seriousness of sexual assault. During his first mayoral race in 2001, he referred to domestic violence and sexual abuse as “quality of life” crimes, while speaking before Safe Horizon, an organisation fighting domestic violence.

“In the last eight years, crime has

▼ Anne Hidalgo paying tribute this year to victims of the 2015 attack on the Hypercacher Jewish grocery store
PHOTOGRAPH: NICOLAS NICOLAS MESSYASZ/REX



'You have to ask, why do I want to be here, when I could be doing something easier?'

Anne Hidalgo

migrants, homeless people and drug addicts are pushed out to grittier districts to the north and east. She is an enemy of Airbnb, regarding it as a form of property speculation that robs the city's rental market of much-needed homes, and wants to reduce the maximum number of rental nights to 30 a year.

Keeping the middle and working classes living in the city is a challenge, but she says her 2016 pledge to increase social housing, introduce rent controls and encourage public/private investment in development is paying off.

Cleaning the city is a delicate question, especially as Paris gears up to host the 2024 Olympics. "It's true Paris is not clean enough," she says. "We are currently paying €550m a year (£480m) to keep the city clean, we have added rubbish bins, we have increased the number of cleaners and adapted their working hours to meet the need. And still it's not enough. This means we have another, deeper problem, a question of education."

Spanish-born Hidalgo grew up on a housing estate near Lyon and became French in her teens. Her maternal grandfather, Antonio, fled General Francisco Franco's fascist zone in Spain in 1937, crossing the Pyrenees with his family on a donkey. He returned two years later and was jailed, his family in San Fernando near Cádiz, where Anne Hidalgo was born, outcast as "children of the reds".

"I rise early. I go to bed late. I have few weekends and even fewer holidays, but I'm not complaining. This is a choice I have made, a choice accepted by my husband and family and not a simple one for them," she says. "It's particularly difficult for my children, who obviously didn't choose to have a mother who is famous and recognised and who is sometimes the object of attacks, like anyone in the public eye. I am lucky that I am solid and I have a solid family around me."

The mayoral job is often seen as a springboard to the Élysée Palace, but Hidalgo insists - as she has done every time she has been asked over the last six years - she has no intention of standing for president.

"My job is to transform this extraordinary, magnificent city without damaging it. To make it a city agreeable to live in but one that is a model that inspires, without denying its history," she says.

"It comes down to values. In a worrying, anxious-making, changing world, values are the only compass. When I'm not sure what to do, when I have low points, I refer back to my values. I ask myself: why do I want to do this or that, what is in the general interest? When you are mayor of Paris you have to think about more than yourself."

Madame la Maire Piloting Paris amid floods, bombs and protests

Kim Willsher
Paris

When Anne Hidalgo was elected mayor of Paris in 2014 she thought she knew what running the French capital involved after a decade as first deputy.

In the event, no amount of experience could have prepared her for what was to come.

Before her first year in office was out, there had been terrorist attacks on the Charlie Hebdo magazine and the Hypercacher supermarket. Ten months later, the capital was devastated by a series of suicide bombings and shootings that left 131 dead, and Parisians shocked, grief-stricken and fearful.

Her six years at the city hall have also seen two serious floods, several heatwaves - temperatures in Paris rose to a record 42.6 C last summer - 16 months of weekly protests by the *gilets jaunes* and, since December, demonstrations against the government's pension reforms.

"It's not been a very easy time. We've had some terrible shocks and catastrophes, lots of events that could not have been foreseen: terrorism, a massive influx of refugees and migrants, and an acceleration of the climate emergency," she says.

"It's not enough to want to be mayor of Paris because it's fun or because you are running this magnificent city, you have to have broad and solid shoulders. It's been like piloting a catamaran in an almost permanent force 7-9 wind for six years."

Some might have said "enough" but Madame la Maire as she is now called - previously the noun *maire* was always masculine, whatever the gender of the incumbent - is seeking a second term in office.

"You have to ask, why do I want to be here, when I could be doing something easier? You have to work on your relationship with power ... then you have to be methodical and rational, criticise, analyse before acting, understand, ask questions around you and of yourself, and once you have decided on a path, follow it. Otherwise, you are just a headless chicken," she says.

A Socialist, she is a technocrat who abhors populism and putting a celebrity spin on political life. She smiles a lot and is collegiate - her deputy mayors are loyal and she defers to them - but the smiles mask a steely determination.

The core of Hidalgo's first term in office has been tackling pollution and making Paris greener. Key is the idea of the 15-minute city, where residents can find most of what they need - shops, leisure facilities, education - on or near their doorstep. Her programme also

includes planting thousands more trees to create mini urban forests, new parks, gardens and vegetable patches on roofs.

"We have 10 years to act on the climate emergency. To act, not sit around for 10 years thinking and discussing how to act," she says.

One of her most controversial acts of the last six years has been to pedestrianise the highway along the right bank of the Seine, turning it into a long, narrow park for walkers, cyclists, musicians and cafes.

Parisian taxi drivers and private car owners are among the fiercest critics of her crusade to discourage

individual vehicle use and tackle pollution by pedestrianising other swathes of the city centre, which has resembled a vast construction site at times.

The motoring lobby says the subsequent build-up of traffic has made air quality worse, but Hidalgo argues her measures will pay off. Under her guidance, the city council has already voted to ban diesel cars from 2024 and petrol cars from 2030.

"We've given vehicle owners plenty of notice so they cannot complain they were not warned," she says. "The place for the car in our city will be reduced even more with more alternative mobility available, like bicycles, more buses and car sharing."

Hidalgo can inspire vilification. Residents of the more chic arrondissements, generally south and west of the River Seine, dislike her calls for "solidarity", an ideology in which not all social housing,



▲ The Bir-Hakeim bridge over the Seine in Paris in summer 2016, when the French capital was swept by heavy rain and floods PHOTOGRAPH: JEREMY LEMPIN/EPA

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Financial

Barclays investor wants boss removed over Epstein links

Kalyeena Makortoff
Banking correspondent

Barclays is under renewed pressure from a top shareholder, Ed Bramson, who is demanding the removal of its chief executive over his ties to the late sex offender Jeffrey Epstein.

Bramson said in an open letter to the bank's board that it should take "decisive action" and revoke its unanimous recommendation for Jes Staley's re-election at the bank's annual shareholder meeting on 7 May.

It is the first time Bramson, through his investment vehicle Sherborne Investors, has called for Staley's removal, having so far focused his attack on the investment banking arm, which he says should be scaled back.

Sherborne owns a stake of more than 5%. In the letter, Bramson said Staley's re-election as chief executive would be "extremely ill-advised".

He said: "Barclays disclosed in

February that UK regulators have been investigating, since December 2019, certain characterisations of Staley's relationship with Epstein and they will doubtless report in due course. However, we do not see why it is necessary or appropriate to push this decision off to the regulators when the determination of Staley's suitability is clearly the board's responsibility.

"We request and strongly recommend that the bank's chairman, Nigel Higgins, and the board as a whole rescind their unanimous recommendation to re-elect Staley. We believe that it would be in everyone's interest to draw a line under this destabilising situation, which has become a circus, as soon as possible. This would allow the company to move forward and focus on more constructive activities."

This month Barclays confirmed that the Financial Conduct Authority and Prudential Regulation Authority had been investigating Staley since December. It said the investigation



▲ Barclays' board has recommended the re-election of Jes Staley as CEO

was focused on whether Staley had been sufficiently transparent about his relationship with Epstein, who died in prison in August 2019 while awaiting trial on charges of trafficking underage girls.

Staley, who joined Barclays in 2015, has said he developed a relationship with Epstein in 2000 when he became the boss of JP Morgan's private bank, which counted Epstein among its wealthy customers. He said his relationship with Epstein had tapered off

Climate changes Jupiter backs fuel revolt

Barclays is facing increasing pressure over its environmental stance after one of its top 25 investors backed a shareholder resolution urging the bank to stop lending to fossil fuel companies.

Jupiter Asset Management, which holds a 1.2% stake, is the largest shareholder to support the resolution, which will be voted on at the annual investor meeting on 7 May. It ratchets up the pressure on Barclays to phase out services to fossil fuel companies that fail to align with the Paris climate goals, amid concerns over Barclays' role as Europe's largest financier of fossil fuel companies.

The Church of England's investment arm, Europe's largest asset manager, Amundi, and the Nest pension fund, the UK's largest by members, have also declared plans to back the resolution, which has been spearheaded by the campaign group ShareAction.

A Barclays spokesman said: "We continue to engage with ShareAction and other shareholders on this issue and will make a further statement at the appropriate time." **Kalyeena Makortoff**

after he left JP Morgan in 2013, having made a final visit to Epstein's private Caribbean island with his wife in the final months of 2015.

Bramson is also calling on the board to review the advice it was given by JP Morgan, its corporate broker, and a headhunting firm regarding Staley's relationship with Epstein before his formal appointment as chief executive.

"If the advice is found to have been deficient, we believe that the Barclays board should terminate all future commercial relationships with these firms forthwith," his letter said.

JP Morgan declined to comment.

The UK regulatory investigation is understood to have been launched after emails between the two men were given by JP Morgan to US regulators, who in turn passed them to the UK regulators. Barclays has seen the email exchanges sent to the regulators.

Barclays has said it conducted its own internal review and had no concerns over the way Staley had characterised his dealings with Epstein. Yesterday, the bank said the board's position had not changed, reiterating its support for Staley's re-election.

Sherborne said it would vote against Staley's re-election regardless. "We hope that Higgins and his board will not present a resolution to re-elect Staley. If they do, we will be on record as having voted against it," Bramson said.

Jack Welch, the power behind General Electric, dies aged 84

Jasper Jolly

Jack Welch, the American businessman who expanded General Electric to become the world's biggest company, has died aged 84.

Welch was known for a disciplinarian management style that earned him acclaim within the business world and made him a bestselling author, although GE's subsequent struggles complicated his legacy.

"Today is a sad day for the entire GE family," said Larry Culp, the company's chairman and chief executive. "Jack was larger than life and the heart of GE for half a century. He reshaped the face of our company and the business world. When I last saw him, what I remember most vividly was when he asked me: 'So how exactly are you running the company?' Jack was still in it - committed to GE's success."

Welch was a committed Republican and Donald Trump praised him, tweeting that he was a "friend and supporter". He added: "We made wonderful deals together. He will never be forgotten. My warmest sympathies to his wonderful wife & family!"

John Francis Welch Jr was born in Massachusetts in 1935 to Irish



▲ Jack Welch in his home office in his New York apartment in 2011, 10 years after he retired from General Electric
PHOTOGRAPH: BROOKS KRAFT/CORBIS VIA GETTY

American parents. His father was a railway conductor.

He joined GE's plastics division in 1960 after completing a degree in chemical engineering at the University of Massachusetts and a PhD at the University of Illinois's department of chemical and biomolecular engineering. He joined the management ranks in 1972, before ascending to chairman and chief executive in 1981.

GE's market capitalisation expanded from \$13bn (£10bn) to more than \$400bn during his reign throughout the 1980s and the 90s. He also cut

tens of thousands of jobs, earning the moniker "Neutron Jack". He famously advocated regularly firing the worst-performing 10% of his managers.

Welch became a hero of American business, with Fortune magazine in 1999 naming him "manager of the century". He retired in 2001 when GE was near the height of its powers, with major businesses in entertainment and financial services that far expanded the company beyond its origins as the Edison General Electric Company in 1889.

In retirement, he co-authored

books, including Jack: Straight from the Gut and Winning, which he co-wrote with his third wife, Suzy.

However, the financial crisis left GE dangerously exposed, raising questions over his legacy. The GE Capital arm, which he had built up, became a particular weight on the company. After leaving GE, he became a business consultant and media commentator.

British Steel sale to China's Jingye nears completion at cost of 400 jobs

Rob Davies

The sale of British Steel to Jingye is on track to be finalised next week, after the Chinese industrial firm sent contract offers to 3,200 staff and told 400 they were no longer needed.

Nearly 10 months after British Steel collapsed into insolvency, a rescue deal is on the verge of completion, with staff who are to be made redundant told that this will take effect when the transaction completes on Monday.

There had been uncertainty pending a verdict from the French government, which expressed opposition to a Chinese company buying British Steel's Hayange plant in north-east France. The factory, one of the few profitable parts of British Steel, is seen as a strategic national asset because it supplies track to France's rail network.

But with little sign of a decision from the French, the deal is expected to go through, with Jingye set to pay £70m and invest a further £1.2bn.

About 3,200 staff were sent new contracts yesterday, while 100 are moving to UK-based Barrett Steel under a separate deal. A further 400 were told they would be made redundant and instructed to keep showing up for work this week or risk losing redundancy and holiday payments.

In G2
Joanna Trollope
'Society still expects women to do all the caring'
 Page 4 →



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20% in net profit

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Total return to shareholders
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*Proposed at the 2020 General Meeting

Business view

Nils Pratley



*A yank on the supply chains
leaves investors unsure about
going into buying mode*

Investors usually know what to do when central banks start talking about interest rate cuts to tackle a crisis: you buy shares. As dead cat bounces go, though, yesterday was more of a twitch. The FTSE 100 index, having fallen 11% last week, regained just 1.1%, even as central bankers around the world lined up to echo the US Federal Reserve's line about acting "as appropriate". Share prices did better in the US during London hours, but it would be ridiculous to say the market's mood has improved definitively.

The problem for investors struggling to feel where "fair value" might lie in a post-coronavirus world is twofold. First, monetary measures are of limited use in tackling an economic shock caused by the spread of a virus.

Cheaper money can alleviate cashflow problems and prevent the collapse of some healthy companies, which is clearly a goal worth pursuing. But in the current circumstances, lower interest rates probably won't perform their traditional role of encouraging investment and consumption. Sometimes companies just need their supply chains to start working again.

The thinktank Capital Economics looked at four occasions when the US Federal Reserve has cut interest rates in response to a specific event. Share prices rebounded each time in the following days, but the effect tended not to be sustained.

The S&P 500, the main US index, regained its previous peak within 12 months only on one occasion – after the failure of the LTCM hedge fund in 1998. It didn't happen the other three times – after Black Monday in 1997, the 9/11 terrorist attacks in 2001 and the collapse of Lehman Brothers in 2008.

The second problem is estimating the size of the economic shock from the coronavirus. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, as it cut its central global growth forecast from 2.9% to 2.4% this year, implied that part of the China-related element of the economic hit is irreversible. But it also said it could cut its forecast to just 1.5% in the event of "a longer lasting and more intensive coronavirus outbreak". In economic terms, the range of possible outcomes is vast.

In the medium term, one can speculate about how governments will try to reignite growth once they've brought the viral outbreak

under control. If spending is supercharged, the desired V-shaped recovery still seems possible. That, though, is for the future. At the moment, G7 finance ministers are merely in talking mode.

Food for thought

Here's a brave analyst, though. "Catch the falling knife," advises Bruno Monteyne about the supermarket sector, observing that share prices have fallen a long way and people will keep eating.

Yet his description of what could happen to food retail operations during a pandemic – informed by his years as a Tesco supply chain director – sounded alarming.

Supermarkets would move to "feed the nation" status and might have to deal with panic-buying or "food riots". The exercise, using reduced numbers of staff, could wipe out a quarter of a year's profits.

After reading this vivid description of organised chaos, it was an effort to remember this was a "buy" note. That, though, is the point: three months of lost profit would not be a heavy price to pay if normal trading resumed thereafter. Food retail is still a defensive sector.

Epstein fallout

If you call yourself an activist investor, you're obliged to look active, and here comes Edward Bramson's latest broadside at Barclays: a demand that the board reverse its "extremely ill-advised" support for its chief executive, Jes Staley, currently under fire for his relationship with Jeffrey Epstein.

Bramson's letter will generate more attention than his recent trawl over Barclays' returns in investment banking, but one suspects its impact will be about the same – roughly nil. Most Barclays investors, surely, will wait for the outcome of regulators' investigations into how Staley characterised his relationship with Epstein, a sex offender who died in jail last year.

Anything less than 100% vindication will be fatal for Staley – and probably also for Barclays' chairman, Nigel Higgins, as the inquiry also covers the bank's own description of the relationship. But if Staley, Higgins or both depart, it won't be Bramson's doing. It will be the regulators' verdict.

Bramson may be trying to look busy to distract from the other story here: his terrible bet on Barclays in the first place. He needs the bank's share price to improve by about 50% just to break even. Investors in his Sherborne vehicle will be wondering (not for the first time) why he didn't pick a smaller and softer target.

Aviation Severe new turbulence for industry that's used to trouble

Gwyn Topham

Transport correspondent

The airline industry often finds itself on the corporate frontline when global disaster strikes. The 9/11 attacks, the Sars outbreak and the credit crunch all posed a serious threat to a sector that has always struggled to make consistent profits.

The coronavirus crisis marks another dangerous moment for airlines, which are already facing a multibillion-dollar revenue loss as the disease hits demand.

Carriers around the world are cutting routes, freezing pay and using smaller aircraft to cope with a further slump in bookings. British Airways and Ryanair announced flight cuts yesterday, with BA dropping 432 flights between 16 and 28 March, including one flight a day between London and New York as well as services to Italy, France, Germany and elsewhere in Europe. Ryanair, Europe's biggest short-haul carrier, said it was cutting a quarter of its flights to and from Italy between 17 March and 8 April.

Globally, airlines took five years to return to profit after 9/11, losing more than \$40bn (£31bn) in that time. The industry fell back into negative territory in 2008, losing \$8bn as the financial crisis struck.

So far, the industry has still hoped to stay in the black overall, according to International Air Transport Association forecasts. But an Iata

'Airline revenue management staff will be looking by the hour at booking trends to see where demand is dropping'

John Strickland

Industry analyst

spokesman said the organisation's estimate of almost \$30bn in lost revenues, made 11 days ago, was already seriously outdated, with the outbreak now affecting bookings in new regions of the world.

With fears growing that years of unusually rosy financial health could be ending, airlines called for the suspension of normal "use it or lose it" rules on valuable airport slots yesterday. Iata said it was contacting aviation regulators worldwide and requesting the rules be put on hold.

About 43% of airline passengers worldwide fly from airports where airlines lose rights to takeoff and landing slots if they fail to use their allocation at least 80% of the time. Regulators can waive the rules in exceptional circumstances, and some have done so already for airlines flying to China.

But Iata's director general, Alexandre de Juniac, said research by his organisation showed airline traffic had collapsed on key Asian routes and that this was rippling



Members of a Cathay Pacific flight crew wear protective masks as they walk through Los Angeles international airport after landing on a plane from Hong Kong

PHOTOGRAPH: MARIO TAMA/GETTY IMAGES

through the whole sector, even between countries without major coronavirus outbreaks.

"We are calling for regulators worldwide to help the industry plan for today's emergency, and the future recovery of the network, by suspending the slot-use rules on a temporary basis," he said, adding that airlines were on "the frontline of the challenge" to prevent the spread of the virus while keeping the global economy functioning.

Iata said passenger numbers had fallen by 26% across one carrier's entire operation and a major airline had reported bookings to Italy collapsing to zero and customers demanding refunds.

Among the latest efforts to cut staff costs, the US carrier United Airlines said on Sunday it was offering pilots partially paid leave. Emirates has joined Cathay in encouraging its staff to take time off.

The German airline group Lufthansa has grounded a number of large planes and yesterday said it was extending flight cancellations to Iran and China routes until late April. The Dutch carrier KLM has also extended its flight ban to China.

The spread of outbreaks to Italy has significantly worsened carriers' outlook. BA's owner, IAG, has said it can no longer offer profit guidance for the year. EasyJet has cancelled hundreds of flights to the country.

The carrier's shares have fallen 30% since last week. IAG's are down 32%, while both United and Lufthansa have fallen by a quarter.

Air France-KLM has warned of a €200m (£171m) hit from coronavirus

until the end of May. But an HSBC analyst, Andrew Lobbenberg, said: "The widening of the outbreak across Asia and into Italy makes the company's estimate redundant. It is very hard to assess how long and how significant an impact we should expect."

Andrew Charlton, an aviation analyst, said airlines were having to react on three levels. "The first is their staff ... they can't risk flying them somewhere where they might get sick. Second is the market. Demand for Venice and Milan has fallen through the floor. There's no point in trundling around with empty planes. Third is watching out for if a pandemic is declared. There will be all sorts of legal obligations to

what they can and can't do." Some airlines could go under, he added. "It's a question of how much cash reserves they have, [and] how agile they can be ... On the upside, fuel prices are falling, interest rates are low and governments are looking at what they can do. But we shall see if smaller airlines can survive."

John Strickland, an analyst at JLS consulting, said: "Airline revenue management staff will be looking by the hour at booking trends, to see where demand is dropping."

BA said yesterday it would waive fees for passengers changing flights, in an attempt to boost public confidence for future bookings. But Strickland said airlines' ability to react was more limited than in previous crises and given the potential for outbreaks to spread geographically, it was now "almost crystal ball gazing" time for airline planners.

Set for jets

Bloom in private plane bookings from the rich

Big businesses and wealthy people are chartering private jets for "evacuation flights" out of countries that have been hit by the coronavirus outbreak.

Adam Twidell, chief executive of PrivateFly, a private jet booking service, said his company had been inundated with requests from multinational companies arranging the mass evacuation of staff from China and south-east Asia.

Twidell said rich families were also chartering private jets to reduce the risk of exposing their families to the virus.

"Over the past few weeks, there's undoubtedly been a rise in demand for short-notice on-

demand charters, relating to the coronavirus Covid-19," Twidell said.

"Initially, inquiries were focused on evacuations from south-east Asia and other affected areas," he said. "But increasingly we are now seeing clients looking to take a private flight between a variety of global destinations, to avoid exposure to crowds in airliner cabins and moving through main airport terminals. In many cases these are passengers who don't usually fly by private aviation."

One charter flight company, Victor, was recently asked by a Hollywood film studio to fly about 50 people from Tokyo to Los Angeles, according to Bloomberg. Rupert Neate

Medical supplies and testing kits are loaded on to a plane in Dubai destined for coronavirus-hit Iran

PHOTOGRAPH: NKARIM SAHIB/AFP VIA GETTY



Education

Sex education

The young people demanding sexual frankness and an end to homophobia

A new breed of activists say their plea for realistic teaching was ignored in the latest guidance. Three of them spoke to **Helena Blackstone**

Relationships and sex education (RSE) will be compulsory for all secondary pupils in England from September, and primary schools will also need to teach about relationships. What these courses will contain, however, is left mainly to headteachers and governors, in consultation with parents. The Department for Education has issued guidance for teachers, but does it go far enough?

No, say young sex educators, who want the lessons to go beyond the mechanics of condoms on cucumbers to take fuller account of contentious issues such as consent, LGBTQ+, sex abuse and forced marriage.

Milly Evans, 20
Activist and founder of I Support Sex Education, a website encouraging support for better RSE
Good sex education is a human right, says Evans: “You have the right to know about your body, about your rights, about your own autonomy.”

Evans, who identifies as a queer woman, says LGBT issues should be integrated throughout the curriculum. “When we’re talking about sexual health, we should be talking about sexual health between same-sex partners. When we’re talking about mental health, we should be reflecting the fact that LGBTQ+ people tend to be more likely to face mental health issues.”

Learning about different family relationships from an early age through, for example, inclusive picture books, could “prevent a lot of discrimination and bullying among primary-aged children”, she says. “If their parents aren’t teaching them respect for other people’s family

environments, then it has to come from somewhere”.

Evans inherited her own sexual frankness from her parents, who sell sex toys online for a living. The environment at her grammar school was another story. She remembers only three sex education classes during her entire time there, one of which was about abortion and was given in a religious education class. “It was a video of fake doctors talking about why abortion is bad,” she says. “It was really distressing. And not fact-based at all.”

In response, Evans set up a school club where students could talk about sexual health. “People would come and ask me about their boyfriend trying to pressure them to do something they’d seen in porn.”

Since school, Evans has worked as an activist and a work and health journalist, contributing to the consultation on the proposed RSE curriculum as a part of various youth organisations. But, she says, the resulting guidance “completely ignored all of the young people who actually contributed”.

“Pretty much everything to do with LGBT stuff was just swept under the carpet,” she says. She adds there is “too much room for interpretation” around the two paragraphs dedicated to LGBT issues. “We can’t continue to allow teachers, education and religious officials to perpetuate a homophobic or transphobic narrative in sex education,” she says.

Talia Kensit, 22
Founding director of the non-profit Youth Realities, which tackles teenage relationship abuse

Kensit works with young people from an office in the Grahame Park estate in Barnet, north-west London, minutes from where she grew up.

She says that when she was 15 she began a relationship with a boy her age that became emotionally and physically abusive, and continued throughout her GCSEs and A-levels. Although she sometimes came to school “with bruises and black eyes”, she didn’t ask for help: “I didn’t have the ability to express what I was experiencing to staff.”

When we hear about teen violence, it is usually in the context of stabbings or sexual grooming. Hidden, but perhaps more common, is peer abuse within teenage relationships, she says. In a 2009 NSPCC study, a quarter of girls



◀ **Arifa Nasim** says FGM, forced marriage and honour-based violence should be discussed in class: ‘it could save a life’

▼ **Talia Kensit** argues that allowing parents to withdraw under-15s from sex education is a mistake

PHOTOGRAPHS:
LINDA NYLIND/
THE GUARDIAN



‘Some people have no understanding that what they have experienced is actually rape’

Talia Kensit
Founder, Youth Realities



▲ **Milly Evans**: ‘We can’t allow teachers to perpetuate a homophobic or transphobic narrative’

reported physical violence from a partner and, worryingly, 11% reported severe physical violence.

However, the new guidance sets out the right of parents to withdraw their child from sex education until their 15th birthday, which means “thousands of parents will opt their children out of this education without understanding how important it is”, she says.

“How are you going to make sure you’re communicating with parents?” says Kensit, “especially parents with cultural or religious barriers to understanding the content of the work on offer?”

Kensit was permanently excluded from school at 14 and began attending a pupil referral unit, which is where her abusive relationship started. “Every single person that I was in school with had some experience of violence,” she says.

The charity she started, Youth Realities, tackles teenage relationship abuse: she aims to give young people the kind of support she didn’t find herself.

In the charity’s workshops on healthy relationships, “some of these young people have no understanding that what they have experienced or have been exposed to is actually rape or severe sexual assault”, she says. “When it’s explained to them, it’s so shocking.”

Arifa Nasim, 22
founder of Educate2Eradicate, which campaigns on honour abuse, FGM and forced marriage

On her 14th birthday, Arifa Nasim’s best friend gave her a book, Daughters of Shame, a collection of stories from victims of forced marriage, by Jasvinder Singhera. The work had an enormous impact, motivating Nasim to join the fight against FGM, forced marriage and honour-based violence.

“It highlighted an issue that I knew was prevalent in my own community, but I was privileged enough to never have to suffer,” says Nasim, who was raised by her

Pakistani mother in Walthamstow.

Nasim has committed herself to the issue, campaigning in her own school before becoming one of the two first youth delegates to represent the UK at the UN general assembly, where she spoke on gender and education.

Now her organisation delivers safeguarding training and workshops for children on FGM, forced marriage and honour-based violence. “The information that we teach in a workshop could save somebody’s life,” she says.

Her big worry about the new guidance is how it will be implemented, as it is not statutory: “You can’t just expect schools to make cuts and still find a way to provide this teaching,” she says. She fears that as teachers are overstretched, the guidance may not be followed. “The government needs to make sure that all schools do it, through making it statutory.”

She also thinks few teachers have enough training to deliver sex education that covers LGBTQ+ issues, honour-based abuse and FGM. “If you do the wrong thing in an honour abuse, forced marriage or FGM situation, it is life and death.”

25%

An NSPCC study found that a quarter of girls had experienced some form of physical violence

Student funding Cuts to places by back door will lead to ‘clash of the classes’

Fears poor will lose out if government targets lower-earning courses, writes **Anna Fazackerley**

Government plans to cap student numbers just as the UK faces an explosion in the number of 18-year-olds would be the “death knell” for social mobility, academic experts warn.

More than half of young people are now going into higher education, but senior academics believe that with the Treasury anxious to rein in spiralling student loan debt, universities will face a cap on numbers by the back door, with the government cutting support for what it calls “low-quality” courses.

Lee Elliot Major, professor of social mobility at Exeter University, says such a move would be disastrous. “If you don’t expand numbers there is going to be a clash of the classes over university entrance. Limiting numbers would be the death knell for social mobility and widening access.”

He says it would inevitably be the poor who would lose out if places were squeezed. “The evidence suggests that we always underestimate the ability of the

middle class to manoeuvre and retain their positions in society, and that includes higher education.”

The issue has acquired new urgency, because at the end of 2018 the Office for National Statistics changed the way student loans are treated on the government’s books, adding £12bn to the year’s public deficit overnight. The change reflects the fact that around 45% of the value of student loans is never repaid, and will now be treated as part of government expenditure.

Demographic changes are also increasing the pressure. The number of 18-year-olds, which has fallen for a decade, will begin an unprecedented 10-year growth phase next year. The Higher Education Policy Institute thinktank (Hepi) predicts 500,000 new places may be needed to keep pace.

Nick Hillman, director of Hepi and a former special adviser on universities, thinks the government is almost certain to cap numbers and says he is “vehemently opposed” to it. “Stopping funding for ‘low-value’ courses is a back-door way of doing that,” he says. “I would back almost any policy change before that.”

Two weeks ago the Guardian reported that the government might replicate the four Ofsted categories used in schools, flagging up university courses they considered inadequate - which could potentially lose funding or be closed down.



Graduate earnings were expected to be the bar by which the government would judge courses.

Ironically, the education secretary, Gavin Williamson, could end up making his own degree unviable. Williamson studied social sciences at Bradford University, a choice that may not come out well. Graduates from Bradford in the equivalent subject today, sociology, have average earnings of £17,500 after three years. Graduates of the equivalent course at Cambridge earned £29,000, according to figures

Ironically, Gavin Williamson could end up making his own degree course, at Bradford university, unviable

from Unistats and from new official data, the longitudinal educational outcomes, which tracks them through their tax returns.

Angry academics say that such a plan, as well as threatening the arts and humanities, where starting salaries are typically much lower than law or the sciences, poses a risk to universities in regions that are struggling. They say graduates who stay and work in these areas will typically command lower salaries than their counterparts in London - but this is no mark of failure.

Evan Clark, a recent graduate with a social work degree from Staffordshire University, says when he applied to study he had no idea how much he would earn on graduation because it wasn’t a priority. “I am a social worker now, looking after people with learning disabilities. For me it is all about trying to give other people the same opportunities that I’ve had.”

Prof Ieuan Ellis, pro vice-chancellor at Staffordshire, says a numbers cap is a “bad solution”, particularly in an area like his where

◀ *Evan Clark said salary was not a consideration when he applied to Staffordshire to study social work*
PHOTOGRAPH: FABIO DE PAOLA/THE GUARDIAN

only 28% of young people go to university, compared with a national average of 50%.

“There aren’t too many people going to university in this country and there certainly aren’t too many going in this region,” he says.

Stoke-on-Trent, where the university is based, is classified as the 14th most deprived local authority in England, following the decline of the ceramics industry.

“The idea that widening participation into universities is just about getting a few extra poor people into Oxbridge completely misses the point,” Ellis says.

“Talent is evenly distributed, but opportunity is not. We are giving our talented students that opportunity to realise their potential.”

He points out that Staffordshire, which was awarded gold in the government’s Teaching Excellence Framework, educates students to become teachers, nurses and police officers. It also encourage graduates studying digital technologies to set up businesses locally. “These are incredibly important to the region but these aren’t the sort of jobs that have high starting salaries,” he says.

A Department for Education spokesperson says: “We want everyone who has potential to be able to access a high-quality education. However, we must not allow the credibility of our universities to be damaged by pockets of low quality that do not deliver high-quality teaching or value for money. We support the Office for Students in using its powers where it finds providers are not working in students’ interests.”

Opinion Jonathan Wolff



Why Toby Young and other robust white men are using free speech to whip universities

It has been a glorious couple of weeks for defenders of freedom of speech. Now there’s even a union to join, led by father of the chapel Toby Young. You can imagine it: robust white men brandishing copies of John Stuart Mill’s *On Liberty* and bellowing “ideas must fight it out in the marketplace of ideas”.

But why, and why now? It seems to be part of a backlash against supposed censorship and political correctness, to say nothing of leftwing bias, bleeding over the university sector like a cheap red sock in a hot white wash. Policy Exchange, the rightwing think-tank, has just published a report, *Universities at the Crossroads*, intimating that the sector has lost

the trust of the entire nation. Oops. That was careless of us.

They accuse: “Following a very vocal and at times highly partisan participation in the Brexit debate, as well as an increasing number of unnecessary rows over freedom of speech, there is a growing risk that some on the right may begin to see the sector as actively and irredeemably opposed to conservative and British values.”

Freedom of speech on campus, they say, has been pushed into the background by high-profile culture wars, and it’s time to reverse the trend. Limiting speech on campus isn’t a good look. Mill, notoriously, argued if an idea is wholly or partially true, then cutting it off will obstruct progress. But even false ideas should be given voice.

Otherwise truths will become “dead dogmas” and we will lose our ability to defend them. Conclusion: never obstruct free speech. Yet others, sotto voce, intone: “It’s all a bit more complicated than that.”

Mill himself, like many thinkers, distinguishes freedom of thought from freedom of expression, which, he argues, can be restricted if it is likely to cause serious harm, such as immediate violence. Hence the prohibition of hate speech and the offence of inciting racial hatred.

The question, then, is not whether there should be limits, but where they fall. This is the frontline in the culture war, where speakers have been subject to protest and boycott because opponents believe their views are akin to hate speech. The line will always be contested, and those pulling out a point of principle often use it to mask a political programme.

Policy Exchange is not the first to attempt to whip up the idea that universities are rotten with reprehensible leftwing, anti-British values, try to indoctrinate students, and pursue a “woke” agenda. If so, we are doing a spectacularly bad job, given recent election results. In my experience, students typically leave university with their political views unscathed, albeit better defended.

Nevertheless, it is in the interests



▲ John Stuart Mill argued freedom of expression could be restricted if likely to cause serious harm

‘It seems to be part of a backlash against supposed censorship and political correctness, not to mention leftwing bias’

of those in power to send a chill through higher education. Policy Exchange is right that many academics see their role as holding government to account. Whoever is in power gets the same treatment. It is just that we haven’t had a chance to discomfit a Labour administration for a while.

Some criticisms of universities are well made - and too often we enter a defensive mode rather unfitting to institutions of the higher mind. But other attacks have an ulterior purpose: to put universities on notice that they are being watched.

Universities are implicitly warned: look both ways before you cross us. Dare academics criticise authoritarian government policy and identify dogma-driven stupidities? Before you open your mouth, keep half an eye on the next funding round, and the law around security of employment.

Darkness has not quite fallen. But ultimately speech and power cannot be detached. Who has the power to speak, who has the power to stop others speaking? And power works in multiple ways. It can be exercised by threat, overt or implicit. But most damaging of all, it can seep inside and make us self-censors. Iron has entered the soul of universities in many other countries. It mustn’t happen here.



the **Gold Standard** in education

Assistant Director of Education

About the Role

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Ideally you will have gained experience from within the education sector, with a knowledge of the schools' inspection process. Also desirable would be an understanding of curriculum and policy development and familiarity of SharePoint and/or other collaborative web based platforms desirable.

Interviews will be held on the **18th March 2020** with an anticipated start date in April.

Organisation

Alpha Plus is a private education provider for children aged between one and eighteen years of age. Our aim is to give every child in our care the best possible start in life. Each Head, or Principal, leads their institution towards a common goal of education excellence, which is defined as the Alpha Plus 'Gold Standard'. The Group comprises a collection of sixteen highly regarded independent schools and three colleges in the UK, and we also own and run one school in New York.

This is a 12 month maternity cover role.

We will also consider applications for those wanting a secondment position.

Closing date: Monday 9th March **9am Interview date:** 18th March

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We are committed to equality of opportunity for all staff and applications from individuals are encouraged regardless of age, disability, sex, gender reassignment, sexual orientation, pregnancy and maternity, race, religion or belief and marriage and civil partnerships.



the **Gold Standard** in education

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(In charge of Learning and Innovation)

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Weather

Tuesday 3 March 2020

UK and Ireland Noon today

Sunny

Mist

Fog

Sunny intervals

Hazy

Mostly cloudy

Overcast/dull

Sunny showers

Sunny and heavy showers

Light showers

Rain

Sleet

Light snow

Snow showers

Heavy snow

Ice

Thundery rain

Thundery showers

Temperature, °C

Wind speed, mph

Windy

35C

30

25

20

15

10

5

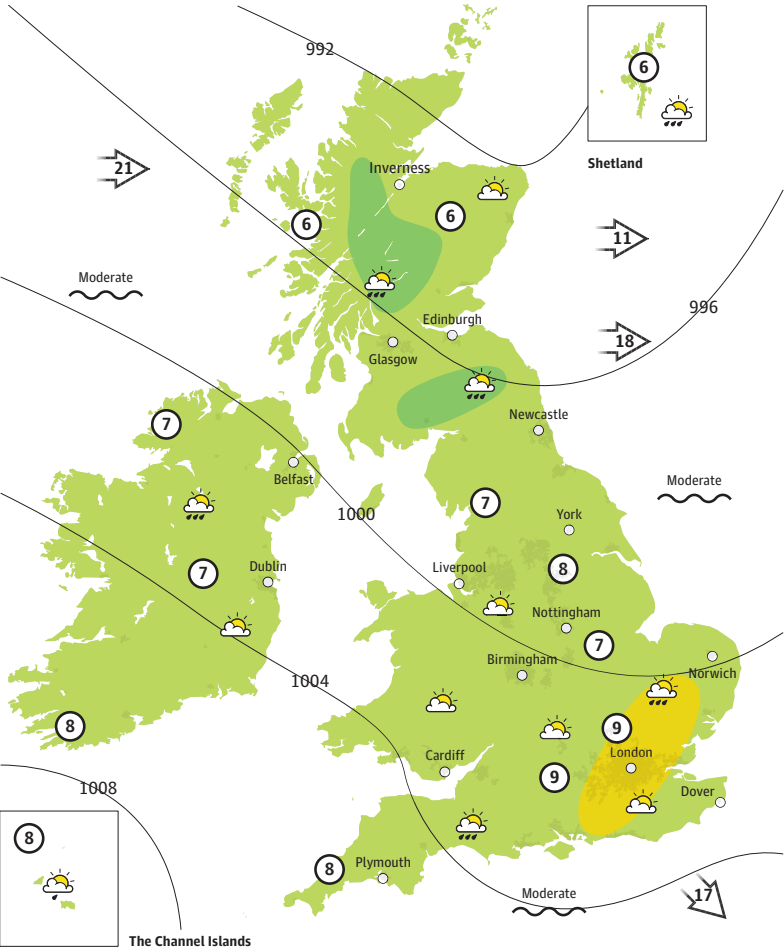
0

-5

-10

-15

-20



Forecast

Low 0 High 8

Tomorrow

Low 1 High 8

Thursday

Carbon count

Daily atmospheric CO₂ readings from Mauna Loa, Hawaii (ppm):

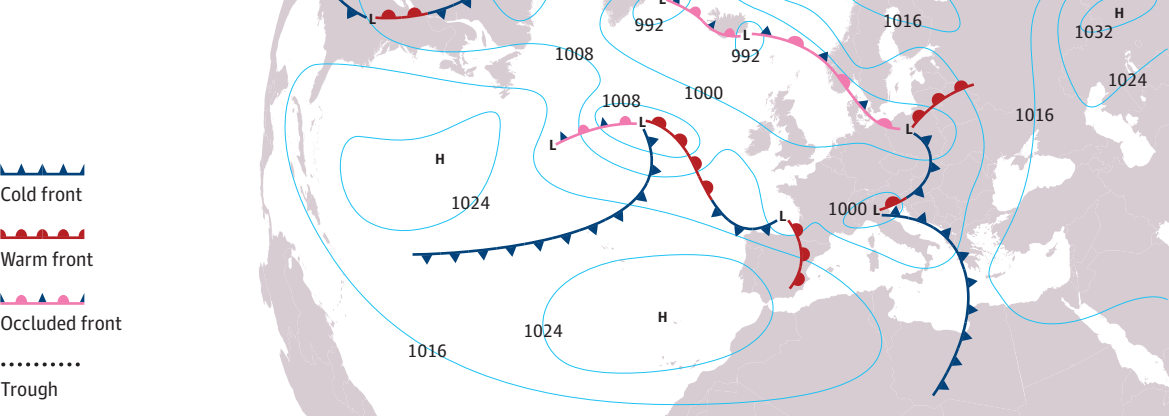
Latest	414.25
Weekly average	
23 Feb 2020	413.72
02 Mar 2019	412.25
02 Mar 2010	388.72
Pre-industrial base	280
Safe level	350

Source: NOAA-ESRL

Around the UK

London	Lows and highs: 0 to 9	Precipitation: 25%	Air pollution: Low
Manchester	Lows and highs: 0 to 7	Precipitation: 25%	Air pollution: Low
Edinburgh	Lows and highs: -1 to 8	Precipitation: 25%	Air pollution: Low
Belfast	Lows and highs: -1 to 7	Precipitation: 60%	Air pollution: Low
Birmingham	Lows and highs: -1 to 8	Precipitation: 25%	Air pollution: Low
Brighton	Lows and highs: 2 to 9	Precipitation: 25%	Air pollution: Low
Bristol	Lows and highs: 1 to 7	Precipitation: 25%	Air pollution: Low
Cardiff	Lows and highs: 3 to 8	Precipitation: 55%	Air pollution: Low
Newcastle	Lows and highs: -1 to 7	Precipitation: 25%	Air pollution: Low
Penzance	Lows and highs: 6 to 9	Precipitation: 55%	Air pollution: Low

Atlantic front



High tides

Aberdeen	0702	3.3m	1929	3.3m
Avonmouth	--	--	1218	10.1m
Barrow	0434	7.2m	1707	7.2m
Belfast	0444	2.9m	1705	2.8m
Cobh	1056	3.3m	2326	3.3m
Cromer	--	--	1201	3.8m
Dover	0346	5.6m	1618	5.2m
Dublin	0511	3.2m	1741	3.2m
Galway	1105	3.9m	2335	3.9m
Greenock	0533	2.9m	1809	2.8m
Harwich	0455	3.3m	1737	3.2m
Holyhead	0331	4.4m	1608	4.4m
Hull	--	--	1134	5.9m
Leith	0814	4.3m	2038	4.3m
Liverpool	0404	7.3m	1642	7.3m

London Bridge	0645	6.1m	1914	5.7m
Lossiemouth	0511	3.0m	1736	3.0m
Milford Haven	--	--	1131	5.2m
Newquay	1028	5.3m	2301	5.2m
North Shields	0901	3.9m	2129	3.9m
Oban	1055	2.9m	2313	2.9m
Penzance	0953	4.3m	2230	4.2m
Plymouth	1053	4.3m	2327	4.3m
Portsmouth	0444	3.9m	1712	3.7m
Southport	0317	7.0m	1555	7.0m
Stornoway	0007	3.5m	1258	3.6m
Weymouth	--	--	1213	0.6m
Whitby	0928	4.3m	2157	4.4m
Wick	0439	2.7m	1706	2.7m
Workington	0435	6.4m	1710	6.4m

Sun & Moon

Sun rises 0640

Sun sets 1744

Moon rises 1033

Moon sets 0209

Full Moon 9 March

AccuWeather.com

Forecasts and graphics provided by AccuWeather ©2020

Lighting up

Belfast	1806 to 0706
Birm'ham	1751 to 0646
Brighton	1746 to 0638
Bristol	1756 to 0649
Carlisle	1752 to 0653
Cork	1818 to 0712
Dublin	1808 to 0705
Glasgow	1757 to 0701
Harlech	1800 to 0656
Inverness	1753 to 0701
London	1744 to 0638
M'chester	1752 to 0649
Newcastle	1747 to 0649
Norwich	1738 to 0634
Penzance	1808 to 0659

Weatherwatch

As the world's second-largest country (after Russia, and just ahead of China), Canada stretches across more than 40 degrees of latitude from north to south, and almost 90 degrees of longitude from west to east. And although almost 40% of Canada lies north of the Arctic circle, its southernmost point protrudes well into the continental USA. So it is hardly surprising Canada's climate is one of the most varied on the planet.

Much of the country has a typically continental climate, with very cold winters and hot (sometimes very hot) summers. The capital, Ottawa, in the south-east, experiences quite severe winters and warm, sunny summers.

British Columbia, on the west coast, has fewer extremes: temperatures in Vancouver typically fall to just above freezing in winter, and rise to the mid-20Cs in summer. On the east coast, St John's, in Newfoundland, is considerably colder in winter and cooler in summer, despite being further south than Vancouver, on the same latitude as Nantes in France.

In the far north, Arctic Bay has a typically polar climate: temperatures are well below freezing for eight months of the year, and only a few degrees above during the brief summer. **Stephen Moss**

Around the world

Algiers	17	Lisbon	18
Ams'dam	7	Madrid	13
Athens	19	Malaga	21
Auckland	25	Melb'rne	20
B Aires	28	Mexico C	26
Bangkok	34	Miami	28
Barcelona	15	Milan	13
Basra	23	Mombasa	33
Beijing	10	Moscow	4
Bermuda	6	Mumbai	31
Brüssel	18	N Orleans	26
Budapest	8	Nairobi	27
C'hagen	15	New Delhi	27
Cairo	5	New York	15
Cape Town	24	Oslo	2
Chicago	30	Paris	8
Corfu	10	Perth	30
Dakar	18	Prague	6
Dhaka	28	Reykjavik	1
Dublin	32	Rio de J	26
Florence	7	Rome	13
Gibraltar	11	Shanghai	13
Harare	17	Singapore	32
Helsinki	23	Stockh'm	4
Istanbul	22	Strasb'g	9
Jo'burg	3	Sydney	22
K Lumpur	17	Tel Aviv	21
K'mandu	23	Tenerife	22
Kolkata	35	Tokyo	15
L Angeles	21	Toronto	3
Lagos	17	Vancouv'r	10
Lima	30	Vienna	10
	30	Warsaw	11
	25	Wash'ton	17
	32	Well'ton	22
	26	Zurich	7

Football

Key Uefa summit plots Champions League future

Page 39 →

Boxing

Joshua to fight Pulev at Spurs stadium in June

Page 37 →



Sport

35



▲ A woman wearing a face mask in front of the new National Stadium in Tokyo, host city of the 2020 Olympics

TOMOHIRO OHSUMI/
GETTY IMAGES

Games changer

A cancelled Olympics – is this the moment the gravity of the situation hits home?

It's OK, everyone: I've checked the official Tokyo Olympics website, and everything seems to be fine. The main news story on the homepage is about how the Tokyo 2020 mascots, Miraitowa and Someity, have been having a lovely time in Barcelona on the latest leg of their promotional tour. Then there's a nice heartwarming tale about Panasonic signing up to sponsor the torch relay. Then an announcement for something called the "Tokyo 2020 Open Innovation Challenge". Nothing at all about deadly viruses or global disease outbreaks. Nothing about precautions for spectators or athletes. Certainly nothing about calling off the Games altogether, and frankly they would know best. So that's a relief.

Nevertheless, the malignant rumours persist, driven not just by the continuing spread of coronavirus but by the growing swathe of sporting events succumbing to it. We could probably live without Ireland v Italy in the Six Nations. The Chinese Grand Prix always felt expendable in a calendar already swollen to grotesqueness. But the Olympics? The actual, real-life Olympics? Perhaps for many of us, encased in our idyllic little sporting snow globes, this was the moment when the full gravity of the situation finally hit home.

And so we now face a scenario so outlandish that nobody under the age of 80 can really describe it. Olympic Games have been cancelled before through world war: it happened in 1916, 1940 and 1944. They have been played out under the pall of human tragedy – at Munich in 1972 and Atlanta 1996. Even an Olympics without crowds – a ghostly, behind-closed-doors affair unfolding in near-total silence – has its precedent, as anyone who attended the Rio Games four years ago will attest.

But somehow this still feels like an idea too dystopian

and existential to be taken seriously: like a robot uprising, erasing the sky, postponing next Wednesday, abolishing France. Even as the International Olympic Committee member Dick Pound speaks of coronavirus as "the new war scenario", even as Japan goes into lockdown, the spectre of a cancelled Olympics still belongs to a different, scarier world: one of barbed-wire borders, soldiers on the streets, petrified citizens stockpiling Super Noodles. Nobody wants that.

The first point to make is that, for now, the Games remains on. The IOC and the Japanese government insist that it will go ahead as planned. Besides, every modern Games goes through a point when its crises – both real and imagined – threaten to swallow it whole. In Rio it was Zika. In London it was the G4S scandal. In Athens it was construction issues. This, too, must surely pass.

And in all likelihood it will. One of the reasons the Olympics feels so inviolable is the immense and unanswerable obstinacy of the Big Sport machine, an animal that must be fed at all times. After all, sport is a business, and business demands certainty, returns, guaranteed windfalls. Already we are beginning to detect the first rumblings of discontent from the sponsors and broadcasters that have already ploughed billions into these Games. "Coronavirus is going to be pretty large for the property and casualty insurance industry," one analyst told the Financial Times, which is certainly one way of describing the deaths of thousands.

And yet the suspicion persists that this particular crisis is not your regular pre-Games scaremongering, that the usual tropes of spiralling budgets or logistical strife (although Tokyo has enjoyed plenty of that, too) do not necessarily apply here. The Olympics has long been an extremely efficient disseminator of disease: all those millions of athletes and fans and volunteers from every corner of the planet, brushing shoulders on packed shuttle buses, mingling in bars and restaurants, convening in sweaty dorm rooms. Are we really prepared to unleash this germ factory in the midst of a global health crisis?

There is, perhaps, more than one legitimate response to this question. To sports fans, the natural reaction is disappointment. To athletes, already predisposed to self-sacrifice, the reaction is probably more akin to blithe defiance.

Should the Olympics reflect the world's problems or run from them?

"Even if there was a 100% chance of contracting the virus, I would still want to compete," the former Great Britain hockey player Samantha Quek said this week. For smaller sports, who rely on the exposure and prestige of the Olympics, the consequences of a cancellation could be catastrophic.

And yet to take a broader view, what message would it send out if the Games were to proceed in the jaws of a pandemic? That the bloated and entitled modern Olympic movement is simply too enormous to be thwarted. That it is essentially immune to the forces shaping the wider world. That corporate contracts and vested interests must take precedence over human wellbeing. This is the alternate reality already being constructed around us: by the likes of the IOC president, Thomas Bach, who remains "fully committed" to the Games going ahead as planned, or the official Games website that – unlike 70 countries around the world – remains entirely free of coronavirus.

But perhaps there is also a rare opportunity here to ask questions that have long been forestalled. Has the Olympics become too big for its own good? Should it reflect the world's problems or run from them? Does it exist to make money or make money to exist? A cancelled or postponed Olympics would be a great sadness on multiple levels. But in many ways it would also represent the triumph of human collaboration over human self-interest. Which, if you think about it, is what the Olympics was always about in the first place.

Jonathan Liew



'No 13-year-old is racist – she reflected the adults around her'

The big interview

Adam Goodes

Four years after quitting the AFL because of the level of racist abuse he received the Australian is the subject of a powerful new documentary film

Donald McRae



Great sportsmen divide their lives into little boxes. A ruthless competitive drive goes into one box, a corporate smile in another, a life away from the tangled business of sport belongs to a more private compartment. The best can do this easily and Adam Goodes, the former Australian rules footballer, belonged among the elite. Goodes twice won the Brownlow medal awarded each season to the best football player in the country. He won two Premierships with the Sydney Swans and played more games in the Australian Football League than any other Indigenous footballer. In 2014 he was named Australian of the Year.

Goodes is now 40 and, four years ago, persistent racial abuse forced his early retirement. He was still an imperious player but he could no longer bear the hurt whenever he was booed and taunted with the certainty that it was fuelled by racism. Last year the AFL apologised to Goodes for failing to intervene. That apology, sparked by two powerful documentaries about the way he had been hounded from the game, arrived too late.

A thoughtful and gracious man who rarely gives interviews, Goodes pauses when asked if he can separate his previous love of the sport from his bruised feelings towards the AFL. "Unfortunately not. I've tried to go to games and I haven't enjoyed it. It's really sad, because my godchildren love going to the football. These are the kids of Michael O'Loughlin [another Sydney Swans icon and Goodes's cousin]. They always ask me to go and I feel really bad about not sharing that time because I adore them. I have other things to do, with [his eight-month-old daughter] Adelaide and my wife Natalie. I also spend lots of time with my godchildren, doing things unrelated to the game."

Can Goodes imagine these

feelings towards football changing? "They haven't yet done, so..."

His voice trails away but Goodes is intelligent and reasonable. "It's only been four years. Who knows? They do say time heals."

Goodes was involved in the production and promotion of *The Australian Dream* – a documentary made by the English director Dan Gordon, who won a Bafta for his film about Hillsborough. Gordon has also made compelling films about Victoria Pendleton, George Best and North Korea. He and the Indigenous writer Stan Grant have created a gripping and evocative documentary about Goodes and Australia's troubled racial history.

When he was a boy, football offered Goodes joy and inclusivity but between 2013 and 2015, at his peak, it became a divisive battleground of racism. "It completely was," Goodes says. "As a kid we moved around a fair bit as a family. It was difficult to make friends but sport helped. Once people saw you kick a football it broke down barriers. Instead of being the new skinny black kid you were the kid everyone wanted on their team. That really helped break those barriers as we moved from one small country town to another. The football field was a place where I could express myself and just be me. Play the game as well as you can and that's what you're judged on. Not the colour of your skin, or your beliefs, or the conversation you have around racism."

On 24 May 2013, Goodes and the Swans played Collingwood in the AFL's annual Indigenous Round which is meant to celebrate diversity. As he ran towards the touchline a Collingwood supporter yelled that he was "an ape". Goodes pointed straight at the fan. She was a 13-year-old girl who was escorted from the arena by stewards.

After the game Goodes was measured. He bore no animosity and he said the girl should call him so that they could have a conversation about why he had been hurt by her insult. But the footballer did not shy away from saying she represented the face of racism. Despite being the victim, Goodes was vilified by some as a bully.

"Whenever I had been racially vilified before it had been by peers or drunk men," Goodes says. "It's more shocking when it's a 13-year-old child. No 13-year-old is racist. Saying she was the face of racism was me explaining that this innocent person reflected the adults around her. I don't blame her. When she called me, I accepted her apology and spoke to her about how she made me

feel. We had a really good discussion and I knew she was just copying people – because she told me they were saying this in the crowd."

The abuse of Goodes escalated. This was not the pantomime booing of the opposition's best player. It was racist goading. In May 2015, after scoring against Carlton, Goodes did a defiant Indigenous war dance. "Being booed for two years was tough. In the first year, 2014, the Swans finished top of the table. That was my FU to the booing. I walked off with my head held high.

We then got absolutely smashed by Hawthorn in the grand final. The vilification from the Hawthorn supporters was really bad.

"You get to a new year and think: 'Cool, here's another opportunity to play a final.' The first game in, the booing was still there. I was shocked but in the early part of that season we were winning. Then, mid-season we played Hawthorn, that team with the disgusting fans, and lost in Sydney.

"We then played West Coast Eagles and the booing was like a

howl. We got thumped and I was up the whole night, thinking this could be my last year of football. I felt like an absolute piece of crap. I was an emotional wreck. I didn't want to go to training that Monday morning. I never had that feeling in 18 years of playing. I called the coach and he brought around my best mate and I broke down. I was like: 'I can't do this any more.' I needed to get away."

In August 2015 Goodes travelled to the Flinders Ranges in the South Australian outback. There, he reconnected spiritually and emotionally with his ancestors who had lived in Australia for 60,000 years before the British arrived in 1770. "Flinders Ranges, this very spiritual place, helped me ground myself. I became clear that this would be my last season. I was going to exit the game."

Goodes played seven more games for his beloved Swans. No one, apart from the Swans' chief executive, knew of his decision. There was simply an outpouring of love as people wore his No 37 shirt and held up banners saying: "I Stand with Adam."

His final game was a semi-final

◀ Goodes playing against Collingwood for Sydney Swans, with whom he won two AFL Premiership titles

ADAM PRETTY/GETTY IMAGES



▼ *Adam Goodes: ‘Instead of masking racism we need to deal with it day to day’*
RYAN PIERSE/GETTY IMAGES



defeat against North Melbourne in September 2015. Afterwards, Goodes told his teammates he could never play again. “They were sad for what happened to me,” he recalls. “They had been alongside me the whole way and seen how much it affected me. It affected them too. Everyone felt bad but I felt a sense of excitement that I didn’t have to be subjected to that shit any more.”

Goodes is now doing transformative work with the Indigenous Defence and Infrastructure Consortium, which he founded, as he helps “Indigenous businesses work in the defence sector. I’ve also partnered with a company called Nogard and become the majority shareholder. No other indigenous business is doing this in Australia as we import industrial and safety goods from around the world.”

His warmth and optimism is most obvious when he talks about his family - and the fun he has playing basketball in an over-35s league in Sydney with his team, the Vikings, who feature former Swans stars, including O’Loughlin. “I still love having a good blow out. We’re super-competitive as you can imagine.”

Playing against teams made up of accountants and builders, Goodes says: “We’ve made the grand final a couple of seasons and we’re winning

our fair share. I’m now doing pre-season with Waverley Old Boys in what you call football in England. I grew up playing soccer and it’s definitely my first love. I loved competing in the AFL but even then I followed the Premier League and Champions League.”

Goodes has noticed the enduring impact of racism in European football. Knowing that England’s black players have discussed walking off the field the next time they suffer racism, he speaks clearly. “When your voice is not being listened to, what else can you do? I fully support them walking off. It would be a way of drawing the line and saying it’s unacceptable.”

He flies to London this month when *An Australian Dream* opens in the UK but Goodes admits the film is too painful for him to watch again. The documentary allows contrary voices to express criticism - with the implication being he should have shrugged off the racism. I ask Goodes about the inclusion of Andrew Bolt, the abrasive TV host, and Eddie McGuire, Collingwood’s president. “Try and get a comment from those guys,” he suggests. “Ask how far they’ve come in these four years.”

I emailed Bolt and McGuire, to ask if they had watched the film and if

their views of Goodes had changed. Neither responded.

However, as Goodes says: “Lots of people who watched the documentary have become more aware of our history. Last Sunday night it was screened on free-to-air television. The educational message is coming through and that really pleases me.”

Goodes believes that, in the way it embraces its Indigenous Maori, “New Zealand is light years ahead of Australia. They have ensured sovereignty of [Maori] land, and made sure Indigenous people are acknowledged in the constitution. When are we going to be recognised in our constitution? When are we going to have sovereignty of our own land returned? We’re the only Commonwealth country that doesn’t have sovereignty for its first people.”

Captain Cook’s declaration in 1770 that Australia comprised “empty lands”, was a lie that haunts Goodes. “Our people have had their land taken from them, from the moment they were colonised. It’s the truth. We have mining companies making billions of dollars from Aboriginal land. We have Indigenous people who are 40 times more likely to experience domestic violence, 10 times more likely to die from those experiences, 14 times more likely to go to jail. We’re dying 10 years younger than non-Indigenous people. All this tracks back to colonisation.

“New Zealand gives us the perfect example. They were colonised as well but they were acknowledged. They had the treaty. They were written into the constitution which insists they teach Maori culture in schools.”

Does he have hope the Australian constitution will be changed? “That movement’s been parked for now. I’m trying to make a real difference in growing wealth for Indigenous people. We’re trying to move away from welfare dependency and unfortunate disadvantage lots of our people live in today.”

When Goodes accepted being named as the Australian of the Year in 2014 he highlighted the scars of his country’s racial history. He also said: “Racism stops with me.”

His stance cost him the end of his sporting career but Goodes has no regret. “When I compare my mother’s journey to the journey awaiting my daughter, I can see that every generation has so much more knowledge. Knowledge is power. That is how we become stronger. Understanding how hard it has been for my mother to deal with the trial of her upbringing, and being taken from her family when she was five, we don’t judge her for not telling us when we were young. People need to understand what happened to the children of a stolen generation. That trauma never leaves them. It’s the same with the ongoing trauma of racism. Instead of masking racism, we need to deal with it day to day. It’s how we beat it.”

The Australian Dream is in cinemas in the UK and on demand 27 March www.theaustraliandream.co.uk/.

Boxing

Joshua to fight Pulev after Wilder invokes Fury rematch

Mark Staniforth

Anthony Joshua will face Kubrat Pulev, the IBF’s mandatory challenger, at the 62,000-seat Tottenham Hotspur Stadium on 20 June. The Bulgarian confirmed the fight against the world IBF, WBA, WBO and IBO heavyweight champion yesterday.

“The contract is already officially signed,” the former European amateur super-heavyweight champion wrote



▲ Kubrat Pulev will fight Anthony Joshua at Tottenham Hotspur Stadium

Racing

Whips to be banned in £1.8m Racing League summer series

Greg Wood

Senior jockeys will be banned from using the whip for the first time in British racing when a £1.8m series of races based on a league format launches later this year.

The Racing League, the brainchild of Jeremy Wray, a former chairman of Swindon Town FC, will unfold across six evening meetings this summer, each of which will have six handicaps with a prize fund of £50,000 per race.

While details of the participants, human and equine, have yet to be confirmed, 12 teams, each consisting of between two and four trainers, three jockeys and 30 horses, will field a runner in each of the 36 races, with league points awarded according to their finishing positions.

All of the meetings - at Doncaster, Lingfield, Newcastle and Windsor - will be televised by Sky Sports Racing, and jockeys will wear team colours rather than the silks of the horse’s owner.

The team with the most points at the end of the competition will earn a bonus prize shared between the team members, stable staff and a team ambassador who will be “picked at random from the public at the start of the competition”.

The Racing League’s decision to ban the use of the whip for anything but “safety and correction purposes” could prove controversial, not least as the British Horseracing Authority has only recently launched a consultation on use of the whip following a

on his Facebook page. “I am happy to be able to show the world how strong I am.”

Joshua beat Andy Ruiz Jr on points in a December rematch in Saudi Arabia to win back the world titles Ruiz had taken from him at Madison Square Gardens six months earlier.

Pulev challenged for the IBF world heavyweight title in 2014, losing against Wladimir Klitschko on a fifth-round knockout in Hamburg. He pulled out of a fight with Joshua in 2017 because of injury.

Joshua last fought in London in September 2018 when he defeated Alexander Povetkin at Wembley. If the 30-year-old beats Pulev, who will be 39 in May, he could be in line for a unification fight against Tyson Fury.

A third fight between the WBC champion and Deontay Wilder is set for the US no later than early July, Fury’s promoter, Frank Warren, said yesterday. Fury took the title in Las Vegas last month with a seventh-round stoppage of Wilder, who fought the Briton to a split-decision draw in their first meeting in December 2018. Warren had wanted Fury to fight Joshua next but Wilder had a rematch clause.

“He’s invoked the rematch clause, so that is what we are working towards,” Warren told TalkSport radio. “It’s contracted to take place in the States. That is in the contract and set in stone unless anyone agrees differently.” **PA Media**

recommendation from the independent Horse Welfare Board.

It also remains to be seen how punters and racegoers will react to top jockeys riding a finish with only hands and heels, as is the case in a limited number of contests for apprentice and conditional riders.

“I’m conscious that at the moment, the whip is again a centre of attention,” Wray said, “but my understanding of the welfare report that came out [last week] is that what we’re doing is probably in line with future thinking of what they need to look at. If the Racing League provides 36 races of data for people to analyse, that can only help, surely.”

Under the BHA’s rules for hands and heels races, riders who mistakenly use their whip for encouragement face a fine or suspension but their mounts are not disqualified for betting purposes. The same rules are expected to apply for Racing League events.

The full list of Racing League fixtures will be confirmed within the next few weeks, and the inaugural meeting will be held on 16 July.

Greg Wood’s tips

Exeter 2.00 The Jitterbug **2.30** Fortescue **3.00** Ballybreen (nap) **3.30** Jack Valentine **4.00** Celma Des Bois **4.30** Demopolis
Newcastle 2.20 Bonny Houxy **2.50** Epsom Des Mottes **3.20** Kings Eclipse **3.50** Bingo D’Olivate **4.20** She’sasupermack **4.50** Drenagh
Southwell 5.00 Moveonup **5.30** Tigray **6.00** Going Native **6.30** Parallel World **7.00** Cape Greco (nb) **7.30** Puchita

Sport Rugby union

▼ *Six Nations on free TV is vital to rugby's future*
CHARLOTTE WILSON/OFFSIDE
VIA GETTY IMAGES



Six Nations paywall would cut cord to thousands of fans

Taking live audiences for granted in return for £300m is a huge gamble for a sport with a thin link to the public

Robert Kitson

Sometimes we overlook the fragility of the thread connecting rugby with the public. It is not a sport that necessarily appeals to everyone, even if they do have a vague grasp of the rules. For some it is too brutal and painful to watch in comfort; if you have never played there are plenty of reasons to doubt the sanity of those who do. You don't get cauliflower ears playing badminton.

It is also a sport heavily reliant on its heritage and history. England against Wales on Saturday would be just another game without its evocative past, its cross-border element and its "them and us" cultural undercurrents. Much like the Grand National, people of all backgrounds will watch the Six Nations even if they don't much care for the actual sport.

The outcome also clearly matters,

as much now as it ever did. Sit anyone down in front of the anthems and they will instantly notice the depth of passion involved. A strong case could be made that listening to the soaring roar of Hen Wlad Fy Nhadau at the Principality Stadium is one of life's greatest experiences, regardless of your nationality. For any child watching at home it offers a tantalising window to another world, where it is neither a crime to throw your weight around nor uncool to show you care.

Always assuming, that is, you can see it. I can still vividly remember, aged eight, peeling away from the jelly and vanilla ice cream at my brother's sixth birthday party in our local village hall to nip home with Dad and watch a potentially decent televised game in late January 1973. Maybe it was fate but watching Phil Bennett weave his magic in his 22 and Gareth Edwards diving spectacularly over in the corner for the Barbarians against the All Blacks changed my life. I was hooked immediately and have been ever since.

Which begs the question: what if that match hadn't been on free-to-air television? It might have permitted second helpings of jelly, true, but a lack of exposure to rugby on terrestrial TV would, in

my case, have made a fundamental difference. We lived in a rural area with not a single rugby club nearby. No one in the family played rugby; even now my mum still refers to it as "that awful game". Depending on the school you went to it would have been quite possible to miss out on rugby completely.

Times, clearly, have changed, as have viewing habits. It could be that today's eight-year-olds, with so many alternative online avenues to explore, would not have their eyes opened in the same evangelical way by Owen Farrell and Ben Youngs or Gareth Davies and Jarrod Evans. That said the suggestion that the Six Nations, egged on by the private equity investor CVC, is looking to duck behind a paywall in exchange

'Nothing is ruled out'

Six Nations organisers have admitted the competition could go behind a paywall from 2022 but insist the tendering process is still at an early stage.

"Six Nations are in the process of seeking bids for various sets of media rights but these are not due for some time," a statement said. "All of this is highly premature and speculative as no proposals have yet been received by any interested party. We would not rule anything out at this stage and the unions will collectively review and make a decision based on the nature of the offers received." **PA Media**

for at least £300m still feels like a massive punt. Cut the umbilical cord between the Six Nations and its fair weather audience and the knock-on effect will be enormous. The second rugby becomes distant televisual wallpaper – on Sky or Amazon or wherever – it risks losing a significant chunk of its charm.

There is also the risk of taking live audiences for granted. Some cannot see the problem with England playing Argentina at 8pm on a Saturday night this November, as the Rugby Football Union has confirmed will be the case. It may, the theory goes, attract more viewers in South America and dovetail better with the other autumn Test kick-offs.

Fine but if the RFU really wants to scare itself it should go and consult the thousands of people who have already stopped going to Twickenham on grounds of price and logistics when the games kick-off at 2.30pm. An 8pm kick-off effectively makes it impossible for anyone on public transport and resident outside the home counties, even before you factor in the pleasures of dark, cold nights and a cramped seat up in the gods. Half of the appeal is the sense of morning anticipation, the colour and enthusiasm of the visiting fans, the tense pre-anthem waiting game. Much of that innocent enjoyment dissolves if you have to leave 20 minutes before the end to catch the last train back to Tiverton Parkway.

Exactly 40 years ago, as it happens, I witnessed my first England against Wales game at the old splintery, wooden-standed, sepia-tinted Twickenham. I stood on my own with someone else's kindly donated ticket, a shy 15-year-old wedged in tight on the north terrace, and can still smell the mix of beer, tobacco, sweat and ill feeling. There was increasing political antipathy off the field and a fractious game duly ensued. It was the day the Wales flanker Paul Ringer was sent off for a late elbow on the England fly-half John Horton; to say the visiting fans were in sour mood afterwards, having watched their team lose 9-8 to three Dusty Hare penalties, would be an understatement.

At least, though, we could all recycle the famous old Max Boyce line, "I was there". Live sport, in the end, is less about what you see than how it makes you feel. If access to international rugby at Twickenham were to become the preserve only of well-off types from the south-east or those able to afford a satellite or digital subscription, massive chunks of the population will be disenfranchised. Rugby needs to think very carefully about the wider implications before it sells its soul.

location and we will make a further announcement on this in due course. However, the Italy v England senior men's match in Rome is planned to go ahead as scheduled."

Last Friday the French government banned indoor meetings of more than 5,000 people in an effort to control the spread of the virus but early last night the number of deaths in France had risen to four. A spokesman for Scottish Rugby said that it is preparing to host France on Sunday as planned. Ireland's trip to Paris on 14 March, however, is more of a cause for concern.

Wales worry over fitness of Biggar after knee injury

Wales are holding their breath over the availability of the fly-half Dan Biggar for their Six Nations match at Twickenham on Saturday after his club coach, Chris Boyd, said they must "wait and see" if he will be fit.

Biggar, 30, was released to play for Northampton against Saracens on Saturday but was forced off injured after 20 minutes. Boyd described the knee injury as not serious but said it is unclear how long he will be out.

"He's hyper-extended his leg in a collision and seems to be moving relatively OK," Boyd told BBC Radio Northampton. "I don't think he's got any major structural damage from what I'm led to believe, so it's one of those ones we'll wait and see."

Biggar's potential absence would be a major setback for the head coach, Wayne Pivac, who is already missing the fly-halves Gareth Anscombe, Rhys Patchell and Owen Williams. If Biggar misses out the most likely replacement would be Jarrod Evans; yesterday Sam Davies, the Dragons No 10, joined training but he has yet to be officially called up to the squad.

England, meanwhile, will have Mako Vunipola unexpectedly available after he was named in an extended training squad. Eddie Jones had stated that the loosehead was unlikely to be in contention for the Wales game after travelling to Tonga for unspecified personal reasons.

Anthony Watson, who has yet to appear in this year's tournament due to a calf injury, is among the 34 in the squad.

For the first time in this Six Nations, Jones has picked a third scrum-half behind Ben Youngs and Willi Heinz. Jack Maunders has not played for England since winning his solitary cap on the 2017 tour to Argentina but the Exeter Chief now has the opportunity to force his way into the 23.

Mark Wilson came through last week's camp in Oxford and is challenging for a back-row spot as he continues his comeback from a knee injury. **Staff and agencies**

Ashton leaves Sale

Sale have announced the unexpected departure of Chris Ashton with immediate effect. Ashton joined the Sharks in July 2018 after completing one season at Toulon, a decision shaped by his motivation to relaunch his England career and be closer to his family. However, the 32-year-old wing with 44 caps is on the move again in the latest twist to a well-travelled club career. "Sale and Chris have reached a mutual agreement regarding the termination of his Sale Sharks contract and he will leave the club immediately," said the club. "Sale would like to thank Chris for his efforts while at the club and wish him and his family all the best for the future." **PA Media**

'We are following the situation closely'

➔ Continued from back page

The RFU declined to comment last night but it is understood all England players and management staff have been given lessons in "infection control" after it emerged pupils at the school in Oxford where Eddie Jones's squad trained last week have been put into self-isolation.

Up to 20,000 England supporters are expected to travel to Italy next week, with women's and under-20s matches also scheduled. Organisers early last night revealed that plans are afoot to relocate those two matches given they are currently due to take place in the north where numerous towns are on lockdown with the death toll in Italy now beyond 50. The Six Nations said that the men's fixture will remain in Rome and it is understood that playing the match behind closed doors is no longer thought to be a viable option.

"Six Nations and its six unions and federations are following the situation very closely with their respective governments and relevant health authorities and will strictly follow any directive given that would impact sporting events," read a Six Nations statement.

"As it stands today, based on the latest information, all Six Nations matches currently scheduled are set to go ahead. Six Nations is in contact with [the Italian federation] and the RFU regarding the possibility of relocating the women's and under-20 Italy vs England matches to another Italian



Bittersweet Australia booked their place in the Women's T20 World Cup semi-finals with a four-run win against New Zealand - but their victory came at a cost as their star all-rounder Ellyse Perry (📷) could miss the rest of the tournament with a hamstring strain. **PA Media**

SCOTT BARBOUR/AAP

England ditch handshakes for Sri Lanka tour

Ali Martin

England will swap handshakes for fist bumps in Sri Lanka as they look to steer clear of any illnesses and make advances in the World Test Championship.

Joe Root's players flew out of Heathrow last night for a two-Test series that begins in Galle on 19 March, the tour having been cleared to proceed despite sporting events coming under increasing threat from coronavirus.

So far there has been just one confirmed case of Covid-19 in Sri Lanka. But after their recent 3-1 win in South Africa was nearly derailed at the start by a gastro bug that moved rapidly through the squad, England will remain vigilant regardless.

Root said: "After South Africa we are well aware of the importance of keeping contact to a minimum and we've been given some really sound and sensible advice from our medical team to help prevent spreading germs and bacteria.

"We are not shaking hands with

each other - using instead the well-established fist bump - and we are washing hands regularly and wiping down surfaces using the antibacterial wipes and gels we've been given in our immunity packs. There is no suggestion that the tour will be affected. But, of course, it is an evolving situation."

It will be the first time England have played a two-match series in the new World Test Championship, the slightly convoluted scoring system of which makes each fixture worth 60 points.

Secure a 2-0 win and Root's men will move within striking distance of the top two spots that are currently occupied by India and Australia and which will ultimately make up the showpiece final at Lord's in 2021.

England are without Moeen Ali and Adil Rashid, two of the three spinners who set up the 3-0 win in Sri Lanka 18 months ago, while Jack Leach, the third, is only just back after suffering from sepsis and flu this winter, as well as a recent calf twinge.



▲ Joe Root is hoping England's form continues from the South Africa tour

Football Analysis David Conn



Champions League future at heart of Uefa wheeler-dealing

All of Europe's 55 national football associations will gather in Amsterdam today for an annual Uefa congress whose schedule promises routine administrative business but where the corridors will be dense with political dealing.

European football's governing body has come a long way in the 65 years since its first congress in 1955 when the French sports newspaper L'Equipe presented its idea of a Europe-wide competition for club champions. That alluring, romantic prospect began in the 1955-56 season, 10 years after the second world war.

The English were characteristically snuffy about the European Cup, effectively ordering Chelsea not to take part following the club's first league championship, their only title until the post-2003 ownership by Roman Abramovich.

Matt Busby defied the Football League's narrow-minded parochialism and took Manchester United into floodlit European competition following their 1956 title. Their need to race back and fulfil fixtures the league would not postpone was the disastrous context to the Munich air crash in February 1958.

These days the Champions League glitters as the world's premier club competition, a stage for football's greatest stars, a multibillion televised feast - and for idealists, a great exhibition put on by European countries working together. Now, though, the tournament and Uefa are approaching another crossroads, and the talk in Amsterdam will be all about the direction to take.

The intrigues lie in the convulsions administrators have got themselves into over the Champions League size and format when the agreed football calendar comes to an end in 2024. The European Club Association (ECA), the alliance of big clubs, has worked its way into the heart of Uefa's decision-making structures but has hardly distinguished itself, coming up with a series of plans defined by no apparently coherent strategy except that there should be more matches and more money for them.

Uefa, led since 2016 by the Slovenian lawyer Aleksander

Ceferin, has appeared during this process to be simultaneously dazzled, trapped and fearful. Although the threat of a breakaway superleague is low it hovers as an extreme possibility over all discussions. Uefa is newly nervous of its former general secretary Gianni Infantino, who as the Fifa president is creating an expanded Club World Cup.

The first proposal for the Champions League was presented by the ECA and the Juventus chairman, Andrea Agnelli, almost two years ago: a reshaping of the group stage into four groups of eight that would give participating clubs eight more matches each. Last year Uefa and the ECA renewed their formal agreement, signed by Ceferin and Agnelli, that gives the ECA two elected members on Uefa's executive committee, representation on several powerful committees and equal membership with Uefa on a joint body to consider the format of competitions.

Nasser al-Khelaifi, the president of Paris Saint-Germain and the broadcaster beIN, which buys Champions League TV rights for several regions, was elected to the exco last year, despite being under criminal investigation in Switzerland; on 20 February he was

Although the threat of a breakaway superleague is low it hovers as a possibility over all discussions

charged with a criminal offence. He denies any wrongdoing but it is an extraordinary look for the ECA and Uefa.

The next plan, for an expanded Champions League with 24 clubs retaining participation each season, and promotion and relegation with the Europa League, was widely rejected by national leagues and derided as a Uefa-sanctioned superleague. The latest, which will be chewed over during the dinners in Amsterdam, is reported to be a compromise: only four extra group stage matches and qualification points for achievement in the previous season's competition.

That is said to be aimed at helping successful clubs from smaller countries such as Ajax, who reached the semi-finals with those marvellous performances last season but had to start in the qualifying rounds this season owing to the Netherlands' lower ranking. England, Spain, Germany and Italy each have four clubs qualifying automatically for the group stage.

Uefa's landmark governance reform of recent years, financial fair play, has been subject to misinformed and at times hysterical criticism in England owing to its restraint of unlimited spending by owners but it was implemented in 2009 and has since transformed the European game's financial health.

Ceferin was elected on a promise to address one of football's defining fault lines, the concentration of money and success in the top clubs and the erosion of "competitive balance" for meaningful challengers.

At the congress two years ago he promised "to fight tooth and nail" for that but there has been little sign of it since; instead Uefa has seemed more locked in an embrace with the leading clubs, to keep them as prime Champions League content-providers, and make them richer.

Above and beyond the detail of the likely football formats after 2024 is a more fundamental question: about whether Uefa can be the sporting governing body European football needs at a time of unimagined success but intense inequality and challenge.



► Aleksander Ceferin is facing calls to reform the Champions League
MATTHIAS HANGST/GETTY IMAGES



Foden takes another giant step on his road to accession

Manchester City's young midfielder took opportunity at Wembley to show exciting glimpse of the near future

David Hytner

How does anyone lay claim to succeeding a man they call Merlin? Phil Foden had the answer on Sunday. By sprinkling his magic across Wembley to inspire Manchester City to victory in the Carabao Cup final against Aston Villa.

The 19-year-old has long been considered as the heir apparent to David Silva, who will depart City in the summer after 10 years of casting his spells from midfield, but the Foden accession is no fancy of supporters desperate to see one of their own take centre stage. It is Pep Guardiola who has anointed him. "David is going to leave this season and we are not going to buy any

player in his position because we have Phil," Guardiola said in January. "If we didn't believe in him we might go to the market to replace David, but we have Phil."

The vagaries of the transfer window are such that Guardiola cannot categorically close the door on adding creative talent; in other words, situations can change. But his encouragement for Foden has provided motivation and inspiration.

"If the manager says something like that, it gives you a lot of belief and courage to keep playing and doing well," he says. "With the manager behind you, it can only help you and make you better. He is always trying to help me each day and it's just a pleasure for me to be a part of it."

Sometimes the yearning for the local boy to make good can blind fans to harsh realities but the question for Foden, particularly after Sunday, is not whether he will make it but how quickly and where.

Nominally a No 10, there was an element of surprise when Guardiola

◀ Phil Foden showed his precocious talent at the Under-17 World Cup in 2017
JAN KRUGER/FIFA VIA GETTY IMAGES

lined him up on the right of his front three. In one of the biggest games of his short career, Foden was out of position. The challenge was immense and, possibly because of his burgeoning status, it was no exaggeration to say that all eyes were on him. The noise around Foden has been a constant since he starred for England's under-17s in the World Cup triumph of 2017. He was named player of the tournament.

The way Foden seized his opportunity was breathtaking; one of those coming-of-age stories so beloved of top-level sport. There was a stillness around him when he did his work, the sense that the ball was his best friend, almost an extension of his body. Witness when he was buffeted early on by a Villa challenger only to retain his balance and accelerate away. Most players would have gone down. Or when he took the most casually perfect touch to kill a high pass, jink inside and shoot just wide.

There was a moment in the second half when he took another crossfield ball and, without letting it touch the ground, juggled forward with it. A bit of showboating? No. The over-riding impression was of a young player enjoying himself, eager to show everyone what he could do. It is the purity of the first touch that sets apart the very best; Foden's is a thing of beauty. And, remember, he influenced this final from an unfamiliar position. Guardiola, who prizes tactical flexibility, would have loved that.

Kevin De Bruyne said last week that sometimes City's players "don't really know until the game starts what we need to do". Guardiola wants them to interpret their roles, to respond to the ebb and flow. Foden, who set up the first goal of City's 2-1 win for Sergio Agüero, did just that.

"It's a new position for me playing out there [on the right] but I enjoyed

It's a new position for me playing out there but I enjoyed it because I got time on the ball'

it because I got a lot of time on the ball and a lot of room to do things," Foden said. "It always helps if you can play in many positions and I thought I did OK in that position."

It is the curse of a journalist to talk up young players but, at times like these, it feels unavoidable and with Euro 2020 looming it is surely inevitable that there will be a clamour for Gareth Southgate to call up Foden to the senior England squad.

The problem for Southgate goes beyond the embarrassment of riches he has in terms of young attacking midfield talent (Mason Mount, James Maddison, Dele Alli, Jack Grealish, Ruben Loftus-Cheek). It also concerns whether he can select a player who has yet to complete 90 minutes in the Premier League this season and has done so once in his career.

"I want to be there, but it's very difficult with the players that we have," Foden says. "Hopefully Gareth was watching [against Villa] and hopefully he saw things that he liked. All I can do is show what I can do every time I play and see where it takes me. We haven't spoken much but he has said in a few places that he is keeping a close eye on me."

Foden knows how to make people feel old. His earliest Wembley memory? "I remember the bad one against Wigan when we got beat 1-0 in the FA Cup final late on [in 2013]," he says. He also tweeted a picture on Sunday night of him celebrating the opening goal with Agüero and a caption that said he had been 11 years old when the striker helped City to their first Premier League title in 2012.

Foden talks these days of a sense of belonging. "When I first went [with the City first-team squad] I found it quite difficult to keep up with the speed and the physicality and I was getting quite frustrated at times," he says. "But as a few months went on and I started getting the hang of it, that's when I felt comfortable."

For now, Foden can enjoy a man-of-the-match performance for his club in a Wembley showpiece but the treadmill does not stop and next up is the FA Cup fifth-round tie at Sheffield Wednesday tomorrow. The excitement around Foden is palpable. He is ready to step up.



Looking up Villa take heart but time is running out

Paul Doyle

A good video editor could really mess with Aston Villa's minds after Sunday's Carabao Cup final. On one hand they could show the two goals Manchester City scored with the aid of slovenly defending and

slack officiating, thus intimating that Villa are likely to continue to fall short this season because of a combination of basic mistakes and bad luck.

On the other hand, they could replay Mbwana Samatta's diving header, Björn Engels repeatedly throwing himself in front of shots or Marvelous Nakamba crunching into Sergio Agüero with the kind of tackle lawmakers are trying to eradicate but from which teammates and fans will always take inspiration.

These were all moments from which Villa could take heart, the evidence Dean Smith and his players drew on when declaring that the performance against City showed they are improving and not merely because they lost 2-1 to a side who

thrashed them 6-1 a month and a half ago.

"It was really hard to beat us, that is how it should be every week," said Villa's goalkeeper Ørjan Nyland. "[Blocks] are as important as goals really. We did it a lot today so just do it next weekend as well."

Samatta, too, feels the performance proved Villa are heading in the right direction. "It's just a matter of time until we catch the pace and we're going to start winning games," he said. "The character is there and everybody is believing. There is just something missing but we are going to have it."

It is natural for a player who was playing his fifth match since joining the club to speak about making gradual steps towards real fluency.

But it applies not just to him, the most recent arrival, but to practically the whole team.

Owing mainly to circumstance, Smith found himself tasked with having to build almost an entirely new side since winning the Championship play-off final; four of the lineup that started that match



▲ Ørjan Nyland feels that Aston Villa have to maintain Sunday's standard

featured on Sunday. The club made 12 signings last summer and, after a particularly unfortunate spate of injuries, another four in January. None can be dismissed as failures but only one, Tyrone Mings, can be hailed as an unqualified success.

Most of the others, bought relatively cheaply, have shown the potential to thrive in the Premier League but have had games where they were caught out at crucial times.

Samatta, Nakamba, Engels, Frédéric Guilbert and Douglas Luiz have all shown enough to suggest they could become solid Premier League players for a long time. The problem is they have 11 matches left to make sure they are in the same division next season.

▼ Phil Foden (right) makes an impression at Wembley against Aston Villa
JAMES WILLIAMSON/AMA/GETTY



What is more, they have to do that alongside players who have occasionally flourished but have yet to convince that they are at home at this level, as opposed to that cruel limbo-land of players who are too good for the Championship but not quite good enough for the top-flight, such as Anwar El Ghazi, Matt Targett and Conor Hourihane.

Faced with players adapting to different degrees and at different rates, Smith has had to keep reassessing supposed progress. Against Leicester on Monday, for instance, should he stick with the back four that did pretty well against City and which he had previously felt compelled to abandon in favour of a back three? Does he select Nyland instead of Pepe Reina, who initially

appeared to have brought calmness to the backline after his arrival in January but then contributed to the jitters on show against Southampton in their last league game, when there was no trace of the fight Villa showed on Sunday?

At least, though, there are some certainties for him as he contemplates a difficult run-in: Villa, who have delivered more crosses this season than all but four Premier League teams, have at last, in Samatta, a player who can get on the end of incoming passes; no one has done well enough regularly enough to keep John McGinn out of the team when the Scot soon makes his long-awaited return; and Jack Grealish will not be as inconspicuous again as he was on Sunday.

In brief

Manchester City
Bravo mulling over move to New York City

Claudio Bravo is considering an offer to join New York City in Major League Soccer when his contract at Manchester City expires in the summer. The 36-year-old goalkeeper was signed in 2016 from Barcelona to be City's No 1 only to endure an erratic season in which he lost his place to Willy Caballero. He has since acted as the understudy to Ederson. Bravo has reached the stage of his career when he wants to play regular league football and with City not expected to offer him fresh terms, he is mulling over his options.

David Hytner

RB Leipzig
Club sorry for turning away Japanese fans

RB Leipzig have been forced to apologise for an "error" towards Japanese fans during the game against Bayer Leverkusen on Sunday. The club did not specify what the "error" was but reports in Germany said that up to 20 supporters were asked to leave after the start of the game because of coronavirus fears. Leipzig said in a statement released yesterday that security officers at the stadium had been asked to follow guidelines from the Robert Koch institute - Germany's centre for disease control and prevention - in regards to groups of people from affected areas but that an error had been committed towards "our Japanese guests".

Blackpool
Critchley leaves Anfield to take manager's post

Neil Critchley, the Liverpool under-23s' coach, has been appointed head coach at Blackpool. "Congratulations to Blackpool and to Neil, it's a great thing," said Jürgen Klopp, the Reds manager. Critchley, who took charge of the first team for two FA Cup ties this season, when the German was away, has agreed a deal with the League One club that runs until the end of the 2022-23 campaign. "I can't wait to get started, I'm really looking forward to meeting the players, developing the team and meeting the supporters," he said.



Neil Critchley took charge of two Liverpool FA Cup games this year



Welcome finish Lewis Grabban's 17th goal of the season four minutes from time secured a 2-2 draw for promotion-chasing Nottingham Forest at Middlesbrough. It means Boro, who have not won since 1 January, remain in the Championship relegation places.

Results

Football

EMIRATES FA CUP

Fifth round:

Portsmouth	(0) 0	Arsenal	(1) 2
		Papastathopoulos 45	
		Nketiah 51	

18,839

SKY BET CHAMPIONSHIP

	P	W	D	L	F	A	GD	Pts
West Brom	36	19	12	5	64	37	+27	69
Leeds	36	20	8	8	54	30	+24	68
Fulham	36	18	9	9	51	37	+14	63
Nottingham Forest	36	16	12	8	48	35	+13	60
Brentford	36	16	9	11	59	33	+26	57
Preston	36	16	8	12	49	42	+7	56
Bristol City	36	15	9	12	50	52	-2	54
Blackburn	36	14	11	11	52	42	+10	53
Swansea	36	13	13	10	46	45	+1	52
Millwall	36	12	15	9	41	40	+1	51
Cardiff	36	12	15	9	50	50	0	51
Sheffield Wed	36	13	9	14	46	44	+2	48
Derby	36	12	12	12	46	49	-3	48
QPR	36	13	8	15	55	61	-6	47
Birmingham	36	12	11	13	47	54	-7	47
Reading	36	12	9	15	43	41	+2	45
Huddersfield	36	11	9	16	45	56	-11	42
Hull	36	11	8	17	48	58	-10	41
Wigan	36	10	10	16	38	50	-12	40
Charlton	36	10	9	17	44	53	-9	39
Stoke	36	11	6	19	44	54	-10	39
Middlesbrough	36	8	14	14	36	47	-11	38
Barnsley	36	8	10	18	42	60	-18	34
Luton	36	10	4	22	43	71	-28	34

Middlesbrough	(2) 2	Nottingham Forest	(1) 2
Gesteira 40		Yates 29	
Wing 44		Grabban 86	
18,884			

BETVICTOR NORTHERN PREMIER LEAGUE
Basford United 0 Nantwich Town 2

PRIMEIRA LIGA

Santa Clara 0 Porto 2; Benfica 1 Moreirense 1

Netball

VITALITY SUPERLEAGUE

Surrey Storm 50 London Pulse 51;
Wasps Netball 57 Saracens Mavericks 53

Cricket

ICC WOMEN'S WORLD TWENTY20

Melbourne Australia 155-5 (BL Mooney 60). New Zealand 51-7. Australia won by four runs.

Melbourne Bangladesh 91-8 (HASD Siriwardene 4-16).

Sri Lanka 92-1. Sri Lanka won by nine wickets.

Group A	P	W	L	T	NR	RR	Pts
India Q	4	4	0	0	0	0.98	8
Australia Q	4	3	1	0	0	0.97	6
New Zealand	4	2	2	0	0	0.36	4
Sri Lanka	4	1	3	0	0	-0.40	2
Bangladesh	4	0	4	0	0	-1.91	0

SECOND MEN'S TEST MATCH (day three of five)

Christchurch India 242 (GH Vihari 55; CA Pujara 54; PP Shaw 54; KA Jamieson 5-45) and 124 (TA Boult 4-28).
New Zealand 235 (TWM Latham 52; Mohammed Shami 4-81) and 132-3 (TA Blundell 55; TWM Latham 52).
New Zealand beat India by seven wickets.

MEN'S TOUR MATCH (day one of four)

Wollongong New South Wales 2nd XI 242-4 (R Hackney 95; J Sangha 85) v England Lions.

Tennis

WTA LYON OPEN (France)

First round: A Van Uytvanck (Bel) bt K Kawa 6-1 6-3;
Y Bonaventure (Bel) bt M Kostyuk (Ukr) 6-4 6-4;
M Bara Irina (Rom) bt T Babos (Hun) 6-3 6-7 (2); J Cristian (Rom) bt P Hon (Aus) 6-2 6-0; A Cornet (Fr) bt A Lottner (Ger) 7-5 6-0; C Garcia (Fr) bt G Minnen (Bel) 6-4 1-6 7-6 (5); A-L Friedsam (Ger) bt A Komardina (Rus) 6-2 6-2.

WTA MONTERREY OPEN (Mexico)

First round: M Bouzkova (Cz) bt K Kucova (Svk) 6-4 6-2;
R Peterson (Swe) bt K Kozlova (Ukr) 3-6 7-6 (1) 6-4.

Fixtures

Football (7.45pm unless stated)

Emirates FA Cup

Fifth round: Chelsea v Liverpool, Reading v Sheffield United (8pm); West Brom v Newcastle (8pm)

Sky Bet League One

Ipswich v Fleetwood Town

Sky Bet League Two

Exeter v Crewe; Plymouth v Grimsby; Swindon v Scunthorpe

Ladbrokes Scottish Premiership

Hibernian v Hearts

Ladbrokes Scottish Championship

Ayr v Dundee United; Dundee v Alloa; Inverness CT v Morton; Partick v Queen of the South

Ladbrokes Scottish League 1

Clyde v Montrose; Dumbarton v Forfar; Raith v Falkirk

Ladbrokes Scottish League 2

Cowdenbeath v Albion; Stirling v Stenhousemuir

Cricket

ICC Women's World T20

Group B (Sydney) Pakistan v Thailand (4am);
West Indies v South Africa (8am)
Second Men's One-Day International
Bangladesh v Zimbabwe (Sylhet, 7am)

Nketiah ensures Arteta gamble on Arsenal's youth pays off

Portsmouth 0

Arsenal 2

Papastathopoulos 45, Nketiah 51

Possession
Portsmouth 27% Arsenal 73%

Shots on target
1 4

Fouls
8 6

Ed Aarons
Fratton Park

Mikel Arteta is nothing if not brave. With the outcome of his team's season hinging on progressing in the FA Cup, the Arsenal manager saw his faith in youth rewarded once again with a clinical away victory thanks to goals either side of half-time from Sokratis Papastathopoulos and Eddie Nketiah.

Against motivated opponents backed by a vociferous home crowd, Arsenal rode the early Portsmouth storm but needed two flashes of inspiration from the returning Reiss Nelson to ease their path into the sixth round. The forward – one of six aged 20 or under who started – was a constant menace down the right flank and totally justified his inclusion instead of the £72m record-signing Nicolas

Pépé with a brilliant performance that showed Arsenal supporters there may be reasons to be positive about the future after all.

Despite this competition representing Arsenal's last chance of a trophy after their surprise defeat to Olympiakos in the Europa League, Arteta made nine changes, with the Spaniard Pablo Mari handed his first appearance since joining from Flamengo in January.

In the absence of Pierre-Emerick Aubameyang, David Luiz was made captain, while Nelson made his first start of the year as he returned from injury in a youthful attacking trio alongside Gabriel Martinelli and Nketiah.

Arteta had been impressed with his emerging young players in the ruthless victory at Bournemouth in the previous round but against a Portsmouth side who had won their last 10 home matches in all competitions, the trip to Fratton Park was always likely to be a more testing occasion.

Not since the infamous defeat to Wrexham in 1992 have Arsenal been eliminated from the cup by a team from outside the top two divisions but in Kenny Jackett, their rookie manager was up against someone with pedigree in the FA Cup. The former Wales midfielder played for Watford in the 1984 final and also guided Millwall to the last four in 2013, with his Portsmouth team having already seen off four teams to reach this stage.



Fifth round TV bonanza

All ties to be shown live, on either BBC One, BBC red button/iPlayer, BT Sport or Facebook Watch
Tonight Chelsea v Liverpool (BBC One); Reading v Sheff Utd (Facebook Watch) 8pm; West Brom v Newcastle (BBC●) 8pm
Tomorrow Sheff Wed v Man City (BBC One); Leicester v Birmingham (Facebook Watch); Tottenham v Norwich (BBC●)
Thursday Derby v Man Utd (BT Sport 1)
7.45pm unless stated

▲ James Bolton challenges Lucas Torreira, the Arsenal player suffering an injury as a result
ADRIAN DENNIS/
AFP VIA GETTY

Defender shows he's up for the Cup

The centre-back Sokratis Papastathopoulos puts Arsenal ahead against Portsmouth
JAMES MARSH/BPI/
SHUTTERSTOCK



Third in League One and chasing a return to the second tier for the first time in nearly eight years, there is a positivity around the club not seen since the 2008 FA Cup triumph that was reflected in the bouncing atmosphere at the kick-off. Despite making six changes from the win over Rochdale on Friday that included leaving both the captain, Tom Naylor, and the top scorer, Ronan Curtis, on the bench, it was not hard to see how Portsmouth have put together such an impressive record at this old ground given the way they started this game.

Arsenal did well to withstand the early barrage, with the striker Ellis Harrison attempting to make the most of a rare start and the winger Marcus Harness also causing the makeshift right-back Papstathopoulos some serious problems.

Lucas Torreira was withdrawn just after the quarter hour following a bad challenge from James Bolton but Portsmouth continued to make the running as they were serenaded with chants of “We’re our way back” from a raucous crowd, even if they failed to really test Emiliano Martínez in the Arsenal goal.

Matteo Guendouzi’s harsh booking for placing the ball on the pitch in an over-deliberate manner as he took a free-kick did nothing to improve Arteta’s mood, but a brilliantly composed finish from Papstathopoulos in first-half injury time from Nelson’s pinpoint cross settled his nerves at just the right time.

Tony Adams, who was the assistant manager to Harry Redknapp at Pompey in 2008 before taking over a few months after their famous triumph at Wembley, was introduced to the crowd at half-time to a rapturous reception from both sets of fans. He also lifted the FA Cup three times with Arsenal and will have been impressed with the way the side he captained with such distinction for 14 years put the tie virtually out of reach at the start of the second half.

Fittingly in a city synonymous with his maritime namesake, once again it was Nelson who provided the ammunition after leaving his marker, Steve Seddon, for dead to allow Nketiah to bundle home at the near post. Replays showed he had been slightly fortunate that the ball deflected into his path as the cross came in, although the 20-year-old’s record of three goals in his last four appearances are an indication of his growing confidence.

Jackett threw on the boyhood Arsenal fan Curtis and a strike partner John Marquis in a last throw of the dice but the hosts struggled to exert the kind of pressure they enjoyed in the first half, with Bukayo Saka’s shot almost extending Arsenal’s lead as the clock ticked down.

But while Portsmouth will know their main priority this season is to achieve promotion, Arteta will take heart from the way his new-look defence saw out this victory with minimal fuss after all the last-minute drama against Olympiakos.

Portsmouth 4-2-3-1 Bass; McCrorie, Bolton, Burgess, Seddon; Close, McGeehan, Williams, Evans (Cannon 74), Harness (Curtis 67); Harrison (Marquis 67) <i>Subs not used</i> MacGillivray, Naylor, Whatmough, Raggett	Arsenal 4-3-3 Martínez; Papastathopoulos, David Luiz, Mari, Saka; Willock (Khaka 87), Guendouzi, Torreira (Ceballos 16); Nelson (Maitland-Niles 90), Nketiah, Martinelli <i>Subs not used</i> Leno, Lacazette, Holding, Pépé
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Referee Mike Dean Attendance 18,839

Sturridge ‘gutted’ after ban extended

Andy Hunter

Daniel Sturridge has been banned from all football related activity until 17 June after the FA successfully appealed against his punishment for breaching its betting rules.

The former Liverpool striker said he was devastated by the four-month worldwide suspension that has brought an abrupt end to his time with the Turkish club Trabzonspor.

Sturridge was handed a six-week ban – with the final four weeks suspended – and fined £75,000 last July after being found guilty of providing his brother with inside information

on a potential move from Liverpool to Sevilla in 2018.

The FA, however, claimed the sanction was too lenient and wanted a six-month worldwide ban to reflect the seriousness of the case. An independent appeal board backed the FA’s case and Sturridge has been banned for four months, his fine doubled to £150,000 and his three-year contract with Trabzonspor mutually terminated after six months.

Sturridge, 30, was charged with 11 betting breaches in November 2018 and found guilty on two counts of telling his brother, Leon, to bet on a possible transfer to Sevilla. The move to Spain did not materialise and the former Manchester City and Chelsea



▲ Daniel Sturridge, four goals in 13 for Trabzonspor, had his fine doubled

forward joined West Brom on loan until the end of the 2017-18 season.

Almost £14,000 was wagered in total by people directly or indirectly connected to Sturridge and attempts were made to place a further £20,560 on potential moves for the striker in

Klopp has no doubt Reds will bounce back after defeat

Andy Hunter

Jürgen Klopp has said he would have to be a “real idiot” to question the character of his Liverpool team after one bad defeat, but immediate improvement on the Watford performance will be essential to overcome Chelsea in the FA Cup.

Liverpool lost their unbeaten Premier League run in startling fashion at Vicarage Road on Saturday and head to Stamford Bridge tonight looking to avoid a third consecutive away defeat in all competitions. Klopp, expected to make several changes for his first FA Cup fifth-round tie, believes no Liverpool player performed at their usual level at Watford. But he insists faith in a team who remain on course to win the Premier League title in record time is unbroken. “I am not a little bit in doubt about the character of the boys and I would be a real idiot if I would be because they deserve my trust, my faith, and they don’t lose it after a bad game,” he said.

Klopp analysed the Watford game when he returned home on Saturday night before hosting a regular team meeting at Melwood on Sunday. “It can happen that I get angry but I didn’t get angry with the players in that meeting,” he said. “If I go in that meeting and shout at them like they have lost the last 10 games because of a bad attitude that would be really strange. I am not interested that after the meeting I feel better. I am interested in the boys getting the right information.

“The situation we are in is special. Could I say that is the way we have

to deal with it because I was there 20 times before and we dealt with it like this and it always worked out? No. I was never in a situation like that. We came through an incredible long period with incredible performances, sensational football, wonderful goals and great success until this point.

“There is a reason for losing a game and I prefer seeing the reason than not knowing why. It was not that the fortunes changed or that destiny wanted to give us a knock. We were just not good enough. That is the easy answer and that is filled with a lot of information that the boys get but not too much because we don’t want to think about that game for too long.”

Klopp has James Milner back from injury for the FA Cup tie but Jordan Henderson and Naby Keita remain sidelined by hamstring and hip problems respectively. He said there can be no repeat of the Watford performance against Chelsea.



Jürgen Klopp believes the situation Liverpool are in is special

“This is an exceptional group of players,” he said. “They did outstanding stuff – but not that night. For the next game we need to improve immediately or else we will get punished.

“If they respond they have to show tomorrow night but we play against Chelsea. Should I think that just because we want to respond that

‘Incredible feat’ Lampard uses Liverpool as reference point

Tumaini Carayol

Frank Lampard has said he does not expect Liverpool’s first league defeat of the season to soften the challenge of facing them in the FA Cup fifth round at Stamford Bridge tonight.

Asked if it is an ideal time to face Liverpool after their surprise 3-0 defeat to Watford on Saturday, Lampard laughed and said: “Why? Because they lost one game? Maybe not, who knows? That can go either way. They have become relatively human for one game. It can happen in this Premier League, which is incredibly competitive.”

For Lampard, the ordinariness of Liverpool’s performance against Watford was a reflection of how exceptional they have been for so long:

“Liverpool have just had a couple of results like the rest of us do. They’ve been out on their own this season. It has been an incredible feat and they have just become slightly normal.”

The focus may be on how Liverpool will react but Chelsea are facing problems of their own. After Saturday’s deflating 2-2 draw at Bournemouth, Chelsea have won one of their past six games in the Premier League, in addition to a 3-0 battering against Bayern Munich in the Champions League.

Lampard continues to be coy on his decision to bench Kepa Arrizabalaga but he spoke soberly of the mounting injuries. Ruben Loftus-Cheek returned to action for the under-23s yesterday, but N’Golo Kante, Christian Pulisic, Tammy Abraham and Callum Hudson-Odoi are all out.



▲ Frank Lampard is hindered by several injuries in his Chelsea squad

January 2018, although these were refused by betting companies. Had they been accepted and successful, they would have returned a further £317,006.

The appeal board upheld the FA’s appeal on two charges – relating to the potential Sevilla move and Sturridge providing a friend, Daniel Hemmings, with information about his switch to West Brom – meaning four of the original charges against the striker have been proven.

The FA argued there was a “family agreement” involving Sturridge and several relatives, whereby the striker would provide inside information about his potential transfers and his brother would use betting contacts to obtain the best possible odds.

Sturridge responded in a video message: “Although the appeal panel had recognised I hadn’t bet, I was still charged. It is very disappointing and upsetting to hear the appeal panel had overturned the original, highly qualified panel’s ruling. It is devastating for me and I am absolutely gutted about it.”

we shoot Chelsea out of their own stadium? No. It will be a tough game.”

Curtis Jones, Pedro Chirivella and Neco Williams have played every minute of Liverpool’s FA Cup campaign this season and though Klopp is likely to deploy a mix of youth and experience at Stamford Bridge, he insists his desire to win the competition cannot be questioned.

“We cannot fight more for the cup competitions than we do already,” he said. “One cup competition that we proved we take really seriously in the last couple of years is the Champions League. The FA Cup? It’s nothing to do with us not wanting to go to the final. It was just because of draws or performances. Team selections were always reasonable. We will play Chelsea with all we have. Then Bournemouth with all we have. Then Madrid with all we have. Then Everton, then Crystal Palace or FA Cup, right? It will be with all we have.”

“It’s definitely been an issue. Christian Pulisic is out for two months and N’Golo Kante has played 50% of our games and he generally plays 100% of our games or thereabouts. People have looked in slightly different directions with us, with the transfer ban and the youth, [but] this has been a big issue for us.”

Chelsea’s two encounters with Liverpool this season have brought a loss on penalties after a 2-2 draw in the Super Cup and then a tense 2-1 defeat at Stamford Bridge in September. Rather than with fear, Lampard views Liverpool as a “reference point”.

“I remember them doing the arms [celebration] when they drew with West Brom [in 2015],” he said. “I watched a sports documentary recently where it came up. [They were] probably slightly ridiculed for it at the time.

“But that shows you. To me it is very symbolic of the journey of a team that is an absolute machine rolling everyone over until the last game. It’s a reference point in terms of what a work in progress looks like and it can take time and behind what we can see now is a lot of sweat and hard work from everyone involved, which is what I’m trying to do here.”

Root on alert

England swap handshakes for fist bumps on Sri Lanka tour

Page 39 →



Teenage kicks

Foden's heroics at Wembley spark England clamour

Page 40 →



The Guardian
Tuesday 3 March 2020



Sport

Portsmouth

0

Arsenal

2

Papastathopoulos 45
Nketiah 51

Gunners eye glory after Pompey stroll

Nketiah provides the finishing touch to ensure Arsenal ease past Portsmouth and keep only hope of a trophy alive with smooth FA Cup victory

Match report
Page 42 →



ROBIN JONES/GETTY IMAGES

Play on ... for now

Six Nations gets green light for remaining games to go ahead

Gerard Meagher

England's hopes of clinching the Six Nations title in Italy this month remain alive after tournament organisers decided against postponing any further matches due to the outbreak of the coronavirus following an emergency meeting in Paris yesterday. There is the possibility, however, that England complete their fixtures and have to wait until next season to discover if they are crowned champions.



Eddie Jones's side are due to face Italy on 14 March

While Ireland's match against Italy in Dublin has already been postponed, the Six Nations has said that "based on the latest information", the five remaining matches, including England's trip to face Italy in Rome on 14 March, are to go ahead. The organisers stressed, however, that they will strictly follow government directives that may yet lead to more postponements. Effectively, as was the case with Ireland's match against Italy, the organisers and the six unions want the respective governments to make the final decision.

The Six Nations was unable to provide a new date for Ireland v Italy but insisted the intention is to reschedule the fixture and complete the tournament, even though it is unlikely to be earlier than October. Cancellations would cost millions in lost ticket revenue and leave the organisers the considerable problem of how to divide the £16m of prize money.

Yesterday's decision means that as things stand England's home match against Wales on Saturday and France's trip to Scotland on Sunday will go ahead. Victory over Wales would aid England's hopes of claiming the Six Nations crown though if France beat Scotland the following day, the tournament could be left in limbo until Ireland against Italy is finally played.

The Rugby Football Union is taking its guidance from Public Health England, which has not yet banned public gatherings, as has happened in France. The prime minister, Boris Johnson, is today expected to outline measures to be taken in the event of a mass epidemic.

Betting ban

Sturridge out for four more months after FA win case

Page 43 →



If someone won't get
up for me, I sit on them

I'm a remarkable
person

Being a lesbian is
absolutely terrific

Very few men
have souls

The world
according
to Miriam
Margolyes

The
Guardian



Tuesday 03/03/20

Life

& Arts

**Amour
the merrier**
Readers' European
love stories
page 6



Hadley Freeman
What's the best way
to celebrate Boris
Johnson's new baby?
page 5



Nº 4,109

Textiles

Age: They come in all ages.
Appearance: Nice and warm.
Are we talking about fabrics? No, just the people who wear them.
You mean absolutely everyone? Not quite.
Which constituency could it possibly exclude? Naturists. “Textiles” is a word they sometimes use to refer to the clothes-wearing majority.
It doesn’t sound as if they mean it in a nice way. They don’t. “That’s not a term I particularly like,” says the head of British Naturism, Mark Bass, “because it is quite derogatory. It comes up in cases of confrontation.”
Was he naked when he said it? He was not. He was on the Today programme, and, by his own admission, fully dressed. “Naturists do not expose themselves to the elements in this sort of weather,” he said.
Where might I be able to witness one of these confrontations between nudists and textiles? There was a protest scheduled over the weekend, with textiles objecting to British Naturism’s annual nude family swim at Sandcastle Water Park in Blackpool. Some protesters felt it would be a magnet for paedophiles.
What did British Naturism have to say about that? It said: “We have a robust child and vulnerable adults safeguarding policy. It was developed in conjunction with the NSPCC and is reviewed annually.”
A solid answer. Also, it wants anti-naturist abuse to be classed as a hate crime.
That’s going a bit far, isn’t it? Not according to Bass. “These days, we all agree that shouting abuse at somebody because of the colour of their skin, their sexual preference or their religion is not acceptable,” he said. “Yet naturists still receive that type of abuse based on their dress code.”
Or lack thereof ... British Naturism contends that the lifestyle is protected by the Equalities Act. “Naturism is very much a philosophical belief,” said Bass. “It’s a belief that directs our lives and our choices.”
Unless it’s cold outside. But even when it’s warm, you can’t just go about naked. There’s no actual law against nudity in the UK.
What about us textiles? Does the Equalities Act protect me from being abused for wearing garments? Has that ever happened to you?
Yes, when I wore my “Hail Satan” T-shirt to a departmental strategy meeting. It was laundry day. You know what? You may have a case.
Do say: “When will the naked and the clothed learn to live in peace?”
Don’t say: “Textile? Honey, please – it’s cashmere.”



Changing the record with High Fidelity

It was perhaps always a given that High Fidelity, the much-loved Nick Hornby novel turned Hollywood romcom, would be turned into a television series – there are few stories more adaptable or soundtrackable. The surprise, though, is that in its small-screen incarnation, the protagonist is not Rob, as immortalised by John Cusack, “the ultimate music fan, a record store owner who is obsessed with pop culture and Top 5 lists”, fond of proselytising the “subtle art” of the compilation tape and grandly announcing his intention to “now sell four copies of the Three EPs by the Beta Band”. Rather, in the new incarnation from the streaming service Hulu, the record store owner is Rob(yn), played by Zoë Kravitz (right). To date, there have been remarkably few fictional female characters famed for their music knowledge. It’s a niche field, but one that nonetheless has an impact. What it is to be a woman in the world of music is a conversation that receives a semi-regular runout, although change is slow – as any festivalgoer rolling their eyes at the absence of women from the bills of



Kim Kardashian West in mustard latex at Paris fashion week

Beyoncé at the Met gala in a latex dress

Latex: this season’s shock fashion trend

While many at Paris fashion week were donning face masks in the midst of coronavirus concern, Kim Kardashian West showed up to her husband Kanye West’s show in a mustard-coloured latex bodysuit. The outfit, from Balmain, was typical Kardashian: bodycon and striking on social media.

Latex has dominated the runways and pop culture this season. Lady Gaga’s new video shows her in a Power Ranger pink latex two-piece. At Saint Laurent, latex leggings were paired with boxy suit jackets, while photos of inflatable latex trousers – likened to Aladdin’s pants – from the London College of Fashion graduate Harikrishnan, went viral on social media. He says he chose the fabric because “it is quite a statement. It comes with embedded fetish imagery ... Most people haven’t experienced it and would often associate latex with costumes and hypersexuality.” For Prof David Tyler, from Manchester Fashion Institute, latex’s ability to shock is simple: “It is its ability to be a second skin and reveal shape,” he says. The photographer Robert Mapplethorpe caused outrage after featuring latex bodysuits in his work – his 1978 Joe/Rubberman, for example, features a man in a latex outfit, lying on his back, possibly sleeping, in a Renaissance-esque pose.



Lady Gaga meets the Queen; (right) latex trousers by Harikrishnan

Designers such as Alexander McQueen, Versace and Gareth Pugh have also riffed on latex’s associations with subcultures and decadence. And yet, despite its synthetic and futuristic appearance, latex is actually a vegan substance, derived from tree sap. This is one of the reasons why the vegan designer Stella McCartney has used the fabric in place of leather in her footwear. When worn best, the oppositional qualities between the natural world and artificial fetishwear – are displayed to full effect. Think of Lady Gaga meeting the Queen in a red puffed-sleeved latex dress and Beyoncé walking the Met Gala red carpet in 2016 in a soft pink, floral Atsuko Kudo X Givenchy latex dress. Madonna wore it in her Human Nature video in 1994 as a way of silencing those who had slut-shamed her for the Sex Book and Erotica. It was a deliberate nod to the subversive and shocking nature of latex – and the sexual freedom it evokes. “Good design evinces an aesthetic response,” says Tyler. This is exactly what latex does: disrupts sartorial norms and creates controversy. And now, thanks to the Paris runways and Kardashian West, it is an insurgent fabric once again.

Priya Elan



Why Paltrow is right to regret Shallow Hal

“Disaster” is how Gwyneth Paltrow has summed up her role in the 2001 film Shallow Hal, which will surprise few people who have actually seen it. Jack Black plays Hal, a man so shallow he has to be hypnotised in order to date a fat woman, who, through his boggled eyes, he sees as a very thin woman. The nastiness of Shallow Hal, which has long appalled critics and fans, was front and centre in the trailer, where Hal’s friend attempts to “rescue” him from speaking to a fat woman, Rosemary, who is, in fact, willowy Paltrow dressed in a fat suit. But because he cannot see what she looks like, he falls for her “inner beauty”. It is an uncomfortable mix – a film that pretends to preach body acceptance while inviting laughter at bodies that don’t fit into jeans

this summer's lineups might attest. Not to mention any artist asked the aching question: "What is it like to be a female musician?"

When I began writing about music, 15 years ago, there were comparatively few female music journalists; backstage, I was assumed to be a groupie. It was the same feeling as when I worked in record stores as a teenager, and male customers frequently sought out the "expertise" of the male staff.

Change comes through the normalising of women's presence - from the stage to the radio DJ, via female record executives, A&Rs, gig-goers, festival bookers and, yes, the owners of fictional record stores.

It is wonderful that, today, we have so many female music writers, DJs and self-professed record nerds, not to mention more women behind the scenes in the music industry, known and valued for their expertise. That finally we, too, may be considered capable of selling four copies of the Three EPs by the Beta Band.

Laura Barton



size six and under. Take the scene where she is called a "rhino", or the one where she cannonballs into a swimming pool causing a tidal wave. The message is simple: fat is funny; it is OK to laugh at fat people.

This, Paltrow says now, was not clear to her until she had to live like a fat woman. "The first day I tried the fat suit on, I was in the Tribeca Grand and I walked through the lobby. It was so sad. It was so disturbing. No one would make eye contact with me because I was obese. I felt humiliated."

Fat characters rarely show up on TV and film, and when they do, they are hardly ever presented as people who deserve to be treated with dignity or respect. Despite huge milestones being made with social media body-positivity trends, toxic comments about people's weight are abundant: Instagrammer Wendy Cheng felt comfortable enough recently to publicly criticise the model La'Shaunae Steward for her size, writing on her platform: "The morbidly obese should never have been seen as attractive."

For the people who are targets, jokes at their expense are like wounds - or as the singer and rapper Lizzo has put it: "Like a little mosquito bite. You don't even know it's there. But soon, you look up, you're covered in mosquito bites."

As Paltrow has realised, even seemingly good-natured fat jokes are no shallow or insignificant thing. They hurt people, and then as now, need deeper reflection from those who choose to tell them.

Phoebe-Jane Boyd



Say what?

Art students have been enlisted to help a crab who keeps breaking out of his shell in the National Marine Aquarium in Plymouth, Devon. Hulk the hermit crab would, in the wild, live in a giant snail shell. Staff are finding it hard to source a shell big enough for him so students are designing a bespoke one.

Suzanne Moore



Women must have the right to organise. We will not be silenced

In February 1988, a group of lesbians abseiled into the House of Lords to protest against section 28; a few months later, Booan Temple disrupted the Six O'Clock News for the same cause. Margaret Thatcher had claimed the promotion of homosexuality was undermining the family, and as Sue Lawley read the news, you could hear Temple's shouts as Nicholas Witchell held her down. Gay men, gay women and their allies were all on the same side back then, in solidarity against Tory repression.

How we identified sexually was not paramount. We all read a lot of queer theory, but, more importantly, we knew that bodies existed in history, in a context, for we were seeing a generation wiped out by Aids. If you lived through that, solidarity took precedence over sexuality.

Now, I feel a huge sadness when I look at the fragmentation of the landscape, where endless fighting, cancellations and no-platformings have obscured our understanding of who the real enemies are.

Last Saturday, Selina Todd, a professor of modern history at the University of Oxford, was due to give a polite two-minute speech of thanks at an event at Exeter College commemorating 50 years since Ruskin College's inaugural National Women's Liberation Conference. The day before Todd was due to speak, she says she was disinvited on the grounds that she had addressed a meeting of the group Woman's Place UK, which was formed in 2017 after proposed changes to the Gender Recognition Act. The group campaigns for women to have separate spaces and distinct services on the basis of our biological sex. Todd, an esteemed professor of working-class history, has, as a result, been accused on social media of being transphobic. Woman's Place UK was recently defined as a "trans-exclusionist hate group" in a pledge put together by the Labour Campaign for Trans Rights, which the Labour leadership candidates Lisa Nandy and Rebecca Long-Bailey signed up to.

Woman's Place UK clearly isn't a hate group, and the Labour pledge led to many women using the hashtag #ExpelMe on Twitter because they were uncomfortable with people being able to self-declare as a man or a woman for all sorts of reasons.

The radical insight of feminism is that gender is a social construct - that girls and women are not fated to be feminine, that boys and men don't have to be masculine. But we have gone through the looking-glass and are being told that sex is a construct. It is said that sex is merely assigned at birth, rather than being a material fact - actually, though, sex is recognisable in the womb (which is what enables foetal sex selection).



Oxford professor Selina Todd



A protest against Roman Polanski in Paris

Sex is not a feeling. Female is a biological classification that applies to all living species. If you produce large immobile gametes, you are female. Even if you are a frog. This is not complicated, nor is there a spectrum, although there are small numbers of intersex people who should absolutely be supported.

Female oppression is innately connected to our ability to reproduce. Women have made progress by talking about biology, menstruation, childbirth and menopause. The materiality of having a female body may mean rape or it may mean childbirth - but we still seek liberation from gender. In some transgender ideology, we are told the opposite: gender is material and therefore can be possessed by whoever claims it, and it is sex as a category that is a social construction. Thus, sex-based rights, protected in law, can be done away with.

I know from personal experience the consequences of being deemed transphobic by an invisible committee on social media. It has meant death and rape threats for me and my children, and police involvement. I also know that the most vicious stuff takes place online. Still, I can't stand by. As Roman Polanski was being rewarded for his latest film at the César awards, Todd was being silenced.

This latest silencing of women is a warning. You either protect women's rights as sex-based or you don't protect them at all.

If the idea of women organising autonomously is transphobic you are walking into a cul-de-sac, which traps people in boxes that benefit the patriarchy. Because there is nothing the patriarchy fears more than women who no longer rely on male authority. We revert to a society where women have to be chaperoned, not trusted to make decisions about their own reality.

Most people want the tiny percentage of the population who are trans to have the best lives they can. It is not feminists who murder trans people, although this might be the impression you would be left with if you relied solely on Twitter for your information.

Male violence is an issue for women, which is why we want single-sex spaces. Vulnerable women in refuges and prisons must be allowed to live in safe environments - the common enemy here is the patriarchy, remember? How did we arrive at a situation where there are shocking and rising numbers of teenage girls presenting at specialist clinics with gender dysphoria, while some who have transitioned are now regretful and infertile?

Women have the right to call out the violent men who rape. We have the right to speak and organise without being told that speech is itself dangerous. You can tell me to "die in a ditch, terf" all you like, as many have for years, but I self-identify as a woman who won't go down quietly.

There are more of us than you think.

'Society still expects women to do all the caring'

Joanna Trollope has sold millions of novels, but not without facing literary scorn. She talks snobbery, double standards and Harry Potter with **Claire Armitstead**

There they are in the ruins of what once looked like a bold and adventurous dream. One stroke and, crash, the whole house of cards collapses. No wonder they're frightened." Since her parents live in Spain, Katie could be talking about the Brexit debacle but, since she is a character in a Joanna Trollope novel, her concerns are less about big political shifts and more about issues closer to home. They are the worries of any daughter squashed between the demands of elderly parents and young children.

Trollope is the queen of contemporary women's fiction and seems to be wired to the anxieties of a devoted, predominantly female, readership. In 2018's *An Unsuitable Match*, she dealt with remarriage late in life. The previous year's *City of Friends* explored friendship among middle-aged women with careers, while in 2013 she brought Jane Austen's *Sense and Sensibility* into the age of YouTube trolling and Taylor Swift.

But it is intergenerational relationships that are at the top of her mind. She is fresh off a train from Edinburgh, where she saw one of

her nine grandchildren in a student production of a musical. "It was really very, very moving, seeing the vulnerability and the overcoming of it as well," she says.

Her latest novel, *Mum & Dad*, transports us to the south of Spain, where Gus and Monica's well-heeled expatriate life is derailed when Gus suffers a stroke, forcing their adult children to come running. It is all very restrained and very English. "I think it's a national characteristic to be reticent and in many ways I'm rather admiring of it, but not if it obscures the realities," she says.

One of those realities is that 400,000 British people moved to Spain during the heyday of the EU, drawn by the lifestyle and the low land prices. Trollope's characters are a rarefied breed who opted for integration into local life, albeit as landowners. Does she see *Mum & Dad* as a Brexit novel? "I think one of the daughter-in-laws mentions Brexit," she says, tentatively. "But I've just read Jonathan Coe's *Middle England* and, although it was of course extremely good, I think it had a very male perspective."

This parry is classic Trollope – so politely framed that one hardly notices how acerbic it is. The male perspective, it seems, is about structuring stories around the big picture. "What I'm trying to do in all these novels is mirror a contemporary preoccupation," she says. "I'm not providing any solutions. I'm simply saying: 'Can we please get the conversation going?'"

You don't turn to a Trollope novel for literary style or cultural nuance. But more than once during *Mum & Dad* I felt myself welling up – as a stepdaughter and a mother, juggling a career with a long-term relationship, I am undeniably part of the vast sisterhood that unites her readers. She recognises our foibles and gives us agency, but doesn't patronise us by, as she puts it, "tying it all up in a bow".

The conversation points in *Mum & Dad* range from parental incapacity and stagnant marriages to sibling jostling and self-harm among adolescent girls. "I wanted to write a novel about the sandwich generation: parents falling to pieces at one end of your life and children being quite demanding at the other. You, the woman, are probably

working full-time, but society, which is really very old-fashioned, still expects women to do all the caring."

Like Monica, Trollope is part of a generation of women who were expected to follow their husbands around. However, she kicked over the traces, divorcing the father of her two daughters when the children were still young and supporting them before her first novels were published in her late 30s. Her second marriage added two stepsons to her family, but also ended in divorce.

Tall and elegant in a herringbone jacket and shiny black knee boots, she looks like a cross between the headteacher of a private girls' school and the principal boy in the school pantomime. But appearances are deceptive, she warns. "We had a rather frugal, austere and threadbare middle-class existence and I was actually a grammar school girl, so there's really nothing to be deduced from my accent."

Her story is awash with the strange cross-currents of an upper-middle-class childhood in the mid-20th century. Born in 1943 in her grandfather's Gloucestershire rectory, she didn't meet her father until he returned from military service in India when she was three. He went on to run a small building society. While she and her sister were state-educated, their brother was sent to private school (the trauma of boarding school lurks in the background of *Mum & Dad*).

'I'm a feminist of the old school'



Much has been made of her distant relationship to the novelist Anthony Trollope, but less familiar is the colourful story of her maternal family, who lived in a house with five bathrooms in Glasgow and once had to escape a murderous housemaid who tried to poison them with arsenic. This privileged lifestyle was recounted by her mother, Rosemary, in columns for the Scotsman newspaper; in a neat piece of reverse nepotism, they were engineered by Joanna and later collected into a book. The "grandly chaotic" Rosemary, an artist, would set up her easel in her children's playpen to paint in peace while her toddlers roamed the house freely.

The effects of distracted mothering are a theme of *Mum & Dad*. How did it work out for Trollope's children? "You'd have to ask them," she says. "But it was always a question of working at the kitchen table in rented cottages after they'd gone to sleep."

Discouraged at school from aspiring to university, she won a scholarship to read English at Oxford. She briefly worked at the Foreign Office, before marrying a banker, David Potter, at the age of 22 and retraining as a teacher. She began her first (unpublished) novel while pregnant with the first of her two daughters, holding down a range of teaching jobs and at one point running a children's clothing business as well. In 1980, she won the

Romantic Novelists' Association's novel of the year award for her second novel, *Parson Harding's Daughter*. Since rebranded under her pseudonym Caroline Harvey, it continues to win fans as a "feminist tale set in a time before feminism", as one convert described it on a reader website. Although she abandoned historical romances in the mid-80s, she returned to them twice under her nom de plume, funding a law conversion course for one of her daughters through a publishing contract with Marks & Spencer.

She turned to contemporary fiction on the advice of her second husband, the TV dramatist Ian Curteis. In 1991, her fourth novel since the change pushed Jeffrey

When you're within a book, you can admit to all kinds of things that you can't otherwise



Archer off the top of the bestseller charts. The Rector's Wife went on to be adapted for a classy Channel 4 miniseries. Although her sales no longer rise to such dizzy heights, they chug along nicely. Writing at a rate of one novel every two years, she has sold more than a million books in the past decade. Between Joanna Trollope and Caroline Harvey, she has written more than 30 novels.

But with popular success came a particular sort of literary scorn that is reserved for writers of middle-brow women's fiction. The term "Aga saga" was invented by a (male) critic in 1992 to describe novels that, like hers, were largely set among middle-class families from small country towns (she has pointed out that Agas feature in only two of her novels). Does she think she has suffered from the label? "Yes," she says. "Being categorised in this very narrow way has meant that it has been easy to dismiss the novels. And that is terribly patronising to the readership."

It is a contempt that male genre writers don't suffer, she

says, pointing to the recent vogue among the literati for Lee Child's Jack Reacher novels. It surprises her, "because the novels seem to me improbable: the situation, the narrative, the man himself. But then I'm just not very good at anything that is fantastical. I can't read science fiction. I can't read fantasy. I can't even read Harry Potter very well, because of the magic."

What matters, she says, is that people believe in her characters. "For all that somebody gets dumped every nanosecond in the world, you don't want to be lumped in with everybody else - you want it to be expressed as poignantly and vividly as you feel it yourself," she says. "A cliché is only a cliché if it's happening in someone else's life."

This brings her to her impatience with those who dismiss novels as frivolous entertainment. "Men of my generation say to me: 'Of course, my wife might read everything you've ever written, but I only read nonfiction.' But if you wanted to know what the retreat from Moscow really felt like, you wouldn't read a history of the Napoleonic wars - you'd read War and Peace."

Fiction, she suggests, "can be a physical confessional: when you're within the covers of a book, you can admit to all kinds of things that you can't otherwise. It's also where you learn about the rest of human life and where you get your most profound experience of life - except from actually living it."

Already an OBE, Trollope was made a CBE in the Queen's birthday honours last year for services to literature. She supports a raft of causes that reflect hard times in her own life: Meningitis Now, in thanks for the narrow escape of one of her daughters at the age of seven; Alzheimer's research, in honour of her father, who had the disease for 15 years; and various cancer charities, in memory of Jill, a university friend "who died far too young".

Her record as the chronicler of a world where problems are seldom simple raises her above any number of sneering reviews. "I suppose I'm a feminist of the old school," she says, in that she believes in women's right to equality, but thinks the pendulum has swung too far. "There are some women who want to change the world and there are some who want to stay at home and make jam with a three-year-old. They should all be allowed to do all of those things without being judged. When will we stop judging each other?"

After all, she concludes briskly, "it's that Virginia Woolf thing: 'Let us not take it for granted that life exists more fully in what is commonly thought big than in what is commonly thought small.' There's something very salutary about just cleaning the bathroom, because, when you can't control huge emotional upsets in politics or in your life, you can at least polish the taps."

Mum & Dad is published by Pan Macmillan on Thursday. To order a copy for £15.95 (RRP £18.99), go to guardianbookshop.com or call 0330 333 6846

Ask Hadley



Carrie Symonds is having a baby. How do we talk about this?
Lester, by email

If we were just talking about Symonds - a young woman who seems perfectly pleasant - having her first baby, there would be no difficulties. But it takes two to, er, tango, and we are also talking about the father of the baby, who happens to be Boris Johnson, who happens to be a prime minister known for his fondness for distraction and obfuscation. So things get even more complicated than trying to get out of him precisely how many kids he already has. (Four? Six? 10? Who's counting? Certainly not him.)

There are two schools of thought here. "Yes! ... Some much needed happy news for the country," tweeted one PR-I-mean-journalist, when the news broke over the weekend. "Let's be kind to the pregnant lady, shall we?" tweeted another columnist who, as many promptly pointed out, was not exactly kind to Meghan when she was pregnant (or at any other time, for that matter).

Yet it is true that we don't always need to be cynical. Indeed, it sometimes feels that the instinct towards cynicism is part of the demise of collective empathy, as we see one another not as fellow humans, but as nefarious adversaries who are wrong. Surely a corrective to that would be to celebrate the Symonds-Johnson baby, no matter what our political differences, right? Right. And yet.

The idea of using a baby to bury bad news is repulsive, as well as being slightly distracting, as the phrase inevitably makes you think of a baby literally burying bad news. Accusing someone of using their unborn child to obscure other more awkward stories is bad - but lord knows the father of this particular baby has done worse. So let's not start ascribing a

moral compass to Johnson, who, as his former boss Max Hastings wrote in this paper last year, "would not recognise truth, about his private or political life, if confronted by it in an identity parade".

There is no question that news of this baby came at a convenient time for Johnson, given the number of less aww-inducing stories he is contending with, such as his predictable uselessness in the face of fears of a global pandemic; his even more predictable absence from the floods in this country; the accusations that his home secretary, Priti Patel, is a vicious bully; the ongoing questions about Russian meddling in the British political system; the interminable omnishambles known as "Brexit", which has already cost more than everything we paid to the EU over 47 years; and news that 20 Tory party members, including six Tory councillors, have been suspended for posting Islamophobic comments online. You get the picture.

Or rather, you don't, because news of the upcoming baby topped most newspapers' front pages on Sunday morning. I like babies. This country may indeed require some much-needed good news. But better news would be Johnson doing anything about any of the above, not him knocking out another baby to add to his collection.

No one wants to detract from Symonds' happiness. But a prime minister's baby inevitably becomes political, especially when we are talking about this paternally focused prime minister, so while we can celebrate the baby, we also can't let it bury the bad news. And I reckon the best way to do this is to name the baby, using all the words from the stories that are attracting less coverage, and that name should be used in every puff piece hereafter. I surely speak for the nation when I say I cannot wait to see the photos of little Brexit-Coronavirus-Floods-Russian-Bullying-Islamophobia Symonds-Johnson! Hard to embroider that on a babygro, but I'm sure Johnson, with his extensive childcare experience, will find a way.



**Need style
counsel?**

Post your questions to Hadley Freeman, Ask Hadley, The Guardian, Kings Place, 90 York Way, London N1 9GU. Email ask.hadley@theguardian.com



How we met 'I just wanted to sit in the hot tub. Then this guy got in and tried to chat me up'

Gwendolyn Mok, 62, a concert pianist, and Rick Wolter, 68, a special education teacher, live in Berkeley, California

Rick Wolter was living in a retirement community in California when he and Gwendolyn met. Then in his mid-40s, he was several decades younger than most of the residents, but was allowed to stay there while he looked after his aunt's apartment. There were, he says with a laugh, "these older women who had designs on me".

He liked to have a daily swim. "He got to know a lot of the ladies who swam," says Gwendolyn, with the hint of a raised eyebrow. Rick laughs. One of them was Gwendolyn's aunt, and she would save a lane for him.

In June 1998, Gwendolyn, a New York-born concert pianist living in London, was on the US west coast to visit her mother and father. She was jetlagged "and kind of cranky" when she went to the pool. "He saw me first because I was standing by the edge, arguing with my aunt," she says. Rick adds: "She was trying to get you to come in to swim." "And I didn't want to swim laps," says Gwendolyn. "I just wanted to go sit in the hot tub. I was enjoying some quiet time and then this guy got in." She looks at Rick. "And he tried to..."

Rick smiles: "Chat you up." He had overheard their conversation. "And I thought: 'I'm going to go and sit in the Jacuzzi because she looks very attractive and she has a bit of spirit.'"

"I said: 'I'm terribly sorry. I'm not trying to be rude, but please go away,'" remembers Gwendolyn. "He was very accommodating and stopped talking. Then, two minutes later, this other guy got in." He must have had some bank notes in his shorts pocket, and lost them in the hot tub, because after he got out, and the water jets started, "all the money started rolling to the surface", says Gwendolyn.

"Rick and I were grabbing it. That broke the ice. Then I found out Rick was an archaeologist and I had just been to Egypt, so we had a lot to talk about."

They spent the next few days together. "I thought he was a nice guy," she says, "but I figured there was no chance we'd have a relationship because I live in London and he lives in California in a retirement home." But Rick travelled to the UK to visit Gwendolyn a couple of weeks after she returned and they went on a trip to France. "I think we started feeling: 'This is kind of nice,'" says Gwendolyn. It felt "very comfortable", Rick agrees.

They saw each other every month for the first four months, including when Rick accompanied Gwendolyn back to London after her father died. Then they had to decide, if they were going to be together, who would be the one to move. Rick came to London to see if he could get a job as an archaeologist but, on a volunteer dig one day - when the ground was so cold he broke his trowel - he came back to Gwendolyn's flat "looking like a popsicle. He just stood there and said: 'I love you but I can't do this.'"

She moved back to the US about a year after they met, and they married a few months later. Although they say they are opposites, "seven-eighths of the time, it totally works. And then one-eighth of the time, we butt heads," says Rick. Gwendolyn says: "I really wanted someone who was kind and who could include my mother. At that point, she was a widow - she only recently passed away at 100 - and we took care of Rick's side of the family, too, so for the duration of the 21 years we've been together, we've taken care of people. I don't think you would find that in just anybody."

He had been good-natured when Gwendolyn asked him to leave her alone in the hot tub more than 20 years ago. "I went: 'Oh well,'" he says. Gwendolyn smiles. "He's a California guy - he'd just go on to somebody else." "Oh," he says, in mock horror. "You never said that before." Gwendolyn turns to him. "You'd had many girlfriends by the time we married. They all came to the wedding."

Emine Saner

Want to share your story? Email howwemet@theguardian.com

Foreign affairs

We've had 50 happy years of cross-Channel relationships. **Jon Henley** hears your great European love stories

In July 1974 I kissed a girl for the first time. She was called Martine and she lived next door to my French exchange partner, Pascal, in the half-timbered town of Chalon-sur-Saône in southern Burgundy.

I was as in love as a teenager can be, albeit less (I later realised) with Martine than with being 14, English, and in France for the first time, doing things I'd never done before: staying up past 9pm; smoking Gitanes *sans filtre*; listening to Françoise Hardy.

And it pretty much determined the course of my life. I shot to the top of the class in French and studied languages at university. I flirted with a few other European countries first, but eventually - inevitably - made it back to France.

At the Vaudeville brasserie in Paris, now closer to 40 than 14, I met a funny, fearless and (fair's fair) frequently infuriating French woman and fell in love, this time properly. We've been together for 22 years, in Paris, London and now Paris again, and have produced two fine (and also quite funny) children.

Moving for love can take different forms. Sometimes it's to get it together. Sometimes, as with us, it's to stay together. But whatever the reason, it happens a lot: as the Guardian underlines its commitment to Europe, we asked you for stories of pan-European passion and got more than 300 replies.

Love, famously, knows no boundaries. But we Britons, and our European partners, should admit it: we've been lucky. For nearly 50 years, we have been able freely to work, live and love across a continent. For those coming after, things may not be so smooth. Love will find a way, of course; it always has. But the path is already starting to become overgrown.

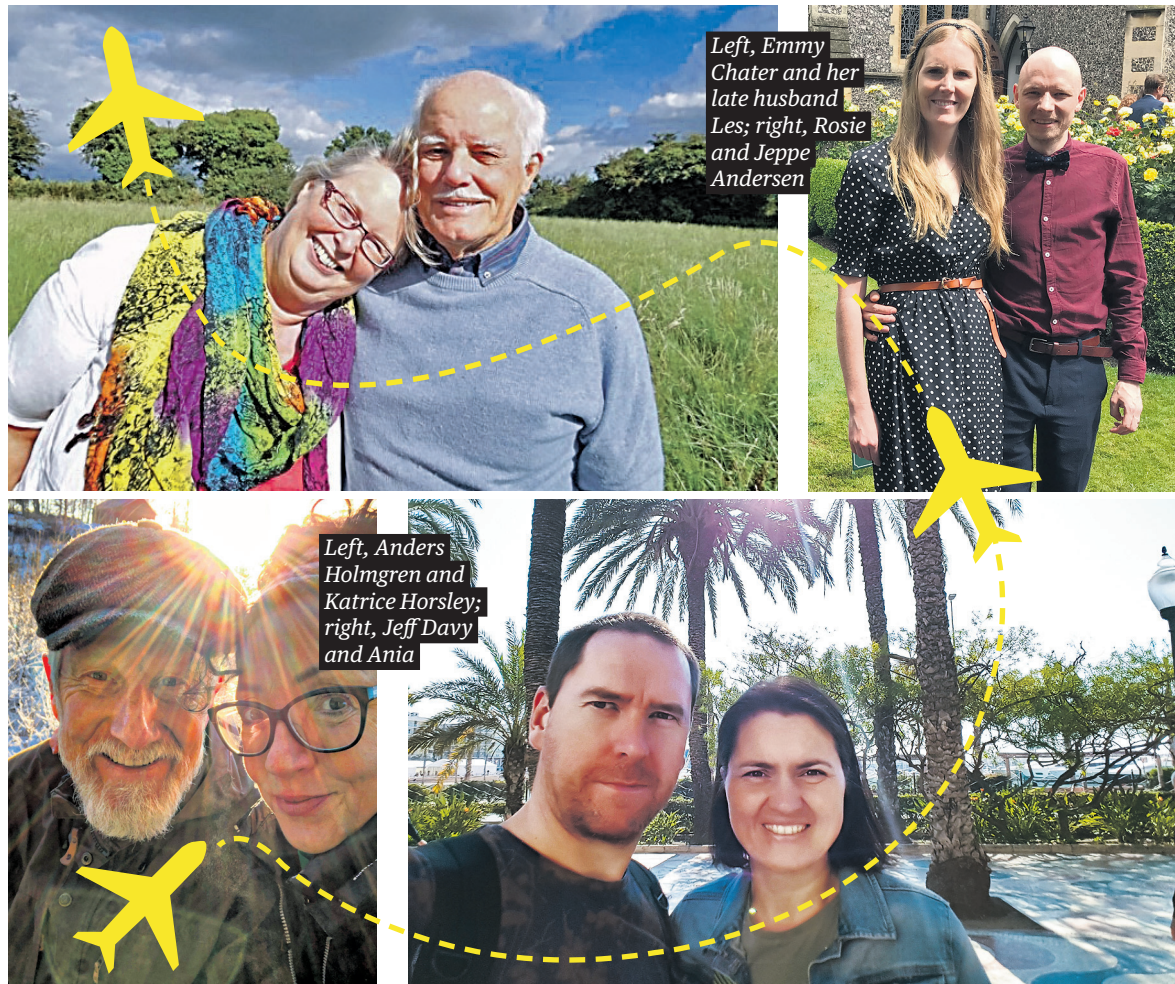
Even for those of us already settled, residence permits must now be applied for and second passports acquired. Some people's jobs are threatened. And if nobody yet knows what rules will apply to those moving for love after this year, the end of free movement means it's unlikely to be any easier.

Some, thankfully, got it all over with a long time ago. Janice Hood, 65, a Scottish-born teacher and translator, moved to Bari in southern Italy in 1976 after meeting - and, a few months later, marrying - Dario in London, where he was studying English and working for the summer. Both were 21.



Left, Janice Hood and Dario; right, Patrick Brown and his wife on their wedding day





Left, Emmy Chater and her late husband Les; right, Rosie and Jeppe Andersen

Left, Anders Holmgren and Katrice Horsley; right, Jeff Davy and Ania

“For five years, we lived with his parents,” she says. “I worked for his uncle’s shipping agency. When our daughter was two we bought our own place, and 24 years ago we moved to Rome. I’ve now happily spent two-thirds of my life in Italy. Dario and I are still together, still in love. In April we celebrate our 44th wedding anniversary.”

There will be no more moving for Janice. “I could never go back to the UK,” she says. “I can barely recognise the country I left more than 40 years ago. I’ll always be Scottish, but now I’m Italian and European too.”

Others, sadly, are now coping without the love they moved for. Emmy Chater, 62, left the Netherlands for Wales in 1999, after meeting her husband, Les, more than 30 years her senior, on holiday in France. She was, she says, somewhat “surprised by the social, cultural, governmental and economic differences - not to mention the Welsh valleys dialect, and the food ... But I felt invincible and optimistic because I was in love.”

It was not all plain sailing - Emmy’s Dutch qualifications were not recognised, and she had to retrain - but she says she feels “very fortunate to have been able to spend 17 wonderful years with my soulmate, lover and best friend. Sadly, he died in 2016 after a short illness, and I have gradually learned to live without him.”

Now, Emmy feels as much Welsh as Dutch. “But I feel very ambivalent about Britain. I am saddened and concerned by the divisions, the racist and hateful language and actions ... It makes me feel uncomfortable and unwelcome.”

Others moved very recently. After

living for seven years in the UK with her Danish husband, Jeppe, Rosie Andersen, 32, currently on maternity leave with her eight-month-old son, left for Denmark at the end of January. She says she is already “feeling the pressure to apply for residency before the transition period ends”. The couple met while travelling in New Zealand, and Jeppe moved to the UK, applying for - and getting - British citizenship after the Brexit vote.

In Denmark, people “work to live, and it’s never a competition to show off what you have”, Rosie says. “It will be a great place to bring up our son.” But she was slightly shocked to be told, on her first encounter with a local government office: “‘Brexit day tomorrow; better hurry up and apply.’”

Katrice Horsley, 55, met her Swedish husband, Anders Holmgren, in a check-in queue at Heathrow airport. She has struggled a bit with “the reserved nature” of the Swedes, but adores “the nature, the outdoors, the celebrations to mark the changing seasons”.

Brexit means she has to apply for a residence permit, and get “a special stamp to show I was living here beforehand”. As a freelance performer and consultant working across Europe, she knows, too, that she will need to apply for an Irish or Swedish passport to continue providing cross-border services.

Some have moved more than once. Patrick Dubeau Brown, 29, is training to be an English teacher in Nantes, France. As a teenager he spent five years in France with his parents, before financial setbacks forced them back to the UK. Patrick stayed to finish his exams, then followed them across the Channel.

“I was in a new relationship at the time and I managed to stay with them for about six months, but the long-distance relationship was getting complicated,” he says. “My parents really wanted me to stay, but I booked a plane to be with my girlfriend in Nantes ... I love it. We’re now married, and looking to start a family.”

Patrick, who has acquired French citizenship, says it feels “strange for me to go back to England and see the family. The UK is a foreign country for me now. Getting married was also the opportunity to really put down roots.”

A lucky few have no worries at all. Jeff Davy, 46, has taught English in Warsaw since he abandoned a civil service job in Kilkenny to join his girlfriend, Ania, whom he met on a plane while going to a stag do in Poland in May 2007.

“I had an aisle seat,” he recalls. “One of my friends was a row behind me on the other side of the aisle. We’re drinking, chatting and having the craic. My friend starts talking to the passenger sitting directly behind me. A Polish girl. I loved her accent from the off. I turned around and was immediately taken.”

The couple exchanged numbers at the airport, and met again when Ania returned to Dublin for work a month later. Jeff moved to Warsaw the following year. “It might resemble a Hollywood film or what have you, but we’ll have been married 11 years this May,” he says. “Two beautiful children. We’re all well and very, very happy together.”

Life, Jeff says, “is just great”. He is grateful, though, for his Irish passport. “Brexit hasn’t affected me. But a few of my friends here are British ... It’s not the same for them.”

Sexual healing

Pamela Stephenson Connolly



My neighbours won’t stop having loud sex - and all the moaning is getting to me



Write to us
Send us your own problem for Sexual Healing by emailing private.lives@theguardian.com or writing to Private Lives, The Guardian, Kings Place, 90 York Way, London N1 9GU. Submissions are subject to our terms and conditions: [see gu.com/letters-terms](http://see.gu.com/letters-terms)

I’m at a loss as to what to do about my neighbours’ loud sex. I’ve written them a note, being kind, saying I can hear everything, but it is still as frequent and as loud. I get quite angry when they start having sex when I’m watching TV, or when I get woken early by the girlfriend moaning. Earplugs aren’t an option. I’m torn between feeling like I’m an intolerant neighbour, and feeling quite violated in my space.

Your feelings are understandable, and you also have a well-balanced view regarding the moral rights of yourself and others. But this situation has been in place for a long time and it is not going to change. At times, when you feel lonely or frustrated, you will be even more upset than usual. I would not be surprised if this has affected your own sexuality. The erotic energy of others can trigger a number of reactions: disgust, embarrassment, enjoyment, even arousal. The effect on certain people can be that their own eroticism becomes “paired” with that of others, so that others’ sex sessions become their required arousal trigger. First, speak to your neighbours in person. You don’t have to be too specific - just say the walls are so thin you can hear everything. They should certainly respect your feelings of violation, so gently ask them to pipe it down.

Pamela Stephenson Connolly is a US-based psychotherapist who specialises in treating sexual disorders

'I like men - I just don't feel any groin excitement'

The irrepressible Miriam Margolyes tells **Emine Saner** about sitting on people on the tube, the secret to a happy 50-year relationship - and why being a lesbian is such fun

Is she, Miriam Margolyes would like to know, how I expected her to be? She is. "Everybody says that," she replies, a little sadly. But isn't it good to go through the world being utterly yourself? She smiles. "I know, but it would be so nice to surprise people." Even if you know what to expect - anyone who has seen her on The Graham Norton Show knows how gloriously naughty she is - Margolyes, up close, is still quite something. I point out to her that we have been talking for only 10 minutes and already she has answered the phone (to a child, she later finds out) with a terrifying, booming: "Who are you?" while I've

spotted the remnants of a chewed onion on a plate, which she ate, like an apple, for lunch ("You mean you don't?"). She looks pleased.

There is something delightfully scandalous about Margolyes. It's not an eccentricity that has grown with age - she has always been like this. According to the actor Tony Robinson, in one of her first acting jobs she turned up late to rehearsals, apologised and said she had been "wanking off" a park-keeper. Why does she like behaving so badly? "It is true that in shocking people, there is a kind of delight in people's: 'Did she say that?' I think giving people a bit of a jolt is good."

I meet Margolyes in her flat in south London, which looks out on to her lovely garden. She is 78 and shrinking, she says - she has lost an inch and is now 4ft 10in - but there is nothing diminished about her. Her career is marching along nicely - her forthright Mother Mildred in *Call the Midwife* has brought her to primetime TV, and her role as Professor Sprout in the Harry Potter films made her famous with a new generation, even though she has said she doesn't like children very much.

Her force-of-nature personality - her empathy, warmth and hilarious openness - has been perfect for her new direction presenting documentaries. Her latest, *Miriam's Big Fat Adventure*, for BBC Two, will be a two-parter looking at the obesity crisis and the body-positive movement and exploring her own relationship with her weight.

"I've been fat all my life and I wanted to work out why," she says. "Could I change? And how do

other people cope with it?" Being overweight "has affected and infected every part of my life. It made me less attractive, sexually. It made me miserable often as an adolescent." It also made her develop her sense of humour, "because you can't go around miserable all the time, so you have to make people laugh. I think it made me quite aggressive on occasion because I won't be bullied."

She hates being overweight, she says. "I look at myself and I feel distressed, anxious, disappointed, envious of people who aren't [overweight], annoyed that I can't get clothes to fit." She was surprised, when she met some gorgeous, empowered women of the body-positive movement, to find that people could be non-skinny and happy. "I never really believed that until I met these people," she says, eyes widening. "I admired them. I wished I could be like that."

Margolyes started putting weight on when she was about eight. "By the time I had my periods, when I was 11, I had a 36in bust, which was the focus of much attention from the American soldiers around the place." I must look alarmed because she adds: "I didn't mind, I thought it was wonderful." The alarm on my face increases. "I was quite adept at saying, oh you know, 'silly' or ... because I wasn't interested in it. It didn't inflame me, but it certainly inflamed them." The phone rings and she is barking down the line to the young boy who has called - his family is staying in her Kent holiday cottage.

At the end of the documentary,

Margolyes looks emotional when she talks about how she would like to feel about her body. But what seems surprising - because it's unusual to hear women talk like this - is that she also says she loves her face. "I think that when people look at me, they smile, and they don't smile mockingly, they smile affectionately," she says now. "And I love that." It doesn't bother her that she has never been a conventional beauty, even in an industry where that is prized. "I don't want to be a conventional anything!" she says. It sometimes bothered her as a teenager. "I used to feel sad that nobody used to ask me out; I felt very crushed by that, actually, but it didn't last. And when I went to university, I realised that I had a spark of something that was more valuable than beauty. I had energy, and energy is always attractive."

Margolyes always knew that she was "a performer, and I love an audience". She grew up in Oxford, the cherished only child of Joseph, a Scottish GP, and Ruth, who developed property (she rented student houses to Ken Loach and Tariq Ali). She describes their tight-knit Jewish family as "a fortress, just the three of us. It was passionate, close, adoring."

She loved doing public speaking competitions, which she always won ("That was how I first realised that I could entertain, and that was very pleasing") and at Cambridge she joined the Footlights theatre group, where peers included John Cleese, Eric Idle and Tim Brooke-Taylor.

After university, she sold encyclopedias and worked for a market research company for a couple of years while trying to make it as an actor. "I didn't get auditions very easily because I hadn't been to drama school," she says; it was getting cast for a BBC radio drama "that really set me going". She has had a hugely varied career. She was in Barbra Streisand's *Yentl* and Baz Luhrmann's *Romeo + Juliet*, appeared in *Blackadder* in the 80s, won a Bafta for her role in Martin Scorsese's *Age of Innocence* and has many acclaimed theatre roles under her belt, including her one-woman show *Dickens' Women*.

Margolyes came out to her parents when she was 27. It was the late 60s, and unusual to be so open. "It was very unusual, I think, and very foolish," she says. "Ian McKellen, my dear friend, and I have this constant difference of opinion because he feels that you should come out [to give encouragement to others]. And I say, it depends who you're coming out to. It hurt them too much and it didn't please me particularly, so I think it was an error."

A few months later, Margolyes's mother had a devastating stroke; Margolyes has always believed that her coming out in some way caused it, and she spent the next few years helping to look after her mother. "It was a terrible time," she says. "I was relieved when she died. I was in hysterical grief, but I am glad that it happened because I couldn't have taken much more - when you see somebody you love unable to speak or think or move,

'I am a remarkable person' ... Margolyes at home in south London



Margolyes in *Blackadder*; in *Miriam's Big Fat Adventure*



Life is like a cream bun, you know - you want to have as much as you can



you're torn in bits. It's a terrible thing."

Margolyes didn't have her first girlfriend until she was 27. Had she known she was gay from an early age? "No, I don't think I had. I think it all came as a bit of a bombshell. I used to have crushes [on women] and they were incredibly passionate and all-consuming. I wasn't really interested in men and I'm still not - I'm not interested in their souls, because very few men have souls. When you find one that has, it's worth it. Most of them are just so trivial. And if you're not sexually interested in men, they're unbearably trivial." Maybe she's just meeting the wrong men? "It could be. I can like them and have my male friends, but I just don't feel groin excitement from them."

Was her sexuality ever something she struggled to accept? "I was thrilled!" she shouts. "Ecstatic. I think it gives you an identity because you can say" - she puts on a grand voice - "I am a lesbian." It put everything into place. And it was fun. I still think it's an absolutely terrific thing to be, which is good, because it's not going to change."

But she must have been very hurt by the way her parents reacted. "It was terrible," she says. "And I was very, very unhappy. I knew I couldn't change what I was; I was just unhappy that I told them. But I told them because my relationship with my mother was completely open - we had no secrets from each other." Was she not angry with them for not accepting her? "No. They came from a world which could not adapt and that's sad. It's their tragedy, but it didn't become my tragedy. I'm lucky that I'm not ..." She takes a rare pause. "I'm remarkably un-bitter, really."

Margolyes has been with her partner, an Australian academic, for nearly 52 years. What is their secret? "I think love and trust, and telling the truth. Never let the sun set on a quarrel. We don't live together, which is probably why we've stayed together. She likes to work and I do, too. Communication - you must talk to your partner." Her partner lives in the Netherlands and they see each other only about eight times a year. "I speak to her every day, sometimes more than once." They are talking about whether to live together. Would their relationship work in close proximity? "We don't know; we'd have to find out. I think so, because we really do love each other. I love her more and more." She smiles. "I don't know that she loves me more and more."

Do they still fancy each other after all this time? Margolyes smiles mischievously. "I don't get wet when I look at her, if that's what you mean," she says. "I don't feel physical lust, but I feel mental lust. I love talking to her, and my happiest moments are just lying in bed with her and looking at the ceiling and talking. That's my big joy." Anyway, I say, to stay with somebody (and, I think to myself, somebody who eats whole raw onions) for so long is a big achievement. "Yes, I think it is," says Margolyes. "But I am a remarkable person."

Margolyes has always been political - and is more so now than

ever. "In this climate? I should think so. I'd rather not have to be, but what a collection of nasty people there are in charge of us. What a disgrace. I'm disgusted by that government." She is, she says, alarmed by the rise of rightwing nationalism, and by the anger and hatred she sees on social media. "I know that we could have a pogrom easily in this country. It could be against Jews, it could be against Poles, it could be against Gypsies. There are people who are boiling with hate and resentment and entitlement in this country and it is alarming."

She has been vocally critical about the Israeli government over the years; she says it has lost her many friends. "It's because I say things about Israel that I consider true. If I think something is wrong, I will say it, whoever is doing it."

She was a supporter of Jeremy Corbyn. How did she feel about the allegations of antisemitism in the Labour party? "I think that there is some antisemitism, but it is nowhere near as much as people say. And I think there's plenty of antisemitism in England. People don't like Jews. I've accepted that." Antisemitism, she believes, is "widespread in the Tory party, but that's never mentioned. Corbyn handled it badly and I regret it, because he's a good man and he's not an antisemite. But he should have gone, he should be out the way and let's get on with new people."

Her wrath is reserved for the Tories. "I love British culture, I love the theatre, I love literature and the arts, the countryside, and I just feel that all the beauties of the place are being corrupted by this evil government." She is horrified by the attacks on the BBC. "It's outrageous. It's vindictive," she says, her voice rising. She cannot stand Boris Johnson. "He's like Trump. He's a ruthless narcissist, dangerous, drunk with power. The fact that my European citizenship has been taken away from me by that crowd of charlatans and rascals is absolutely appalling. It's the central most miserable thing in my life at the moment." She could always move to Australia ("wonderful country"), where she has a house and citizenship, but has ruled out living there permanently. "I will try as long as I can to have two lives. Life's like a cream bun, you know - you want to have as much as you can."

How does she feel about getting older? "Irritated," she says, although she concedes that people listen to her more. "They don't see you - you're invisible when you're in the street - but if they're sitting talking to you, they think you're going to be talking sense because you're old. And it may not be true." She says she demands respect. "When I get into a tube train and I want to sit down and there's no seats, I say: 'Please, may I sit down?' And if nobody will get up, I sit on them." How many people has she sat on? "I think actually just one. They were surprised, and then really quite angry." She looks delighted.

Miriam's Big Fat Adventure starts on BBC Two on 9 March at 9pm

No dress code ...
partygoers at
Griessmuehle



Last call ...
a Cocktail
d'Amore DJ

The 56-hour party people

When it comes to hedonistic nightclubs, nowhere beats Berlin. But the scene is under threat. Continuing our tour of Europe, **Alexis Petridis** hits legendary party Cocktail d'Amore on what could be its final fling

It is 1am on a Saturday and the crowd outside Berlin LGBTQ+ club night Cocktail d'Amore stretches from the door of its venue, Griessmuehle, along the side of the Neukölln Ship Canal and out on to the road. It takes the best part of five minutes to walk from one end of the queue to the other, and these are just the early birds: Cocktail d'Amore opened its doors an hour ago, and will go on continuously for the next 56 hours, ending at 8am on Monday.

You can see why Cocktail d'Amore is such a draw. From a distance, Griessmuehle looks more like a wonderland than you might expect a converted grain mill to look: a haze of multicoloured lights glowing on the canal. Inside, Cocktail d'Amore feels like a Platonic ideal of what a club night should be. The sound system is immaculate, the music fantastic. While I'm there, it leans towards the sinuous mid-tempo sound that Andy Weatherall jokingly described as "drug-chug"; the late DJ was so enamoured of playing the room at Cocktail d'Amore dubbed the Cosmic Hole that he wrote a track inspired by the experience, Into the Cosmic Hole.

The crowd is wildly diverse - dressed-down kids in hoodies alongside guys in drag; girls in standard-issue techno-black dancing with men in their underpants. At one point, a gay couple in their 70s sweep past. They're conservatively dressed for dinner at the Savoy in the 1920s - one of them is walking with a silver-topped cane. The atmosphere is simultaneously friendly, excited and licentious: a friend who goes regularly calls it "benign freedom". Bouncers on the door make everyone cover the camera lens on their phone with a sticker; you don't realise how accustomed you've become to people constantly filming their night out or taking selfies and what a difference it makes to the overall mood, until you find yourself somewhere where absolutely no one's got their phone out.

The venue, meanwhile, is appealingly rough around the edges - graffiti covers the walls and the DJ booth, there's a burnt-out car in the garden outside - and its industrial past is obvious, which adds to the experience. As Liam Cagney, an academic and regular Cocktail patron who's about to publish a book on Berlin's clubs, puts it: "It gives you these sort of surreal moments. You lose your sense of the outside world in these industrial spaces, like the everyday fabric has been torn off."

But you can't miss the handmade signs on the walls with their slogans: SAVE OUR SPACES, DON'T BREAK OUR HEARTS. They look like something from a protest march, which they probably are. A few days before I arrive in Berlin there's a big gathering in Neukölln, protesting against Griessmuehle's imminent closure: the venue is the victim of redevelopment. Its owner, an Austrian real estate company, declined to renew the club's lease

because it wants to turn the site into offices and flats. The protest didn't do any good: Griessmuehle is closing, and this is the last party Cocktail d'Amore will throw there.

Cocktail d'Amore's promoters, Giacomo Garavelloni and Giovanni Turco - who DJ and produce under the name Discodromo and prefer to be interviewed via email, speaking as one voice - seem reasonably sanguine about this turn of events. They moved to Berlin from Italy in 2008. For the first five years, "Cocktail d'Amore was a nomadic party, using more than a dozen locations, many of which were illegal. We found Griessmuehle after losing more than one either due to being busted by the Ordnungsamt [city regulators] or torn down to make way for condos." There's no question of Cocktail ending, although "it's getting harder and harder to find the right spaces. It was already challenging in the first five years, but now it's nearly impossible."

It's a situation mirrored in capital cities throughout the world, not

least in the UK (look online and you can find ghost maps of London's lost nightlife, complete with photos of shiny office buildings and apartment blocks that used to house clubs). But it seems particularly strange to talk about Berlin's nightclubs being in crisis: they're one of the things the city has been famed for. Techno may have been born in Detroit, but no city fell harder for its charms than the German capital. Since the early 90s, it's been techno's second home, host to globally known clubs, from E-Werk and Tresor to Berghain. The city's reputation has been bolstered by the city's longstanding reputation for what Garavelloni and Turco call "freedom and permissiveness": "From the laws in place - there's no set closing time for clubs - to the ways that clubs decide to auto-regulate, which is way more relaxed and loose than anywhere else, and of course the incredible out-of-the-norm people who reside here."

According to Lutz Leichsenring of Berlin's Club Commission - an organisation and lobby group set up



Debris ...
Cocktail
d'Amore after
lights-up



Girls in black dance with men in pants. Then a couple in their 70s sweep past in formal dress



in the early 00s to promote the city's nightlife - the problems began "after the financial crisis, around 2010 to 2012. We had a couple of years to breathe, but then the money was back and now we see low interest rates and insecure markets that mean a lot of companies invest in real estate. They pay speculation prices - more than the actual value of a site right now. So if you're a club in that building they kick you out right away, because they need to earn money, they need high rents."

Leichsenring estimates one-third of the city's clubs have been lost in the last 10 years: Germans call the process *Clubsterben*, meaning "club death". New clubs have opened in their place, but as he points out: "Sometimes a very iconic club closed down and a mainstream club opened that just wants to maximise its profits, play chart music, have bottle service, because they pay a higher rent. It's a kind of quality reduction. We're interested in places that have a social and cultural value."

At least 40 more clubs are currently under threat, a state of affairs compounded by the fact that Berlin is a growing city in the grip of a housing crisis. Ironically, says Leichsenring, Berlin's club scene has something to do with that. "Startups are the thing in Berlin. I think we have more of them than any city in Europe after London," he tells me. "They're scaling up, employing thousands of people, and it's very, very easy to attract talent to the city. You see the job adverts for engineers and IT specialists and they basically say, 'Come to work in Berlin, because it's the greatest cultural clubbing city in the world.' That's the main issue, not that we pay the highest wages, not that you'll get the most amazing job."

That's a more compelling argument to put to politicians than

Berlin's reputation as a club tourist's destination, he says. "Tourism is perceived as over-tourism, with noise and litter." Nevertheless, politicians seem to be listening to what the Club Commission has to say. The city authority invested €1m in soundproofing clubs to avoid neighbour complaints about noise. The mayor of Neukölln spoke at the Griessmuehle protest, and there was a subsequent parliamentary resolution that the club needed to be supported. It's not unusual for German political parties to have "something like a club spokesman", while a recent Club Commission event attracted senators and members of the Bundestag. There are plans afoot to reclassify clubs, giving them "the same cultural status as a theatre or concert hall". At the moment, they're still classed as "amusement venues, which means in building law, they're on the same level as brothels and casinos and porn cinemas".

But the real issue isn't convincing the politicians: it's convincing the property developers. "You can have strong support from the politicians, but if someone owns the real estate and they legally have the right to build offices, then you don't have a lot of power," says Leichsenring. "It's trying to make developers realise that they should do not what gets the maximum profit, they should maybe do something that is paying into the city. If they have a long-term plan for the city, they should definitely think about including people who made Berlin as attractive as it is."

That sounds like a remarkably tall order - property developers aren't exactly renowned for zealously guarding cities' cultural lives - but everyone I speak to in Berlin seems cautiously optimistic about the future. Leichsenring talks about introducing a code of conduct for developers, organising conferences "so that urban promoters and club owners can pitch ideas in front of great developers". Cagney points out that Berlin clubs have a reputation for resilience and mutability. "A lot of the people who organise parties there are quite politically engaged, a lot of them are involved in the LGBTQ+ movement, there are nights like Room 4 Resistance, which is about music and gender identities, but it's also about being active politically. All these things bode well for Berlin's club culture not going under."

Meanwhile, Griessmuehle has appended the words "*im Exil*" to its name and found a couple of temporary homes. Garavelloni and Turco are still looking for a new venue to host Cocktail d'Amore. Griessmuehle is a hard act to follow, they say. When the music finally went off at the club for the last time, the dancefloor was still packed. "People really loved Griessmuehle, they had some of the best experiences of their lives there. Knowing that this would have been the last Cocktail there created an incredible celebratory energy, ultimate joy mixed with ultimate sadness. The people on the dancefloor didn't want to let go of the place. They didn't want to let go of that beautiful, though sad, moment."

The Stranglers' European Female

'I was going out with a Parisian ballerina and projected my idea of Europe on to her. It was passionate destructive relationship - that's why we're all in cages in the video'



The Stranglers ... from left, Jean-Jacques Burnel, Jet Black, Dave Greenfield, Hugh Cornwell

Jean-Jacques Burnel Singer-songwriter, bass

I was once described in France as "the most English Frenchman and the most French Englishman". I was born in London to French parents, which was a source of much angst when I was growing up, because I wanted to be English. When I went to a posh grammar school in Guildford, I called myself John because I wanted to fit in. So on the pictures of me in the rugby team I was John Burnel.

I was in the cadets but becoming an officer in the British Army wasn't open to me, which was another reminder of me being French. English boys' mums didn't kiss me at the school gates. I had quite a few punch-ups at school. When I went to college in Huddersfield, a bloke I shared a house with confronted me because my mum sent me a letter addressed to "Jean-Jacques". He turned out to be the local National Front organiser. I started to think a lot about identity. I guess a lot of immigrants feel the same thing. I started to embrace my Frenchness and the European project early on. My solo album *Euroman Cometh*, in 1979, was about the ideal of a United Europe and the recognition that more binds us than separates us.

The Stranglers' *Feline* album was an attempt to marry the northern element of Europe - represented by synthesisers and electronic drums - with the southern element of Spanish and acoustic guitars. We had songs about Paris and Rome. The concept of *Feline* was that Europe wasn't a bulldozer but was slowly, stealthily taking control. *European Female* (In Celebration Of) was an attempt to address my identity and in a way it was my version of Californian Girls by the Beach Boys. I was going out with a Parisian ballerina, Anna, at the time, so I projected my idea of Europe on to a person. She had green eyes, like in the song. When the French speak, they pout - it's the way we form words - so "when she speaks, her lips are kissing". It was a passionate, very destructive relationship, but for three years "she had me in her spell", which was the idea behind putting us in cages in the video. The line, "We'll be together for a thousand years" is using the cliché of the thousand-year Reich, but in a love song. I came in with the bass and lyrics and Hugh

[Cornwell] added the guitar and harmony on the chorus. If he says I sing it like Marlene Dietrich, I'll take that. It needed a certain type of delivery. You couldn't shout or scream it.

Dave Greenfield Keyboards

We recorded it in Brussels, but that wasn't anything to do with the concept of the song. At the time, you used to save tax by recording overseas, so we did a few albums over there. We all had apartments near the studio. Not the height of luxury, but it was a nice working environment. Our girlfriends - mine then is my wife now - were often in the studio. There's a good chance that Anna, the *European Female*, was watching while we were recording it.

The song was produced by Steve Churchyard and mixed by Tony Visconti. We'd generally get ideas in the rehearsal room and then work them out there, long before recording. For *European Female*, I just came up with something on my old synthesiser to go with the band's bits. The best ideas come pretty quickly. With *Golden Brown*, for example, I was working on a song called *Second Coming* with Jet [Black, drummer] but came up with something that didn't fit, but that unused part eventually became *Golden Brown*. The keyboard melody for *European Female* is mostly spontaneous, or very close to it. It's just two chords, with arpeggios over them. It's pretty simple, but it fits.

It was our third Top 10 of 1982 following *Golden Brown* and *Strange Little Girl*, but it was one of the Top of the Pops appearances where we behaved ourselves. The Musician's Union guy used to make you rerecord all the tracks [to then mime to on the show], so we'd distract him and use the original. There was a lot of hanging around, so to try and make things more entertaining for ourselves we do things like play the wrong instruments or mime very badly. I once pretended to play with gloves on the end of sticks. We did a TV show in Germany where Jet spent the entire song sawing up a bass drum.

Interviews by Dave Simpson. *The Stranglers' Final Full UK tour starts at the Engine Shed, Lincoln, on 20 October.*



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Phenomenal ... Lise Davidsen as Fidelio and Georg Zeppenfeld as Rocco

Opera Fidelio

★★★★☆

Royal Opera House, London

Until 17 March

Tobias Kratzer's new production of Fidelio turns Beethoven's only opera into a parable about the nature of political engagement and our frequent complacencies in seeking to avoid it. It's a curious, broken-backed piece of theatre in many respects. Kratzer openly acknowledges the novel structure of an opera that begins as a domestic drama and ends with a universal paean to freedom and love. Instead of viewing it, however, as a unified work that evolves stylistically from the conventions of singspiel to the communal rituals of oratorio, he effectively rips it in two.

The first act plays out in period, in a French prison at the height of the post-revolutionary Terror, a nightmarish place out of Piranesi, where loutish warders oversee mass executions, and to which women, Marzelline (the jailer's daughter) apart, are only permitted access to collect the severed heads of the dead. Kratzer's iconoclasm is readily apparent, however. A glaring

neon proscenium frame constantly reminds us that what we are watching is a theatrical illusion. That Marzelline (Amanda Forsythe) soon becomes aware of the true gender of Lise Davidsen's Leonore disguised as Fidelio twists the narrative into new territory, and when we reach Act II we are in a very different place.

The prison is replaced by a brightly lit drawing room where the 18th-century trappings are rapidly dismantled, and the chorus, now in modern dress, sit on stage throughout as silent witnesses to the unfolding drama of liberation. Video projections of their reactions, empathic yet fearful of intervention,

“ Davidsen more than fulfils the high expectations placed on her

are streamed across the walls, and it is only after Jonas Kaufmann's Florestan has been freed that they permit themselves involvement in the jubilation of the final scene. Kratzer's point, that the silent majority frequently resist political engagement until events have nearly run their course, unquestionably resonates with our own times, but has little to do with Beethoven's vision of divine providence working through human activity to establish justice on Earth.

This is a shame, because musically the evening at times approaches greatness. Davidsen, more than fulfilling the high expectations placed on her, makes a phenomenal Leonore. Hers is a great voice, superbly controlled and beautifully equalised throughout its range, able to encompass the long phrases of Abscheulicher without breaking them in two, as one all too often hears. She's a fine actor, too, conveying Leonore's anguish, hopes and fears with considerable subtlety. Kaufmann, singing with an apology for being “under the weather” on opening night, sounded a bit under pressure in O Namenlose Freude. Elsewhere, though, there were fine things: a darkly intense account of his opening aria, and a real sense of elation in the final scene.

Simon Neal's Pizarro, meanwhile, masks evil with lofty refinement and misguided zeal. Georg Zeppenfeld is an exemplary Rocco, handsomely sung, and tellingly conflicted between bourgeois self-interest and genuine altruism. Kratzer makes more of Forsythe's Marzelline and Robin Tritschler's Jaquino than the score really supports, allowing the former to espouse revolutionary idealism, while the latter becomes increasingly reactionary: both give fine performances, though neither voice is large. In the pit, Antonio Pappano sculpts the score with great dignity and care. It's superbly played, and the choral singing is simply thrilling.

Tim Ashley



No frills ... Toni Watson AKA Tones and I

Pop Tones and I

★★★★☆

Kentish Town Forum, London

Dance Monkey, the song that changed Toni Watson's life, was the byproduct of an unhappy episode while she was busking in Byron Bay, New South Wales. Heckled by a group of drunks, she wrote a deceptively buoyant synth-pop track about it. Driven by her divisive voice - childlike in timbre, but powerful - it reached No 1 in 30 countries. Tonight - “the biggest show I've ever done”, she marvels - she alters the backstory, saying she wrote it “to make people want to dance”. Watson and the song can be taken either way: as a one-woman celebration of getting your party on, or as a retort to bullies who “savagely” (her word) criticise her voice and appearance, an ongoing problem.

Unprepared for this level of success, she's facing a full venue with a keyboard, a modest lighting rig and a dozen songs, mainly from her street-singing days. But for a performer seasoned by playing to derisive Australians, a roomful of effusive Londoners is easy. When she arrives, shielded by layers of sportswear and the omnipresent baseball cap, she's already dancing. Sparse openers Can't Be Happy All the Time and Never Seen the Rain set the no-frills tone, and she powers through the set by force of personality and that extraordinary voice.

There are anecdotes to go with most of the tunes: being underestimated by a California producer generated You're So Fucking Cool; a friend coming out to his family inspired Johnny Run Away. It's a rudimentary show, executed under the murkiest possible purple lighting, and not every song sticks, but Dance Monkey makes a warming and moving penultimate number. Like Watson herself, it offers bravery and charm in equal measure.

Caroline Sullivan

Theatre The Cherry Orchard

★★★★☆

Black Box, Galway

Until 7 March

Something in the sombre mood of Druid Theatre Company's production of Anton Chekhov's last play seems attuned to current environmental and political preoccupations. From the importance of planting trees rather than chopping them down, to the urgent need for housing in Ireland, contemporary themes resonate deliberately throughout Garry Hynes's production, without being hammered home. Her direction respects Chekhov's own reluctance to be didactic about the debt-ridden aristocratic family of Madame Ranevskaya (Derbhle Crotty), on the brink of losing their rural Russian estate as the old order crumbles.

In a colloquial, at times almost blunt, adaptation by the late Irish playwright Tom Murphy, the dialogue has extra pungency, with the land developer Lopakhin (Aaron Monaghan) referring to himself as “a pig's snout in a pastry shop”. Reminding Ranevskaya and her



Magnetic... Derbhle Crotty as Ranevskaya

brother Gayev (Rory Nolan) that the auction of their family home is looming, this son of a serf is rueful rather than grasping. He is incredulous that they wilfully ignore his advice to sell their beloved estate and cherry orchard to build holiday homes. His characterisation here, along with Nolan's endearingly bumbling Gayev, is generous, even compassionate. Likewise, Ranevskaya is sympathetically

portrayed as a woman on the run from past grief and present pain; having lost her husband, who “died of champagne”, and her young son, she is trapped in an abusive relationship.

Francis O'Connor's vast set with high ceilings forms a series of elegant vistas, with a proscenium stage-within-a-stage created by a framed red velvet curtain. What's gained in stateliness is lost a little in intimacy, while the slow pace of the opening act adds to an initial distancing effect.

Act three's party scene is where it all fizzles: in a summer night's revel, the marvellous ensemble of 19 actors whirl across the stage in a scene of abandon that is as much Murphy as Chekhov. Crotty's Ranevskaya is at her most magnetic too, spinning on her heels with zealous student Peter (Marty Rea), who can't wait for the “higher truth” to come. Later she clings to Gayev, the two of them like lost children, bewildered and scared, as everything changes around them.

Helen Meany



Joanne Froggatt
and Ioan
Gruffudd in *Liar*

Review *Liar*, ITV

The vigilante thriller trying too hard to be Broadchurch

★★★★☆

Rebecca Nicholson



The first series of *Liar* coasted in on a fairly straightforward if potentially hazardous premise. Ioan Gruffudd and Joanne Froggatt played a doctor and a teacher living on the Kent coast. They went on a date and had a few drinks. The next day, amid hazy, half-snatched memories, Laura (Froggatt) accused Andrew (Gruffudd) of rape. He denied it. Who was the liar? It started as a he said/she said situation and briefly threatened to evolve into something more intriguing, asking questions about vigilantism and the limitations of the police, before settling in to life as a standard thriller.

As the mythical idea of rampant false rape accusations by women looms disproportionately large in the public imagination, the series could have felt exploitative, but it recognised, at least, that it could not exonerate Andrew. However, canny viewers may have drawn the same conclusion, which dulled the tension somewhat.

Andrew turned out to be a serial rapist, and a prolific one – of course he was guilty – and by the end of series one, he was dead, his throat cut by an unknown assailant and his body left to rot on the saltwater marshes. If *Liar* was gripping at first, and made the most of its picturesque coastal setting, it didn't ever quite sustain that early momentum. That turned out not to matter. It was ITV's biggest new drama in quite some time, averaging an impressive eight million viewers an

episode. There was no question, then, of it not returning for a second series. So series two refreshes the formula by turning the cat-and-mouse chase between Andrew and Laura into a whodunnit, as the police begin to investigate Andrew's murder, and Laura, bogged down in lies, quickly becomes the prime suspect.

There is plenty of melodrama to prop up the crime. Until the police suspect she is not quite telling the truth, Laura is happy enough in her new relationship, although she still has the fallout of her sister Katie's affair to deal with, and Katie is in the "forgetting to pick the kids up" phase of grieving for her marriage. Vanessa, the detective who was also one of Andrew's victims, is still distant from her partner, Jen, and seems shocked by her callousness about the manner of Andrew's death, which starts to illuminate Jen as a potential suspect. There is, however, no shortage of people who wanted him gone, given that he drugged, raped and attacked at least 19 women. By establishing potential murderers all over town, if not the county, it is reaching for a Broadchurchy feel.

It's all just a bit too cartoonish to pull it off, though. I love an ITV thriller as much as the next person, but this slides into the ranks of them, rather than elevating itself above. Katherine Kelly joins the cast as DI Karen Renton, a leather-jacket-wearing, nicotine-gum-chewing investigator from the big smoke who is called on to blow this case apart. I'm all for a plain-talking, no-nonsense detective, and Kelly is a quality actor who should bring Renton to life. But she seems hamstrung by a clunky script. She snarls things such as: "We'll have you by the balls," and is reduced to a kind of Jane Tennison-lite. She is tactless and sneering, which, given that she's talking to rape survivors about their rapist, however dead he may be, is a bluntness that stretches belief.

The chronology skips around the three weeks between Andrew's disappearance and the discovery of his body, at one point nipping back to a scene before the events of the first series. The Williams brothers, who wrote and created the series, had fun with a backwards timeline in *Relik*, the unpopular BBC One drama that sank when it was pitted against the first series of *Liar*. Here, the jumbled timeline is seamless enough, and is an easy way of ensuring that Gruffudd still has plenty of screen time, despite Andrew being zipped into a body bag early in the episode. It also allows for the two opponents to continue sparring. After Laura is arrested, she gives a long speech about how much she wanted Andrew to suffer. I'm not sure I'd let that slip in front of police officers if I was being investigated for his murder.

Liar will continue to be huge, no doubt. But the Williams brothers were also responsible for *The Missing*, which was a masterclass in intrigue, tension and mystery. While the shift in focus from rape to murder is an oddly welcome relief, this time around, it feels a little more paint by numbers.

The Trip to Greece

10pm, Sky One



Rob Brydon and Steve Coogan are back to play lightly fictionalised versions of themselves for the fourth outing of their series, a whirlwind recreation of Odysseus's 10-year trip through Greece. Beginning in Assos in Turkey and undertaking another series of gourmet meals, there are, of course, the impressions of Ronnie Corbett, Stan Laurel and Tom Hardy to contend with, as the pair bicker and meander their way through discussions on the nature of acting and the potential press response to their deaths.

Ammar Kalia

Dr Ranj: On Call

7.30pm, ITV

Dr Ranj (of *This Morning* and *Strictly* fame) begins a new four-part weekly show answering your medical queries and highlighting the work of the NHS. First up, he is on patrol with the West Midlands ambulance service, while his co-presenter Kylie Pentelow learns about pioneering surgical robots. **AK**

Nightmare Cruises: Going Overboard

8pm, Channel 4

According to this worrying doc, once a fortnight someone on a passenger ship is expected to go overboard, turning a relaxing cruise into a potential tragedy. We hear from experts on the chances of survival in the cold, open waters, as well as how these incidents could be prevented. **AK**

Britain Underwater: Fighting the Floods

9pm, ITV

Recent weeks have been filled with torrential rain and disastrous consequences for many

homeowners in Britain. This one-off documentary looks at the havoc wrought in flood-prone towns such as Mytholmroyd in West Yorkshire and Tenbury Wells in Worcestershire. **AK**

Royal History's Biggest Fibs With Lucy Worsley

9pm, BBC Four

Worsley's expertise is flawless as she looks at Queen Anne's reputation as a disastrous monarch. Proof that picking the royals to pieces is nothing new comes with a mention of the queen's "horribly swollen feet" and her obsessions with her pet rabbits. **Hannah Verdier**

The Windsors

10pm, Channel 4

The latest instalment of the satirical soap that can't help but act as a buffer to the often grotesque reality. Camilla plans to poison the Middletons after a visit to Kate's parents; Fergie takes Beatrice and Eugenie to Glastonbury; and Meghan catches Harry in a compromising situation with his sister-in-law. **Ali Catterall**



And
another
thing

Is resistance to
Netflix's *Love Is
Blind* futile? Is
it only a matter
of time?

BBC One

6.0 **Breakfast** **9.15** Britain's Housing Scandal **10.0** Homes Under the Hammer **11.0** Wanted Down Under (R) **11.45** Saved on Camera **12.15** Bargain Hunt (R) **1.0** News **1.30** Regional News (T) **1.45** Doctors (T) Abz's life is turned upside down. **2.15** Jimmy McGovern's Moving On (T) (2/5) Drama starring Kacey Ainsworth. **3.0** Escape to the Country (T) **3.45** Money for Nothing (T) **4.30** Ready Steady Cook (T) **5.15** Pointless (T) (R) **6.0** News (T) **6.30** Regional News (T) **7.0** The One Show (T)

7.30 **Match of the Day Live: The FA Cup** (T) Chelsea v Liverpool (kick-off 7.45pm) All the action from the fifth-round tie at Stamford Bridge. The sides met here in the Premier League in September, with the Reds prevailing 2-1. Analysis comes from Alan Shearer, Ian Wright and Glen Johnson.

10.0 **News** (T) **10.25** **Regional News** (T) Weather and national lottery update. **10.35** **Beauty Laid Bare** (T) New series. Four members of the public look at the beauty industry, starting with a trip to a makeup convention. **11.15** **The Truth About Takeaways** (T) (R) **12.15** **Weather** (T) **12.20** **News** (T)

BBC Two

6.30 **Money for Nothing** (R) **7.15** Escape to the Country (R) **8.0** Spy in the Wild (R) **9.0** News **10.0** Victoria Derbyshire **11.0** Newsroom Live **12.15** Politics Live **1.0** The Super League Show (T) **1.50** Best House in Town (T) (R) **2.30** Terry and Mason's Great Food Trip (T) (R) **3.0** Red Rock (T) (R) **3.45** The Great Interior Design Challenge (T) (R) **4.45** Portillo's State Secrets (T) (R) **5.15** Flog It! (T) (R) **6.0** House of Games (T) **6.30** Great British Railway Journeys (T) (R) **7.0** Top Gear (T) (R)

8.0 **Back in Time for the Corner Shop** (T) The Ardens get a taste of corner shop life in the 1920s, 30s and 40s. **9.0** **Murder 24/7** (T) (5/5) A forensic search of a property gives the police a breakthrough in the hunt for the murderer, but also suggests the killing may have been a matter of self-defence.

10.0 **Better Things** (T) Sam tries out a new play for Broadway. **10.30** **Newsnight** (T) Weather **11.15** **Putin: The New Tsar** (T) (R) Vladimir Putin's rise to power. **12.15** **Sign Zone** Win the Wilderness: Alaska (T) (R) **1.15** Murder, Mystery and My Family (T) (R) **2.0** Island Medics (T) (R) **2.45** This Is BBC Two (T)

ITV

6.0 **Good Morning Britain** (T) **9.0** Lorraine (T) **10.0** This Morning (T) **12.30** Loose Women (T) **1.30** News (T) **1.55** Local News (T) **2.0** Judge Rinder (T) **3.0** Tenable (T) (R) **4.0** Tipping Point (T) **5.0** The Chase (T) **6.0** Local News (T) **6.30** News (T) **7.0** Emmerdale (T) Marlon feels guilty over April's recent bullying, and Billy is forced to keep the truth from Dawn over Will and Harriet's arguing. **7.30** Dr Ranj: On Call (T) New series. Dr Ranj Singh offers advice on common illnesses and accidents.

8.0 **Love Your Garden** (T) Alan Titchmarsh and the team create a tea garden. **9.0** **Britain Underwater: Fighting the Floods** (T) A report from the communities that were hit by the recent storms Ciara and Dennis, with behind-the-scenes access to the Environment Agency.

10.0 **News** (T) **10.30** **Local News** (T) **10.45** **Tyson Fury: The Gypsy King** (T) (R) The boxer enjoys some downtime in Morecambe. **11.40** **Tenable** (T) (R) Quizshow hosted by Warwick Davis. **12.30** **Ideal World** **3.0** The Home Game (T) (R) **3.50** ITV Nightscreen **5.05** Judge Rinder (T) (R)

Channel 4

6.30 **Cheers** (T) (R) **7.20** The King of Queens (T) (R) **8.10** Everybody Loves Raymond (T) (R) **9.10** Frasier (T) (R) **9.40** Frasier (T) (R) **10.10** Undercover Boss Canada (T) (R) **11.05** Ramsay's Kitchen Nightmares USA (T) (R) **12.0** News (T) **12.05** Find It, Fix It, Flog It (T) (R) **1.05** Posh Pawn (T) (R) **2.10** Countdown (T) **3.0** A Place in the Sun (T) (R) **4.0** A New Life in the Sun: Where Are They Now? (T) **5.0** Come Dine With Me (T) (R) **6.0** The Simpsons (T) (R) **6.30** Hollyoaks (T) (R) **7.0** News (T)

8.0 **Nightmare Cruises: Going Overboard** (T) Documentary examining cases where cruise ship passengers have fallen overboard. **9.0** **24 Hours in A&E** (T) A teenager is rushed to hospital with a lacerated wrist after putting his hand through a pane of glass.

10.0 **The Windsors** (T) Charles and Camilla attend Kate's father's birthday celebrations. **10.35** **Celebrity Crystal Maze** (R) **11.30** **Prison** (T) (R) **12.30** **Kitchen Nightmares USA** (T) (R) **1.20** **FILM** What Richard Did (Lenny Abrahamson, 2012) (T) Drama. **2.55** Come Dine With Me (T) (R) **3.50** Grand Designs (T) (R)

Channel 5

6.0 **Milkshake!** **9.15** Jeremy Vine (T) **11.15** Paddington Station 24/7 (T) (R) **12.10** News (T) **12.15** Nightmare Tenants, Slum Landlords (T) (R) **1.10** Access (T) **1.15** Home and Away (T) (R) **1.45** Neighbours (T) **2.20** **FILM** A Wicked Vendetta (Jared Cohn, 2018) (T) Thriller. **4.0** Friends (T) (R) **4.30** Friends (T) (R) **5.0** News (T) **5.30** Neighbours (T) (R) **6.0** Home and Away (T) (R) **6.30** News (T) **7.0** M&S v Waitrose: Which Is Better Value? (T) (R) The rivalry between the supermarkets.

8.0 **Dogs Behaving (Very) Badly** (T) Graeme Hall helps to train three dogs that go overboard in protecting the family home. **9.0** **Ben Fogle: Make a New Life in the Country** (T) Ben meets a couple who have given up careers in London to run their own brewery. Last in the series.

10.0 **My New Greek Life** (T) (4/4) A couple who retired to Kefalonia struggle with being separated from family. **11.05** **Eamonn & Ruth Meet the Billionaires** (T) (R) **12.05** **How to Have a Better Orgasm** (R) **1.0** The Live Casino Show **3.10** Hotel Inspector: Checking In, Checking Out (R)

BBC Four

7.0 **Beyond 100 Days** (T) **7.30** The Yorkshire Dales (T) Paul Rose explores the region, beginning by heading to Wensleydale, where he finds out why cycling is so popular and meets a family of dormice.

8.0 **King Alfred and the Anglo-Saxons** (T) The role of Alfred the Great's grandson Aethelstan in creating a kingdom of all England. **9.0** **Royal History's Biggest Fibs With Lucy Worsley** (T) How Queen Anne's capabilities have been tainted by a story written by a rejected lady-in-waiting.

10.0 **The Stuarts** (T) (1/3) Clare Jackson examines the British royal history. **11.0** **Armada: 12 Days to Save England** (T) (2/3) **12.0** **Inside the Medieval Mind** (T) **1.0** Rhythms of India (T) **2.0** Socrates: Genius of the Ancient World (T) **3.0** Royal History's Biggest Fibs With Lucy Worsley (T)

Other channels

Dave

6.0am Teleshopping **7.10** Cops UK: Bodycam Squad **8.0** American Pickers **9.0** Storage Hunters UK Double Bill **10.0** American Pickers Double Bill **12.0** Cop Car Workshop **1.0** Top Gear **2.0** Cops UK: Bodycam Squad **3.0** Sin City Motors **4.0** Top Gear Double Bill **6.0** Taskmaster **7.0** Room 101 Double Bill **8.20** Have I Got a Bit More News for You **9.20** QI **10.0** Taskmaster **11.0** Hypothetical **12.0** Taskmaster **1.0** Have I Got a Bit More News for You **2.0** Jon Richardson: Ultimate Worrier **3.0** Zapped **3.35** The Indestructibles **4.0** Teleshopping

E4

All programmes to 7pm are double bills **6.0am** Hollyoaks **7.0** How I Met Your Mother **8.0** Baby Daddy **9.0** Mike & Molly **10.0** Big Bang Theory **11.0** The Goldbergs **12.0** Brooklyn Nine-Nine **1.0** Big Bang Theory **2.0** Baby Daddy **3.0** Mike & Molly **4.0** The Goldbergs **5.0** Brooklyn Nine-Nine **6.0** Big Bang Theory **7.0** Hollyoaks **7.30** Man With a Plan **8.0** Big Bang Theory Double Bill **9.0** Celebs Go Dating

10.0 First Dates **11.05** Big Bang Theory Double Bill **12.0** Brooklyn Nine-Nine Double Bill **1.0** Celebs Go Dating **2.05** First Dates **3.0** Gogglebox **3.55** Big Bang Theory Double Bill **4.45** How I Met Your Mother Double Bill **Film4** **11.0am** **FILM** The Naked Truth (1957) **12.50** **FILM** Rage at Dawn (1955) **2.40** **FILM** The Longest Day (1962) **6.20** **FILM** The Core (2003) **9.0** **FILM** Gifted (2017) **11.05** **FILM** Conan the Barbarian (2011) **1.15** **FILM** A Dark Song (2016)

ITV2

6.0am Teleshopping **7.0** Ellen DeGeneres **7.50** Emmerdale **8.20** Coronation Street Double Bill **10.15** Dinner Date **11.15** Dress to Impress **12.15** Emmerdale **12.45** Coronation Street Double Bill **1.50** Ellen DeGeneres **2.45** Dinner Date **3.50** Dress to Impress **4.50** Take Me Out **6.0** You've Been Framed! Gold **6.30** YBF! Gold **7.0** YBF! Gold **7.30** YBF! Gold **8.0** Two and a Half Men Double Bill **9.0** Family Guy Double Bill **10.0** Plebs Double Bill

11.0 Family Guy **11.30** American Dad! Double Bill **12.25** Two and a Half Men Double Bill **1.25** Ibiza Weekender **2.25** Don't Hate the Playaz **3.15** ITV2 Nightscreen

More4

8.55am Handmade Treasures **9.15** A Place in the Sun: Winter Sun **10.05** A Place in the Sun **11.05** Emergency Helicopter Medics **12.10** 999: On the Front Line **1.15** Escape to the Chateau: DIY **2.15** Four in a Bed **2.50** Four in a Bed **3.50** Four in a Bed **4.25** Four in a Bed **4.55** The Supervet **5.55** Car SOS **6.55** Escape to the Chateau: DIY **7.55** Grand Designs: The Street **9.0** Britain's Most Expensive Home: Building for a Billionaire **10.0** 999: On the Front Line **11.10** 24 Hours in A&E **12.15** 8 Out of 10 Cats Does Countdown **1.20** Kitchen Nightmares USA **2.15** 24 Hours in A&E **3.20** Food Unwrapped

Sky One

6.0am Monkey Life Double Bill **7.0** RSPCA Animal Rescue Double Bill **8.0** The Dog Whisperer **9.0** Stop, Search, Seize **10.0** Brit Cops: Law & Disorder

11.0 NCIS: LA Double Bill **1.0** Hawaii Five-0 Double Bill **3.0** MacGyver **4.0** Modern Family Double Bill **5.0** Simpsons **5.30** Futurama Double Bill **6.30** Simpsons **7.0** Simpsons **7.30** Simpsons **8.0** An Idiot Abroad 2 **9.0** Strike Back: Vendetta **10.0** The Trip to Greece Double Bill **11.0** A League of Their Own **12.0** Jett **1.05** Avenue 5 **1.40** The Heist **2.40** Hawaii Five-0 Double Bill **4.30** Stop, Search, Seize **5.30** Futurama

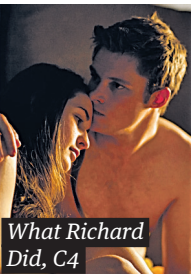
Sky Arts

6.0am Daniel Harding: The Inaugural Concert **8.30** Watercolour Challenge **9.0** South Bank Show Originals **9.30** Auction **10.0** Tales of the Unexpected Double Bill **11.0** Discovering: Richard Dreyfuss/ Basil Rathbone **1.0** South Bank Show Originals **1.30** Watercolour Challenge **2.0** The Making of Marc Bolan **3.0** More Than This: The Story of Roxby Music **4.0** Tales of the Unexpected Double Bill **5.0** Discovering: Jon Voight/Dustin Hoffman **7.0** Portrait Artist of the Year Double Bill **9.0** I Am Paul Walker **11.0** The Nineties **12.0** Portrait Artist of the Year **1.0** Video Killed the

Radio Star **1.30** Almost Fashionable: A Film About Travis **2.45** Off Camera With Sam Jones **4.0** Discovering: Jon Voight/Dustin Hoffman

Sky Atlantic

6.0am Storm City **7.0** Without a Trace **8.0** Without a Trace **9.0** Without a Trace **10.0** The West Wing Double Bill **12.0** Blue Bloods **1.0** CSI: Crime Scene Investigation **2.0** The West Wing Double Bill **4.0** Without a Trace **5.0** Without a Trace **6.0** Without a Trace **7.0** CSI: Crime Scene Investigation **8.0** Blue Bloods **9.0** Save Me **10.0** The L Word: Generation Q **11.10** Babylon Berlin **12.10** Oz **1.20** **FILM** Game Change (2012) **3.35** Californication **4.10** The West Wing Double Bill



What Richard Did, C4

Radio

Radio 3

6.30 Breakfast **9.0** Essential Classics **12.0** Composer of the Week: Price (2/5) **1.0** Lunchtime Concert: Artist Spotlight at LSO St Luke's - Ingrid Fliter. The pianist focuses on Chopin. (R) (1/3) **2.0** Afternoon Concert: Live from Salford. The BBC Philharmonic perform pieces by Ben-Haim and Elgar. **5.0** In Tune **7.0** In Tune Mixtape **7.30** In Concert: Piano Experiments. Recorded last month at the Wigmore Hall. Beethoven: Five Variations on Rule Britannia in D, WoO 79. Feldman: Last Pieces. Beethoven: Six Variations on an Original Theme in G, WoO 77. Cage: 7 Haiku Beethoven: Nine Variations on a March by Dressler in C minor, WoO 63. Interval. Crumb: Call You and Yours **1.0** The World at One **1.45** The Californian Century: Acts of Resistance (7/10) **2.0** The Archers (R) **2.15** Drama: The AntiSocial Network, by Peter Jukes. (R) **3.0** Short Cuts: Tarot (3/7) **3.30** Costing the Earth: Mark Ruffalo v Chemical Pollution. With Tom Heap. (1/13) **4.0** Law in Action: Supporting Evidence

Wroth. With Nandini Das. (2/5) **11.0** Night Tracks **12.30** Through the Night (R)

Radio 4

6.0 Today **8.31** (LW) Yesterday in Parliament **9.0** The Life Scientific: Matthew Cobb on How We Detect Smells (8/8) **9.30** One to One **9.45** (LW) Daily Service **9.45** (FM) Book of the Week: Guest House for Young Widows, by Azadeh Moaveni. (2/5) **10.0** Woman's Hour. 10.45 The Leopard, by Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa. (2/10) **11.0** OK, Boomer! Rhys Jones on generational conflict. (R) **11.30** Art of Now: North Korea. The work produced at the Mansudae Art Studio. **12.0** News **12.01** (LW) Shipping Forecast **12.04** Apeirogon. By Colum McCann. (7/10) **12.18** Call You and Yours **1.0** The World at One **1.45** The Californian Century: Acts of Resistance (7/10) **2.0** The Archers (R) **2.15** Drama: The AntiSocial Network, by Peter Jukes. (R) **3.0** Short Cuts: Tarot (3/7) **3.30** Costing the Earth: Mark Ruffalo v Chemical Pollution. With Tom Heap. (1/13) **4.0** Law in Action: Supporting Evidence

(2/4) **4.30** A Good Read: Neil Oliver & Neil Forsyth (6/10) **5.0** PM **5.54** (LW) Shipping Forecast **6.0** News **6.30** The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy: Hexagonal Phase (R) (4/6) **7.0** The Archers **7.15** Front Row **7.45** The Book of Strange New Things. By Michael Faber. (R) (2/10) **8.0** File on 4 (8/10) **8.40** In Touch **9.0** Inside Health (7/10) **9.30** The Life Scientific (R) **10.0** The World Tonight **10.45** Book at Bedtime: Apeirogon (R) **11.0** Liam Williams: Ladhoo (R) (2/4) **11.30** Today in Parliament **12.0** News **12.30** Book of the Week (R) **12.48** Shipping Forecast **1.0** As World Service **5.20** Shipping Forecast **5.30** News **5.43** Prayer for the Day **5.45** Farming Today **5.58** Tweet of the Day (R)

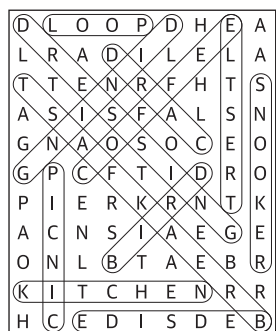
Radio 4 Extra

6.0 Deep Six (3/6) **6.30** The Honest Musician's Fear of Accidental Plagiarism **7.0** Ayres on the Air (1/4) **7.30** Teatime (1/4) **8.0** The Goon Show **8.30** Round the Horne (15/20) **9.0** News Quiz Extra (8/8) **9.45** Friends Like These (1/5) **10.0** Sons and Lovers (2/3) **11.0** Supermarket Flowers **11.15** A Book By Lester

Tricklebank **12.0** The Goons **12.30** Round the Horne (15/20) **1.0** Deep Six (3/6) **1.30** The Honest Musician's Fear... **2.0** The Rainbow (2/10) **2.15** Just So Science (2/5) **2.30** A Severed Head (2/5) **2.45** The Weather Experiment (2/5) **3.0** Sons and... **4.0** The Museum of Curiosity (4/6) **4.30** Are You from the Bugle? (1/6) **5.0** Ayres on... **5.30** Teatime (1/4) **6.0** The Invisible Man (7/10) **6.15** Beyond Black (7/10) **6.30** Pioneers (6/6) **7.0** The Goons **7.30** Round the Horne (15/20) **8.0** Deep Six (3/6) **8.30** The Honest Musician's Fear... **9.0** Supermarket Flowers **9.15** A Book By... **10.0** Teatime (1/4) **10.30** The Mark Steel Solution (1/6) **11.0** Beauty of Britain (1/6) **11.30** John Shuttleworth (4/4) **12.0** The Invisible Man (7/10) **12.15** Beyond Black (7/10) **12.30** Pioneers (6/6) **1.0** Deep Six (3/6) **1.30** The Honest Musician's Fear... **2.0** The Rainbow (2/10) **2.15** Just So Science (2/5) **2.30** A Severed Head (2/5) **2.45** The Weather Experiment (2/5) **3.0** Sons and... **4.0** The Museum of... **4.30** Are You from... **5.0** Ayres on... **5.30** Teatime (1/4)

Yesterday's solutions

Wordsearch

**Solution no 15,543**

Sudoku no 4,731

2	4	9	1	3	6	7	5	8
1	5	3	2	7	8	4	9	6
6	7	8	9	4	5	2	3	1
4	8	1	5	2	7	3	6	9
9	6	2	3	8	1	5	7	4
5	3	7	4	6	9	1	8	2
7	9	5	8	1	2	6	4	3
3	1	6	7	9	4	8	2	5
8	2	4	6	5	3	9	1	7

Word wheel
EMBLAZONS

Suguru

3	1	2	1	2	1
2	4	3	4	3	5
1	5	1	2	1	2
4	3	4	3	5	4
1	5	2	1	2	1
2	4	3	4	5	3

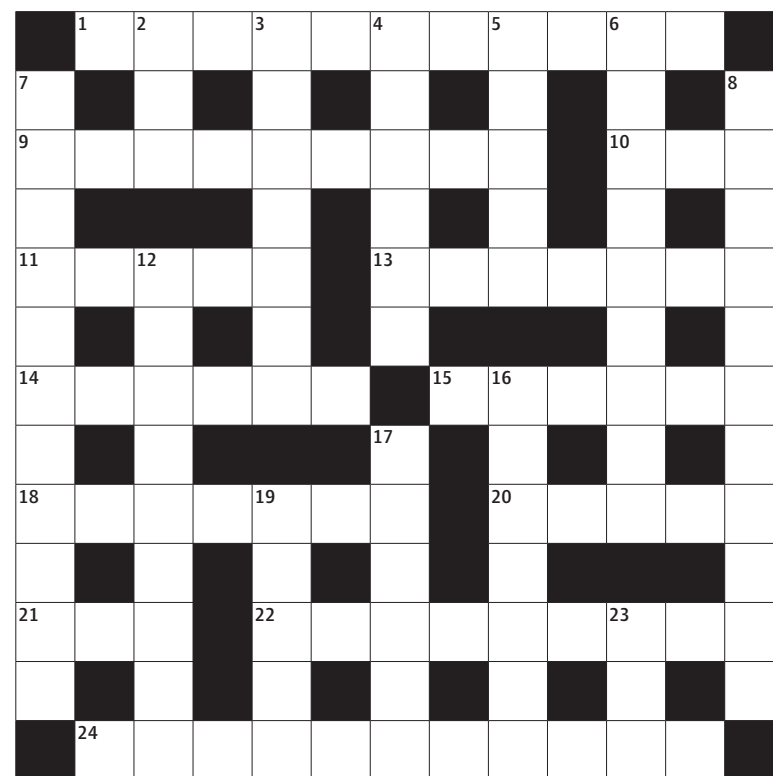
Quick crossword no 15,544

Across

- 1** Blenheim Orange, for example (6,5)
- 9** Generally (2,3,4)
- 10** Farewell! (informal) (3)
- 11** Flash of reflected light (5)
- 13** Hold dear - he's rich (anag) (7)
- 14** Source of extreme provocation (3,3)
- 15** Cutting tool (6)
- 18** Special aptitudes (7)
- 20** Unit of length (5)
- 21** Hit a ball in a high arc (3)
- 22** Enrage (9)
- 24** Non-stop (11)

Down

- 2 Legislation (3)
3 Cold drink (4,3)
4 Look quickly at - cricket stroke (6)
5 Coppers (5)
6 Substance used to reduce friction (9)
7 Digital protection (11)
8 Unshaven (11)
12 Cannot be removed (9)
16 Bone (which sounds funny) (7)
17 Advantageous (6)
19 Talons (5)
23 Boring instrument (3)



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Service supplied by ATS. Call 0330 333 6946 for customer service (charged at standard rate).
To buy puzzle books, visit guardianbookshop.com or call 0330 333 6846.

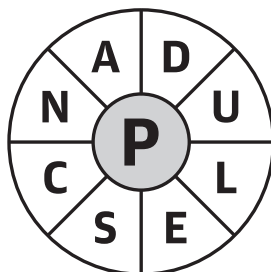
Sudoku no 4,732

Medium. Fill the grid so that each row, column and 3x3 box contains the numbers 1-9. Printable version at theguardian.com/sudoku

7								
	2			3	1		6	
						8	7	4
					5		4	
	1					2		5
	4		9			1		
		8		9	2			1
	6	1	5					
		5		6		9		

Word wheel

Find as many words as possible using the letters in the wheel. Each must use the central letter and at least two others. Letters may be used only once. You may not use plurals, foreign words or proper nouns. There is at least one nine-letter word to be found.
TARGET: Excellent-92.
Good-82. Average-76.



Suguru

Fill the grid so that each square in an outlined block contains a digit. A block of two squares contains the digits 1 and 2, a block of three squares contains the digits 1, 2 and 3, and so on. No same digit should appear in neighbouring squares, not even diagonally.

	1				
				3	
	4				
				4	2
			5		

Wordsearch

Can you find 15 words associated with ropes in the grid? Words can run forwards, backwards, vertically or diagonally, but always in a straight, unbroken line.

D	R	A	Y	N	A	L	U	F
X	S	G	E	C	E	S	T	E
L	R	H	N	N	C	O	R	D
A	E	U	I	I	A	W	O	T
S	T	L	T	H	R	E	A	D
S	L	R	I	S	B	O	E	M
O	A	S	X	T	N	C	O	O
T	H	E	W	R	I	A	E	M
C	L	I	A	I	A	B	D	R
F	N	Y	I	N	M	L	N	S
E	Y	U	G	G	E	E	O	T

Steve Bell



Pet corner

Who ate, slept and wrote with her cats?

- a. Patricia Highsmith
b. Iris Murdoch
c. Carol Shields
d. Muriel Spark
Answer top right



The centre-right's failure could rot the EU *Jan-Werner Müller, page 3*

Johnson's big baby news is pure showbiz *Zoe Williams, page 5*

The rise and fall of Golden Dawn *The long read, page 9*

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Inside

The Guardian **Tuesday 3 March 2020**

Opinion
and ideas

Journal



Overhyped, overvalued: the tech startup boom can't last

**Josie
Cox**



In November 2013, venture capitalist Aileen Lee published an article coining the term “unicorn” to describe a startup that’s less than a decade old and worth at least \$1bn (about £783m now). She chose the word carefully, to convey a mix of rarity and alchemy. What Lee seemingly didn’t anticipate was that just a few years later it would have become a flagrant misnomer: these days there’s nothing rare about unicorns.

According to website Crunchbase, 142 new companies met the criteria in 2019, taking the herd size to over 500. They’ve got a combined worth of more than \$2tn, which is bigger than the gross domestic product of countries such as Canada and Italy, and their heft is perhaps the most striking indicator of our global economy’s return to absolute and unmitigated exuberance.

It might seem odd to the majority of us, who are used to stagnating wages and an increasingly dilapidated public realm, but businesses are actually flooded with cash. Squeezed by years of rock-bottom interest rates, investors have been on a desperate hunt for assets that offer a yield above zero, throwing money at every conceivable candidate.

Globally, more than half of outstanding government debt offers a negative yield - which is to say that many

investors now have to pay for the privilege of lending money to states, where they at least know their assets will most likely be safe. But even corporations, which have more of a chance of defaulting, have been able to issue bonds with yields below zero, because the interest that their debt offers is marginally higher - or less negative, if you will - than the interest on other assets.

So how did the rules of the economy get turned on their head like this? Interest rates were initially cut in the wake of the 2008 collapse of Lehman Brothers and the ensuing financial crisis, in order to kickstart economic recovery. But in the absence of any real growth to speak of, they’ve been stuck there ever since. The result is both cheap borrowing and lots of lending.

Against this background - too much cash and too few places to put it - investors have been easily seduced by the bright lights and shiny things of Silicon Valley, where a growth-at-all-costs mentality trumps such antiquated and pedestrian metrics as profitability. Why invest in a plain old low-risk government bond or mundane index that offers - at most - a sliver of return, when you could take a punt on a super-innovative startup? Obviously the downside risk is substantial, but the prospect of having spotted the next Jeff Bezos or Mark Zuckerberg makes

*Beer taps
at WeWork
headquarters
in New York*

*
Josie Cox
is a business
journalist

2

Overhyped, overvalued: the tech startup boom can't last

Josie Cox

← Continued from front

splashing major cash palatable. If you'd spent \$22 on one Apple share in 1980 when the company went public, your holding would now be worth almost \$18,000.

And so we've ended up with these frequently absurd overvaluations. Uber, Lyft and the owner of Snapchat have all in the last year received investment that gives them multibillion-dollar price tags, despite all making a solid loss. Tesla, more than \$13bn in debt at the end of last year, recently had a market capitalisation of \$160bn, greater than General Motors and Ford combined.

The money sloshing into those entrepreneurial coffers is being propelled by a desperation to survive in a low-interest world, often foundationless optimism and - quite likely - an exaggerated belief in one's ability to spot tomorrow's wunderkind. But red flags are starting to appear and we should take them seriously.

Work, famous for operating buzzy beer-on-tap co-working spaces, was forced to abort a huge stock market listing last year, despite having attracted billions from Tokyo-based conglomerate investment company SoftBank. SoftBank owns considerable stakes in businesses like Uber, Alibaba and Slack and its billionaire founder, Masayoshi Son, is regularly hailed as Japan's Warren Buffett.

The misfire led commentators to refer to WeWork's CEO and co-founder, Adam Neumann, as a sort of Icarus - a visionary who flew too close to the sun and came crashing down. The company's valuation was slashed from a preposterous \$47bn to a still eyewatering but comparatively puny \$8bn; Neumann was ousted as CEO and was forced to give up majority voting control of the business.

Morgan Stanley strategist Michael Wilson declared in a note to clients last September that the "days of endless capital for unprofitable businesses" are over. WeWork's failure to float, he said, was reminiscent of three historical events: United Airlines' disastrous leveraged buyout in October 1989, which effectively ended the 1980s boom of companies being bought with debt; the AOL-Time Warner tie-up in 2000, which marked the start of the dot-com bust; and JP Morgan Chase's 2008 purchase of defunct investment bank Bear Stearns. "It was one heck of a run," wrote Wilson. "But paying extraordinary valuations for anything is a bad idea, particularly for businesses that may never generate a positive stream of cash flows."

And while markets still look fairly buoyant, it's clear change is on the horizon. There are more WeWorks out there - houses of cards run by delusional wise guys - and we should endeavour to spot them before they catch us off-guard.

Why? Because the collapse of a large company can send shockwaves through the entire economy and we don't have much in the way of defences at the moment. Remember General Motors? By some accounts the US government bailout after the company's 2009 bankruptcy cost taxpayers more than \$10bn.

And then there's the fact that interest rates can't stay pinned to the floor for ever. Central banks need to raise them in order to be able to cut them again when necessary. The process of doing so, however, is unlikely to be pretty. Record low rates have created distortions. Many companies have taken on a huge amount of debt because it's been dirt cheap to do so. When rates rise it will become harder to service that debt. As Buffett famously said: "You only learn who has been swimming naked when the tide goes out."

For now this might sound abstract and irrelevant. But financial systems are a complex web of intertwined risks and dependencies. Our savings, our pensions, our mortgages and our loans are all at the mercy of what's happening elsewhere, including in companies that seem invincible until the moment they aren't. So beware of the unicorn, especially if it's actually a dishevelled nag with a cone stuck to its head. It might seem thrilling for now, but it could well be an omen of unpleasant things to come.

The Guardian

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'Comment is free... but facts are sacred' CP Scott

Politics

A world facing challenges on many fronts needs a strong, confident Europe

"Beyond ... differences and geographical boundaries there lies a common interest". Throughout his career at the forefront of European diplomacy, Jean Monnet championed this core conviction, which helped lay the intellectual foundations of what was to become the European Union. His words were a call to action, which resonated with and inspired people in the aftermath of the second world war. But the message of collaboration and the cultivation of shared interests also speaks urgently to our own times. This newspaper deeply regretted the decision of the United Kingdom to leave the union which Monnet helped create. Brexit will have far-reaching economic consequences that are yet to play themselves out. But the Guardian remains passionately committed to the UK's future as a European country, and to reporting the ideas, insights and preoccupations that shape the neighbourhood we share. To deepen that coverage, we have unveiled this week a new stream of our journalism. Occupying a dedicated digital space, "This is Europe" will give a new prominence and depth to the Guardian's reporting across the region and in Brussels. We believe this is not only desirable but imperative at a time when huge challenges, from the rise of China to the future of the digital revolution to counter-terrorism, require a pan-European response.

These are troubled and difficult times. In an era of resurgent nationalism, Europe must again find a way to nurture and cultivate the virtues of solidarity and cooperation which inspired the EU's formation. This week, a European climate law is due to be unveiled, designed to map out a path to a climate-neutral continent by 2050. A 50% cut in emissions is projected for 2030. But EU budget negotiations for the 2020s have stalled, suggesting that the necessary funding for an ambitious green deal may not be forthcoming. Meanwhile, throughout Europe, farmers are protesting

at being asked disproportionately to carry the burden of transition. As Donald Trump's America's sticks to its intention to withdraw from the Paris climate agreement, Europe's - and Britain's - leadership on the greatest crisis facing the world is vital. But the danger of the issue being hijacked by rightwing populist movements is real.

In Europe's south-east, a new migration emergency is developing. Tens of thousands of refugees have massed on the Greek border this week, invited to do so by Turkey's president, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. Mr Erdoğan has said his country can no longer cope with the volume of refugees created by the Syrian conflict. But the EU, fearful of a resurgence of nativist populism, has still to come up with a working plan to accommodate asylum seekers across its member states.

Crises such as these concern us all. The launch of This is Europe is a statement of intent - far from shrinking its horizons after Brexit, the Guardian will seize this moment to reaffirm its European focus, identity and sensibility. But it is also a declaration of the obvious: from Bristol to Bordeaux to Brindisi, we inhabit a common European home that has been forged, for better and for worse, from the time of the Roman empire. The cross-currents of reciprocal cultural influence over centuries have made Europeans, and Britons, who they are. The Irishman Edmund Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France played a part in the history of British conservatism. Friedrich Engels famously studied capitalism at close quarters in Manchester. Europe's great literature traces our connections in poetry and prose. In Dante's Divine Comedy, published in the early 14th century, Francesca of Rimini and her lover Paolo are portrayed as succumbing to the sin of lust, after reading about Queen Guinevere's tragic love affair with Lancelot in the Arthurian tales. A little more recently, Elena Ferrante's remarkable portraits of female friendship, the Neapolitan novels, also captured the imagination of readers across Europe. They charmed through being both exquisitely local, while exploring a universal theme. The European public square is where we - and you, our readers - live and belong. The debates within it are more urgent than ever. We are committed to having them.

Energy

Wind power is cheap and green. The lifting of a destructive ban is overdue

The government's decision to overturn an effective five-year-old ban on new onshore wind power generation is hugely welcome. Wind provides the cheapest energy, with the first subsidy-free contracts for offshore projects awarded last year. Onshore wind is even cheaper. It is also popular, scoring above other infrastructure (including roads and railway stations) in opinion polls despite the efforts of climate denialists to portray it as a public nuisance. Most importantly, it is renewable and very low-carbon. Unlike oil, gas and coal, wind does not produce greenhouse gases (apart from in the initial phase of manufacturing and installation) and is not something we can run out of. Unlike nuclear, it does not produce toxic waste as a byproduct.

The government's climate advisers say that onshore wind power capacity will need to triple in 15 years if the UK is to meet the target of net-zero emissions by 2050. This is a huge challenge, and forms just one part of an even bigger one. The good news is that the UK's wind sector is already - and despite David Cameron's foolish decision to stymie it - a world-beating one. While the solar power industry was seriously damaged by the removal of subsidies, with domestic installations collapsing after the withdrawal of feed-in

tariffs, wind companies were able to shift resources and expertise offshore.

Ministers must not be allowed to sit on their laurels. Wind and solar will not solve all our energy problems and research and development into battery storage, carbon capture and renewable power projects of all kinds are urgently needed. Systematic retrofitting of the UK's aged housing stock, to increase energy efficiency, has been shamefully neglected. Having promised that the public will, in future, have a greater say over wind developments through an altered planning process, ministers must now ensure that all new housing and construction projects are compatible with climate goals.

But if Boris Johnson's government should expect limited credit for reversing a destructive decision that many of its own ministers supported, the significance of yesterday's announcement should not be underestimated. Under the last two prime ministers, energy policy often appeared more ideological than rational. While environmental campaigners of all stripes, including some Conservatives, argued in vain on behalf of renewables, ministers consistently (and in the teeth of furious local opposition) sided with frackers.

That chapter has now ended. The UK's fracking industry has all but collapsed. The influence on public life of climate deniers including former chancellor Nigel Lawson has dramatically waned - with 2019's upsurge of climate activism among the causes. The UK has a mountain to climb to reach emissions targets, and the government's record so far is not encouraging. But the return of onshore wind is a breath of fresh air.



The failure of the centre-right could rot the EU from within

Jan-Werner Müller



If there is one thing on which Brussels insiders and Eurosceptics can agree, it's that the EU has experienced a decade of crises. The eurozone crisis and the subsequent enforcement of fiscal austerity exposed the coercive underside of Brussels. The arrival of refugees in 2015 tested the limits of European liberalism. Brexit, the first time a member state has handed back its EU membership, wounded the self-image of the EU as an ever-expanding bloc. But as serious as these challenges are, none of them threatens to shake European integration like the entrenchment of the far right in two member-state governments.

Europe's real tumult lies in the failure of its centre-right parties to avert the rise of the far right. In Hungary, the prime minister, Viktor Orbán, who is about to celebrate his 10th year in office, has developed a rule book for how to stealthily undermine democratic institutions and the rule of law while still appearing to follow legal procedures. For the last decade, his Fidesz party has had a large enough majority in parliament to change the constitution according to its autocratic whims. Last year, the widely respected democracy watchdog Freedom House downgraded Hungary's status to a "partly free" country - the first time this has happened from within the EU.

It's hardly as if Brussels didn't notice. In 2010, when the Hungarian government took control of the country's independent media regulator, EU commissioners sounded the alarm and requested amendments to the law. Orbán outsmarted them with cosmetic adjustments and deployed an argument that you still hear today: if the EU interfered too aggressively it would turn yet another member state into a bastion of Euroscepticism.

Rather than cutting off their oxygen, the EU has perversely enabled autocratic politicians. The billions it pays out in infrastructure subsidies are the equivalent of petrodollars for oil-rich dictatorships - a free resource to distribute among cronies and buy popular support. Hungary's richest man - seen by analysts as a straw man for Orbán - is a regular recipient of government contracts. A decade or so ago, he was a gas fitter in Orbán's hometown; today, he's worth €1.3bn.

To some Brussels insiders, inaction over Hungary seemed excusable. Hungary was probably just one bad

Hungary's Viktor Orbán at a European council summit in Brussels last month

PHOTOGRAPH: LUDOVIC MARIN/AFP/GETTY



This is Europe

Analysing the challenges that transcend Europe's borders

*
Jan-Werner Müller
is a professor of politics at Princeton University

Orbán has developed a rule book on undermining institutions while appearing to follow legal procedures

apple in an otherwise flourishing orchard, a country whose domestic politics were of no particular concern to western European capitals. Others worried that Brussels shouldn't appear to prescribe domestic political institutions after it had dictated member states' budgets during the eurozone crisis. These both proved fatal conceits.

Soon enough, there was a second bad apple. Jarosław Kaczyński, current leader of Poland's Law and Justice party (PiS), announced in 2011 that he wanted to create "Budapest in Warsaw". One need not be a conspiracist to believe that at a meeting of the two politicians in 2016, Kaczyński was inspired by Orbán's strategy for undermining the rule of law. Since the party came to power in 2015, PiS has captured Poland's judiciary and enjoys direct control over the body that appoints judges. The country's judicial arrangements, according to Freedom House, are "incompatible with the European Union's democratic values".

Once there were two rogue actors, sanctions against either of them became practically impossible. As members of the European council, Poland and Hungary could veto such measures. The EU was founded on the idea that member states could trust each other, particularly in the application of EU law. If the rule of law is destroyed in Polish and Hungarian courts, which are also EU courts, member states can no longer trust each other to apply EU law, or engage in what EU treaties describe as "sincere cooperation".

Although Hungary's autocratic turn may not be visible to the casual observer or the tourist who arrives in Budapest, it threatens to undo the project of European integration. The bulk of responsibility for this predicament lies with the very parties that were instrumental in creating European integration in the first place: the centre-right Christian Democrats.

They have consistently shielded Orbán in the European council, where Fidesz belongs to the European People's party (EPP) - the supranational family of Christian Democratic and centre-right parties in the European parliament. For the EPP, Orbán is a strategic ally who reliably delivers seats in the European parliament, allowing the affiliation to maintain its status as Europe's largest group and therefore retain its claim to the post of European commission president.

This pattern is visible across Europe. Centre-right parties have been unable to deal with the rise of the far right. For mainstream conservatives, a default option has been to denounce far-right parties while parroting their policies. The Conservative party in the UK has adopted the Eurosceptic policies of Ukip, while Les Républicains in France have emulated Marine Le Pen's programme and, increasingly, her rhetoric. Rather than contain the threat of the far right, Europe's centre-right parties have pulled it into the mainstream.

The entrenchment of the far right in Poland and Hungary also casts doubt on one of the EU's major achievements. Joining "Europe" was once viewed as a bulwark against the return of authoritarianism. Hungarians and Poles living under emboldened authoritarian governments are right to feel betrayed by Europe. We may find, in the end, that the crisis of the centre-right rots Europe from within.

The Tories say austerity is over: this budget will prove it isn't

Polly Toynbee



The budget will at last define a government that has stayed tantalisingly opaque. Who are they really? What do they really mean to do? This budget arrives amid a battalion of crises: coronavirus, severe flood damage from climate crisis and our homemade Brexit fallout, with billions wiped off stock markets. A crafty chancellor, watching his revenues falling, should see this moment as a God-given opportunity. Never let a good crisis go to waste, as they say. If they are genuinely determined to “level up” the nation’s inequalities then they should seize the day to borrow, tax and spend like there’s no tomorrow – because otherwise there might not be much of one.

Imagine the Conservatives really meant it. Look what they could do on a honeymoon bounce, with an 80-seat majority won on a promise to end austerity. The opposition is in leaderless disarray, Brexit is done (for now), and the Tory press still crows in adulation: see those “Baby joy for Boris” and Dilyn the dog stories.

The darkening clouds give the government authority for action – there’s no better time for boldness. The Institute for Fiscal Studies (IFS) charts how every government at the height of its powers raises taxes in its first post-election budget. Next week’s needs to make the most of that tradition, or austerity will be baked into this government almost as severely as the last.



The budget box at No 11 PHOTOGRAPH: OLI SCARFF/GETTY IMAGES

Look up, and the sky is thick with bright red kites being flown above the Treasury, testing the weather for a host of astonishingly un-Tory ways to raise tax. Target property, says one kite, pointing to vast billions of unearned, untaxed wealth in the swollen assets of older generations sitting pretty in homes bought decades ago. A mansion tax was mooted, despite the opprobrium heaped on Ed Miliband’s plan when he was Labour leader. One kite suggested replacing business rates with a land value tax. Easier still, if less radical, a revaluation of council tax bands – unchanged since 1991 – so the most expensive properties pay fairly.

All these good ideas have been shot out of the sky by every Tory organ, with much venting from backbenches too – although the council tax rebanding may survive for some future date. Pension tax reform was floated by former chancellor Sajid Javid, raising £11bn by limiting relief to 20%. But as Johnson promised a tax cut, not a tax rise, for those earning over £50,000, that looks dead. A lesser snip, the IFS hints, could be abolishing the 25% tax-free lump sum taken from pensions. Will the government dare touch inheritance tax loopholes, especially the pension pots that escape death duties? Will it end the fuel-tax freeze, now that’s under fire from the motoring lobby?

Here’s an easy test. So-called entrepreneurs’ relief is a capital-gains fiddle gifting just 5,000 rich company owners £350,000 each and costing the Treasury £3bn. It doesn’t encourage new entrepreneurs. Every serious analyst mocks this scam. Yet, even here, the auguries are not good: 150 prominent business leaders have written to the chancellor warning him not to touch it, threatening that start-ups will go to Singapore instead.

Javid may in fact have made tax rises harder. Despite all those red kites he flew, he now tells his fellow backbenchers that he planned a 2p income tax cut. A Treasury riposte, however, says he never mentioned it.

The upshot of all this is depressing. Expect a minimalist budget, say Treasury briefers. In the autumn, things may be clearer, they say – with no reason why. But one very interesting kite is still, just, fluttering. The golden rule professed by chancellors aims to get current spending into balance with revenues, allowing borrowing only for capital investment. This is, of course, a sham: there is no clean divide between everyday spending and investment. Borrowing to build an office block yields less return than investing in human capital. Train someone up to degree or higher apprenticeship level, and that multiplies their productivity. What’s more, long after the office block is demolished, that trained and educated person produces future generations of educated producers.

The government suggests it may change the rules to borrow for human capital investment. Despite the orthodoxy, there is no fixed limit to what the state can borrow. Ex-chancellor George Osborne swore Britain would go bust if it lost its triple-A credit rating. He lost it, but nothing happened. His “Labour maxed out the credit card” line was highly persuasive to families well used to that fear, but a nonsense for governments borrowing over the long term at rock-bottom interest rates.

Only strong government investment can fend off today’s gathering storms and spur the austerity-stricken economy. Levelling up needs not just northern infrastructure but massive human capital investment, as the UK has one of the least educated populations among similar countries. Boris Johnson, in Churchill mode, could call for a patriotic budget to build climate defences, repair national flood damage, and prepare for the economic shocks of Brexit and coronavirus.

Rousing the national spirit, he could call on the broadest shoulders to carry the heaviest tax burden in the national interest, tapping the wealth of those barely touched by the great crash of 2008. That’s something most easily done by a Tory government. But why would it? For all the “austerity is over” promises, don’t hold your breath. Expect token hi-vis building projects, but little to fill the black hole created by the great austerity. This government is not Keynesian: the nature of the beast will still be thoroughly Tory.

Central banks can do little to soften the blow of coronavirus

Tony Yates



The first cases of coronavirus were recorded in China’s landlocked Hubei province, which has a population of about 59 million. Despite the Covid-19 virus and the respiratory disease it causes starting out as a local healthcare problem, it has become a global and an economic one because of the ways in which humans are profoundly interconnected through the world’s economy.

The first kind of interconnectedness is the one epidemiologists study: the human travel network. How a disease spreads depends on the number of physical encounters, and the probability of the virus jumping from carrier to new host. These encounters, caused mostly by global air and sea travel, are the ones policymakers have been trying to stop, albeit belatedly. In today’s world, however, it is hard to bring the human travel network to a complete halt. The virus is now spreading faster outside China than inside it.

The second kind of interconnectedness transmitting economic pain out of China and other heavily affected countries is the global supply chain: the “goods network”. China now accounts for 9.6% of total UK imports; Italy, 4.1%; South Korea, just 0.8%. But because of their positions in the global supply chain, the absence of what these countries produce will be felt more broadly.

A third kind of interconnectedness transmitting the harm of the virus is the finance network. A widespread halt in economic activity could cause insolvencies and defaults on bank loans, putting the viability of banks in question, and spreading financial disruption even further. About 45% of holdings of shares held in the UK are foreign shares. And some of the 55% of domestic holdings will be in entities that themselves have financial exposure abroad. These direct and indirect exposures transmit the financial impact of the virus like a physical infection, only faster.

This is why we have seen warnings from companies that are very directly implicated – such as Apple, which manufactures iPhones in China – lead to globalised falls in the stock market. For example US stocks fell about 10% last week, the most in a single week since the financial crisis. The UK’s FTSE 100 fell 3.2% last Friday alone.

Yesterday, central banks in Japan, the UK and the US vowed to help stabilise financial markets by promising to ease the economic impact, causing stock markets to rebound. However, following the financial crash, central banks have few tools at their disposal to soften economic shocks. The burden is therefore going to have to fall mainly on governments, using tax and spending tools. Politics impeded the response of fiscal policy to the 2008 crisis in the US, the euro area and the UK; we have to hope that politics does not prove to be such an obstacle now.

✱
Tony Yates
is a former head of monetary policy strategy at the Bank of England

Load of Cobras



Johnson's baby: our role now is just to behold

Zoe Williams



When Cherie Blair got pregnant in Downing Street, to create the first baby born to an incumbent prime minister since the 1840s, the general response was a muted surprise and respectful congratulations.

Nobody was anti-baby. At the same time, a prime minister was a public servant, not the head of a dynasty or a character in a soap opera; we weren't about to make baby Leo into a commemorative plate. We were, in the main, steadfastly neutral towards this baby, neither for nor against him.

Contrast the forthcoming bundle of joy from Boris Johnson and Carrie Symonds: supportive newspapers

are billing this event somewhere between a royal baby and a second coming. The front cover of the Sunday Telegraph looks like Hello! magazine, the great, beaming face of Symonds carefully angled so that Johnson, kissing her in profile, doesn't look anything like as raddled as usual. "No 10 wedding - and a baby too!" the headline croons, as though these two heartwarming facts were entirely unrelated. A radio host tweets, "some much needed happy news for the country", and a nation is left scratching its head and rubbing its eyes: how is this supposed to be for the country? Isn't the prime minister constantly having children?

But all the personal critique is quite half-hearted. I don't care that Johnson will be on his third marriage, or that his fiancée is 24 years younger than him. I wouldn't care if he didn't get married. This tub-thumping moraliser, the prime minister who has happily spun a few bob out of castigating single mothers, dares us with his happy-family pantomime to use those moral arguments against him, and who knows, perhaps they would be effective. But I don't believe in policing people's personal lives. Conservatives are incredibly good at borrowing principles they don't hold to score a point. The left, typically, is bad at it, and should be proud of that.

Nor am I wild about the argument that the baby is a distraction, that news of its forthcoming arrival is being wheeled out to distract us at a difficult time for the government, when crises are all around, only roughly half of them of its own making. Perhaps Johnson is so cynical, maybe he's looking to maximise the feel-good or dead-cat potential of his progeny; maybe they'll be popping out a conveniently timed sprog every other year until all disasters have passed, by which time nobody will be able to count the prime minister's children.

Yet when you try to second-guess a politician who uses his personal life to calculated effect, you're drawn into a cynical feedback loop. You start off questioning his

motives in buying a dog: pretty soon, you're suspicious of the dog (it's looking cute on purpose, because it knows another permanent secretary is on the way out). This is win-win for Johnson - either we take his news at face value, and rejoice in it, or we scrutinise it for manipulative intent, becoming cynical ourselves in the process, normalising a culture of mistrust. I would prefer to be knitting a tiny hat.

Yet there is a reason to balk at the new politics. The prime minister, present in Technicolor for this personal news, has been absent as a politician: invisible in the flood-hit areas; extremely late to, and so far nonsensical on, the matter of coronavirus. He was so conspicuously absent for nine days of last month, holed up in the foreign secretary's country retreat, that wild rumours started to circulate as to what he was doing (the weirdest being that he was writing another novel). Perhaps his supporters will use his baby announcement as the reason for that - ah, it all starts to make sense, he was decorating the nursery - but this too is extremely unusual, not just in politics but in any job, to take nine days of paternity leave before the child is even born.

His pattern of behaviour, and the way in which it instructs us to treat him, is not as a politician or, indeed, a professional at all but as a TV celebrity. It would be absolutely typical for a Kardashian to say nothing of substance and save all transparency for personal announcements on Instagram and to favourable media; it would be typical for a Trump, or any other politician in the showbiz model. There is an implicit servility - there is nothing reciprocal in that relationship, ours is not to question but to behold. Unlike a royal baby there's no pomp, just an atmosphere of constructed jollity (they're celebrities, after all, not royals). It is unnerving, beyond anything else - and it is this televisual razzle-dazzle, rather than any baby, that is unprecedented in an incumbent prime minister.

A Labour-Lib Dem pact and the need for reform

Bravo to Polly Toynbee for her continued efforts in flying the flag for electoral reform (A pact with the Lib Dems may be the only way Labour can win, *Journal*, 25 February). She is right to highlight most of the voting public supporting a system of proportional representation. The main obstacle is the politicians elected under the current system, who put their own interest first.

The Tories throw the word democracy around when it suits them, but will never change a system that gives them a free rein on a minority of the vote. Unfortunately, in recent years, it seems that Labour would rather its own members voted tactically for the Lib Dems than commit to a system that negates the need for this. Keir Starmer has made some encouraging comments on PR, and appears to be more open to reform than any Labour leadership candidate for decades. Rebecca Long-Bailey is also open to PR. Lisa Nandy is more enthusiastic about progressive alliances, which would



The Tories will never change a system that gives them a free rein on a minority of the vote

Theo Morgan

be unnecessary under a new system. However, all three leadership candidates find it an easier win to talk up abolition of the House of Lords, which is already party policy. All three also have safe seats, but would do well to remember those Labour voters in safe Tory seats, currently unrepresented.

Theo Morgan

Labour Campaign for Electoral Reform

● I share Polly Toynbee's enthusiasm for a tactical alliance between Labour and the Liberal Democrats to obtain a majority in order to drive through electoral reform as one route to unblocking our malfunctioning politics.

However, her suggestion that pure proportional representation is the solution is less convincing. Some of our near neighbours use different systems that offer attractive features, not least the French two-round voting and the Irish multi-party constituencies. Rather than guessing the answer, and rushing into another poorly designed constitutional referendum, a Labour-led coalition in 2024 should first convoke a citizens' assembly to study the options in depth and recommend how and why our electoral system could be reformed.

Jan Kamieniecki

London

● May I remind Polly Toynbee, who says Lib Dems stay unforgiven by Labour voters for coalition austerity, that Blairite Labour stays unforgiven by many Lib Dems for the Iraq war?

As someone who can see both sides, who has been a member of both parties, I'm relieved that no one in the Labour leadership election was involved, although it would have ruled out Yvette Cooper, for instance, who is frequently cited as someone who should have stood.

Labour has tried hard to remind young voters of the Lib Dem U-turn on student fees. Canvassing for the Lib Dems in a traditionally Labour area of Winchester last December, I found that the traditional Labour voters were largely not interested, but the council houses that had been privatised through right-to-buy and are now student housing were now occupied by interested young people who were keen to vote Lib Dem. Analyse that if you can.

In the end the Lib Dem candidate knocked 90% off the Tory majority, which, although a magnificent effort, was sadly not enough. If Labour had not fielded a candidate, we would not now have a Tory MP.

Judith Martin

Winchester, Hampshire

● Much as I agree with Polly Toynbee on the potential benefits of a pact between Labour and the Lib Dems at the next general election, she seems to have overlooked the need for the SNP and Plaid Cymru to be involved too, for the figures to add up. Perhaps she could explain how such a wide pact might work?

Nigel Lindsay

Bo'ness, West Lothian

● Polly Toynbee unfortunately underestimates the challenge Labour faces in the next election when she refers to the need "to beat a majority of 80". That is the government's overall majority. Its majority over Labour is, alas, 162.

Jeremy Beecham

Labour, House of Lords

A fighting chance

Locals gather in the Siberia village of Sukhobuzimskoye for Maslenitsa, an eastern Slavic religious and folk holiday, celebrated during the last week before Great Lent, that is, the eighth week before Eastern Orthodox Pascha (Easter). Taken on 1 March'

DENIS DAVYDENKO/
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How Modi's Hindu nationalism complements Trump's racism

Jason Stanley is right to emphasise the close similarity between the rabidly anti-Muslim nationalism of Modi's BJP government in India and Trump's white supremacist ethnic nationalism (For Trump and Modi, ethnic purity is the point of power, *Journal*, 25 February).

He is also right to draw attention to the part such nationalism played in shaping US immigration policy, which was much admired by Hitler, in the early 20th century. There are indeed unmistakable similarities between the fascism of the 1920s and 1930s and the resurgence of far-right racist nationalism today.

Stanley says the Nazi Nuremberg laws of 1935 "created a category of second-class citizenship for the Jews". Actually, the Nuremberg laws didn't turn Jews into second-class citizens. Instead, it was much worse; they were deprived of

citizenship entirely. They became non-citizens, or "subjects of the state", deprived of all rights. This is where fascism leads.

There are other lessons from the history of fascism that are relevant today. Trump rails against Muslims and dark-skinned people from "shithole countries", while claiming that "America loves India and is a loyal friend of the Indian people". He embraces Wahhabi Saudi Arabia as a close friend and ally. Where interests of foreign policy are concerned, realpolitik trumps the most passionate racist bigotry.

Pseudo-scientific Nazi race theory established a hierarchy of subordinate races below the Aryan "supermen", according to which Asians occupied an inferior status. The Japanese, however, Germany's close allies, became "honorary Aryans". Modi's Hindu nationalists

and the Saudi Wahhabis are Trump's "honorary Aryans".

Mike Faulkner

London

● Mukul Kesavan (The violence in Delhi serves Modi's agenda, 27 February) makes the important point that non-Muslims have also joined the protests against India's Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) and the imposed National Register of Citizens (NRC). During my recent visits to Bangalore, Hyderabad and Raipur, friends emphasised that these protests are being made in defence of India as a secular nation.

Those who have taken to the streets in opposition to these new discriminatory laws include many Hindus who have shown solidarity with their fellow Muslim citizens. Unfortunately the media has depicted this conflict as founded solely on religious grounds. To do so provides fuel to those who promote a Hindu supremacist agenda.

Richard Rose

Professor emeritus, University of Northampton

Give some thought to brain theorising

It was refreshing to read Matthew Cobb's overview of the state of brain theorising (Your brain is not a computer, The long read, 27 February). Recent advances in brain imaging have led to startling developments in how the mind can control a robotic arm, but this only raises the hoary old question of how the mind relates to the brain: how, for example, hopes, fears, beliefs and aspirations produce the behavioural outcomes that they invariably do.

Reductionist and representationalist views of the brain still fail to address, never mind resolve, such questions, and any reductionist statement is self-refuting the moment that it is uttered: either that statement was predetermined, probabilistic or randomly generated. Whether it is true or false will never be answered by any reductionist theorising or brain science.

While no one would seriously consider that brain activity is unrelated to cognitions, emotions or behaviours, no one has yet developed a comprehensive discourse that could embrace on the one hand, mental states, and on the other, brain states with which they might be correlated.

Physicists have dared to inhabit a bizarre world where a particle appears to "know" what another particle is doing. This is not merely action at a distance; this is information being transmitted by an unknown mechanism through an unknown medium.

Cobb ends by suggesting that a new framework may emerge involving cross-disciplinary research. I would further suggest that until materialist and mentalistic discourses can be subsumed under a coherent conceptual framework, the mind/brain problem is unlikely to yield to either scientific or philosophical examination.

Dr Allan Dodds

Consultant neuropsychologist, Bramcote, Nottingham



Deprivation is not limited to the north

Simon Jenkins' recent article (If the regions are to rise, London must take a hit, *Journal*, 28 February) reveals some uncomfortable truths about inequality in the UK and some of the consequences of the government's laudable "levelling up" agenda.

For obvious reasons, the public debate has centred on the deprived communities of northern England. Similar levels of deprivation are also prevalent in urban pockets outside of northern England. They divide our towns and cities and should not be overlooked.

As Jenkins suggests, inequality is between places not just between north and south and between towns. But it is also between neighbourhoods in our towns and cities. It exists on many scales. The government's levelling-up challenge is more profound and difficult than it appears at first

glance; inequality is hidden in the interstices of urban Britain.

I have lived in Southampton for 25 years and have observed, at first-hand, the ravages of de-industrialisation and austerity upon its residents. Today Southampton is a microcosm of divided Britain. Information from Southampton Data Observatory clearly shows that outside the affluent neighbourhoods north of the city centre, deprivation increases and is most extreme in the neighbourhoods at the eastern and western flanks of the city, where it attains levels found in deprived towns of the north of England.

The River Itchen marks one of the major divides. Just to the west lies the city centre with its clusters of major employers, two universities, major NHS facilities, entertainment, social, retail, arts and cultural venues. To the east there is a scarcity of similar facilities. This, in turn, is reflected in the politics of my city.

Hopefully the new chancellor of the exchequer, Rishi Sunak, who

is a son of Southampton, will not forget the people of his birthplace. Deprivation is to be found across Britain, not just northern England, hidden by its "fractal" nature, and will need carefully targeted funding wherever it exists.

Adam Wheeler
Southampton

● "I believe this will never happen until those with power are physically ejected from the capital. Civil servants and politicians (and journalists) must go north," writes Simon Jenkins. Did not the irony occur to him that he was writing for a newspaper that, in his lifetime and mine, enjoyed a national and international reputation, and was called the Manchester Guardian?

Maybe the Guardian might practise what he preaches and return to its roots in a city that still has a great university, a great orchestra, two great football teams, and could use a great newspaper again.

Geoffrey Wheatcroft
Combe Down, Bath

Corrections and clarifications

● An article about social media influencers said that a report on potential TikTok earnings was done by "Morning Consult, a US tech research group working on behalf of the games company Online Casino". All potential earnings findings came from research done directly by Online Casino. Morning Consult did separate research, referred to in the article, on the popularity of social media influencers (New gurus, 22 February, page 14).

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A humorous hymn and a dash of gin

The Rev Paul Nicolson (Letters, 25 February) said truly affordable council housing was built on public land. The house my family moved into in 1954 was built on farmland. What enabled councils to build as they did was their ability to spread their borrowing, from the Public Works Loan Board, for up to 50 years. This enabled rents to be affordable as the interest due on the loans was spread over a longer period than conventional mortgages.

Jenny Haynes
Horkstow, North Lincolnshire

● Since when did it become rightwing to admire beautiful buildings (When classical beauty is in the eye of the rightwing beholder, 29 February)? Surely any building that is pleasing to the eye can be admired by all of us? India Block's article seems to be more to do with her views about the oppressions of the past than any considerations about intrinsic architectural merits.

Marie Paterson
Nuneaton, Warwickshire

● I'll see Maryrose Romer's marmalade tea (Letters, 2 March) and raise her my wife's marmalade gin. Empty a jar of marmalade into a container, add gin, cover and leave for a month, stirring occasionally. Not only does the gin then taste of marmalade, but the orange peel will have acquired a special flavour.

Peter Elliott
St Albans, Hertfordshire

● My favourite hymn at Sunday school was "Horses Bright and Beautiful" (Letters, 2 March).

Rita Gallard
Norwich

● During lunch with our granddaughters some years ago, the eldest informed us her other grandad had "Power of a turnip".

Val Brodie
Natland, Cumbria

Established 1906

Country diary *Claxton, Norfolk*

It was once suggested that George Orwell's notion of a hero was a working-class mother of 10 children. Partly on the basis of productivity, I'd suggest the queen buff-tailed bumblebee that visited our purple crocuses yesterday.

Over the summer this single insect might have more than 1,000 children (spare a thought, perhaps, for the ultimate social-insect matriarch: the *Dorylus* ant queen who can give birth to 300m offspring and have 5m around her at any one time).

Yet it's not fertility alone that inspires my admiration. As I look out this morning, the garden is blurred with incessant rain and the temperature has dropped from 18C to 6C. Hopefully the bee is hunkered down in a nest, but to succeed she must lay about a dozen eggs and, when they hatch after four days, provide her emerging daughters - the so-called "workers" - with pollen and nectar. As well as constantly restocking these foodstuffs, the queen must also lay her abdomen over them to generate heat, keeping the brood at roughly 30C for them to develop properly.

Bear in mind that possibly eight out of 10 queens don't even come through the rigours of hibernation, and that only one in 100 may be successful at founding a colony, and you begin to understand the allocation of heroic status.

There are, however, further factors in my choice. All around her thorax the queen bore a belt of granular pink, but these unpleasant-looking pimples were not her own anatomy but an infestation of phoretic mites, probably *Parasitellus*. Having overwintered with our heroine, these mites will then infest her brood and live off its rich pickings.

Perhaps most admirable of the queen's qualities is that she can fly at all. The energetics of bumblebees are nothing short of astonishing. In his 1996 book *The Thermal Warriors: Strategies of Insect Survival*, the wonderful American biologist and ultramarathon runner Bernd Heinrich compared their metabolism to a human jogger's, who uses the calorific contents of a Mars bar in an hour. This queen, were she of human size, would burn 120 bars in every 60 minutes of flying time.

Mark Cocker



Twitter: @gdncountrydiary
 ILLUSTRATION: CLIFFORD HARPER



Nexhmije Hoxha

Wife of the Stalinist dictator Enver Hoxha who was dubbed the Lady Macbeth of Albania

To her enemies, Nexhmije Hoxha, who has died aged 99, was known as the Lady Macbeth of Albania, the sinister hidden hand in the 40-year Stalinist regime headed by her husband, Enver Hoxha, until his death in 1985. Towards the end of the regime, when Enver was virtually incapacitated by diabetes, Nexhmije is believed to have orchestrated a number of summary arrests, purges and show trials.

She remained in power behind the new president, Ramiz Alia, for a further five years until 1990 as chair of the Albanian Democratic Front, which sought to defend the legacy of her husband's isolationist regime and its vaunted egalitarian spirit.

Nexhmije was conceivably Europe's last unrepentant Stalinist and one of the few spouses of a communist leader to hold power in her own right. When I met her in the Albanian capital, Tirana, in December 1991 she was about to be sentenced to 11 years in jail for embezzlement and abuse of state power.

Nexhmije Hoxha at her home in Tirana, Albania, in 2008 and, below, in 1991 during her house arrest. In the foreground is a picture of her as a young pioneer

GENT SHKULLAKU/AFP/GETTY IMAGES; BARRY LEWIS/CORBIS



While ordinary Albanians had starved in the poorest country in Europe, she and Enver had allegedly enjoyed supplies of Italian salami, French wines, western cigarettes and the services of French medical doctors. They were believed to own a number of houses, as well as 25 refrigerators, 28 colour televisions and 19 personal telephone lines. The Tirana newspaper Gazeta Shqiptare reported in 1993 that Nexhmije and her husband had between them squandered a total of \$15m of state funds over the previous 50 years.

Under house arrest in Party Villa No 6, a tenement off Tirana's Boulevard of National Martyrs, Nexhmije was a woman with a schoolmarmish demeanour, dressed in patent leather shoes and a twinset. She sat primly in an armchair throughout the interview, occasionally patting her grey hair or offering Belgian chocolates from a box. In fluent French she explained how she and Enver had first met in Tirana in 1941 at a session of the newly founded Albanian Communist party. Four years later, in January 1945, they were married.

Born Nexhmije Xhunglini to

Muslim parents in Manastir (now Bitola, in North Macedonia), she attended the Queen Mother Pedagogical Institute in the capital. In 1941, having joined the Albanian Communist party (later renamed the Party of Labour of Albania), she fought alongside her husband in the National Liberation Army against Italy's fascist occupation. After ousting Mussolini, and with Albania now proclaimed a socialist republic, in 1946 Enver Hoxha became de facto head of state.

A cultivated woman who had been a teacher, Nexhmije introduced Enver to works by Mark Twain, Byron, Dickens, Edward Lear and Jerome K Jerome – Three Men in a Boat was Enver's "absolute favourite", she told me.

Together, in power, the Hoxhas collectivised the Albanian land and began to uproot local customs such as *gjakmarrje* (blood revenge killings), which they considered part of backward Balkan tribalism. Though Nexhmije considered herself a modernising spirit, the Albanian politburo she helped create with Enver was in many ways a microcosm of the ancient, tribal Albania with its retributive sense of justice and purification of honour through vengeance. Party members were united less by Marxist-Leninism than by ties of family, blood and clan. More than 6,000 Albanians were executed as opponents of the Hoxha regime, around 34,000 jailed (1,000 of whom died) and 59,000 sent into internal exile.

As the 1950s gave way to the 60s, Albania was torn apart by a cultural revolution modelled on Mao Zedong's in China. By the time Nexhmije was appointed director of the Marxist-Leninist Institute in Tirana in 1966, Albania had become a self-immolated model of

Birthdays

Lord (Peter) Brooke of Sutton Mandeville, former MP and Conservative minister, 86; **Charlie Brooker**, journalist and broadcaster, 49; **Charles Byrne**, director general, Royal British Legion, 54; **Prof Brian Cox**, particle physicist and broadcaster, 52; **Bonnie Dunbar**, engineer and astronaut, 71; **Rod Hackney**, architect, 78; **Lord (Tony) Hall**, BBC director general, 69; **Stephanie Hilborne**, former chief executive, the Wildlife Trusts, 52; **Robyn Hitchcock**, singer and songwriter, 67; **Joan Humble**, former Labour MP, 69; **Sir Ken Jackson**, former general secretary, AEEU, 83; **Eva Jiříčková**, architect, 81; **Ronan Keating**, singer, 43; **Martin Lovett**, cellist, 93; **Steve Morrison**, TV producer and former rector of the University of Edinburgh, 73; **Sir Mark Prescott**, racehorse trainer, 72; **Miranda Richardson**, actor, 62; **Greg Smith**, Conservative MP, 41; **John Virgo**, snooker player and commentator, 74; **Fatima Whitbread**, Olympic javelin thrower, 59.

Stalinist planning. Enver had by now broken all diplomatic links with the Soviet Union: Nikita Khrushchev was a "disgusting, loud-mouthed individual" who had dared besmirch Stalin's reputation.

As minister for propaganda during the early 60s, Nexhmije helped to run the country's feared Sigurimi secret police, whose devotion to the regime was brutal. "We made our mistakes, Comrade Enver and I," Nexhmije admitted in her memoir, *My Life with Enver* (1998). Though she remained faithful to her husband's legacy, she said he expressed regret for executing so many people.

In the late 70s, now president of the Albanian Anti-Fascist Women's Union, Nexhmije abolished the Muslim veil, as well as Albania's ancient unwritten constitution known as the Kanun, first codified in the 15th century, which regulates marriages, land disputes and blood feuds. To Nexhmije the Kanun was another form of male oppression. Only when Albania's patriarchy was eradicated, she believed, could Albanian women achieve equality.

In 1978, Sino-Albanian relations collapsed when Mao befriended the man who the Hoxhas (rightly) believed wanted to turn Albania into the seventh republic of Yugoslavia: Marshal Tito. The husband-and-wife team had effectively consigned Albania to ideological hibernation; an estimated 900 concrete pill boxes were built against the supposed threat of foreign invasion.

Small wonder the 12-metre bronze statue of Enver was pulled down during anti-communist demonstrations in Tirana in February 1991. "That was more painful to me than Enver's actual death," Nexhmije told me. "It was shocking to think that people could be so barbarous."

The previous year, Nexhmije had been forced to stand down from power, having earned herself another nickname, the Balkan Red Widow. She was released from jail in 1997 after serving five years of her sentence. She spent her last years in the company of her daughter, Pranvera, and two sons, Sokol and Ilir.

They survive her.

Ian Thomson

Nexhmije Hoxha, born 8 February 1921; died 26 February 2020

Announcements

In Memoriam

DAWSON (nee SHAH), Layla, B Arch, RIBA. Architect and writer. 23/12/1949 - 3/3/2015. 'The world is colder without you', Sher.

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She helped to run the feared Sigurimi secret police



The fall of Golden Dawn



The long read *This is Europe*

A decade ago, violent racists exploited a national crisis and entered mainstream politics in Greece. The party has since been caught up in the biggest trial of Nazis since Nuremberg, and is now crumbling – but its success remains a warning. By **Daniel Trilling**

After he stabbed Pavlos Fyssas in the chest, leaving him to bleed to death on the pavement, Giorgos Roupakias walked calmly back to his car and waited to be arrested. “Don’t give me away, I’m one of you,” he said, according to a police officer who arrived at the scene. “What do you mean, are you police?” asked the officer. “No, I am Golden Dawn.”

Roupakias, an unemployed lorry driver, would later claim that the killing was an act of self-defence. He said he had simply got caught up in a random street brawl in the Greek port city of Piraeus, shortly after midnight on 18 September 2013. What he told the police officer, overheard by several witnesses, suggested something quite different. Golden Dawn was a neo-Nazi party that had risen to prominence the previous year amid Greece’s economic crisis. The party had gone from winning fewer than 20,000 votes in the 2009 general election to winning more than 7% of the vote, and 18 parliamentary seats, in 2012. No outright fascist party in Europe had made such gains in a general election for years.

Although Golden Dawn’s members sometimes played the game of respectable politics, they were no mere rightwing populists; they were the kind of Nazis you are more likely to read about in history books. Driven by profound racism and antisemitic conspiracy theory, with

a fervent devotion to Hitler, Golden Dawn combined street violence with torchlit rallies and extreme rhetoric. One of its MPs proclaimed “civil war” to a BBC reporter, while an election candidate promised in front of a documentary crew to “turn on the ovens” and make lampshades from the skins of immigrants, a reference to what Nazi Germany did to Jews, Roma and other minorities in the Holocaust. “The Europe of nations is back,” declared the party’s leader, Nikolaos Michaloliakos, at a press conference in May 2012.

In the years before Golden Dawn’s breakthrough, its opponents had been intimidated, beaten up and, in some cases, almost killed. Once the party entered parliament, this kind of violence only seemed to grow. Party associates like Roupakias – who claims not to have been a member, although other witnesses say he was a key official in his local branch – seemed to believe that they were tolerated, or even supported, in their endeavours by parts of the Greek state. But the events that night in September 2013 changed everything.

On the evening of 17 September, three Golden Dawn supporters were watching football at a bar in Keratsini, a suburb of Piraeus, when they spotted Fyssas, a 34-year-old rapper on a night out with friends. Fyssas, who went by the stage name Killah P, was well known locally as a hip-hop promoter and campaigner against racism with a following among working-class Greek





youth. The Golden Dawn trio started making calls; surveillance records show how communications travelled up the party hierarchy and back down again.

At 11.28pm, an SMS was sent from a phone alleged to belong to Giorgos Patelis, the leader of Golden Dawn's branch in Nikaia, to several dozen contacts: "Everyone come now to the local office. Whoever is nearby. We will not wait for those who are far. Now." Roupakias, who had been at home watching television, was one of the people who apparently responded to the call-out. Just before midnight, a convoy of Golden Dawn supporters on motorbikes, with Roupakias following in his car, arrived in Keratsini. Witnesses saw the Golden Dawn group threaten Fyssas and his friends, before chasing them around the corner and on to the main road, Tsaldari Avenue. As his friends fled, Fyssas stopped to face his attackers, who quickly pinned him to the wall.

CCTV footage shows what happens next. While Fyssas is assaulted by groups of men in twos and threes, in apparently coordinated fashion, a car driven by Roupakias pulls up. He gets out, moves in close to Fyssas as if to embrace him and delivers the fatal blow. A doctor who treated Fyssas later told his parents that the stabbing looked like a "professional hit".

Earlier in 2013, two men linked to Golden Dawn had stabbed to death a Pakistani man, Shehzad Luqman, on the streets of Athens. That murder barely registered in Greek media, let alone internationally. The killing of Fyssas, however, made headlines all over the world. In Greece, there was widespread shock – particularly as the image of Fyssas's mother, Magda, appeared on TV news bulletins and newspaper front pages. Clad in black, grieving, demanding justice for her son, she made it "a case for every Greek", as Kostis Papaioannou, a prominent human rights activist, told me last year.

The murder investigation quickly became an investigation of Golden Dawn itself, and the result is a vast criminal trial – the largest trial of Nazis since Nuremberg, according to lawyers representing some of Golden Dawn's alleged victims. More than six years after it began, the trial is only now drawing to a close. A total of 68 people are charged with directing or belonging to a criminal organisation. The defendants, who include Golden Dawn's entire leadership and all of its former MPs, are charged with dozens of additional crimes including racketeering, attempted murder and weapons possession. They all deny the charges.

Court hearings will end this spring, but Greece has already started to move on. Golden Dawn was wiped out in last year's general election, and a new conservative government has declared the years of crisis over. Many media outlets only cover the trial sporadically. Yet it would be a mistake to overlook what the trial has revealed. The story of Golden Dawn is the closest we've yet come to seeing fascism in its most extreme form regain a foothold in Europe this century. What makes it doubly shocking is that it took place in a country that suffered brutally at the hands of Nazi Germany – and that the European Union was partly responsible for Golden Dawn's rise. How is it that a movement that recalls some of the worst moments of the 20th century could flourish in our own time?

In the days after the killing, Greece's justice system sprung into action. The minister for public order asked the supreme court to investigate Golden Dawn, handing over details of 32 alleged crimes that ranged from violent threats to murder. Michaloliakos, a squat, middle-aged man with greying hair and a bulldog face, was arrested, along with dozens of other senior members. Raids uncovered caches of weapons and Nazi paraphernalia, and footage of occult swearing-in ceremonies. Before September 2013, Golden Dawn's support had been higher than ever, in some polls as high as 17% or 18%. Now the party's ratings plummeted.

Yet the danger posed by Golden Dawn had been clear. North-west of Athens city centre is a square dominated by an Orthodox Church dedicated to the fourth-century martyr Saint Pantaleimon. In the late 2000s, Golden Dawn established a presence there by turning some of the local Greeks against their immigrant neighbours.

Golden Dawn was founded in the early 80s, initially



as a Masonic society, according to the investigative journalist Dimitris Psarras, an authority on the party. For many years it remained small and semi-hidden, recruiting from Greece's football hooligan scene. In the late 00s, however, it pursued a new strategy, setting up an "angry citizens" group in Saint Pantaleimon to complain about crime it linked to immigrants, mainly refugees from Afghanistan.

In an early sign of economic turmoil, several inner-city neighbourhoods of Athens became visibly poorer during this period; a decline that some people blamed on immigration. Saint Pantaleimon and the surrounding streets became notorious for racist attacks. So-called "assault squads" of men, who witnesses often said wore T-shirts bearing Golden Dawn's logo, would beat Afghan, Pakistani and west African residents with sticks and knuckledusters. Local Greek people who spoke out against Golden Dawn, like the owner of a pharmacy I interviewed a few years ago, were threatened, too. "After the refugees," she said they'd told her, "the targets will be you, the leftists and the Jews." In 2010, voters in Athens elected Michaloliakos to the city council.

Every country in Europe has groups like Golden Dawn: small, clandestine networks of rightwing extremists whose ideology blurs the line between politics and a cult. Their hopes of breaking into the mainstream lie in economic collapse, social conflict or a state that doesn't enforce the law. In the wake of the global financial crisis, Greece offered Golden Dawn a combination of all three.

In 2009, Greece's newly elected government, led by the centre-left party Pasok (the Panhellenic Socialist Movement), announced it had discovered a huge hole in the public finances. Greece was one of the countries left most exposed by the financial crash, and the fallout threatened not just the national economy but the stability of the euro. The government was forced to accept a bailout from international lending institutions, which came with punishing austerity measures insisted on by the EU. Tax rises, wage suppression and cuts forced hundreds of thousands of people into poverty.

Public anger at austerity swept Europe during these years, but in Greece it developed into a full-blown crisis of legitimacy for the state. To many Greeks, the entire political class seemed corrupt. "We vote, you vote, they steal," ran one popular slogan in the protest movement that erupted in 2011. The government's response was to crack down on protests with riot police and teargas, even as it struggled to carry out basic functions of the state.

Across the political spectrum, a feeling of national betrayal took hold. Protests outside the Greek parliament were attended by an array of groups: leftists and some rightwing nationalists; labourers and middle-class professionals; public sector workers and small business owners. In this fraught atmosphere, Golden Dawn worked hard to attract the support of the disaffected, vehemently opposing the disorder of the protests, but positioning itself against austerity. It expanded across the country. "Call us if you want to get rid of the commies," its members told people in the shipyards, traditionally the stronghold of a trade union affiliated with Greece's Communist party.

For the 2012 general election, the party veered between a more populist image – railing against Greece's creditors; allegedly hiding the neo-Nazi parts of its doctrine with a new party constitution – and violent rhetoric, promising to sink boats carrying migrants. Its candidates claimed to offer security that the state was unable to provide: one widely circulated campaign photograph showed Golden Dawn members escorting an elderly Greek woman to a cashpoint; she was later revealed to be the mother of one of the members.

The 2012 election was won by the established right-

Golden Dawn supporters gather in front of the Greek parliament in June 2014
AFP/GETTY

wing party New Democracy, but voters had deserted the mainstream in droves. Many went left, transforming the radical left party Syriza into a major opposition force. Others turned to Golden Dawn. I was once accosted by an elderly lady at a food market who demanded I tell my readers she voted for Golden Dawn to show that "we Greeks can stand on our own two feet".

In October, five months after the election, a coalition of NGOs including the UN's refugee agency warned of a steep rise in racist assaults in Greece, many of which shared the modus operandi of Golden Dawn's alleged attack squads. Other violent incidents began to stack up: one of Golden Dawn's MPs slapped a female leftwing opponent in the face live on television; two others led a mass assault on a community centre that offered language lessons to immigrants. A string of assaults, increasing in severity, preceded the killing of Fyssas.

When I first visited Athens, in late 2012, I found that the Afghan community had been driven out of Saint Pantaleimon, their shops and cafes shuttered. Yonus Muhammadi, the head of the Afghan community association, was working from an office in a secret location, because his previous headquarters had been firebombed. A few years earlier, he said, his organisation had held a press conference to raise the alarm about the violence linked to Golden Dawn. "For now it is our problem – migrants and refugees," he had warned. "But soon it will be a problem for all of you Greek people too."

In late 2013, after the wave of arrests that followed the killing of Fyssas, Greece's supreme court appointed two magistrates to carry out the investigation. Over nine months, they assembled witness statements, police interviews, photographs, videos, confiscated hard drives, call records and wiretapped phone conversations. Some of the more lurid details were leaked to the Greek media, such as a video of the party's deputy leader, Christos Pappas, apparently teaching his children to shout "Heil Hitler".

The drop in support proved to be temporary. A few months after the killing, it was polling around 7% – the vote it had received in the 2012 election.

The country's political and media class was split over how to treat Golden Dawn, since Greece's constitution does not allow for the banning of political parties. In late 2013, when parliament voted to suspend the party's state election funding and waive its MPs' immunity from prosecution, the move was opposed by a minority of leftwingers, one of whom argued that Golden Dawn was "not a classic Nazi party", since it set itself in opposition to "the dominant bourgeois forces".

Suspending funds did not stop 17 of Golden Dawn's 18 MPs retaining their seats at the general election of January 2015. It was won overall by Syriza, who formed a left-right coalition with the nationalist Independent Greeks, promising to defy EU-imposed austerity. One month later, the judicial council of the Athens appeals court, a panel of judges that decides on whether a case should proceed, charged 69 Golden Dawn members and supporters, including all of its sitting MPs, under article 187 of Greece's penal code, which relates to organised crime. (One defendant has since died, so 68 now await a verdict.) The indictment made clear that the defendants were not on trial for their beliefs. "This ideology of the leaders, supporters and friends of the political party is not in itself criminal," the council wrote. Instead, the trial examines whether Golden Dawn used violence to impose its ideas on others, and whether that violence was planned and directed from the top of the party.

Dozens of other charges, from weapons possession to perjury, have been brought against individuals. In addition to the state's case, some civil prosecutions have also been incorporated into the main trial. These relate to the murder of Fyssas, the attempted murder of communist trade unionists outside the Piraeus shipyards, and the attempted murder of a group of Egyptian fishermen, also close to Piraeus.

In April 2015, the trial began, with a flurry of media attention as supporters fought with anti-fascists outside the court. More than 150 witnesses have given testimony over the years. During this time, the media's interest in the case has ebbed and flowed. Journalists have largely arrived only to cover spectacular moments such as

Although Golden Dawn sometimes played the game of regular politics, they were the kind of Nazis you read about in history books

Below: Golden Dawn leader Nikolaos Mihaloliakos; previous page: a party rally in Athens in 2014
REUTERS; AP



Magda Fyssa’s testimony, which ended with her hurling a bottle of water at her son’s alleged killers.

The trial has been slow, but it has revealed something of vital importance: how fascist ideology tries to exploit a society’s anger and resentment. At the heart of the prosecution’s case is testimony given by five former Golden Dawn members, all now under witness protection. Their evidence purports to set out the anatomy of a neo-Nazi organisation.

The former members described a group with a dual structure. It recruited from wider society, like a regular political party, but also gradually inducted a chosen few into “closed cells” that were sent to boot camps in the Greek countryside. Witness A said he joined Golden Dawn in 2012 after a friend suggested they could help him find work. Witness B said she had got involved after reading a Facebook post that falsely claimed “Pakistanis” were on their way to attack her local Golden Dawn branch office.

Witness C described what it was like to be a member of the inner core. He said he had joined the party in 2006, aged 16, when it was still a “closed club”. For the first few years, he attended discussions at the party headquarters in Athens, two or three times a week, where they were taught about Hitler and Nazism. When he was a little older, Witness C claimed, he was taken out for “walks” – the term his comrades used to describe night-time assaults on people from ethnic minority backgrounds. “This one night,” Witness C recalled, “we found an immigrant, probably a Pakistani. We went near him and I punched him in the face wearing my brass knuckles. The others laughed and told me: ‘Well done boy, you’re really coming into your own.’”

The witnesses all said they believed that instructions came from the top. As Ilias Stavrou, another former member who waived his right to anonymity, testified: “In a party with such a military-style structure, nothing can happen without permission from above. If Michaloliakos orders a hit, the person isn’t what’s important. Golden Dawn does not harbour personal feelings. For Golden Dawn, race is the ideological unit, not the person.”

The alleged existence of closed cells – similar to the stormtrooper units of the original German Nazi party – is central to the case. Psarras, the investigative journalist, told me that these core members never numbered more than 200 or 300, with just a few dozen involved in most of the violent incidents. After 2012, as the party became more popular, it attracted at most 2,000 new members, who were kept at arm’s length as “registered supporters”. Given its reputation for violence, why was it able to behave with apparent impunity?

Throughout Golden Dawn’s rise to prominence, there were persistent allegations that elements in the Greek police tolerated, or even supported its activities. In 2018, the research organisation Forensic Architecture published a study of CCTV footage and police and ambulance radio transmissions on the night Fyssas was killed, which appeared to place officers at the scene of the crime before it happened, contradicting the official account. In the neighbourhood of Saint Pantaleimon, the victims of racist attacks reported police officers looking on – or joining in – as Golden Dawn members beat them up. Trial witnesses described occasions at protests when it appeared as if Golden Dawn was acting as the “rear guard” of the riot squad, or that clashes between the two seemed like “a friendly match”.

The activist Kostis Papaioannou told me that these revelations have not come as a great shock, since there is a feeling among many Greeks that “it’s not the first time” they’ve seen this happen. Rather, it’s a reminder of the country’s traumatic experiences during the 20th century.

The German occupation of Greece in the second world war was marked by famine, massacres and a growing conflict between communist-led partisans and those rightwing Greeks who collaborated with the occupiers. As the war drew to a close, British forces, who had supported the partisans, attempted to prevent them from running the newly liberated country. Instead, the British empowered the right. This sowed the seeds for the civil war of 1946 to 1949, during which more than 150,000 people were killed. As the historian Mark Mazower writes in *Inside Hitler’s Greece*, the civil war ended in victory for the right, behind whom “lurked the

The trial has been slow, but it has revealed how fascist ideology tries to exploit a society’s anger

Magda Fyssas at the monument honouring her son, Pavlos
EPA



mysterious ‘para-state’, a loose network of shadowy rightwing paramilitary organisations dedicated to protecting Greece ... from the left”.

Almost three decades of repression followed; first under a system of “managed” democracy in which left-wingers were blocked from public sector jobs and former partisans were exiled – then, between 1967 and 1974, by a military junta backed by the US. Golden Dawn’s leadership hails from the far-right milieu that surrounded the junta. Michaloliakos once led the youth wing of a party founded by the former leader of the dictatorship.

After the fall of the junta in 1974, Greece went through a reconciliation, establishing a liberal-democratic constitution. Writing in the mid-90s, Mazower could optimistically suggest that the Nazi occupation and its aftermath “has come to seem to a younger generation a matter of little relevance to their own concerns”. But the crisis that engulfed Greece after 2008 brought matters that many hoped were settled back to the fore.

As people argued over who was responsible for betraying the country, and who was defending it, historical events took on a new meaning. In 2012, the party that won the general election, New Democracy, presented itself as charting a course between “two extremes” – Syriza on the left, and Golden Dawn on the right. But New Democracy was itself promoting a form of rightwing nationalism, aided by xenophobic media coverage. While the government aimed to carry out the austerity measures, it also promised voters it would crack down on migrants and refugees and restore law and order. The New Democracy prime minister, Antonis Samaras, vowed to “retake” Greek city centres, which had been “occupied” by illegal immigrants.

In this atmosphere, Golden Dawn campaigned hard to position itself as the defender of the nation. Its activists staged “Greeks-only” food banks and blood-donation drives. It staged spectacular rallies, with hundreds of members marching with torches and Greek flags at night, to boost its prominence in the media, with some outlets giving the party an easy ride. The party’s statements frequently appealed to mainstream Greek nationalism: invocations of ancient Greek history and Orthodox Christianity; resentment of Turkey and Germany, the former oppressors; and conspiracy theories about who was responsible for Greece’s troubles.

Yet Golden Dawn’s efforts to claim the myths and symbols of the Greek nation for itself also played a part in its undoing. On 15 September 2013, days before Fyssas was killed, members stormed a commemoration event at Meligalas, a village where, in 1944, partisans killed several hundred Greeks they accused of being Nazi collaborators. Meligalas is a touchstone for the right: in its version of events, the dead were mainly civilians, and this kind of atrocity justified the subsequent repression of the left. But the sight of Golden Dawn members marching to the front of the crowd and pushing the village mayor off the stage – just as he was giving a speech saying the events of the war should never be repeated – was too much for some Greek conservatives.

Two days after Fyssas was killed, Samaras visited the neighbourhood where the murder had taken place. “This government is determined,” he declared, “not to allow the descendants of Nazis to poison our social life, to commit crime and to undermine the foundations of the country that gave birth to democracy.”

In the autumn of 2019, Golden Dawn’s leadership finally appeared in court. Throughout the year, the 68 defendants took turns to give their final statements to the court. A panel of judges will decide whether or not Golden Dawn is a criminal organisation, and who, if anybody, bears responsibility for running it.

Even before it concludes, the trial has suppressed the party, at least temporarily. With its election funds suspended, and its senior members facing prosecution, Golden Dawn was never able to build on the 7% it received in the 2012 election. After the arrests and raids of 2013, racist attacks in Greece dropped sharply. In the general election of 2019, New Democracy regained power from Syriza and Golden Dawn was unseated from parliament. It retained just one MEP, who has since quit to form his own breakaway party.

Some individuals linked to Golden Dawn have been convicted in separate trials. But several people I spoke to were concerned that the state still does not take the far right seriously enough. In recent months, anti-immigrant protests have grown in the wake of the refugee crisis; at one such event in Athens this January, a German journalist was assaulted by far-right activists. In February, a gang suspected of having links to Golden Dawn were arrested on the island of Lesbos as they were patrolling a village armed with wooden clubs, allegedly looking for migrants to beat up. And in the past few days, growing tension over Turkey’s decision to let refugees approach the Greek border means the rhetoric of a migrant “invasion” has once again returned to European politics.

Towards the end of last year, the state prosecutor surprised many by suggesting that Golden Dawn’s leadership should be acquitted of the most serious charges, since the violent crimes were “isolated acts for which the leadership was not responsible”. This provoked a retort from Fyssas’s mother. “Pavlos Fyssas has been dead for 75 months,” she told the prosecutor in front of the court. “You chose today to stab him again?”

For Golden Dawn’s part, the approach has been to deny everything. I visited court in autumn 2019 and saw alleged middle-ranking members claim they knew nothing about any of the crimes they were accused of. Several prosecution witnesses had previously testified that a culture of “omerta” pervades the ranks: one told the court about a member who had stepped out of line and was beaten up in party offices.

On 6 November 2019, Michaloliakos had his day in court. He declined to defend his beliefs. Instead, he argued that the accusations were all lies. There was, for instance, no secret party constitution that gave him absolute power, as numerous witnesses had testified. Anybody who contradicted him couldn’t be relied on.

As a final gesture, he appeared to abandon his own followers, undermining the claim of the alleged leader of the Nikaia branch that on the night Fyssas was killed they had merely been out delivering leaflets. After leaving court, he recorded a video saying he had “defended Golden Dawn and its fighters”.

Michaloliakos and his associates represent a nightmare that haunts Europe: that the worst parts of its history are bound to resurface. Yet as the journalist Psarras told me, since Golden Dawn was never a mass movement, its relationship with its supporters was “ideological”. By this he meant that Golden Dawn’s power lay in failures in the political and justice systems, the platform given to it by the media, and people’s unwillingness to face up to the problem. Golden Dawn’s rise inspired a new generation of fascists around the world: one apparent visitor to its rallies in 2013 was the American founder of the neo-Nazi website The Daily Stormer. But this story is about more than individual extremists. It is a warning about what can happen when a society feels hurt, humiliated, angry and ignored. ●

Daniel Trilling
is a regular contributor to the long read

Yesterday's solutions

Killer sudoku

Easy

8	4	7	6	1	3	2	9	5
2	5	3	9	8	7	4	6	1
1	6	9	4	2	5	7	8	3
6	3	2	1	9	8	5	7	4
4	7	8	2	5	6	1	3	9
5	9	1	7	3	4	8	2	6
9	8	5	3	7	1	6	4	2
3	1	4	8	6	2	9	5	7
7	2	6	5	4	9	3	1	8

Medium

7	4	1	3	9	6	8	2	5
9	6	2	8	5	4	7	1	3
5	8	3	2	7	1	9	4	6
3	2	7	4	6	9	5	8	1
4	9	6	5	1	8	2	3	7
1	5	8	7	3	2	4	6	9
6	1	4	9	8	5	3	7	2
8	3	9	1	2	7	6	5	4
2	7	5	6	4	3	1	9	8

Codeword

F	I	F	T	H		W	A	S	H	T	U	B
I	L	O		A		E	H	O				
S	Q	U	I	S	H	C	O	Y	P	U		
C			I	S	T							
A	D	D	L	E	D	B	O	R	Z	O	I	
L	O	R	I	R	O							
E	D	D	I	N	G	T	O	F				
U	G					C			L	E		
N	A	I	L	J	U	K	E	B	O	X		
D	N	G	R	M	G				A			
E	A	G	L	E	S	O	B	E	Y	E	D	
R			N	U	R							
D	R	O	N	E	S	C	A	R	P	E	R	
O	A	R	E	C	I	E						
G	U	F	F	A	W	S	E	V	E	N	S	

Cryptic crossword

Solution No. 28,070

B	L	U	S	H	E	R		D	I	N	G	B	A	T
R	N	I	E	E	O	R	O							
A	U	D	I	T		C	A	S	I	D	E			
N	I	S	U	C	H	N	N							
D	E	E	P	T	H	R	O	A	T		A	G	R	A
Y	S	H			R	I	S	I						
					E	X	I	S	T	E	N	T	I	A
T	R	B	N	E	T	N	S							
E	M	E	R	A	L	D	I	S	L	E				
N	A	R	I		R	V	S							
N	A	R	I		R	V	S							
Y	M	E	A	E	T	R	I							
S	H	O	R	T	S	T	O	P		A	N	G	S	T
O	S	N	O	R	T	E	C							
N	O	T	F	A	I	R		O	N	E	A	R	T	H



Stuck? For help call 0906 200 83 83. Calls cost £1.10 per minute, plus your phone company's access charge. Service supplied by ATS. Call 0330 333 6946 for customer service (charged at standard rate). Want more? Get access to more than 4,000 puzzles at theguardian.com/crossword. To buy puzzle books, visit guardianbookshop.com or call 0330 333 6846.

Killer sudoku

Easy

The normal rules of Sudoku apply: fill each row, column and 3x3 box with all the numbers from 1 to 9. In addition, the digits in each inner shape (marked by dots) must add up to the number in the top corner of that box. No digit can be repeated within an inner shape.

13		8				14		9				14			8
		16						8				8			
6				11						23				20	6
		15				13		9							
		6								21					8
11		14				3						7		20	
				21						7					17
16		8		5				13				16			
				11											

Medium

19				16		21		25							6
														28	
23		20				14		14							
								35						9	
						10						19			
						17						12		14	
12								24		9					12
												4			
26												16			

Codeword

Each letter of the alphabet makes at least one appearance in the grid, and is represented by the same number wherever it appears. The letters decoded should help you to identify other letters and words in the grid.

16		16		18		25		21		15		23
25	3	12	10	19		3	19	25	3	26	16	19
6		24		16		9		20		14		6
4	19	18	15	26	4	19		18	14	24	25	6
26		18				26				25		19
20	19	19	17	19	4	18		11	26	10	19	6
25				22		3		5		1		
5	25	6	6	26	19		18	25	3	13	4	18
		12		3		19		26				1
20	5	12	18	18		11	25	4	4	25	20	12
4		4				11				20		3
26	10	7	19	6		19	10	3	19	4	26	1
19		10		4		1		24		19		9
8	26	12	5	26	18	3		4	19	19	8	19
19		2		15		18		10		6		6
A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z												
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26

Guardian cryptic crossword No 28,071 set by Vlad

	1		2		3					4		5		6	
7							8		9						
10					11										
12			13				14								
15					16			17						18	
							19								
20	21								22						
23												24			
25							26								

- Across
- 7 Blame guy for disruption – pest! (5,3)
 - 9 Keeping Iron Cross under cover (6)
 - 10,2 Policy reversal – what’s afoot? (4-4)
 - 11 In yet another way, describing queen the greatest example of this? (10)
 - 12 Force to cut back – cool (6)
 - 14,24 Making good progress over puzzle finally – tend to be a far from lateral thinker (3-5,4)
 - 15 Henry going: ‘The price is different and this might prove it’ (7)
 - 17 Ancient city, or a new one adopted by charity (7)
 - 20 Detective Murphy talking – he’s in sole charge (8)
 - 22 City have negligible backing? Not entirely! (6)
 - 23 Quack, quack! Duck walks in at the start (10)
 - 24 See 14
 - 25 Desire for union to accept current offer, see (6)
 - 26 Shocks skinhead graffiti artists (8)

- Down
- 1 Finished digging? My congratulations! (4,4)
 - 2 See 10
 - 3 Over 50 in substantial English force (6)

- 4 Young lady’s cheating boy-friend finally kicked out (row overheard) (8)
- 5 Old girl’s an unexpectedly key associate of 4 (6,4)
- 6 Hello admits shocking treatment – celeb initially furious (6)
- 8 Flipping sniffer dog slips lead but doesn’t give up (4,2)
- 13 Beset by trouble, one’s bordering on careless almost (2,8)
- 16 Our great leader shortly to reveal this dishonest scheme (3-2,3)
- 18 City which’s announced bid (8)
- 19 Bill claims Republican is irritating (6)
- 21 Setter rolling in money mostly keeps working – not being serious! (6)
- 22 Shut up a second! B__ stopping? I hope he is (6)
- 24 The last, not the first – great (4)